

Notes

McComb: Alfred Howitt in Victoria

- 1 Mary Howitt, *Mary Howitt, An Autobiography*, Margaret Howitt (ed.), London: Isbister and Company, 1889, pp. 67–68.
- 2 William and Mary Howitt, *The Forest Minstrels and Other Poems*, London: Baldwin, Craddock and Joy, 1823.
- 3 William Howitt, *Colonization and Christianity*, London: Longman, Orme Brown Green and Longmans, 1838.
- 4 William Howitt, *Rural and Domestic Life in Germany*, London: Longman, Brown Green and Longmans, 1842.
- 5 Howitt, *Mary Howitt*, p. 191.
- 6 Richard Howitt, *Impressions of Australia Felix During Four Years' Residence in that Colony. Notes of a Voyage Round the World, Australian Poems etc.*, London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1845, p. 2.
- 7 Richard Howitt, Off the Cape Verd Isles, to William & Mary Howitt, 29 Oct. 1839, in Howitt, *Impressions of Australia Felix*, p. 31.
- 8 Howitt, *Impressions of Australia Felix*, p. 72.
- 9 Howitt, *Impressions of Australia Felix*, p. 171.
- 10 Howitt, Preface, *Impressions of Australia Felix*, p. viii.
- 11 Howitt, *Impressions of Australia Felix*, p. 160.
- 12 Howitt, *Impressions of Australia Felix*, p. 125.
- 13 Howitt, *Impressions of Australia Felix*, p. 207.
- 14 Howitt, *Mary Howitt*, p. 211.
- 15 William Howitt, Melbourne, to Mary Howitt, 23 Sep. 1852, in *Land, Labour and Gold or Two Years in Victoria. With Visits to Sydney and Van Dieman's Land*, Kilmore, Vic.: Lowden Publishing, 1972 (1855), pp. 2–3.
- 16 William Howitt, p. 380.
- 17 Howitt, *Mary Howitt*, pp. 213–15.
- 18 Transportation to Australia reached its peak in the early 1830s and, to all intents and purposes, it ended in the early 1850s, not least because of the increasing hostility of colonists in Australia who objected to their land being used as a dumping ground for convicts from England. See Clive Emsley, *Crime and English Society 1750–1900*, 2nd edn, London: Longman, 1996.
- 19 Howitt, *Land, Labour and Gold or Two Years in Victoria*, pp. 142–43.
- 20 Howitt, *Land, Labour and Gold or Two Years in Victoria*, p. 10.
- 21 Charles Reade, Mayfair, to William Howitt 2 Mar., 1857, in Howitt, *Land, Labour and Gold*, p. viii.
- 22 Howitt, *Land, Labour and Gold or Two Years in Victoria*, p. 450.
- 23 Alfred Howitt, to Anna Howitt, 4 Jan. 1854, AW Howitt Papers, Box 1045/1c, State Library of Victoria.
- 24 Howitt Papers, Boxes 1045/2a–2b. Various letters tell of hardships, poverty, no gold and few prospects. Reading them is testament to Howitt's doggedness of character, which stood him in good stead in establishing himself in the colony.
- 25 William Blandowski, a Prussian-born fortune-seeker, was involved in many activities in the colony but failed in his 10-year stay (1849–59) to satisfy his objectives. His collections moulded away and he failed to understand the rules of social acceptability. A talented artist/photographer, he returned to Europe with a collection of fascinating drawings, largely because of Melbourne bureaucracy's refusal to assign ownership and lack of perception in supporting their publication. He published them himself as *Australien in 142 photographischen Abbildungen* (1862).
- 26 Alfred Howitt, to Mary Howitt, 24 Oct. 1854, Howitt Papers, Box 1045/1d.
- 27 Howitt, to Mary Howitt, 17 Mar. 1860, AW Howitt Papers, Box 1045/2b.
- 28 'A veteran's record, Mr AW Howitt's career', *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, Qld), 8 Aug. 1900, p. 7.
- 29 *Argus* (Melb.), 27 Jun. 1862, pp. 5–6. Howitt's diary is reported from March to June 1862 describing various encounters with the natives as well as copious notes on water availability and flora.
- 30 Mary Howitt Walker, *Come Wind, Come Weather: A Biography of Alfred Howitt*, Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1971, p. 209.
- 31 Howitt Papers.
- 32 DF Branagan & KA Townley, 'Selwyn, Alfred Richard (1824–1902)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/selwyn-alfred-richard-4556/text7473, published first in hardcopy 1976, accessed online 23 Sep. 2016.
- 33 Michael Hoare, 'Ulrich, Georg Heinrich Friedrich (George Henry Frederick) (1830–1900)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ulrich-georg-heinrich-friedrich-george-henry-frederick-4768/text7927, published first in hardcopy 1976, accessed online 23 Sep. 2016.
- 34 Thomas George Vallance (1928–93). See Graham Chinner, 'Obituary: Professor TG Vallance', *Independent* (UK), 15 Mar. 1993, www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-professor-t-g-vallance-1497731.html, accessed online 22 Sep. 2016.

- 35 TG Vallance, 'Achievement in isolation: AW Howitt, pioneering investigator of metamorphism in Australia', *Journal of the History of Earth Sciences Society*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1986, pp. 39–49.
- 36 Howitt described these rather quaint though demanding travels to his sister (Howitt, to Anna Howitt, 7 May 1876, Howitt Papers, Box 1047/3a).
- 37 William was living in Rome and planting seedlings. Alfred visited the resulting trees on his last trip to Europe in 1904 in the campagna of the Trappist monastery of Tre Fontane. See 'The Howitts in Australia', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, vol. 3, Sep. 1913, no. 1, p. 23.
- 38 AW Howitt, *Eucalypts of Gippsland* (1890), reprinted from *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. By 1876, Alfred's specimens amounted to 700 slides. His documented collection now resides in the National Herbarium, Royal Botanic Gardens, in Melbourne and consists of 1425 specimens that he had collected, starting in 1879 but mostly between 1882 and 1884 from wherever his travels took him as magistrate in Gippsland. Howitt was able to describe each segment of the specimens he gathered as well as noting the prospective use to which the standing timber might be put. See National Herbarium Spreadsheet MEL data, Collector AW Howitt, listing species, collector, date and location.
- 39 JH Maiden, *Critical Revision of the Genus Eucalyptus* (1909). Reprinted and sourced from the print edition of parts 31–40 published by William Applegate Gullick in Sydney in 1920 and later by University of Sydney Library, Sydney, 2002, CLXVII. E. Howittiana F.V.M.
- 40 Howitt, Beechworth, to Anna Howitt, 7 Jul. 1874, Howitt Papers, Box 1047/1a.
- 41 Howitt, to Anna Howitt, 29 Dec. 1870, Howitt Papers, Box 1047/1a.
- 42 WEH Stanner, 'Fison, Lorimer (1832–1907)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fison-lorimer-3523/text5423, published first in hardcopy 1972, accessed online 22 Sep. 2016.
- 43 Lorimer Fison & AW Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai: Group-Marriage and Relationship, and Marriage by Elopement, Drawn Chiefly from the Usage of the Australian Aborigines ...*, Melbourne: George Robertson, 1880, and *Marriage by Elopement, Drawn Chiefly from the Usage of the Australian Aborigines. Also the Kurnai Tribe, Their Customs in Peace and War* (Melbourne: George Robertson, 1880).
- 44 AW Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, London: Macmillan, 1904, Preface.
- 45 James Frazer, *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion*, abridged edn, London: Macmillan, 1929, pp. 44, 234.
- 46 Ian Clark, 'The AW Howitt Papers,' *La Trobe Journal*, no. 43, Autumn, 1989. Clark sees the value of Howitt's rich collection but seeks to impose current methodological expectations and an impossibly wide set of content demands such as the role of women, food consumed – in short a total lifestyle description.
- 47 Howitt's questionnaire included requests such as: 'What are the class divisions of which the community is composed? What are the laws of marriage? The laws of descent? Tribal government? Ceremonies – Initiation and Burial? And importantly Vocabulary'. See the full list in Howitt Papers, Box 1053/2.
- 48 Howitt, *Native Tribes*, Summary.
- 49 DJ Mulvaney, 'Stanner, William Edward (Bill) (1905–1981)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/stanner-william-edward-bill-15541/text26753, published first in hardcopy 2012, accessed online 23 Sep. 2016.
- 50 WEH Stanner, 'Howitt, Alfred William (1830–1908)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/howitt-alfred-william-510/text6037, published first in hardcopy 1972, accessed online 12 December 2016.
- 51 Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 702.
- 52 Howitt Walker, *Come Wind, Come Weather; a Biography of Alfred Howitt*, Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, p. 209.
- 53 AW Howitt, *Notes on Australian Message Sticks and Messengers*, Ensay, Vic.: Ngarak Press, 1998, reprinted from *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, London, 1889.
- 54 Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 679.
- 55 AW Howitt, 'Notes on songs and songmakers of some Australian tribes', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 16, 1887, p. 335.
- 56 Howitt, 'Notes on songs', p. 328.
- 57 *Pastoralists' Review*, 15 Apr. 1908, p. 118, see also 'Howitt, Alfred William (1830–1908)', *Obituaries Australia*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, oa.anu.edu.au/obituary/howitt-alfred-william-510/text511, accessed 23 Sep. 2016.

McGowan: Marcus Clarke, Felix Meyer and the Paris Commune

- 1 Henry Gyles Turner & Alexander Sutherland, *The Development of Australian Literature*, Melbourne: George Robertson, 1898, p. 300.
- 2 Hamilton McKinnon, *Marcus Clarke Memorial Volume: Containing Selections From the Writings of Marcus Clark ...*, Melbourne: Cameron, Laing, 1894, pp. 53–54.

- 3 Arthur Patchett Martin, 'An Australian novelist', *Temple Bar*, vol. 71, May–Aug. 1884, pp. 101–02; Laurie Hergenhahn, *A Colonial City: High and Low Life: Selected Journalism of Marcus Clarke*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1971, p. 472.
- 4 Frank MC Forster, 'Meyer, Felix Henry (1858–1937)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/meyer-felix-henry-7565/text13203, published first in hardcopy 1986, accessed online 6 Nov. 2016.
- 5 Alistair Horne, *The Fall of Paris, the Siege and the Commune 1870–71*, London: Pan Books, 2002, pp. 35–60.
- 6 Robert Baldick, *The Siege of Paris*, New York: Macmillan, 1964, pp. 186–88; Horne, *The Fall of Paris*, pp. 176–79. The low point of this dietary diversification came with the slaughter of two popular elephants, Castor and Pollux.
- 7 Baldick, *The Siege of Paris*, pp. 221–35; Alice Bullard, *Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific, 1790–1900*, Stanford University Press, 2000, pp. 69–70; Horne, *The Fall of Paris*, pp. 247–64; Stewart Edwards, *The Paris Commune 1871*, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1971, pp. 111–52.
- 8 Bullard, *Exile to Paradise*, p. 71; Horne, *The Fall of Paris*, pp. 265–76; Edwards, *The Paris Commune 1871*, pp. 123–61; Robert Tombs, *The War Against Paris*, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 226–53.
- 9 Eugene Schulkind, *The Paris Commune of 1871*, London: Historical Association, 1971, pp. 26–27; Horne, *The Fall of Paris*, pp. 348–49, pp. 375–76, 388–96; Bullard, *Exile to Paradise*, pp. 74–75.
- 10 Horne, *The Fall of Paris*, pp. 417–18; Tombs, *The War against Paris 1871*, pp. 163–93.
- 11 Horne, *The Fall of Paris*, pp. 416–17.
- 12 *Argus* (Melbourne), 19 Apr. 1873; also see, *The Australian Sketcher with Pen and Pencil*, 17 May 1873, p. 27.
- 13 *Argus*, 23 Apr. 1873.
- 14 *Argus*, 24 Apr. 1873.
- 15 *Ballarat Courier*, 25 Apr. 1873.
- 16 Bernard Barrett, 'FitzGibbon, Edmund Gerald (1825–1905)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fitzgibbon-edmund-gerald-3530/text5439, published first in hardcopy 1972, accessed online 26 Sep. 2016.
- 17 *Ballarat Courier*, 24 Apr. 1873. According to Helene Duparc, the inhabitants of Melbourne raised 40,000 francs for the comfort of the prisoners, but the offer was refused by Captain Vignancourt, even if transformed into food and clothes. Helene Duparc, *de Paris à Noumea: L'histoire des communités de la Commune de Paris déportés en Nouvelle-Calédonie*, Orphie: Sainte Clotilde de La Réunion, 2003.
- 18 *Ovens and Murray Valley Advertiser* (Beechworth), 25 Apr. 1873.
- 19 *Argus*, 24 Apr. 1873.
- 20 *Argus*, 26 Apr. 1873.
- 21 *Ballarat Courier*, 24 Apr. 1873; *Ballarat Star*, 24 Apr. 1874. Captain Vignancourt also offered a £5 reward for his recapture (*Argus*, 24 Apr. 1873).
- 22 Michael Wilding (ed.), *Marcus Clarke: For the Term of His Natural Life, Short Stories, Critical Essays and Journalism*, St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1976, pp. x–xii, pp. 624–25.
- 23 Turner & Sutherland, *The Development of Australian Literature*, p. 336.
- 24 Brian Elliott, *Marcus Clarke*, Great Australians, no. 44, Melbourne: OUP, 1969, p. 27; McKinnon, *Marcus Clarke Memorial Volume*, pp. 28–29; Tony Moore, *Dancing with Empty Pockets: Australia's Bohemians*, Sydney: Pier 9, 2012, pp. 53–54.
- 25 Marcus Clarke, 'John Mitchell's escape', in *Old Tales of a Young Country*, reprinted in Wilding, *Marcus Clarke*, pp. 196–210.
- 26 *Argus*, 28 Apr. 1873.
- 27 Clarke may have known Felix Meyer's father, whose decision to send his son to Wesley College must have been based on liberal leanings. Clarke seemed to know everyone, and was often up to some prank. Andrew Lemon, an authority on the history of Wesley College, agrees that the Meyer/Clarke speculation is reasonable.
- 28 *Ballarat Courier*, 24 Apr. 1873.
- 29 *Argus*, 18 Sep. 1873. The claimed back wages were for work undertaken between 30 May and 5 July. By this time, he had changed his name to Serigne.
- 30 Marie admitted that there might be 30s due to Seringue, but that this was covered by the money he had given to Billiette to pay to the *Argus* subscription fund and for the clothes that he had bought him, *Argus*, 18 Sep. 1873. Marie was ordered to pay 30s with 12s 6d costs.
- 31 Bullard, *Exile to Paradise*, pp. 159–60.
- 32 Martin, 'An Australian novelist', pp. 101–02.
- 33 Hergenhahn, *A Colonial City*, p. 472.
- 34 Honore Forster, 'Botany Bay Française', *National Library Magazine*, Nov. 1997; Colin Forster, *France & Botany Bay: The Lure of a Penal Colony*, Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1996.
- 35 Forster, *France & Botany Bay*, pp. 166–75.
- 36 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 Nov. 1853, quoted in Forster, *France & Botany Bay*, p. 168. The penal

- establishment was on L'île Nou in Noumea harbour and the first convicts included a large number of tradesmen who helped erect buildings, such as the penitentiary, hospital, barracks, workshops, forges, storehouses, offices and houses. See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 May 1884.
- 37 *Evening News* (Sydney), 3 Aug. 1871.
- 38 Henri Rochefort, *The Adventures of My Life*, vol. II, London: Edward Arnold, 1897, pp. 92–117. For different versions of the escape, see *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 Apr. 1874 and *Gundagai Times*, 4 Apr. 1874. Rochefort's companions were Paschal Grousset, an ex-minister of foreign affairs in the commune; François Jourde, an ex-minister of finance; Archille Baillère, an ex-aide-de-camp to General Rossel; Olivier Pain, an ex-secretary of foreign affairs; and Charles Bastien Granthille, an ex-commandant of the National Guard.
- 39 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 Apr. 1874; Julian Thomas ('The Vagabond'), *Cannibals and Convicts: Notes of Personal Experiences in the Pacific*, London: Cassell & Co. 1886, p. 53.
- 40 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28, 31 Mar. 1874. The editor of the *Wagga Wagga Advertiser* suggested that the escape would have been welcomed by the French authorities, who could get rid of their 'turbulent spirits to a country that was not French' (*Wagga Wagga Advertiser*, 1 Apr. 1874).
- 41 *Wagga Wagga Advertiser*, 3 Jun. 1874; *Gippsland Times* (Sale), 14 Mar. 1879; *Brisbane Courier*, 7 Dec. 1875.
- 42 *Hobart Mercury*, 3 Jan. 1885.
- 43 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 Jul. 1883; *Riverine Herald* (Echuca), 20 Sep. 1883. There were many escape attempts in 1884.
- 44 In December 1883 the total number of French convicts in Australia was 247, of whom 33 were in Victoria, 59 in Queensland and 155 in New South Wales. More than half had been in gaol since their arrival in Australia (*South Australian Register*, 23 Dec. 1883).
- 45 Geoffrey Serle, *The Rush to be Rich: A History of the Colony of Victoria 1883–1889*, Melbourne University Press, 1980, pp. 179–215; Geoffrey Serle, 'Service, James (1823–1899)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/service-james-4561/text7483, published first in hardcopy 1976, accessed online 30 Nov. 2016; *Portland Guardian*, 12 Jan. 1884. Service reiterated these concerns at the Intercolonial Trade Union Conference in Melbourne in May 1884. See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 23 May 1884 and *Queenslander*, 10 May 1884.
- 46 *Sydney Mail*, 21 Apr. 1877; Thomas, *Cannibals and Convicts*, pp. 121–31.
- 47 Lissagaray stated that the men built a hospital, aqueduct, warehouse and a large road. However, of the 2000 who presented themselves for work, only 800 were employed, and their wages were very poor. See Lissagaray, *History of the Commune of 1871*, Eleanor Marx Aveling (trans.), New York: International Publishing Company, 1898, pp. 447–58.
- 48 Lissagaray, *History of the Commune of 1871*, pp. 452–53.
- 49 Rochefort, *The Adventures of My Life*, vol. 2, pp. 80–91.
- 50 Bullard, *Exile to Paadise*, pp. 243–52; Stephen A. Toth, 'Colonisation or incarceration? The changing role of the French penal colony in *Fin-de-Siècle* New Caledonia', in Annick Foucrier (ed.), *The French and the Pacific World, 17th–19th Centuries: Explorations, Migrations and Cultural Exchanges*, Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005, pp. 64–67.
- 51 Robert Aldrich, *The French Presence in the South Pacific, 1842–1940*, London: Macmillan, 1990, p. 59.
- 52 Manuel Cormier, *La Colonisation Pénale*, Noumea, Nouvelle Calédonie: Points d'Histoire, no. 8, Centre Territorial de Recherche et Documentation Pédagogiques et Association Pac 93, 1993, p. 59.
- 53 Moore, *Dancing with Empty Pockets*, pp. 26–30.
- 54 McKinnon, *Marcus Clarke Memorial Volume*, pp. 56–59.
- 55 Clarke, *Stories of Australia in the Early Days*, London: Hutchinson & Co., 1897, p. xiv.

Barnes: The making of a legend: Henry Lawson at Bourke

- 1 Henry Lawson, to Edward Garnett, '27th (or 28th)' Feb., 1902, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin.
- 2 EJ Brady, 'Henry Lawson', *Bulletin*, 22 Jan. 1925.
- 3 Henry Lawson to Emma Brooks, 21 Sep. 1892, in Colin Roderick (ed.), *Henry Lawson Letters 1890–1922*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1970, p. 49.
- 4 Lawson to Brooks, 27 Sep. 1892, in Roderick, *Henry Lawson Letters 1890–1922*, p. 50.
- 5 Robyn Burrows, *Henry Lawson: A Stranger on the Darling*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson 1996. This volume was written by Burrows and based on research undertaken by her father Alan Barton.
- 6 Henry Lawson, "'Pursuing literature" in Australia', *Bulletin*, 21 Jan. 1899.
- 7 Lawson to Brooks, 21 Sep. 1892, in Roderick, *Henry Lawson Letters 1890–1922*, p. 49.

- 8 Lawson to Brooks, 27 Sep. 1892, in Roderick, *Henry Lawson Letters 1890–1922*, p. 50.
- 9 For an account of Willis's most interesting life both in Australia and England, see John Arnold & James Doig, 'William Nicholas Willis, père, fils and family and the Anglo-Eastern Publishing Company', *Script and Print*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2015, pp. 197–220.
- 10 John Hawley, letter to the editor, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 Feb. 1939.
- 11 James Gordon (who published under the name 'Jim Grahame') wrote three versions of his account of his time with Lawson: the first, which remains in manuscript (see below), is quoted in part in Colin Roderick, *Henry Lawson: A Life* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1991); the second, 'Henry Lawson on the track', was published in the *Bulletin* (19 Feb. 1925); and the third (and longest) was included in John Le Gay Brereton & Bertha Lawson, *Henry Lawson by His Mates* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1931). Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations are from the manuscript version, Cyril Goode Papers, PA 271/Box 7, State Library Victoria.
- 12 Quoted in Roderick, *Henry Lawson*, 1991, p. 91.
- 13 In his first reminiscence, Gordon wrote that they worked at Fort Bourke station before going to Toorale, but later referred only to Toorale, which seems more likely.
- 14 Lawson to Arthur Parker, 26 Dec. 1892, in Roderick, *Henry Lawson Letters 1890–1922*, p. 51.
- 15 Lawson to Brooks, 16 Jan. 1893, in Roderick, *Henry Lawson Letters 1890–1922*, p. 53.
- 16 Jim Grahame, 'Amongst my own people', Brereton & Lawson, *Henry Lawson by His Mates*, p. 215.
- 17 Henry Lawson, 'By the banks of the Murrumbidgee', *Bulletin*, 18 May 1916.
- 18 Frank Sargeson, 'Henry Lawson: some notes after re-reading', *Landfall*, vol. 20, 1966, reprinted in Colin Roderick (ed.), *Henry Lawson Criticism 1894–1971*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1972, p. 422.
- 19 Henry Lawson, 'The bush and the ideal', *Bulletin*, 27 Feb. 1897.
- 20 AG Stephens, 'Henry Lawson: an Australian poet', *Bulletin*, 5 Jan. 1895, reprinted in Roderick, *Henry Lawson Criticism 1894–1971*, p. 4.
- 21 EV Lucas, 'An Australian humorist', *Academy*, 17 Jul. 1897, reprinted in Roderick, *Henry Lawson Criticism 1894–1971*, p. 65.
- 22 Edward Garnett, 'An appreciation', *Academy and Literature*, 8 Mar. 1902, reprinted in Roderick, *Henry Lawson Criticism 1894–1971*, pp. 122, 124.
- 23 Lawson to Edward Garnett, 29 Jan. 1902,

Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin.

- 24 John Le Gay Brereton, *Knocking Round*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1930, p. 23.
- 25 John Le Gay Brereton, 'In the gusty old weather', Brereton & Lawson, *Henry Lawson by His Mates*, p. 14.
- 26 AG Stephens, 'Henry Lawson', *Art in Australia*, 1 Nov. 1922, reprinted in Roderick, *Henry Lawson Criticism 1894–1971*, p. 217.

Bowden: James Miller Marshall

This article has materially benefited from the detailed comments of an anonymous reader.

- 1 Norman Lindsay (first letter), to Keith Bowden, undated, early 1961.
- 2 Norman Lindsay, *Age of Consent*, London: Werner Laurie, 1938.
- 3 *Australian Art Sales Digest* (www.aasd.com.au, accessed online 5 Sep. 2016) lists 30 auction records for Marshall covering 27 separate paintings. Of these, five, or possibly, six are records for paintings executed while Marshall was in Australia.
- 4 Silas Clifford-Smith, 'J. Miller Marshall', *Design and Art Australia Online*, 2008, www.daao.org.au/bio/j-miller-marshall-1/ biography, accessed online 8 Sep. 2011.
- 5 See Laurence Binyon, 'The art of John Sell Cotman', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 51, 1942, pp. 159–63; Martin Hardie, 'Cotman's water-colours: the technical aspect', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 51, 1942, pp. 171–76; Geoffrey Holme (ed.), *The Norwich School*, London: The Studio Ltd, 1920.
- 6 His many books include a biography of George Bass (1952), *The Western Port Settlement and its Leading Personalities* (1970) and *Goldrush Doctors at Ballarat* (1977).
- 7 Leonard Joel, *The George Page-Cooper Collection: Historical Australian Paintings, Old Masters, Bronzes etc.*, Melbourne, 1967, item 213.
- 8 Erkkii Huhtamo, *Illusion in Motion: Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama and Related Spectacles*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2013, pp. 69–91; Keith E Gibeling, 'Peter Paul Marshall: the forgotten member of the Morris firm', *Journal of William Morris Studies*, vol. 12, 1996, pp. 8–16 (8).
- 9 Gibeling, 'Peter Paul Marshall'; see also 'Peter Paul Marshall', Wikipedia, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Paul_Marshall, accessed online 30 Nov. 2016.
- 10 Gibeling, 'Peter Paul Marshall'.
- 11 See the portrait photograph and various essays in Christopher Newall, et al., *Pre-Raphaelites: Beauty and Rebellion*, Liverpool University Press, 2016. See also Pat Starkey (ed.), *Riches into Art: Liverpool Collectors*

- 1770–1880, Liverpool University Press, 1993.
 12 Accessible via Ancestry.com.
- 13 Gibelung, 'Peter Paul Marshall'. See also Deborah Cherry, 'The Hogarth Club: 1858–1861', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 122, no. 925, 1980, pp. 237–44; Jane A Munro, "'This hateful letter-writing": selected correspondence of Sir Edward Burne-Jones in the Huntington Library', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 55, 1992, pp. 75–103.
- 14 Philip Hepworth, City Librarian, Norwich Public Libraries, to Keith Bowden, 9 Mar. 1961.
- 15 Algernon Graves, *Royal Academy Exhibitors*, London: Henry Graves and Co. Ltd. & George Bell and Sons, 1905–06, vol. 5, p. 192.
- 16 Trevor Fawcett, *The Rise of English Provincial Art*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979; Andrew Hemingway, *The Norwich School of Painters: 1803–1833*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1979; Tom Griffiths, *Norfolk & Norwich Art Circle: 1855–1985*, Norfolk and Norwich Art Circle, 1985; Andrew Moore, *The Norwich School of Artists*, London: HMSO, 1985.
- 17 This is inferred from the phrase 'arrived recently' in Anon, 'Mr. J.M. Marshall and his pictures' (*Table Talk*, 24 Jun. 1892, p. 6) and the painting *The Buckingham*, which was done at sea and dated 1892 (listed in *Australian Art Sales Digest*). Other sources, such as Clifford-Smith, 'J. Miller Marshall', and McCulloch's *Encyclopaedia of Australian Art* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2006, p. 66), incorrectly suggest that Marshall arrived in Australia c. 1885–90. Several of the 1891-dated paintings listed in the *Australian Art Sales Digest* have English subjects, which indicates that Marshall could not have been in Australia during that earlier period.
- 18 Anon, 'Mr. J.M. Marshall and his pictures', p. 6.
- 19 Andrew Mackenzie, 'Withers, Walter Herbert (1854–1914)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wITHERS-walter-herbert-9165/text16183, published first in hardcopy 1990, accessed online 15 Sep. 2016.
- 20 Anon, 'Mr. J.M. Marshall and his pictures', p. 6.
- 21 Clifford-Smith ('J. Miller Marshall') gives Marshall's first name as 'John' and most of the paintings listed in *Australian Art Sales Digest* are under the name 'John'.
- 22 Lionel Lindsay to Keith Bowden, 25 Feb. 1961.
- 23 Alexander McCubbin, *The Life and Art of Walter Withers*, Melbourne: Alexander McCubbin, n.d. [1919], pp. 17–19.
- 24 Daryl Lindsay, *The Leafy Tree: My Family*, Melbourne: Cheshire, 1965. Here Lindsay states (p. 62, see also p. 32) that Withers first visited Creswick in 1889 to hold painting classes for local residents, presumably at Edmonds's invitation. See also Norman Lindsay, *My Mask: For What Little I Know of the Man Behind It*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1970, pp. 28–29; Lionel Lindsay, *Comedy of Life: An Autobiography*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1967, p. 48; Bernard Smith, 'Lindsay, Norman Alfred (1879–1969)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lindsay-norman-alfred-7757/text12457, published first in hardcopy 1986, accessed online 30 Nov. 2016; Geoffrey Newmarch, *Scenes of Creswick: Stories and Pictures*, Creswick Museum, 2011; and Silas Clifford-Smith, *Percy Lindsay: Artist and Bohemian*, Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2011.
- 25 Daryl Lindsay, *The Leafy Tree*, p. 63; Clifford-Smith, *Percy Lindsay*, p. 16.
- 26 Daryl Lindsay, *The Leafy Tree*, p. 63.
- 27 Clifford-Smith, *Percy Lindsay*, p. 10.
- 28 Lindsay (first letter), to Bowden; Lindsay, *My Mask*, p. 29.
- 29 Lindsay, *Comedy of Life*, pp. 16–17.
- 30 Lindsay, to Bowden, 1961.
- 31 See also Lionel Lindsay, *Comedy of Life*, pp. 16–17.
- 32 Lindsay (second letter), to Bowden, early 1961.
- 33 Lindsay (third letter), to Bowden, early 1961.
- 34 Measuring 54 x 39 cm and titled *Fossicking for gold*, the work is signed in the lower left but apparently not dated clearly; the National Gallery of Australia has assigned it to 1893. See Miriam Kelly, 'J Miller Marshall: fossicking for gold', *artonview*, Summer, 2009–10, pp. 32–33.
- 35 Kelly, 'J Miller Marshall'.
- 36 Deutscher & Hackett, *Auction Catalogue*, 29 Aug. 2007, lot 46.
- 37 Ruth Zubans, 'At Charterisville in the 1890s: Phillips Fox and Tudor St. George Tucker', in Kelly Gellatly & Ted Gott (eds), *Heidelberg to Heide: Creating an Australian Landscape 1850–1950*, Bulleen, Vic.: Heide Museum of Modern Art, 2000, pp. 37.
- 38 McCubbin, *The Life and Art of Walter Withers*, pp. 14–15.
- 39 See illustration in Gellatly & Gott, *Heidelberg to Heide*, p. 14.
- 40 For the full text of Henry Lawson's poem *On the wallaby*, see Australian Poetry Library, www.poetrylibrary.edu.au/poets/lawson-henry/on-the-wallaby-0108072, accessed online 15 Sep. 2016.
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- 42 Quoted in Smith, 'Lindsay, Norman Alfred (1879–1969)'.
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- 44 Jean Baker, Creswick, to the author, 2011. Baker owns a copy of the catalogue.
- 45 John Hudson, *The Savage Spirit: One Hundred Years of the Bristol Savages*, Redcliffe Press Ltd., 2004.
- 46 Michael Long, Archivist, Bristol Savage Club, to the author, 2015.
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- Pullman: The role of Ina Higgins**
- I would like to thank John Arnold; David Jones; Don Garden; Josh Zeunert; Jan Dyer, PLC Melbourne Archivist; and Janet Davies, PLC Melbourne Heritage Centre Manager, for their help and guidance in preparing this article.
- 1 Deborah Jordan, 'Women's time': Ina Higgins, Nettie Palmer and Aileen Palmer, *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 79, no. 2, 2008, p. 301.
 - 2 'Pomona' (Katharine Susannah Prichard), 'Miss Ina Higgins: a woman gardener, gardens and gardening', *Herald* (Melbourne), 2 Aug. 1910.
 - 3 Olive Mellor (1891–1978). See Sandra Pullman, 'The contribution of Olive Mellor to the developing role of women in horticulture in the first half of the twentieth century', *Australian Garden History*, vol. 12, no. 1, Jul.–Aug. 2000, pp. 7–10.
 - 4 Emily Gibson (1887–1974). See Simon Reeves, 'Millie blooms again', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 65, Autumn 2000, pp. 5–16.
 - 5 Peter Watts, 'Walling, Edna Margaret (1895–1973)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/walling-edna-margaret-11946/text21411, published first in hardcopy 2002, accessed 26 Sep. 2016.
 - 6 Nettie and Vince Palmer Papers, Ms 1174/17/293, National Library of Australia.
 - 7 Janice N Brownfoot, 'Goldstein, Vida Jane (1869–1949)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/goldstein-vida-jane-6418/text10975, published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 7 Nov. 2016.
 - 8 Colin Choat, 'Higgins, Frances Georgina (Ina) (1860–1948)', *Obituaries Australia*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, womenaustralia.anu.edu.au/biography/higgins-frances-georgina-ina-14248/text25293, accessed online 23 Jul. 2016.
 - 9 John Rickard, *HB Higgins: The Rebel as Judge*, Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984, p. 31.
 - 10 Rickard, *HB Higgins*, p. 38.
 - 11 Rickard, *HB Higgins*, p. 32. John Higgins, later an accountant and father of Nettie Palmer (Janet Gertrude Higgins 1885–1964), writer, poet, literary critic and socialist
 - 12 Rickard, *HB Higgins*, p. 49.
 - 13 Rickard, *HB Higgins*.
 - 14 Rickard, *HB Higgins*, p. 176.
 - 15 A. Carr, 'An age of certainty: three generations of Melbourne radicals, 1870–1988', PhD Thesis, University of Melbourne, 2001, p. 21.
 - 16 M. Reid, *The Ladies Came to Stay: A Study of the Education of Girls at the Presbyterian Ladies' College Melbourne 1875–1960*, Melbourne: Council of the Presbyterian Ladies College, p. 197.
 - 17 Choat, 'Higgins, Frances Georgina (Ina) (1860–1948)'.
 - 18 Choat, 'Higgins, Frances Georgina (Ina) (1860–1948)'.
 - 19 The exhibition was held in Melbourne's Royal Exhibition Building and Queen Alexandra was patroness. It was a mixture of local and overseas women's exhibits, ranging from photography, literary competitions, to bookbinding, woodcarving and painting. It was open to professionals and amateurs but did not include exhibits by Indigenous Australian women. There were, however, international exhibits by indigenous women, including work by Maori of Aotearoa New Zealand.
 - 20 J Patrick, 'Luffman, Charles (Bogue) (1862–1920)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/luffman-charles-bogue-7259/text12579, published first in hardcopy 1986, accessed online 19 Jul. 2016.
 - 21 CB Luffman, *The Principles of Gardening for Australia*, Melbourne: Book Lovers' Library, 1903, p. 7.
 - 22 Margaret Bettison, 'Luffman, Laurretta Caroline Maria (1846–1929)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/luffman-laurretta-caroline-maria-7260/text12581, published first in hardcopy 1986, accessed online 26 Sep. 2016.
 - 23 *West Australian*, 8 Sep. 1914, p. 9.
 - 24 CB Luffman, *Report by the Principal of The School of Horticulture for the Year Ending 31st December, 1900*, Melbourne: Department of Agriculture, 1900, p. 6.
 - 25 Diary, undated, Palmer Papers.
 - 26 Diary, undated, Palmer Papers.
 - 27 See the following Melbourne newspaper reports: 'The Burnley gardens, the Advisory Board and the Curator', *Age*, 21 Mar. 1900, p. 5; 'Burnley Horticultural Gardens', *Advocate* (Melbourne), 17 Mar. 1900, p. 5; and 'Women students at Burnley', *Argus*, 26 Jul. 1899, p. 4.
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- 30 L Chen, J Patrick, A Long, *Burnley Gardens Conservation Management Plan*, Lovell Chen Melbourne Conservation Architects, 2005, p. 127.
- 31 *Table Talk*, 20 Dec. 1900, p. 5.
- 32 John Hay, 'Prichard, Katharine Susannah (1883–1969)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/prichard-katharine-susannah-8112/text14165, published first in hardcopy 1988, accessed online 19 Jul. 2016.
- 33 'Pomona', 'Miss Ina Higgins'.
- 34 'Pomona', 'Miss Ina Higgins'. Nettie Palmer, *Henry Bournes Higgins: A Memoir*, London: Harrap, 1933, p. 6.
- 35 PH Northcott, 'Sutherland, Alexander (1852–1902)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sutherland-alexander-4671/text7685, published first in hardcopy 1976, accessed online 19 Jul. 2016.
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- 37 Daniel Thomas, 'Bateman, Edward La Trobe (1815–1897)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bateman-edward-la-trobe-2951/text4285, published first in hardcopy 1969, accessed online 26 Sep. 2016.
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- 40 Diary, Palmer Papers, Ms 1174/1/153.
- 41 Diary, Palmer Papers, Ms 1174/1/154.
- 42 Esmonde Higgins to Nettie Palmer, 18 Jul. 1910, Palmer Papers, Ms 1174/1/318.
- 43 Clive & Penny Blazey of Heronswood, Dromana, Victoria.
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- 45 S Steele, *A Road to Rehabilitation*, West Heidelberg, Vic.: North-Eastern Health Care Network, West Heidelberg, 1996, p. 10.
- 46 Steele, *A Road to Rehabilitation*, p. 7.
- 47 *Royal Talbot Colony for Epileptics Mason Meadows Clayton, Annual Report for the Year Ended 1957*, p. 10.
- 48 Bryan Egan, 'Springthorpe, John William (1855–1933)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/springthorpe-john-william-8610/text15039, published first in hardcopy 1990, accessed online 19 Jul. 2016.
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- 53 'Professional services of Mr Walter Burley Griffin to design townships of Leeton and Griffith', 3/7/1914 – 24/2/1915: 564 17/486', Murrumbidgee Irrigation Area [M.I.A.] files (Water Resources Commission) (01/01/1911 – 31/12/1986), Series 14511, 14/3312, NSW State Records.
- 54 C Bogue Luffmann, 'Report by the Principal of the School of Horticulture for 31 Dec. 1900', Vic. Department of Agriculture, p. 6. No mention is made of the total numbers of women compared to male students, but Luffmann records that no distinction was made between the sexes. Twelve women and one male passed with distinction and, of 21 students passing first class, 19 were women.
- 55 Mrs Margaret Tuckett, keen gardener and author of *A Year in My Garden* (Melbourne: Melville and Mullen, 1905), which is the story of her garden in Murrumbidgee. It is not known if she was a Burnley student.
- 56 'Women gardeners: Lady Stanley wife of the Governor of Victoria Sir Arthur Stanley', *Weekly Times* (Melbourne), 26 Aug. 1916, p. 10.
- 57 'Horticultural notes', *Leader* (Melbourne), 26 Aug. 1916, p. 12; 'General notes horticultural students', *Weekly Times*, 24 Mar. 1917, p. 10; 'Women's Horticultural Association', *Australasian*, 6 Nov. 1920, p. 10.
- 58 'Women gardeners: Lady Stanley'.
- 59 'Women Horticulturists' Association of Victoria', 1918, *Australasian* (Melbourne), 23 Mar. 1918, p. 8.

- 60 'Victorian Women's Rural Industries', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 Mar. 1915, p. 5.
- 61 A. Heywood, 'Cecilia Annie John, (1877–1955)', *The Australian Women's Register*, Australian Women's Archive Project, www.womenaustralia.info/biogs/AWE0637b.htm
- 62 'A woman's farm', *Preston Leader*, 22 May 1915, p. 6.
- 63 'General items', *Western Mail* (Perth), 26 Mar. 1915, p. 41; 'Victorian Women's Rural Industries'; 'The unemployed, women in rural industries, co-operative project', *Argus*, 17 Mar. 1915, p. 11.
- 64 G Whitehead, Historian, Kingston City Council, to the author, 2015.
- 65 'Women for women flower farm scheme likely to prosper', *Table Talk*, 8 Apr. 1915, p. 34.
- 66 'Victorian Women's Rural Industries'.
- 67 'Women for women flower farm scheme likely to prosper'.
- 68 'Woman's farm', *Broadford Courier and Reedy Creek Times*, 4 Jun. 1915, p. 4.
- 69 Heywood, 'Cecilia Annie John'.
- 70 Leslie Henderson, *The Goldstein Story*, North Melbourne, Vic.: Stockland Press, 1973, p. 95.
- 71 Whitehead, to the author.
- 72 Jordan, 'Women's time', p. 308.
- 73 'Centenary Gift Book a remarkable achievement', *Argus*, 6 Oct. 1934, p. 26.
- 74 Jordan, 'Women's time', p. 305.
- 75 I Higgins, 'Women and horticulture', *Centenary Gift Book*, F Fraser & N Palmer (eds), Melbourne: Robertson and Mullens, p. 134.
- 76 Jordan, 'Women's time', p. 298.
- 4 William Thomas Pyke (1859–1933), eldest son of John and Martha Jane Matterface Pyke, was born at Richmond. At 14 years of age he became Cole's first employee. James George Pyke, sixth and second-youngest brother of WT Pyke, was born at Collingwood in 1875.
- 5 Henry Williams, notebook, p. 11. This notebook, currently on loan to the author, is privately owned.
- 6 McKay considered that the most important books he published were *Inter-Empire Trade* for the 1932 Ottawa Economic Conference and the *National Handbook of Australian Industries* (1934), both of which are cited in his biographical note in *Who's Who* (1935–55).
- 7 Whitcombe & Tombs, in their 1902 Melbourne Articles of Association, record Symons as public officer. In all probability, he was also working with George Robertson and Co at this time where, with his brother James B Symons, he was employed until September 1918.
- 8 The *Sands & McDougall Melbourne Directory* lists T McKay as proprietor of the Le Française Company in 1913 and as the proprietor of The Melbourne Publishing Company in 1914. It is likely that Williams referred to this as evidence of McKay being the proprietor, but which Symons denied.
- 9 Williams's notebook contains an accusatory record of McKay's, Symons' (frequently and inaccurately referred to as Symonds) and WT Pyke's business dealings. By itself, Williams's notebook is insufficient to regard as entirely reliable, however, McKay's personal notebooks confirm many points attested to by Williams and, together, they fill gaps that would otherwise remain a mystery in the absence of the relevant account books (notably Folio 363), which have long since disappeared.

Bryans: Thomas Allan McKay

- 1 Melbourne's artistic and literary community was tightly knit. As HH Champion reported in the *Book Lover* in September 1917, amongst the guests at a dinner in honour of Sydney de Loghe, author of *The Straits Impregnable*, were Edward Dyson, T Allan McKay, PV Morris, Charles Nuttall, WT Pyke, and Frank Tate (vol. 20, no. 221, p. 136).
- 2 The Specialty Press was founded as an offshoot of the Echo Publishing Co when the latter relocated to Warburton to 1906 and was renamed the Signs Publishing Company. Henry William Pallent (ex Echo) and Samuel Towers Linklater, the first owners of the Specialty Press, were replaced in 1907 by Albert Maucun and Charles Russell who continued until 1909 when a new board of directors took over the ailing firm, recapitalised it and registered it as the Specialty Press Pty Ltd.
- 3 McKay's biographical entry in *Who's Who in Australia* (1950), with variations in earlier editions.
- 10 *Adelaide Advertiser*, 12 Dec. 1913; *Brisbane Courier*, 24 Dec. 1913.
- 11 Williams's notebook (p. 14), records Symons as saying 'that he did not see that because Mr. McKay invested in the production to the extent of ¼ that he was not entitled to so act as any ordinary Citizen he had the same interest as Mr. Pyke ¼ ... & Mr. Symons a half ...'.
- 12 References extracted from privately owned notebooks belonging to T Allan McKay.
- 13 McKay called on George Campbell and Thomas and James Symons twice weekly and consulted with the window-dressers at George Robertson and Co. Twice weekly he saw Peter Hockley at Whitcombe & Tombs; WT Pyke and others at Cole's Book Arcade were third on his list. Lothian, Alexander

- McCubbin, Standard Publishing Company and Melville and Mullen were visited weekly and Macmillan's Melbourne office was visited once a month.
- 14 Williams, notebook, 9 Jul. 1917, p. 1.
 - 15 Melbourne Publishing Company, 1919, printed by the Specialty Press.
 - 16 Williams, notebook, pp. 48–58. This entry is a transcription from the minutes of the Specialty Press.
 - 17 Williams, notebook, pp. 48–58. Curiously, in November 1914, FC Schultze was Harry H Davey's company secretary for the monthly *Fruit World of Australasia*, then being printed by the Specialty Press. Why Schultze consented to stand in place of WL Davey at a meeting not in either of the Davey's interests as directors and shareholders of the Specialty Press is puzzling, but the consequences for Schultze were swift. In April 1915, *The Fruit World's* manager, RE Boardman, took over Schultze's position as secretary.
 - 18 McKay recorded the shares in *Love Letters of a Priest* as: Taylor, a half share and Pyke and McKay one quarter each.
 - 19 McKay's records say that *Sands O' the Desert* was three quarters owned by Pyke and McKay with one quarter belonging to Taylor. Gladys Taylor, a prize-winning essayist at university, was the fourth woman to gain a law degree from Melbourne University (1912) and the first to practice law in Victoria. She married fellow student and barrister at law RE Hain. An active supporter of the war, she wrote *The Coo-ee Contingent* (1917) based on the war experiences of her husband (23rd battalion) and his mates. See 'Hain, Gladys Adeline (1887–1962)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hain-gladys-adeline-6520/text11193, published first in hardcopy 1983, accessed online 20 Oct. 2016.
 - 20 McKay's notes itemise linotyping, 65,000 ens charged at 9½d per 1000, cover design four guineas, three colour blocks £5, plus £10 for advertising. The balance was for makeup, three-colour wrapper and frontispiece = £104 16s 1d.
 - 21 Harlingham Quinn [Patricia Stonehouse], *Kathleen Mavoureen: An Australian Tale*, Melbourne: Specialty Press, 1915.
 - 22 The Specialty Press cheque issued to Pyke for £9 10s, recorded by Williams, matches the amount noted by McKay as 'paying Gladys Taylor out'. This may mean that Pyke was being reimbursed for having made the final payment to Taylor.
 - 23 Published by EW Cole, there were 30,000 copies printed in 1915.
 - 24 *Love Letters of a Priest* and *Sands O' the Desert*.
 - 25 *Parnell and Kitty O'Shea*, Melbourne: Specialty Press, 1914. Other postcard quantities printed for EW Cole by the Specialty Press mentioned in Williams' notebook were 20,000 'Hock Der Kaiser' postcards and 10,000 'Entente Cordiale' postcards.
 - 26 The Kookaburra postcards illustrated Melbourne landmarks and each card carried on the back a drawing of a kookaburra with a speech balloon reading 'Life is a camera, look pleasant please' and a homely motto, such as 'The cheerful loser is a winner', 'Life is too short to spend chewing the fat' and 'I am wealthy in my friends'.
 - 27 Williams, notebook, transcription of Cole's letter, p. 109.
 - 28 The Specialty Press printed five of Robert Blatchford's books in 1914. These were *My Life in the Army*, *Cook's War and Germany versus Democracy* (all published by EW Cole); *Germany and England* and *The Prussian Kaiser and His Junker Jehovah: Illustrated with Numerous Cartoons from Foreign Magazines* carry the Specialty Press imprint.
 - 29 It is not clear which of Blatchford's books with Germany in its title Williams was referring to. A curious entry in McKay's notebook refers to 45,000 copies of *Peter Pan* printed for the London-based Educational Supply Association, managed by Charles Von Bibra, at 227 Little Collins St. This may be for printed items other than books. The expense of ordering blocks and paying the artist Percy Leason for illustrating the planned *Alice in Wonderland* totalling £31 8s demonstrates, however, the intention to publish and these plates were later used to print *Cole's Happy Time Picture and Nursery Book No. 2*, written by Lillian Pyke in 1921.
 - 30 Ethel Turner, *Miss Bobbie*, WS [Walter Seed?] (illus.), Lillian Pyke (ed.), schools edn, Melbourne: EW Cole. Lillian Pyke was WT Pyke's sister-in-law, married to Richard D Pyke (*Argus*, 7 Sep. 1927, p. 14). WT Pyke's literary connections abound. Of three sons and one daughter, one son wrote two novels under the non-de-plume Steven Westlaw (*Age*, 13 Jul. 1933, p. 10).
 - 31 For instance, Lothian wrote to the Reverend John Enright in November 1918 saying that he was sorry 'that arrangements for publishing *Let there be Light* cannot be arranged'. Advising that he was 'handing the manuscript over to the Specialty Press ... trust[ing] that ... by some means or other you will see your way clear to get this book published' (Lothian Papers, MS 6026, Box XII, Folder 4 A, State Library of Victoria).
 - 32 Correspondence between Hilda Freeman and Thomas Lothian, 29 Sep. – 11 Oct. 1916,

- Lothian Papers, MS 6026 Box III, folder 11, D. The 167 copies that Miss Freeman claims as unaccounted for is less than the raw figure of 367, which suggests that 200 copies were set aside for review or presentation purposes.
- 33 The US patent for the two-revolution Miehle press was issued on 2 September 1884 and filed on 4 May 1883. In England, the two-revolution Miehle press was manufactured at Broadneath by the Linotype and Machine Company. McKay ordered his press with a 1–6 BHP Edwardian Newton Zone Motor of British manufacture complete with pulley & slides from Sydney Cooke & Co, Melbourne. The press was reliable with a normal running speed of 1200 RPM and was ideal for printing journals and books.
- 34 The address of 189–191 Little Collins St appears on Capel Boake's novel *Painted Clay* (Melbourne: Australian Authors' Agency, 1917) with the colophon stating the book was printed by the Specialty Press Pty Ltd, Printers and bookbinders, Caxton Buildings, 189–191 Little Collins St. The move to 174–176 Little Collins St was reported in the March 1920 issue of *The Book Lover*, and advertised in successive issues. Both addresses appear in books printed in 1919. Kenneth Henderson's *Khaki and Cassock*, printed after May 1919, has the former address, and Jens Lyng's *Our New Possession*, published in December 1919, carries the address of 174 Little Collins St. The new address was lodged with the registrar-general on 8 Dec. 1919.
- 35 Minutes of Melville and Mullen's meetings, Apr. 1916 – Jul. 1919, George Robertson & Co. Melbourne, MSS 3269/80/4, Mitchell Collection, State Library of New South Wales.
- 36 Victorian Railways tenders, *Victoria Gazette*, 12 Mar. 1919, p. 791.
- 37 See Dunn & Co's report stating that they (James Pyke and Gillam) had recently secured 'the contract for carrying on bookstalls for five years at the rate of £5295 per annum', Reports of Business Firms Compiled for TC Lothian by RG Dunn & Co, Lothian Papers Ms 6026, 261/1.
- 38 Reports of Business Firms Compiled for TC Lothian by RG Dunn & Co, Lothian Papers Ms 6026, 261/1, Lothian Papers Ms 6026, 261/1.
- 39 As distinguished from the New South Wales Bookstall Company. See Carol M Mills, *The New South Wales Bookstall Company As a Publisher: With Notes on its Artists and Authors and a Bibliography of its Publications*, Canberra: Mulini Press, (1991).
- 40 *The Woman*, vol. 12, no. 8, 1 Oct. 1919. *The Escapades of Ann* was issued in an edition of 10,000 copies and both *The Governor's Man* and *The Escapades of Ann* were issued in cloth and stiff boards. It is assumed that other titles were also were bound in cloth and paper.
- 41 The Railway Bookstalls, previously controlled by Gordon and Gotch, was managed by McKay with Percival Vincent Morris as the Bookstall Company. Falling out with McKay, Morris moved on to Melville and Mullen (this firm later amalgamated as Robertson and Mullen) and the young Frank Cheshire, who had first worked for James Symons at George Robertson and Co, was Morris' first employee at ML Hutchinsons when McKay took over this established family business.
- 42 The 'Alice' illustrations were paid for by McKay between 1914 and 1918. His notebook entry states that he paid the artist £17 and itemised the cost of the line and tint blocks required as costing £13 18s, the total cost being £31 8s.
- 43 The extent of McKay's interests at this time is exemplified by the issuing of Harold Hansell's *The Everlastin' Ballads: Ballads of Empire* (1920, CJ De Garis, printed by the Specialty Press, distributed by ML Hutchinson Pty Ltd. and sold by the Melbourne Bookstall Co). Also printed by the Specialty Press were Frank Russell's *The Ashes of Achievement* (1920), Ada Holman's *Sport of the Gods* (1921), and Joseph Furphy's (Tom Collins) *Rigby's Romance*. Kate Baker, a staunch supporter of Furphy's work, unsuccessfully submitted *Rigby's Romance* in De Garis's competition. The manuscript was reconstructed by Baker and typed up 'by a girl-typist ... in R.S. Ross's office [at] *The Socialist*' from instalments clipped from the pages of the *Barrier Truth* by Furphy's niece, Amy, and pasted into an exercise book. Baker later recalled that the manuscript was published by De Garis in 1921 and edited by HH Champion and Peter Newmarch, but the abridgement was slow to sell and was remaindered in paper covers. Under the ML Hutchinson imprint, McKay published Linda Burge's *Wild Poppies* (1924) and the Reverend Thomas Ruth's *Progress of Personality after Death* (1919).
- 44 By 1922, British book imports were returning to normal and local editions printed during the war did not sell as freely as before. The bookbinders' strike of 1921 made life difficult for the likes of HH Champion, who was bankrupted when The Specialty Press took action against him to recover money owing on the binding of several books printed in 1920–21. These were: Marjorie Barnard's *The Ivory Gate*, Martin

- Boyd's *Retrospect* and CWL Bryde's *From Chart House to Bark Hut*. Successive failures of publishing houses at the time was well summarised when the Queen City Printers was bankrupted in February 1932 with a debt of more than £14,000. The cause was said to be 'The fact that since 1923 the Publishing Business of the company had proved unprofitable'.
- 45 Art books with coloured plates printed by the Specialty Press include Colin Colahan (ed.), *Max Meldrum, his Art and Views*, Melbourne: Alexander McCubbin, p. 177. This illustrated edition of 150 copies reproduced paintings (including Corot's *The bent tree*) and portraits, nine advertisements (reprints to 1920); *The Life and Art of Walter Withers* (1919); *The Art & Life of George W. Lambert* [1919?]; *The Art & Life of David Davies* [1920]; *Frederick McCubbin: A consideration by Alexander Colquhoun* (before 1920). All printed for Alexander McCubbin (Australian Art Books) Melbourne.
- 46 The size and number of editions published in Melbourne between 1906 and 1923 was greater than that published in the 1930s due to the Depression and during World War II. McKay, in giving evidence on 20 January 1936 before an inquiry into education department textbooks, specifically about a cost charged to Professor GS Browne and Mr AVG James for the publication of their *Modern World Geography* series, and responding to a question about the cost of printing school readers said that 'His ... price for printing editions of 25,000 of each grade would be 7/-, which did not include any payments for royalties or for drawings, but did include the profit he would charge. His price for the set would be 6/9 for editions of 50,000 of each grade'. Elsewhere he is reported as saying he 'had never reached an edition of 50,000 for a text-book. Editions of 10,000 were usual. These might take years to sell' (*Age*, 16 Jan. 1936, p. 10).
- 47 For further reading on the importance of Melbourne as the administrative and financial capital of the newly formed Commonwealth of Australia, see Judith Smart, 'A divided national capital: Melbourne in the Great War', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 96, Sep. 2015, pp. 28–58.
- Wade: The Free Religious Fellowship**
- 1 CR Badger, *The Reverend Charles Strong and the Australian Church*, Melbourne: Abacada Press on behalf of the Charles Strong Memorial Trust, 1971.
- 2 DR Walker, 'Sinclair, Frederick (1881–1954)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sinclair-frederick-8437/text14831, published first in hardcopy 1988, accessed online 7 Nov. 2011.
- 3 Consult the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* for further information about these prominent, early members of the Fellowship at: adb.anu.edu.au
- 4 H Winston Rhodes, *Frederick Sinclair: A Memoir*, University of Canterbury Publications no. 33, Christchurch, 1984, p. 44.
- 5 David Walker, *Dream and Disillusion: A Search for Australian Cultural Identity*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1976, p. 74.
- 6 *Fellowship: Organ of the Melbourne Free Religious Fellowship*, vol. 3, no. 4, Nov. 1916, p. 27.
- 7 Rhodes, *Frederick Sinclair*, p. 52.
- 8 Rhodes, *Frederick Sinclair*, p. 53.
- 9 Rhodes, *Frederick Sinclair*, p. 53.
- 10 *Fellowship*, vol. 1, no. 10, Jun. 1915, p. 2.
- 11 *Fellowship*, vol. 1, no. 4, Feb. 1915, p. 7.
- 12 FB Smith, *The Conscription Plebiscites in Australia, 1916–17*, Melbourne: Victorian Historical Association, 1969, p. 3.
- 13 Michael McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War*, West Melbourne, Vic.: Thomas Nelson, 1980, p. 110.
- 14 Free Religious Fellowship, 'Records and Clippings', MS 11878, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library Victoria.
- 15 *Fellowship*, vol. 3, no. 4, Nov. 1916, pp. 28–29.
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- 17 *Fellowship*, vol. 3, no. 4, Nov 1916, p. 36.
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