

NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERARY PERIODICALS AND THEIR AUSTRALIAN COUNTERPARTS

THE USE OF THE PERIODICAL as a vehicle for literary contributions in the form of fiction and verse was a major feature of nineteenth-century serial publication. Earlier journals such as the *Tatler* (1709–11) and the *Spectator* (1711–12) consisted largely of essays on a variety of subjects, illustrated with episodes or short stories. A piece of poetry was an occasional addition. The later magazines included longer sketches and stories and, ultimately, the serial story, which provided the means of continuity of interest and increasing sales. As the literary periodical developed in England and America, so it was in Australia, where colonial editors and proprietors based their publications on the overseas models that, because of the different circumstances of production and distribution, remained their competitors.

English periodicals were immensely popular in the Australian colonies, where the bulk of the colonists were British immigrants. Familiarity and nostalgia combined to influence the demand for regular imports of the best-known productions, which found a ready sale in the bookshops. American periodicals were also freely available, though imported in smaller quantities. G.B. Barton accurately describes the popularity of English periodicals in his assessment of booksellers' sales in Sydney in the 1860s:

The demand for English periodicals is very great. The number imported every month is far larger than would be readily supposed. The *Cornhill* alone, for instance, has several hundred subscribers. *All the Year Round* and *Once a Week* are extremely popular. One bookseller sells a thousand volumes of *Good Words* every year. Another sells five hundred. *Punch* and the *Illustrated London News* are read by every one. The *London Journal*, the *Family Herald*, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, and similar periodicals, may be said to circulate by cart-loads.¹

The position was the same in other colonial centres, where booksellers consistently advertised new shipments of English and American periodicals, obtainable singly or by subscription. By the end of the century, the importation of overseas periodicals formed a large and profitable part of a bookseller's business. Gordon and Gotch were agents for most of the later imports: the list in their 1892 directory includes *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Cornhill Magazine*, the *Athenaeum*, the *Saturday Review*, *Chambers' Journal*, the *Argosy*, *All the Year Round*, *Cassell's Family Magazine* and *Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday*. Among the American periodicals listed are the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *North American Review*, *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, *Harper's Weekly* and the *Ladies' Home Journal*.²

Some booksellers established circulating libraries where the latest books and periodicals were available to subscribers. An 1859 advertisement for Mullen's Select Library includes the *Quarterly Review*, *Bentley's Miscellany*, the *Edinburgh Review*, *Frazer's Magazine*, the *Dublin University Magazine*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, the *Saturday Review* and the *Athenaeum*.³ Public and other official libraries also built up large stocks of the more substantial periodicals. In the years between 1886 and 1898 alone, the Victorian Parliamentary Librarian acquired many additional volumes, including twenty-six each of the *Athenaeum*, the *Edinburgh Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, nineteen of *All the Year Round* and thirteen of *Chambers' Journal*. American periodicals purchased during the same period included the *North American Review*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's Monthly Magazine* and *Scribner's Magazine*.⁴

An English gentleman at home or abroad could favour either of the established quarterly reviews. To some extent the choice would be affected by his political inclination. The *Edinburgh Review* (1802–1929), founded by Francis Jeffery, Francis Horner and Sydney Smith, was a platform for Whig policies, while the *Quarterly Review* (1809 +), founded by John Murray and edited by William Gifford, was published in support of the Tories. These reviews consisted largely of political commentary and literary criticism. Fiction was seldom included, although space might be found for a poem. A high standard was expected of contributors; the *Edinburgh Review* attracted writers of the calibre of T.B. Macaulay, Thomas Carlyle, William Hazlitt and Sir Walter Scott. Scott also contributed to the *Quarterly Review*, in company with Robert Southey, George Canning, John Wilson Croker and other distinguished essayists.

The *Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* (1817 +)⁵ was produced by the publisher William Blackwood as a rival to the *Edinburgh Review*. Blackwood was supported by John Wilson ('Christopher North') and J.G. Lockhart. Wilson contributed essays and reviews over a long period. Other contributors included Thomas de Quincy, S.T. Coleridge and George Eliot. *Blackwood's* was not as circumscribed in content as the quarterly reviews, publishing humorous tales, stories and sketches, as well as political papers and literary reviews, comprising a variety of features that broadened the appeal of the magazine.

Chambers' Edinburgh Journal (1832–1956)⁶, founded and conducted by the publishers William and Robert Chambers, was the first of the long-running weekly family journals. It consisted of stories, sketches, essays, poetry, articles on popular science, notices of books and miscellaneous articles of instruction and entertainment. The use of a serial story as the main feature began with *Bentley's Miscellany* (1837–68), founded as a monthly magazine by the publisher Richard Bentley. Bentley, who had Charles Dickens as editor and George Cruikshank as illustrator, published a number of novels in instalments in the *Miscellany*, the

most notable of which was *Oliver Twist*. Poems by the American Henry Wadsworth Longfellow were a popular feature amongst literary articles, dramatic sketches, short stories and reminiscences of travel.

Dickens founded his own magazine in 1850. This was *Household Words*,⁷ a popular weekly journal in which the editor combined articles of social comment, essays on general topics, serial stories and poetry. *David Copperfield* and *Bleak House* were the first of the Dickens novels to appear in the magazine. Other writers who contributed included R.H. Horne, G.A. Sala and George Meredith. William Makepeace Thackeray was another author who realized the potential of the literary periodical, founding the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1860. Novels by Thackeray, Anthony Trollope and Thomas Hardy were among those serialized, while poems and articles on literary, artistic and general topics were contributed by writers such as Emily Bronte, Thomas Hood, John Ruskin and Matthew Arnold.

The *Athenaeum* (1828–1921) and the *Saturday Review* (1856–1938) were weeklies following to some extent the review tradition. The *Athenaeum* was founded by James Silk Buckingham as a journal of literature, science and fine arts, with Charles Wentworth Dilke as editor. It consisted of literary and dramatic reviews, essays, articles on scientific and musical topics, poetry and news of recent fine arts publications. The *Saturday Review* was a Liberal weekly, founded by the Member of Parliament J. Beresford Hope. Under the editorship of James Douglas Cook and, later, of Philip Harwood, the *Review* published political articles as well as those on literary, scientific and artistic topics. Contributors included Thomas Hardy, George Bernard Shaw and Max Beerbohm.

Punch, or the London Charivari was the first and the greatest of the humorous and satirical weeklies. It was begun in 1841 under the joint editorship of Mark Lemon, Henry Mayhew and Stirling Coyne, and included political and social commentaries illustrated with cartoons and interspersed with humorous sketches, jokes and verse. The *Illustrated London News*, founded by Herbert Ingram in 1842, was another innovator in the sphere of weekly papers. Illustrations were of major importance, with the accompanying text providing a commentary on the pictures. Serial stories were also a feature, written by authors such as Rider Haggard and Wilkie Collins.

The *Family Herald* (1852–1940), edited by Mark Lemon, was the first of the penny family papers. The *Herald* was designed for the attention of the whole family, in accordance with its motto, 'Interesting to all, offensive to none.' It included articles on general topics, poetry and items of domestic and household interest. A complete novel was published as a monthly supplement from 1877. The *Home Companion* (1852–56) was a similar production, as was *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* (1853–67), but with the inclusion of a larger proportion of fiction.

Of the popular American periodicals imported into the Australian colonies, the *North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal* (1815–1939) was most like its English contemporaries. A quarterly literary, critical and historical review,⁸ it was edited initially by William Tudor and later, among others, by Edward Everett, James Russell Lowell and Henry Cabot Lodge. Contributors included Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Samuel Clemens ('Mark Twain') and Henry James.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine was founded as a literary periodical in 1850, with Henry J. Raymond as the first editor. It consisted of articles on literary and historical topics, serial and short stories, a monthly record of current events, obituary notices and extracts from other journals. *Harper's Weekly* (1857–1916) was an illustrated political and literary journal, containing articles on general and political topics, stories, poetry and literary and dramatic reviews. The English authors Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins and Mrs Gaskell were included among the contributors.

The *Atlantic Monthly* began in 1857, edited by James Russell Lowell and devoted to literature, science, art and politics. Early contributors included Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John Greenleaf Whittier and Harriet Beecher Stowe. *Scribner's Monthly* (1870–81), founded by Charles Scribner with J.G. Holland as editor, published essays, poetry, and serial and short stories by such writers as Bret Harte and Edward Everett Hale. The *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (1881–1930) was a continuation of *Scribner's Monthly*. *Scribner's Magazine* (1887–1939) was a separate publication, begun by Scribner's son Charles. Included among its noted contributors were Henry James, Bret Harte, Edith Wharton, Robert Louis Stevenson, Rudyard Kipling and A. Conan Doyle.

The costs of importation into the colonies were not high. Labour and machinery were cheaper in England and America and overseas books and periodicals were landed free of tariff. Booksellers could take advantage of discounted rates for bulk purchases, allowing resale at a price comparable to that charged in the home countries. In consequence, the cheaper periodicals flooded the market. The proprietors of the *Review of Reviews*, *Tit-Bits*, the *Illustrated London News*, the *Family Herald*, *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* and the American *Scribner's Magazine* capitalized further on the profitability of colonial sales by publishing Australian editions, identical with the originals, apart from the addition of local features supplied by colonial publishers. Postage rates for single copies were far from prohibitive. Although it was a simple matter to arrange a regular subscription with a local bookseller, when a reader preferred to order his favourite periodical direct, it could be sent from England to Australia at the cost of one penny.

Australian proprietors were faced with problems caused by local conditions. Some of the early magazines came to a sudden halt because of shortages of suitable paper and efficient printing-presses, while others suffered from the unavailability of skilled labour. Physical problems such as these were overcome in time; mechanical difficulties were resolved with technological developments that resulted in faster transport and improved methods of production, and labour became more plentiful as the population of the colonies increased. However, costs remained high. Overseas machinery was superior and much of the necessary equipment had to be imported. In Victoria, where most of the later nineteenth-century periodicals were published, protection for native industry hindered rather than assisted the printing trade. Apart from the competition from books and periodicals freely admitted because of the reluctance of successive governments to place a tax on literature,⁹ printers had to pay duty on some of their essential machinery. Printing machines and presses were exempt, but cutting, ruling and perforating machines were not.

Anomalies in postal rates added to local costs. In New South Wales, newspapers were carried free for a good part of the century but, in Victoria, postage was charged at either ½d or 1d, depending on weight. Weekly papers such as the *Australasian* or the *Leader* were in a better position than the magazines because, if marked as newspapers, they could be carried anywhere for 1d, though often overweight. Magazines were charged for at 2d for four ounces, with increasing charges for added weight. The fee was tripled for intercolonial delivery. It was therefore in the interest of a magazine proprietor to register his product as a newspaper if at all possible. Many did so and one Victorian magazine, the *Centennial* (1888–90), moved its operation to New South Wales in order to benefit from the prospect of free carriage.¹⁰

It is doubtful that colonial periodicals would have been able to compete successfully with the overseas models for any length of time, even if the market had been favourable and postal charges reduced. There was another factor that placed the local product at a disadvantage. The population was very small compared with that of England and America and, while overseas editors could call on the services of established authors, writers of desirable ability were scarce in the colonies, especially in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. The number of people who might be expected to subscribe to a new periodical was proportionally small and, quite often, those who organized one venture were the same as those called upon to support another. In consequence, one of the two would cease publication; there were never, at any time, enough readers with sufficient interest to support more than one or two periodicals of a similar kind.

The lack of original material inhibited for many years the development of a distinctly Australian production. Early periodicals included varying amounts of material extracted from overseas journals, depending on what the editor could

obtain locally. The proportion of imported material was often high, forcing the magazine or weekly paper to belie its colonial nature. Payment of contributors was infrequent because of the lack of financial return resulting from limited circulation. Willing friends and supporters might contribute for a while, but there were occasions when an editor found himself in the position of having to write most of the content himself if his journal was to appear at all. The popular weekly papers drew equally freely on overseas material and some of them continued to do so even when the level of population increased to the extent that there were more colonial writers available. The reason for this was the haste with which the weekly papers were so often put together, necessitating the combination of diverse material from various sources into what was sometimes an inharmonious whole.

Despite the difficulties encountered in the production of Australian periodicals, attempt after attempt was made to found the one that its hopeful promoter believed might be successful. From the time of the appearance of the first *Australian Magazine* in 1821, hundreds of periodicals were published in the Australian colonies.¹¹ Most of them originated in Sydney and Melbourne as the larger and more progressive cities; Adelaide and Hobart were well represented in the earlier part of the century and Brisbane and Perth, to a lesser extent, in the later part. Many of these periodicals contained good material, but the quality of the content was often uneven and financial support wanting. Of each new production, one out of two might expect to survive its first year, while others lasted for a few months, always providing they were able to continue past their first issue. It was rare for a colonial periodical to achieve a long run.

From the beginning, the more serious of the Australian periodicals were modelled on the monthly magazines and miscellanies published overseas rather than on the literary reviews. There were attempts to found reviews, notably the *Melbourne Review* (1876–85) and the *Victorian Review* (1879–86), which were more successful than most, but the smallness of the population prohibited the luxury of producing a specialized periodical that would appeal to a limited readership. Proprietors in England and America could better afford to maintain this sort of production because of the wider potential of a larger reading audience. As sometimes happened overseas, a publication with limited circulation could be kept alive with financial support gained from the success of a popular periodical owned by the same proprietor. Colonial productions, both newspapers and periodicals, had to include a variety of features and perform a diversity of functions if they were to have any chance of continuing publication.

Early periodicals such as the *Australian Magazine* (1821–22) and, a later product of the same name, also published in Sydney (1838), the *New South Wales Magazine* (1833–34 and 1843), the *Hobart Town Magazine* (1833–34), the *Van Diemen's Land Monthly Magazine* (1835), the *South Australian Magazine*

(1841–43), the *Adelaide Magazine* (1845) and the *Port Phillip Magazine* (1843), consisted of a similar mixture of ingredients, comprising original and selected articles on general and literary topics, original and selected serial and short stories, original and selected poetry, literary reviews, selected prose extracts and local news items. The fictional content, at first the smaller part, increased both in line with the demand for popular reading matter and the relative availability of suitable original articles and essays. The *Illustrated Journal of Australasia* (1856–58), published in Victoria, filled about one-third of its pages with fiction. Later magazines, realizing the importance of a good serial story as a selling point, serialized English and American novels while looking out for Australian stories to take their place. The first requirement of the *Colonial Monthly* (1867–70), formerly the *Australian Monthly Magazine* (1865–67), was a novel by a colonial writer. Its editor Marcus Clarke wrote *Long Odds* expressly for the magazine.

By the time of the appearance of the *Centennial Magazine* (1888–90), published initially in Melbourne and later in Sydney, there was a larger pool of talented writers on which to call for contributions. The *Centennial* consisted of original articles on general and literary topics, original serial and short stories and original poetry, with about one-quarter of the content being devoted to fiction. The magazine was edited by Ernest Blackwell for part of its existence and had for its contributors writers such as Francis Adams, 'Rolf Boldrewood' [Thomas Browne], Louisa Meredith, George Gordon McCrae, James Smith and Catherine Helen Spence, and the artists Julian Ashton, Charles Conder, Frederick McCubbin, W.C. Piguet, Tom Roberts and Arthur Streeton. The *Cosmos Magazine* (1894–99), published in Sydney, was the last of the monthly magazines of this type. It also contained about one-quarter of fiction in proportion to other features, including original articles on general, literary and psychic topics, original serial and short stories, original sketches, original poetry, literary reviews, biographical sketches, literary and domestic notes and short items of social and general comment. Annie Bright was founding editor, assisted, among others, by the contributors G.B. Barton, Edward Dyson, Ernest Favenc, Charles Bright, Louise Mack and 'Price Warung' [William Astley].

While the increase in the number of writers who were prepared to contribute general articles was one factor in the decline of fictional content in the more serious monthly magazines in the later nineteenth century, another was the rapid overseas development of the popular family magazines and weekly papers in which fiction was the all-important ingredient. The proprietors of the *Australian Journal* (1865–1962), the Melbourne publishing firm of Clarson, Massina & Company (afterwards A.H. Massina & Company), modelled their journal on the English *Family Herald*. The desire for a wide reading audience is clearly expressed in the introduction:

We do not appeal to a sect, a clique, or a class; for we design to interest, to amuse, and, if possible, to instruct everybody who

will read us . . . In a word, we seek to please everybody . . .¹²

The *Journal*, published weekly for four years before becoming a monthly, contained serial and short stories by English and Australian writers, original and selected poetry, short miscellaneous pieces, printed music and facetiae. George Arthur Walstab was the first editor, with Marcus Clarke and R.P. Whitworth among those who followed at a later stage. Clarke's novel *His Natural Life* was commissioned by the proprietors and, including the original serialization, printed in the *Journal* four times. Other notable Australian contributors were 'Rolf Boldrewood', Ada Cambridge and Charles Harpur.

There was more than one colonial imitator of the *Family Herald*. The *Australian Family Journal* was published in Sydney in 1855, the *Australian Family Journal* (formerly the *Penny Melbourne Journal*) in Melbourne in 1864, and the *Australian Family Herald* in Adelaide by George E. Loyau in 1877. These magazines were unable to continue for more than a few issues, while the *Australian Journal* was one of the most successful publications in colonial periodical production. It had the right ingredients for success, including experienced publishers with other printing commitments; its active encouragement of Australian writers provided it with the services of much of the available colonial talent and its editors and proprietors were able to adapt to changing tastes for almost one hundred years. The *Journal* ceased publication in 1962.

Although the demand for fiction could not be ignored in the production of a potentially successful periodical, the founders of the *Melbourne Review* decided to publish a quarterly review that was independent of popular support. Henry Gyles Turner, A. Patchett Martin and Alexander Sutherland were prominent among the group of 'literary gentlemen' who launched the *Review* in 1876, 'not as a financial speculation, but purely in the interest of literary development . . .'.¹³ The editors were assisted by writers such as David Blair, James Smith, Marcus Clarke, George Gordon McCrae, Catherine Helen Spence and Julian Tenison Woods, contributing articles on general and literary topics and original poetry. The *Review* continued until 1885 when a dwindling circulation and the withdrawal of financial support by its publisher George Robertson led to closure. Its demise was hastened by competition from the monthly *Victorian Review*, founded in 1879 by H. Mortimer Franklyn and edited, in large part, by James Smith. A novel by R.E. Francillon was serialized in early issues, after which the contents were restricted to original articles on general and literary topics, selected prose extracts, original poetry, literary papers and reviews. Contributors included David Blair, Marcus Clarke, E.E. Morris and Catherine Helen Spence. The *Victorian Review* had the advantage of additional capital made available through undisclosed mercantile support, allowing for the payment of contributors and the production of a monthly journal, always more popular in the colonies than a quarterly. If it had not been forced to close because of the unwise financial

speculations of its proprietor and nominal editor, it might have continued for some time after the closing date of 1886.

The tone and style of the political comment in the English quarterly reviews was not lost to the colonies. Here, however, it was incorporated into general weekly papers such as the *Atlas*, founded in Sydney in 1844, with Robert Lowe (later Lord Sherbrooke) as editor in all but name. The *Atlas* consisted of original and selected articles on general, political and literary topics, literary reviews and original and selected poetry. Much of the content was written by Lowe, with the assistance of such contributors as William Forster, James Martin, Charles Harpur and Henry Halloran. Other papers of a similar style include the *Colonist*, founded by the Rev. Dr John Dunmore Lang in 1835 and the *Weekly Register*, published and edited by William Duncan from 1843 to 1845. Not infrequently, acrimonious political quarrels were conducted through the columns of rival weekly papers rushed into print by supporters of opposing political views. Later political weeklies include the various labour papers such as the *Boomerang*, founded and edited in Brisbane by William Lane, Alfred Walker and J.G. Drake from 1887 to 1892, the *Australian Workman*, a Sydney publication that appeared from 1890 to 1899, the *Australian Worker* (originally titled *Hummer*), another Sydney publication that has continued in circulation since the first issue in 1891, and *Tocsin*, later the *Labor Call*, published in Melbourne from 1897 to 1961. Although politically oriented, these papers included literary features in varying quantities, depending on space and availability.

The Sydney *Bulletin* (1880 +), which inspired many imitations, is probably the best-known of the general and political weeklies. Originally containing social and political commentaries, satirical and humorous pieces, original and selected poetry, theatrical and musical reviews and brief news items, it developed into a strongly nationalistic paper with a definite policy of republicanism, anti-imperialism and White-Australianism. The encouragement of Australian writing as part of the nationalist approach extended the literary section of the paper and provided a regular outlet for the work of colonial writers. A.J. Stephens was the literary editor for many years and the list of contributors includes such well-known names as Henry Lawson, Ernest Favenc, A.B. Paterson, Ethel Turner and 'Price Warung'. Phil May, David Low and Norman Lindsay were notable *Bulletin* artists.

The *Bulletin* was extremely popular in country areas, being known colloquially as the 'The Bushman's Bible'. It rivaled, without displacing, the country weeklies produced by the major newspapers, which were sustained through the more profitable operation of the daily press. Newspapers were readily saleable because of their main function as the providers of daily news and, unlike the magazines whose uncertainty of existence discouraged regular advertisers, their advertising columns were sources of consistent revenue. The *Leader* was the first

of the country papers, founded in 1856 by the proprietors of the Melbourne *Age*. The *Australasian* was begun by the *Argus* in 1864 and the *Weekly Times* by the *Daily Telegraph* in 1869. In New South Wales the *Sydney Mail* was founded by the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1860 and the *Town and Country Journal* by the *Evening News* in 1870. Imitations of these papers also appeared in the other colonies. The country weeklies were divided into sections of general, agricultural, literary, theatrical, sporting and other interests. Literary sections included original and selected serial and short stories, reminiscences, literary reviews, original and selected poetry and literary news and notes. Most of these papers encouraged Australian writers and, because of their assured continuity, they proved a valuable medium for the publication of novels, reminiscences and other work suitable to the serial form. The names of Marcus Clarke, 'Rolf Boldrewood', Ada Cambridge, Louisa Meredith, A.B. Paterson, J.E. Neild and James Smith are prominent among many colonial contributors.

Humour and satire found a place in the colonial periodicals and, quite often, a section was set aside for the publication of extracts from London *Punch*. This popular weekly had many imitators in the Australian colonies, most of which closely followed the original. The first of the colonial productions was the *Melbourne Punch*, founded by Frederick Sinnett and Edgar Ray in 1855. Sinnett was the first editor, to be succeeded at a later period by writers such as James Smith, W. Jardine Smith and Charles Bright. Contributors included B.C. Aspinall, R.H. Horne, Henry Kendall, Charles Gavan Duffy and Marcus Clarke. Nicholas Chevalier is notable as a popular *Punch* artist, as also is Thomas Carrington, at one time part-proprietor and editor. *Melbourne Punch* was one of the few long-lasting colonial periodicals, closing eventually in 1926. Edgar Ray went on to found the first successful *Sydney Punch* in 1864. Earlier projects dated 1856 and 1857 lasted for only a short while, but Ray had the benefit of his Melbourne experience and, following the same pattern, produced a periodical that was to continue until 1888. Sydney contributors included D.H. Deniehy, W.B. Dally, S.H. Banks, H.W.H. Stephen, Grosvenor Bunster and Garnet Walch. Other examples of a colonial *Punch* appeared with varying success in all the colonies except Western Australia.

The English illustrated weeklies also inspired many imitations of which the *Illustrated Sydney News* (1853-94) and the *Illustrated Australian News* (originally titled *Australian News for Home Readers*), published in Melbourne from 1862-96, were the most successful. Other notable colonial illustrated papers were *Frearson's Weekly Illustrated*, published in Adelaide from 1878 to 1884, the *Illustrated Adelaide News*, later titled *Pictorial Australian* (1875-95) and the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* (1862-68). These papers consisted of similar ingredients to the English models, including illustrated accounts of local news and events, original serial and short stories and sketches, original and selected poetry and news and notes of local activities. Like the *Bulletin* and the country weeklies,

they were popular in outback areas where, after the news and illustrations had been read and admired, the pages could be pasted up as an interesting decoration and refinement of a rough slab wall.

Imported penny weeklies were undoubted favourites, holding first place on the market and, by their great success, inspiring competition. There were colonial versions of *Tit-Bits*, both called *Australian Tit-Bits*, the one published in Melbourne from 1884 to 1886 and the other in Sydney from 1899 to 1900. The *Australian's Half-Holiday* (1889-90) copied *Ally Sloper's Half-Holiday* and the *Australian Home Companion* (1856-57) the English *Home Companion*. Enterprising proprietors rushed into production, setting the likely chance of failure against the cost of a cheap weekly periodical that might attract a short-term profit because of its novelty. These papers combined a number of functions in order to attract the widest possible audience. Sporting and theatrical features were a frequent combination as, for example, in the *Flag* (1895) and the *Hawk*, later the *Hawklet* (1892-1931). A less harmonious combination is found in *Australian Police News and Music and the Drama* (1895), consisting of two pages of police news and intelligence and two of musical and dramatic items, without any connection between them.

Of the many other colonial periodicals produced during the nineteenth century, be they university reviews, magazines about books, religious, spiritualist and humanist journals, theatrical papers, educational magazines, society papers or trade and advertising journals, only those that had a particular reason for being, such as religious adherence or trade and organization intelligence, had much hope of success. All the local periodicals owed something to the overseas models. Their proprietors were usually slow to build on colonial experience and it was not until late in the century that local periodicals appeared deserving of the description of distinctly Australian. This is not unexpected in a new country where literary talent is sparse in proportion to the population. What is a matter for surprise is the remarkable optimism of colonial editors and proprietors who, one after the other, remained convinced of the potential of the local product. Because of their determination, colonial writers were encouraged in the development of Australian literature and twentieth-century scholars endowed with a variety of social, literary and cultural material that is not found elsewhere.

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¹ G.B. Barton, *Literature in New South Wales*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1866, p. 7. Barton's description is supported by a list of the periodicals imported monthly by Sydney booksellers, including details of the number of copies and the value of yearly subscriptions (pp. 8-9).

² *Australasian Newspaper Directory: Advertisers' and Subscribers' Guide*, 3rd edn, Gordon & Gotch, Melbourne, 1892, pp. 239-49.

³ 'Victorian Monthly Advertiser', p. 4, appended to the *Victorian Monthly Magazine* 1 (1859).

⁴ Richard Church, *Victoria. Supplementary Alphabetical and Classified Catalogue of the Parliament Library, from May, 1886, to August, 1898*, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1899, pp. 207-8. A large number of volumes of long-running English and American periodicals belonging to the Parliamentary Library has been given to the Melbourne university libraries on indefinite loan, subject to conditions of availability to members.

⁵ The title was changed to *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* with the seventh number and to the simpler *Blackwood's Magazine* from 1906.

⁶ The title was changed to *Chambers' Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Art* in 1854, and *Chambers' Journal* in 1897.

⁷ *Household Words* was succeeded in 1859 by *All the Year Round*, a similar production that continued until 1895.

⁸ Although published quarterly for most of its nineteenth-century existence, the *North American Review* also appeared at bimonthly and monthly intervals.

⁹ Appeals for protection were unsuccessful. The report of a deputation from the Victorian Master Printers' Association to the Tariff Commission in December 1883 illustrates official attitudes. See *Australasian Typographical Journal* 12 (1883), 316-22.

¹⁰ Provisions for postal rates varied both internally and intercolonially at different times. For an account of the various New South Wales acts see Andrew Houston, *History of the Post Office . . . in New South Wales*, Government Printer, Sydney, 1890, pp. 5-16. The position in Victoria, as it affected the local product, is described by James Smith in the article 'Restrictions on Colonial Literature', *Colonial Monthly* 5 (1869-70), 19-26.

¹¹ 449 titles of periodicals containing literary features are listed in the author's *Nineteenth-Century Australian Periodicals: an Annotated Bibliography*, Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1979.

¹² 'To our Readers', *Australian Journal* 1 (1865), [1].

¹³ Henry Gyles Turner, 'A Final Batch of Victorian Magazines', *Library Record of Australasia* 1 (1901), 130.

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