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THE 1890s

AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE AND
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EDITED BY
KEN STEWART



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To
Barry Andrews
(1943 - 1987)

as Federation approached.⁹ Stephens observed that religion held less sway over Australia every year; the people were effectively making their own legends, and nostalgia was to have its place in the romance of the nation. The debate helped to define what was worth loving about the nation: nationalism did not bring with it self-knowledge, but the issue of an appropriate style with which to describe the country and its inhabitants facilitated awareness of what was possible within the framework. In this sense, the debate was a model of the flexibility of form — whether a newspaper or the much-maligned ballad itself.

Looking for Mr Backbone: The Politics of Gender in the Work of Henry Lawson

Christopher Lee

In "The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context", Marilyn Lake argues that what historians have labelled the "respectability" reform movements of the end of the last century were in fact "contests between men and women ... for the control of the national culture".¹ She maintains that the use of the concept "respectability" by historians to describe these reform movements has to date served as a blind to the gender-specific nature of this struggle. Instead, Lake identifies the main point of confrontation between these men and women, the masculinist nationalist bohemians and the feminist social reformers, as a debate over different ideologies of man (in a gender-specific sense).

Lake argues that the *Bulletin* was at the forefront of this battle because of its production of a concept of masculinity which identified manhood through the qualities of independence, individualism and freedom associated with a nomadic, vagrant, itinerant lifestyle. These qualities were then deployed through "a distinct set of male cultural practices"² such as drinking, smoking, and gambling, and then identified in the "lone hand" figure of the bushman, which it idealised and then apotheosised as the national identity. This model of man was separatist and misogynist and identified itself in opposition to the ideology of the domestic man which Lake traces back to

the rise of Evangelicalism and the associated cult of domesticity in England.

This debate over different ideologies of man can be explicated of man and woman produced through the pages of the *Dawn* and the *Bulletin*. For in the 1880s and 1890s both the *Bulletin* and the *Dawn* are involved in the production of contradictory representations of man and woman. The *Bulletin*, as both Marilyn Lake and Sylvia Lawson have argued, is involved in the production of a concept of masculinity which takes its form from the independent, itinerant, bachelor bushman ultimately mythologised as the identity of the nation. This is justified by representing woman as either a vain, conniving, sometimes stupid spendthrift, bent on entrapment; or as a "bitter harridan", dedicated to the destruction of those of her husband's pleasures which the magazine associates with his manhood. The *Dawn*, however, is involved in the production of a concept of man which identifies masculinity with the values of home, hearth, wife, and child, values which it intimately associates with moral, mental, and physical hygiene.³

The rival values of man and woman, husband and wife, father and mother, as produced through the pages of the *Dawn* and the *Bulletin*, are values which both magazines connect with discourses on the nation and the national type. In this sense they are issues which are bound up in important ways with the political strategies of nationalist interests of the period, and the subsequent mythologisations of the national identity which characterise this country's cultural history. The question I wish to address then is what happens to our reading of the work of Henry Lawson, a figure who has been central to both nationalist accounts of the period and discussions of the national identity, when we examine it as a textual enactment of the man/woman debate.

Lawson's stories, and in particular those stories which deal with madness, are intimately concerned with the key values of the man/woman debate of the period. The ideology of the family produced through the pages of the *Dawn*, for example, is a major theme in the representation

of Bob Baker's mental and physical degeneration in Lawson's story "Telling Mrs. Baker." Baker is a man's man in the *Bulletin* sense of the term, one whose predilection for alcohol leads to his death "in the horrors". Baker's weakness for drink is represented as a threat not just to his own life, but to those of his wife and children as well. His drinking places him within a male cultural group which is clearly identified with the single man. The family responsibilities of the married man make his participation in this single man's cultural practice a morally reprehensible activity. Baker's drunken behaviour threatens the respectability of his family. When he eventually dies, it is his mates' job not just to protect the name of their friend, but that of his family as well. They do this by rewriting the sordid story of Baker's death as a comforting, respectable tale. The "real" Bob Baker resembles closely that criticised by the *Dawn* and associated with the *Bulletin*, while the "fictitious" Baker resembles the ideal described in the *Dawn*.

The aetiology of Baker's madness is familiar in the work of Lawson. The vicissitudes of the Bush have led to professional failure. This failure has then led to drink, and the drink to madness and death. Baker's madness is clearly associated with sunstroke and alcohol, common causes according to the medical literature:

Perhaps the boss hadn't been quite right in the head before he started drinking: he had acted queer for some time, now we came to think of it; maybe he'd got a touch of sunstroke or got brooding over his trouble anyway he died in the horrors within the week.⁴

The form his madness takes locates the cause within the conflicting values of family debated in the pages of the *Dawn* and the *Bulletin*:

Sometimes, towards the end, he'd be sensible for a few minutes and talk about his "poor wife and children"; and immediately afterwards he'd fall a-cursing me, and Andy, and Ned, and calling us devils. He cursed everything; he cursed his wife and children, and yelled that they were dragging him down to hell. He died raving mad. It was the worst case of death in the horrors of drink that I ever saw or heard of in the Bush.⁵

The blame for Baker's destruction is divided. There is an implication that the Bush is an environment in which a man is unable to guarantee provision for a family. The pressure to do so in the face of misfortune is represented as the cause of personal and mental degeneration. The conclusion, of course, is that the bush is no place for a family, no place for a woman, and therefore, no place for a married man. This makes the bush the domain of the single, independent, nomadic bushman, the male cultural hero which Lake associates with the *Bulletin*.

Lake's association of the *Bulletin* with the eulogisation of this mode of life, in opposition to that of the family man, is interestingly offset by the events of this story. It is, for instance, the bushmen who move to protect the family from the potentially destructive truth. This move comes not just out of loyalty to their mate, but admiration and recognition for his wife and family. In addition, they entrust their secret and the role of protector to Mrs. Baker's sister, "a pretty, bright eyed ... Sydney girl" who "had been educated ... and wrote stories for the Sydney *Bulletin*" (416). In doing so they earn the admiration of this woman, who responds by celebrating them and their type: "You are good men! I like the Bushmen! They are grand men — they are noble!" (420). This generalisation, as Colin Roderick suggests, rings hollow when it is remembered that Bob Baker and the avaricious shanty keeper are also bushmen.⁶ Both points run counter to the value of "man" produced through the *Bulletin*. The suggestion, however, at least in this story, is that the concept of the bushman eulogised in the *Bulletin* is the romanticised construction of educated Sydney sophisticates. This, of course, is precisely the argument put forward by Graeme Davison in "Sydney and the Bush: An Urban Context for the Australian Legend".⁷

The destruction of the bushmen is not merely the result of vicious environmental conditions, however, for the narrative clearly ascribes a measure of responsibility to the individual. The failure of Bob Baker and those of his ilk is as much a failure of moral courage as of environmental determinism:

he'd been a jolly, open-handed, popular man, which means that he'd been a selfish man as far as his wife and children were concerned, for they had to suffer for it in the end. Such generosity is often born of vanity, or moral cowardice, or both mixed. It's very nice to hear the chaps sing "For he's a jolly good fellow", but you've mostly got to pay for it twice — first in company, and afterwards alone. I once heard the chaps singing that I was a jolly good fellow, when I was leaving a place and they were giving me a send-off. It thrilled me, and brought a warm gush to my eyes; but, all the same, I wished I had half the money I'd lent them, and spent on 'em, and I wished I'd used the time I'd wasted to be a jolly good fellow.⁸

The narrator here takes the form of a reflexive bushman, who retells the general experience of his past as an explanation of the present predicament, which is only glimpsed in personal asides such as the one quoted above. This narrator is retrospectively aware of the parallels between Bob Baker's behaviour and fate and his own. This connection implies that the Baker story is representative. What this passage also demonstrates, however, is the identification of personal responsibility in the individual's failure to resist the seduction of the male pub fraternity. In the battle between the rival values of man, the ideology of family and the ideology of the bachelor-bushman, the bushman narrator has clearly lived that of the *Bulletin* (bushman), but he endorses that of the *Dawn* (family).

The representation of madness in Lawson is consistent with the domestic ideas produced through both the *Dawn* and the medical discourses of the period, in that it is frequently connected to the pressures placed upon the family by the inability of the Bush to provide for them. "No Place For a Woman", for example, tells the story of a bushman who goes insane when his wife dies in childbirth because of the isolation of his property. "The Selector's Daughter" tells the story of a mother and daughter who are driven to madness and death by the failure of the men in the family to fulfill the roles required of father, husband, brother, and betrothed. "The Babies in the Bush" describes how Mrs. Head goes mad, and Walter Head becomes an introspective melancholic, after the death of their two young children when lost in the bush. It is Walter

Head's burden of guilt because of his absence "on a howling spree" at the time of the incident which is responsible for his "heavy trouble". In this story it is once again the figure of the independent bushman who helps to protect the woman's fragile peace of mind by confirming a comforting fiction in the place of the revealed truth. The representation of madness as the destruction of the domestic is also the central narrative strategy of "Water Them Geraniums", and I want to pursue the representation of madness, and its connection with the man-woman debate in this story, in some detail.

Madness in "Water Them Geraniums" is represented through the theme of the destruction of the family caused by the poverty and isolation of the Bush. The story tells of the Wilson family's move from Gulgong to a rural selection in the Bush in an effort to circumvent Joe's weakness for alcohol. It is divided into two sections: "A Lonely Track" and "Past Carin". The first section deals with the Wilson's removal to the selection, and indicates the likely repercussions of such a move; while the second explores these repercussions through the figure of Mrs. Spicer. The story of Mrs. Spicer is a study of the effects of life in the Bush on a wife and mother, and prefigures the future destruction of Mary Wilson. It is Joe Wilson's responsibility for this destruction which is the cause for his madness. It is the destructive effects of the Bush which excite Mrs Spicer's malady.

"A Lonely Track" opens with the Wilsons en route to their selection, and moves quickly into a detailed description of their modest but "respectable" material possessions. These possessions operate as the apparatus of the domestic, and as Joe describes the contents of his household he effectively delimits the boundary of a family which can only be defined and located within a space organized as the domestic. The careful, detailed and complete description of the Wilson's simple yet treasured sticks of furniture, perched precariously upon the back of the wagon as it moves into the isolation and monotony of the Bush, effectively signifies the fragility of the domestic within its new environment.

The domestic is set in opposition to the Bush. If the domestic is both structured and signified through the presence of the domestic apparatus within the domestic space, then the Bush is located through the absence of not just the domestic or public, but the possibility of making any of the distinctions which might be associated with civilisation:

It was a dreary, hopeless track. There was *no horizon*, nothing but the rough ashen trunks of the gnarled and stunted trees in for the coarse, brownish tufts *dead grass*, as *bare* as the road...⁹

Concern for the effects of the Bush on the civilised character of the pioneers in the 1880s is demonstrated in "Burying a Woman." (*Bulletin* 17 Sept. 1881). This article reports the burial of a woman with as "little ceremony ... as one would bury a dog!" It claims that such incidents are common in the bush, and that such behaviour is "inseparable from the colonial life of the Australias [sic]. If this be one of the marks of its advance, it is not a promising prospect. We may well doubt the efficacy of our plans for the spread of civilisation through our vast interior, in the hands of pioneers such as these". The Bush is absence, the absence of civilisation, the absence of home, the absence of the personal. The Bush lacks the apparatus to sustain any of the roles provided as normal by the culture producing the selectors. It is therefore no place for the normal. The description of the hut which is to house their possessions and be their home provides a graphic image of the inability of the Bush to sustain the sort of the familial values associated with "civilisation".

The bush hut is a depleted and insufficient domestic environment. It lacks the domestic structures required to locate and reaffirm the subject positions which deploy the body and bodies of the Victorian family. The absence or dilapidation of the domestic apparatus means that Joe and Mary Wilson are not brought together through their deployment as husband and wife within culturally-produced and ideologically-sanctioned patterns of communication and interaction. The Bush hut is clearly a structure which is unable to sustain such a deployment. The inability of the Bush to sustain these cultural structures,

and the values located by them, means that the Bush is constructed as individually and socially destructive. This destruction is then presented in the human dimension as the alienation of husband, wife and family through the replacement of the healthy interpersonal relations of family with the brooding introspection of the hysteric:

As we went along — and the track seemed endless—I got brooding, of course, back into the past. And I feel now, when it's too late, that Mary must have been thinking that way too. I thought of my early boyhood, of the hard life ... all for nothing. The few months at the little bark school, with a teacher who couldn't spell. The cursed ambition or craving that tortured my soul as a boy ... I thought of these old things more than I thought of her (Mary). She had tried to help me to better things. And I tried too — I had the energy of half-a-dozen men when I saw a road clear before me, but shied at the first check. Then I brooded, or dreamed of making a home — that one might call a home — for Mary... And what was Mary thinking about ... of her girlhood. Of her homes — not the huts and camps she lived in with me.¹⁰

This introspection is characteristic of both the reflexive gaze of the narrator in the text, and the onset of hysteria as described in the medical discourses. The personal history supplied by Joe Wilson's reminiscence reproduces the preconditions described in the contemporary medical accounts of hysteria. The itinerant lifestyle, the lack of home, poverty, poor education, and the "disappointment of a purposeless or misdirected life" are characteristic predisposing causes of hysteria.¹¹ These medical discourses not only match Joe's history, they go on to describe his reaction to this history:

There is not only a tedium vitae, but this is intimately mingled with vain regrets, ideas of faults of omission and commission, and these in the face of a declining life and lack of opportunity to make good may take on an exaggerated and pathological aspect.¹²

The patient presents a change of character, or rather mood ... she is no longer able to apply herself to her accustomed avocations; she cannot concentrate her mind; hence she cannot read or sew or attend as usual to household duties. It is observed by others that the patient is abstracted, self-concentrated, depressed or absorbed in reflections. She shuns the society of others, and if approached may be irritable, repellant, and not inclined to make confidences.¹³

The pressure associated with exciting Joe's hysterical disposition clearly stems from the guilt he feels at being the reason for the family's move into the Bush. Joe feels guilty because it is a move which promises to, and eventually does, destroy the character of his wife, Mary. Joe's inability to resist the lure of drink in the city, then, becomes the reason behind the destruction of his wife and family in the Bush. The study of Mrs. Spicer in "Past Carin" prefigures this destruction, and therefore represents the deployment and reinforcement of the pressure associated with Joe's hysteria. Mrs. Spicer's fate is to be Mary's. And the responsibility for it lies with Joe and his inability to "be a man":

I didn't feel like going to the woman's [Mrs Spicer] house that night. I felt — and the thought came like a whip-stroke on my heart — that this was what Mary would come to if I left her here.

I turned and started to walk home, fast. I'd made up my mind. I'd take Mary straight back to Gulgong in the morning ... I'd say, "Look here, *Girlie* (that's what I used to call her), we'll leave this wretched life; we'll leave the bush for ever! We'll go to Sydney, and I'll be *man*! and work my way up." And I'd sell the wagon, horses and all, and go.¹⁴

The location of Joe's madness in his inability to be a "man" demonstrates the importance of the social value associated with this identity in the construction and representation of madness in the 1890s. The argument which ensues between Joe and Mary upon their arrival at the selection clearly demonstrates that the mental struggle within the introspective selector is bound up with the rival concepts of man described above, and the cultural values associated with them.

Joe incites the argument when he discovers Mary crying over the poverty of the selection:

"Now, what is it, Mary?" I asked; "I'm sick of this sort of thing. Haven't you got everything that you wanted? You've had your own way. What's the matter with you now?"

"You know very well, Joe."

"But I *don't* know," I said. I knew too well.

She said nothing.

"Look here, Mary," I said, putting my hand on her shoulder "don't go on like that; tell me what's the matter?"

"It's only this," she said suddenly, "I can't stand this life here; it will kill me!"

I had a pannikin of tea in my hand, and I banged it on the table. "This is more than a *man* can stand!" I shouted [My emphasis]. "You know very well that it was you that dragged me out here. You run me on to this! Why weren't you content to stay in Gulgong?"

"And what sort of a place was Gulgong, Joe?" asked Mary quietly. (I thought even then in a flash what sort of a place Gulgong was. A wretched remnant of a town....

"Well why didn't you come to Sydney, as I wanted you to?" I asked Mary.

"You know very well, Joe," said Mary quietly.

(I knew very well but the knowledge only maddened me ... Mary was afraid of the drink ...

"But Mary," I said, "it would have been different this time. You would have been with me. I can take a glass now or leave it alone."

"As long as you take a glass there is danger," she said.

"Well, what did you want to advise me to come out here for, if you can't stand it? Why didn't you stay where you were?" I asked.

"Well," she said, "Why weren't you more decided?" I'd sat down but I jumped to my feet then. "Good God!" I shouted, "this is more than *any man* can stand [My emphasis]. I'll chuck it all up! I'm damned well sick and tired of the whole thing."¹⁵

The interchange between Mary and Joe is supplemented by the retrospective narrator. Different concepts of man are clearly at issue in the different arguments. Joe's argument is that it was Mary who wished to move to the selection, and that as a man he needs to take control and reassert his male authority. Mary's and the narrator's (reflexive Joe) argument is that the reason for the desperate move to the selection is that Joe was unable to be man enough to resist his weakness for alcohol and to work hard to provide for his wife and family. The poverty of the selection and the fate which awaits Mary, therefore represent an indictment of Joe's manhood. Joe's reaction to this pressure is to take refuge in a more assertive and domineering concept of man; a concept of man which the mature Joe (the narrator) now discounts, and holds responsible for his wife's eventual death and his mental collapse:

If I don't make a stand now," I'd say, "I'll never be master. I gave up the reins when I got married, and I'll have to get them back again."

What women some men are! But the time came, and not many years after, when I stood by the bed where Mary lay, white and

still; and, amongst other things, I kept saying, "I'll give in," and then I'd laugh. They thought that I was raving mad, and took me from the room. But that time was to come.¹⁶

The "masculine" concept of man stands in opposition to the domestic man, and is linked to the dominating, misogynist, individualist value of man produced through the *Bulletin*. By opposite here, I mean the binary relationship which the different concepts have within the semiotics of the *Dawn* and the *Bulletin*. I do not mean to suggest that the domineering, controlling man is incompatible with the man in the home. Patriarchy, of course, describes precisely such a power structure. "Water them Geraniums" therefore becomes a story of Joe's inability to be a father and husband, a provider and protector, that is, a "domestic" man. Compare this, for example, to the ending of "The Drover's Wife", when the woman's son places the blame for the vicissitudes of her life on the absence of her husband and his father: "Mother, I won't never go drovin'; blast me if I do!"¹⁷ It is interesting to note that Joe's alcoholism is associated with the town and the city rather than the Bush. The Wilson family, it appears, has the choice of destruction by alcohol associated with a male pub fraternity, or destruction by the isolation and deprivation of the Bush. The importance of the Bush therefore lies in the specificity of its process of destruction. This specific is domestic. The destructiveness of the Bush is focused firmly on the domestic and its associated values. This includes the value of the domestic man. While the narrator clearly endorses the domestic value of man, the implication remains clear, that the Bush is the place of the single man, the outdoor, the independent, the male. For the family and the domestic The Bush represents a process of gradual mental destruction. This does not mean, however, that the individual male is immune to the destructive effects of the Bush. Mrs. Spicer's tale of the suicide, and the latter in "The Bush Undertaker", are but a few of the many "independent" bushman who succumb to the Bush in the stories of Lawson. This process is fully explored in the study of Mrs Spicer developed in the second section of the

story, "Past Carin". Here, Mrs Spicer's mental destruction is played out through the representation of the increasing dilapidation of her domestic space and its civilised appointments. This in turn deploys the pressure on Joe's sense of guilt for his failure to protect his wife and provide a home for his family — a failure, that is, to be a man. It is a pressure which we now know will ultimately cause his own mental collapse.

The events of many of Lawson's stories of bush madness can thus be seen to tell of the consequences of the pressure placed on men by their insufficiency within the Bush environment. It is an insufficiency to be a "domestic" man, and it leads to the destruction of family, corruption, disgrace, and madness. What emerges from Lawson's stories of madness, then, is the representation of madness as the binary opposite of the domestic. Such a representation is an important feature of the medical texts of the period. In an article entitled "The Causation and Prevention of Insanity" published in 1880, Dr Frederick Norton Manning identified isolation and nostalgia as the leading cause of insanity in the colonies. He wrote:

This isolation, which is something terrible to the new emigrant, and which lasts often for years, is kept up by the disparity of the sexes ... and to some extent prevents marriage; and it is fostered by the peculiar mode of life both of the miner and the bushman, by the shifting from place to place with the seasons in search of work, and by the restlessness which seems an inherent feature of colonial existence at present.¹⁸

For Manning, the key features of the onset of mental collapse are the lack of a wife, a home and a family:

The absence of the near home ties and all active sympathy, together with the constant change of associates, leads on the one hand to a dwarfing of all those better feelings which are fostered and flourish in home life, and on the other to the development of a miserable selfishness, to a suspicion and distrust of ever-changing comrades, and at last to evil habits, to introspection, to hypochondriasis, and to the development of delusions of suspicion and fear, which are prominent symptoms in this class of cases ... A system of family, instead of isolated, emigration, would do much to prevent this cause of insanity.¹⁹

Manning's stress upon the importance of the values of the family as a bulwark for sanity is a common emphasis in

both the medical and social discourses of the period. The enshrinement of this ideology of family within the institution of health ensures its production throughout the colonial society of late nineteenth-century Australia as the normal, the healthy, and the civilised. The *Dawn* operates as a prime example of the dissemination of this domestic or family ideology of mental hygiene for, as I pointed out earlier, health is a characteristic feature of its domestic interest.

The inability of the Bush to sustain family life, then, predisposes bush men and women to mental illness. Because the bush is no place for a woman, it is also no place for a family, no place for the civilised, no place for the healthy, no place for the sane. At least, that is, according to what the *Bulletin* would see as the conservative, colonial, English or imperial logic of domestically-located women. For the *Bulletin*, the Bush is no place for the family man because it is no place for the Englishman. It is instead the domain of the independent bachelor bushman, the domain of the Australian masculine hero, a territory for the emergence of a new national identity.

Precisely because it is no place for the family, The Bush can be seen as offering the emerging nationalist interests of the late nineteenth-century in Australia a place in which it might contest the power of the Imperial culture. By establishing a defensive resistance to the madness, which the imperial identifies with the loneliness of the Bush, the national is able to register an authority which eludes the power of the Imperial. The Bush is a geography beyond the edge of the Imperial. The madness associated with the Bush is the madness which stems from the absence of imperial civilisation and the domestic space within which it is deployed. It is because the Bush represents the limits of this civilisation, and therefore the point beyond which these imperial values cannot progress, that it represents a space for the potential deployment of rival values, the values of the nation. If the national is to do this, however, it must resist the logic of the imperial, it must resist, that is, the madness which comes from living beyond the edge of the civilised. The diagnosis of this madness is the

deployment of an imperial power which dismisses that which exceeds the logic of its own cultural values as the mad. To resist this madness is to resist the Imperial, and to deploy the rival values of nation. To give in to the madness is to become a part of the story of the Empire, to become the object of both the medical and the colonial subject.

My reading of Lawson has left little room for such strategies of national resistance, and appears therefore to run counter to the logic of those accounts of him as the centerpiece of a nationalist tradition organised through the institution of the *Bulletin*. For in the conflict which Marilyn Lake describes between men and women for control of the national culture, Lawson's work endorses the logic of the women, the logic of the *Dawn*, the ideology of the family. Lawson's representations of madness endorse the conservative, English, imperialist, values of the domestic, which the *Bulletin* contests in its production of a masculinist, separatist image of national identity. It is perhaps for this reason then, that A. G. Stephens declares the work of Lawson is often characterised, not by the voice of independent Australian manhood, but by the "womanish wail of someone who needed a sturdy Australian backbone".²⁰

Female and Juvenile Meanings in Late Nineteenth-century Australian Popular Theatre

Veronica Kelly

As far as the current narrative of theatrical history goes, the 1890s are significant mainly for the effect of the Depression on entrepreneurial practice: by putting an end to most of the local stock companies and enabling the capitalist reorganisation which gave the J. C. Williamson touring chain an almost unchallenged Australasian monopoly. Yet, at the same time as this internal and international imperialism was forming in mainstream professional theatre, with "original" London or American shows touring Australasia and ousting local professional input, local production continued to flourish. From around the mid-80s such actor-managers as Bland Holt, Alfred Dampier, William Anderson, Dan Barry, E. I. Cole, Kate Howarde, George Darrell and Bert Bailey toured their popular repertoires, much of it locally-written and on Australian subjects. Theatre in this period still serviced the working-class audience, both urban and rural, who were enthusiastic patrons of Australian-interest drama. But by the mid-1920s the talkies, a new Depression, and the "commercial Empire-minded middle-class theatre", by cultural self-definition British or American-oriented,¹ had completed that gentrification of live theatre which since around the 1860s had slowly encroached upon Western societies' first and last mass popular live performance art.

47. "The Colonial Literati in Sydney and Melbourne", *Nellie Melba, Ginger Meggs and Friends*, ed. S. Darmody et al (Maldenbury: Kibble Books, 1982), pp.183, 188-9.
48. J. A. La Nauze and E. Nurser, eds., *Walter Murdoch and Alfred Deakin on Books and Men* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1974), pp.93-4.
49. All this correspondence is in the Deakin Papers, National Library of Australia.
50. "Alfred Deakin on Australian Literature", *Meanjin* 16 (Summer 1957): 428.
51. "Reflections after a Wandering Life in Australasia", *Atlantic Monthly* 63 (1889): 681
52. *Thirty Years*, p.303.
53. *Table Talk*, 5 June 1891; N. Palmer, ed., *Memoirs of Alice Henry* (Melbourne: 1944), pp.13-14; Knowles, "Some Causes of Discouragement to Aspiring Australian Writers", La Trobe Library MS 5668; Gaunt to W. P. Hurst, 24 July 1932, Hurst Papers, La Trobe Library MS 6107.
54. H. M. Green, *A History of Australian Literature* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1961), I, pp.288-9; D. J. Mulvaney and J. H. Calaby, "So Much that is New". *Baldwin Spencer, 1860-1929* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1985), p.114. Here and in the following pages I am much indebted to Lurline Stuart, *Nineteenth Century Australian Periodicals. An Annotated Bibliography* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1979).
55. "The Characteristics of Australian Literature" in the November 1890 issue was probably by Morris. Academically authoritative though it seems, it illustrates his limitations. Morris's greatest contribution was to be his *Austral English* (1898).
56. R. G. Campbell, *The First Ninety Years* (Melbourne: Massina, 1949), especially p.134.
57. *History of Australian Literature*, I, p.735.
58. V. Lindesay, *The Way We Were. Australian Popular Magazines 1856-1969* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp.51-7.
59. L. M. Henderson, *The Goldstein Story* (Melbourne: 1973), chs. 10, 12.
60. *Bulletin*, 23 July 1892.
61. *Ibid.* 7 October 1892; cf. H. H. Campion, *Book Lover*, 1899, p.62.
62. *Table Talk*, 28 June 1889, 29 January 1892.
63. K. Stewart, "The Support of Literature in Colonial Australia", p.485
64. Holroyd, *George Robertson of Melbourne*.
65. *Bohemia*, 21 May 1891.
66. G. B. Barton of Sydney (*Centennial Magazine*, 1889-90, pp.89-92) indignantly and emotionally complained about the state of colonial publishing and called for a Society of Authors. Cf. K. Stewart, *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia*, L. Hergenhahn ed., (Ringwood: Penguin Books, 1988), pp.181-3.
67. Stewart, *ibid.*, p.180.
68. Davison, "Sydney and the Bush", p.193.
69. A. W. Barker, ed., *Dear Robertson* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1982), p.134.

70. *The Romantic Nineties* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1933), pp.40-44.
71. L. Cantrell, ed., *The 1890s. Stories, Verse, and Essays* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1977).

Vision Splendid or Sandy Blight? The Paterson-Lawson Debate

1. A. B. Paterson, "'Banjo' Paterson Tells His Own Story", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 February 1939, p.21.
2. Sylvia Lawson, *The Archibald Paradox*, Allen Lane & Penguin, Ringwood, 1983, p.125.
3. Paterson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
4. A. B. Paterson, 'Australia for the Australians' (Sydney: Gordon & Gotch, 1889), in R. Campbell & P. Harvie, eds, A. B. 'Banjo' Paterson, *Complete Works Vol. 1, 1885-1900, Singer of the Bush*, (Sydney: Lansdowne, 1983), p.80.
5. Henry Lawson, 'The Mistakes of Other Colonies' (from the *Albany Observer*, n.d.), in Leonard Cronin, ed., Henry Lawson, *Complete Works, Vol. 1, 1885-1900, A Camp-fire Yarn*, (Sydney: Lansdowne, 1984), p.105.
6. Henry Lawson, 'The City and the Bush' (from *The Worker*, n.d.), in Cronin, p.402.
7. Henry Lawson, 'Letter to Aunt Emma', in Brian Kiernan, ed., *Henry Lawson* (St Lucia: U.Q.P., 1976), p.119.
8. Colin Roderick, ed., *Henry Lawson: Letters 1890-1922*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1970), p.49.
9. A. G. Stephens, *The Bulletin* 9 December 1899, Red Page.

Looking for Mr Backbone: The Politics of Gender in the Work of Henry Lawson

1. Marilyn Lake, "The Politics of Respectability: Identifying the Masculinist Context", *Historical Studies* 22 (1986), p.116.
2. Lake, 117.
3. For a discussion of the representation of woman in the *Dawn* see Susan Sheridan. *Along the Faultlines: Sex, Race and Nation in Australian Women's writing 1880s-1930*. St. Leonardo: Allen & Unwin, 1995. 71-80; Brian Matthews. *LOUISA. Ringwood: Penguin, 1987. 167-85; and Chris Lee. 'Louisa Lawson: Feminism, Nationalism and the Dawn'. LOUISA LAWSON: Poems with Selected Critical Commentaries. L. Rutherford and M. Roughley, eds. Armidale: CALLS, 1996.*
4. Henry Lawson, *Henry Lawson: Prose Writings. Vol.1 Collected Prose*. Ed. Colin Roderick. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1984, p.413.
5. Henry Lawson, p.413.
6. Colin Roderick. *Henry Lawson: The Master Story-Teller: Commentaries on his Prose Writing*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1985, p.215.

7. Carroll, John (ed.), *Intruders in the Bush*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982, p.109.
8. Henry Lawson, pp.411-12.
9. Henry Lawson, p.569. My emphasis.
10. Henry Lawson, p.569.
11. See Frederick Carpenter Shey, *Hysteria: Remote Causes of Diseases in General Treatment by Toxic Agency*. 2nd ed. London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1867, pp.54-55; James Hendrie Lloyd, "Hysteria" in Franco Xavier Denum (ed.), *Textbook on Nervous Diseases by American Authors*, Edinburgh: Pentland, 1895, p.93; J. G. Porter Phillips, "Involutional Conditions", in Frederick W. Mott (ed.) *Early Mental Disease*, London: Wakeley, 1912, p.90; Joseph Arderne Ormrod, "Hysteria", *System of Medicine* 9 (1898), p.690.
12. Porter Phillips, p.90.
13. Lloyd, pp.98-99.
14. Henry Lawson, p.373. My emphasis.
15. Henry Lawson, pp.571-572.
16. Henry Lawson, p.572.
17. Henry Lawson, p.52.
18. Frederick Norton Manning, "The Causation and Prevention of Insanity" *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 14 (1880), p.342.
19. Manning, p.342.
20. Stephens, A. G. "Henry Lawson", *Art in Australia*, November 1922; in John Barnes (ed.), *The Writer in Australia*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1969, p.99.

Female and Juvenile Meanings in Late Nineteenth-century Australian Popular Theatre

1. Pamela Heckenberg and Philip Parsons, "The Struggle for an Australian Theatre (1910-1950) and the Decline of the Chains", in Harold Love, ed., *The Australian Stage: A Documentary History*. (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1984), p.125.
2. Harold Love, "Stock Companies, Travelling Stars and the Birth of 'The Firm' (1854-1900)", in Love, ed., *The Australian Stage*, p.57.
3. Love, ed., p.105. It seems odd that Boucicault should object to the popularity of his own Irish drama *The Shaughraun*.
4. Even such works as Richard White's *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1688-1980* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1981), and Graeme Turner's *National Fictions: Literature, Film and the Construction of Australian Narrative* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1986) mention theatre only fleetingly. Sylvia Lawson's *The Archibald Paradox: A Strange Case of Authorship* (Ringwood: Allen Lane, 1983) does not include the *Bulletin's* usually flippant construction of live theatre in her study of its discourses; a large field which requires examination. An exception is John Docker, who in his *In a Critical Condition: Reading Australian Literature* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1984) incorporates theatre, both art and popular, in his analyses of

the formation of critical canons, and has examined the continuity between the colonial stage and contemporary electronic media in his articles "Antipodean Literature: A World Upside Down?" in *Overland* 103 (July 1986), 48-56, and "In Defence of Melodrama: Towards a Libertarian Aesthetic" in *Australasian Drama Studies* 9 (October 1986), 63-81. In the field of theatre history, Margaret Williams in her *Australia on the Popular Stage 1829-1929: An Entertainment in Six Acts* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1983) traces the bush nationalist impulse in local writing. Katherine Brisbane, ed., *Entertaining Australia: An Illustrated History* (Sydney: Currency, 1991) is a digest of more detailed information contained in the various forthcoming Currency Companions to theatre, music, film, television and radio, and is the most comprehensive overview to date of the range of the performing arts in Australia 1788 to present. Among literary histories, Terry Sturm's chapter on "Drama" in Leonie Kramer, ed., *The Oxford History of Australian Literature* (Melbourne: Oxford Press, 1981) remains the best overview of the colonial and modern periods. The role of colonial theatre's generic and industrial connections with its contemporary culture receives some welcome attention in essays by Ken Stewart, ("Journalism and the World of the Writer: The Production of Australian Literature (1855-1915)", and Elizabeth Webby "Melodrama and the Melodramatic Imagination" in Laurie Hergenhan, ed., *The Penguin New Literary History of Australia* (Ringwood: Penguin, 1988), 174-193; 210-222. The research of Eric Irvin, particularly his *Australian Melodrama: Eighty Years of Popular Theatre* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1981) and *Dictionary of the Australian Theatre 1788-1914* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1984) provide accessible data to the non-specialist, as do the essays and documents in Love, ed., *The Australian Stage*. Love's *The Golden Age of Australian Opera: W. S. Lyster and his Opera Companies 1861-1880* (Sydney: Currency, 1981) has had some dissemination beyond the theatre-history community. After the theatre-historical output of the 1980s, there is no reason to believe that basic information is unavailable, but it is only slowly finding its way into generalist cultural studies. Richard Waterhouse's *From Minstrel Show to Vaudeville: The Australian Popular Stage 1788-1914* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1990) traces the international influences on Australian popular and elitist performance culture. An important interdisciplinary study of the discursive and industrial connections between the sporting and theatrical industries, adducing original material on the construction of the dichotomies masculine/feminine, elitist/popular and English/Australian, is Richard Fotheringham, *Sport in Australian Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

5. Kay Schaffer, *Women and the Bush: Forces of Desire in the Australian Cultural Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.21.