

## RETRIEVING COLONIAL LITERARY CULTURE: THE CASE FOR AN INDEX TO SERIAL FICTION IN AUSTRALIAN (OR AUSTRALASIAN?) NEWSPAPERS\*

CAROL MILLS HAS REFERRED to 'the large bulk of material from the past which is still locked up in magazines, newspapers, etc.'<sup>1</sup> This paper will address one segment of the neglected archive, namely the novels — Australian, English, American, whatever — published in newspapers and magazines of the colonial period. I think it is safe to say that most new works by local authors were published this way, at least until the 1890s. And for new works by overseas authors this was, at the very least, a standard means of bringing them to a mass colonial readership.

There is ample testimony from colonial authors and litterateurs to the prevalence of this form of publication. I have selected three examples. James Smith, the journalist, critic (and onetime Parliamentary Librarian) appears to be the author of an article published in the *Melbourne Review* of 1878, which states that it was 'almost impossible [for colonial authors] to gain the public ear except perhaps through the medium of a weekly newspaper.'<sup>2</sup> Richard Twopeny, the shrewd observer of colonial society (and also a journalist), devotes a chapter of his *Town Life in Australia* (1883) to 'Newspapers'. Describing perhaps the most widely circulated and best known weekly paper, the Melbourne *Australasian* (which began serialising novels in 1867), he says that its 'Novelist' section is 'always well sustained, and no expense is spared in getting good work. "All Sorts and Conditions of Men" has just been running through the paper, Besant and Rice being favourite authors here. James Payne [sic], B.L. Farjeon and R.E. Francillon are other contributors whose names come into my mind. Occasionally a colonial work is chosen, and the proprietors do a great deal of service in bringing out really promising authors.'<sup>3</sup> Nat Gould, that prolific writer of racing novels, records in his reminiscences, *Town and Bush* (1896), that 'most of the weekly papers publish serial tales, but in nine cases out of ten they are written by English or American authors, although Australian writers can furnish quite as good material.' He says, however, that he has 'no reason to complain of the non-acceptance of [his] works . . . as the bulk of them appeared in serial form in Sydney before being published in London.'<sup>4</sup>

For most of this century literary historians paid scant attention to the fiction in colonial magazines and newspapers. Pauline Kirk opened up the topic in 1971, examining in some detail the activities of the *Sydney Mail* and the *Australian Journal*.<sup>5</sup> The former, companion weekly to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, was serialising from 1860; the latter, a literary magazine published in Melbourne, did so from 1865, proclaiming in its first issue (2 September) an intention to reflect 'the Literature, Art and Science of Australia' and stating further that 'the ablest Colonial pens of the day' would be engaged to contribute 'Historical Romances and Legendary Narratives of the Old Country . . . mingled with Tales of Venture and Daring in the New'. With changes of focus and emphasis the *Australian Journal* continued for ninety-seven years.

An project funded by the Australian Research Grants Council at the University of Sydney English Department in the 1970s resulted in the production of useful though

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\* A paper presented at the 'Australian Subject Bibliography After 1988' Meeting at the State Library of Victoria, 28 September, 1989.

not readily accessible card indexes to fiction in the *Australasian* and the *Sydney Mail*. Lurline Stuart's annotated bibliography of nineteenth-century literary periodicals, published in 1979, serves to identify other publications which featured serial fiction.<sup>6</sup> In recent years Elizabeth Webby (who was associated with the Sydney project) and I have been the chief advocates of comprehensive indexing of fiction in colonial newspapers and magazines and also, to the best of my knowledge, the main Australian researchers in the field.<sup>7</sup>

The particular focus of my interest is novels serialised in newspapers. Narrowing in this manner is, I find, more manageable, at least for the purpose of discussion. In the first place, confining myself to newspapers I am redressing a balance where, I think, more emphasis has been given to the literary magazine as a vehicle for fiction. In the second place, focussing on serial (rather than one-off) publication I am able, without confusing the issue, to take account of a phenomenon which is *sui generis*, which has its own characteristics and effects — seen in the agencies and contractual arrangements involved, in the demands, over time, on the form of composition and regularity of submission, in the presumed or documented relationships between text and reader, and so on. To put this emphasis on *serial* fiction in a wider than Australian context I shall quote Scott Bennett, an American who has been involved in the bibliography of Victorian periodicals and the serial fiction they contain: 'The market for reading matter was one of the earliest consumer mass markets to develop, and it established itself primarily through serial publication.'<sup>8</sup> I am not arguing, however, that the occurrence of one-time publication of whole novels in magazines or newspapers, typically as Christmas tales in December issues of some weeklies and illustrated monthlies, should be ignored. Nor I am suggesting that the short fiction, perhaps noteworthy in its own right while also shedding light on a writer's development and providing clues to popular taste, should be omitted. But these are not central to my exposition.

I want to stress the extent of *newspaper* serial fiction, particularly in the 1870s and 1880s when the colonial newspaper press expanded (as did that of Europe and the United States) — with a great increase in the number of titles being published, with individual papers larger in size and with greatly increased circulations of individual issues. This expansion and the publication of serial fiction were, in the colonies, closely related to technological developments: in printing, the high-speed, web-fed rotary press, which enabled first the *Age* and then other dailies to cater for a mass market; in communications, the overseas cable linkage, which hooked the colonial press systems into a global network; in transport, the railways, which facilitated efficient distribution.

Lurline Stuart's bibliography indicates that fifty or so nineteenth-century Australian periodicals contain serial fiction. This group includes weeklies such as, for Melbourne, the *Australasian*, the *Leader* and the *Weekly Times*. These — and similar publications in other colonial capitals — were legally and in fact newspapers (with the whole spectrum of features of the dailies to which each is a 'companion', though with news summarised and general reading matter more expansive) and so I include them in my present discussion together with what may amount to hundreds of newspapers not part of Stuart's listing, namely, metropolitan dailies, suburban and

country papers (of varying frequencies from daily to weekly) and syndicated literary supplements which various metropolitan organisations produced and sold to local papers. What this in effect means I can illustrate, at least for one of the six Australian colonies, from a cross-sectional check I attempted of all Victorian newspapers issued on or about 31 August 1889, to see which contained instalments of novels. I found that three of the five Melbourne metropolitan dailies did, four of the five metropolitan weeklies, thirteen of forty-seven suburban newspapers and eighty of one hundred and sixty-seven country papers. It is important to note that the majority of the serials in the last two categories were syndicated, whether part of separate supplements or part of the newspaper proper. The most frequently recurring title — Hall Caine's 'The Bondman', to be released by Heinemann in the standard three-volume format the following year (British bestsellers usually began to be serialised a few months to a year before release as books) — was the current serial in the Melbourne *Daily Telegraph* and, intercolonially too, in the *Adelaide Observer*. In all, one hundred newspapers yielded twenty-eight separate novels (six of them by local authors).<sup>9</sup>

Besides this synchronic check, I have taken various other samplings and soundings since 1979, when I first began to study the colonial newspaper press and was alerted to the serial fiction phenomenon. Comparing the issues of two Victorian country papers for 1888, I was intrigued by the literary supplements in one, the *Rupanyup Spectator*, though I did not then pursue the matter. Two years later, when researching fiction readership in the 1890s, I was surprised to find serialised novels a regular feature in Melbourne *daily* papers. For example, in July 1895 the *Age* had novels by Scottish Dora Russell and colonial-born Rosa Praed running concurrently, while the *Argus* featured a work by the American Bret Harte.<sup>10</sup>

Two years later I undertook a diachronic study of serials in the *Age*, from April 1872 (when it began to serialise fiction) until the end of the century, and found sixty novels over the twentyeight-year period.<sup>11</sup> Most were of English or Scottish authorship, a few were by Americans, and there were Australian novels by Ada Cambridge, Rosa Praed and Catherine Martin. Since two of the Cambridge works had not been published in book form and, seemingly, had not come to the attention of bibliographers and literary historians, I did some intensive (and ultimately to my mind fruitful) research into the circumstances of their composition and publication and edited the more exciting of the two, *A Woman's Friendship*, for republication in 1988, in the Colonial Texts Series of the New South Wales University Press.

I have also, over the past three years, been researching the history of country newspapers in colonial Victoria. In so doing, I have examined several issues at least of each paper (there are almost four hundred titles for my period of study — though I have not been able to locate any copies for about five percent and only incomplete files for a much larger proportion) and have made a note of serials encountered. Thus, in a spotty way, I am accumulating data and making more exciting discoveries. I am also formulating strong views on the need for comprehensive and systematic indexing.

Ignoring or giving cursory attention to serial fiction — or indeed to any fiction not published in book form — the Australian literature reference works now in our

libraries are, concerning many colonial novelists, at best incomplete and often misleading if not wrong. I suspect that it is partly as a consequence of this that too many of the published studies about such writers display slipshod scholarship. On the other hand, where Australian literary researchers have put in the arduous hours doing basic bibliographical work — resulting in sound as well as original studies — the bibliographical fruits do not, as a matter of course, find their way into reference sources for others to benefit from.

In the second place, the Australian contribution to English literary and textual studies and publishing history is not as large or significant as it might be. With the burgeoning of Australian Studies, part of a bicentennially boosted upsurge of nationalism, scholars and educationists, amongst others, have been laudably keen to present Australia to the world. Some, like Brian Head, addressing an Australian Studies Seminar at the University of Queensland in 1982, have also pointed to a need to understand Australian culture in relation to the national cultures which have influenced us.<sup>12</sup> Ian Willison, speaking at the Colloquium on Australian and New Zealand Studies at the British Library in 1984 and in reference to what he termed the 'imperial book-system' (here meaning the colonial period and not publishing arrangements today), stressed the importance of studying cultural interrelatedness.<sup>13</sup> I hope and expect he would include under this rubric the study of serial publication, throughout the then Empire, of British literary works. I see scope for original contributions from here to bring fresh insights to British studies. If I have not already made it clear, you will now realize that the newspaper serial indexing I am discussing is comprehensive in the sense of not being limited to colonial or Australian works, however one might define these.

In the third place there is, as every article or book on some component of the topic points out, not enough known or written on the history of the Australian newspaper press — only a very incomplete jig-saw.<sup>14</sup> While it may seem at first notice quaint that an index to serial fiction would contribute towards completing the puzzle, it is, with familiarity, quickly obvious that such a tool would point to if not uncover links and mechanisms of press networks and agencies.

A tool is needed for Australian cultural studies of the colonial period: a reference source to enlarge knowledge of individual novelists and their works, of movements and schools, of mechanisms, modes and economics of the production and dissemination of cultural works. Hoping to illustrate this, I will select a few examples of interesting finds made in the course of my newspaper researches to date, finds which, on the basis of only a little further investigation, seem to warrant further researching.

The Australian novelist and travel writer, Mary Gaunt, is my first. From Miller and Macartney and also the *Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* one may learn that she was born in Chiltern in 1861, was one of the first female students at the University of Melbourne, where Professor Edward Morris encouraged her to write for the local press, and that her first novel, *Dave's Sweetheart*, was published in London in 1894, followed by many more over the years, with her last work in 1934, about eight years before she died.<sup>15</sup> Ian McLaren's bibliography, which came out in 1980, mentions some verified and some possible contributions of fiction to

newspapers before 1894.<sup>16</sup> One of two studies published in 1988, that by Patricia Clarke, identifies a couple more early titles.<sup>17</sup> In addition, I have stumbled across several, including a novel, 'Bingley's Gap: A Tale of Old Colonial Times', serialised in the *Leader* during 1888. The story begins in picturesque alpine country in the vicinity of the Kiewa River, half-way between Mount Feathertop and the Murray River junction, at Gnarkeet homestead, where Polly Ingram lives with her brothers Hugh and Theo; it moves to goldfields and follows the adventures and near misadventures of Mark Elliott and his eventual wooing and winning of Polly. Not having read all Gaunt's later fiction, I don't know if it is an early version of any. I can say that, apart from the setting, 'Bingley's Gap' is a conventional and unremarkable marriage-market-with-a-romantic-aura novel, very similar to the serials Ada Cambridge wrote for the *Australasian* in the 1870s, before she developed her distinctive brand of irony. That it was running in David Syme's *Leader* in late 1888 in parallel with Cambridge's 'A Black Sheep' in the *Age* suggests to me a possible association between the two authors, an hypothesis which is reinforced in that Gaunt continued to be published in Syme papers for two years at least, and also that in 1891 she reviewed the book edition of Cambridge's *The Three Miss Kings* (1891) for the *Australasian Critic*.<sup>18</sup> Thus there may be a line for further research and there is certainly a need for adding to the standard sources of biographical and bibliographical information about Mary Gaunt.

My second example is the firm of Cameron, Laing and Co., which published several Marcus Clarke titles from 1878 to 1884.<sup>19</sup> Its principal, Donald Cameron, who died in 1888, was born in New South Wales forty years earlier.<sup>20</sup> I don't know when he came to Melbourne but I do know that in 1877 he was active there both in politics and publishing. From 1877 to 1880 he held a seat for West Bourke in the Victorian Legislative Assembly, during which time he was proprietor of the *Democrat*, a partner in Cameron, Laing and Co. and wrote leaders and fiction for country newspapers.

Alfred Deakin recalls that soon after his own election to the Legislature in 1879 he visited his parliamentary colleague and found him 'occupying a dirty little upstairs room in Little Collins Street, containing a deal table, a tumbled heap of newspapers and a few chairs'.<sup>21</sup> While Deakin had doubts about Cameron's political competence, he found him a 'pleasant and genial companion', though his admiration for the 'journalistic serials' was, he said, always forced (Deakin's diet then being George Eliot, Thackeray, Dickens, Victor Hugo, Hawthorne, and the classics). He conceded, however, that Cameron's fiction 'found favourable acceptance in country papers, abounding as it did with local colour, incident and a certain strain of feeling which might even be termed poetic'.

I first came across Cameron when following up politician-country journalist connections for my country press history, then in the *Victorian Press Manual* of 1882 I happened to find an advertisement for his firm and its publications — these latter being described as 'distinctly Australian' and contributed to by the 'best Colonial Writers' (with a list of authors supplied).<sup>22</sup> Works announced include two periodical publications: the *Melbourne Quarterly* and a 'Literary Supplement' for country papers. Examining available issues of the former, which became the *Melbourne Journal* in 1884, a monthly in February 1886 and seems to have been suspended after the

November issue, I found that many of the novels which were published there in full I had encountered in instalments in issues of country papers — and realized the latter must have come from the Cameron, Laing and Co. 'Literary Supplement'. The authors include, besides Cameron himself, Alexander Montgomery, Harold W. Stephen, 'Waif Wander', Grosvenor Bunster, Angus McLean and others — some of them associated with journalistic-literary activity in Melbourne, some (such as Angus McLean, who lived and wrote in Gippsland) not.<sup>23</sup> I am interested to find out more about the significance of Cameron's enterprise — did it constitute a school or movement in *any* way comparable with that around the Sydney *Bulletin*, then in its early years? What was its relation to the activities of some newspapers in the provincial cities of Ballarat and Sandhurst (present-day Bendigo) and in some regional towns of the Western District and Gippsland which, especially in the 1870s, appear to have encouraged and published novels by writers (some of them journalists) living in the locality?<sup>24</sup> I would also want to examine the relation to the several other commercial enterprises in Melbourne which, from the early seventies onwards, were set up to supply country newspapers with supplements or part-printed sheets of entertaining reading matter, including a serial — the difference being that these latter were usually the work of British or American, not local, writers.<sup>25</sup>

For my next examples of the fruitfulness of serial fiction indexing I turn to the British connection: to the serialisation in colonial newspapers of works by Anthony Trollope and George Eliot, and to the services to the colonial market of Tillotson's Fiction Bureau in Bolton, England. Recent studies, such as that by N.N. Feltes on Eliot and Mary Hamer on Trollope, have dwelt on the extent and effects of serial publication, but have done so without reference to antipodean activities.<sup>26</sup> My indexing of the *Age* revealed that Trollope's 'Harry Heathcote of Gangoil' was serialised there more than five weeks before what is commonly taken to be its first appearance anywhere in print, namely in the London *Graphic* on 26 December 1873.<sup>27</sup>

While this is a useful fact to contribute to Trollopeana, more interesting and perhaps significant is the background to which it led me, gleaned chiefly from David Syme's letterbooks, held as part of the Syme Family Papers in the State Library of Victoria. These record his views on Trollope (ambivalent) and Eliot (he admired 'Mrs. Evans' so much that he would 'strain a point' and pay more than his usual top price of £50 for a novel running for six months and £75 for one extending to nine) and his attempts, through his London agents and use of the overseas telegraph, to secure serial rights to their works.<sup>28</sup> He had to be satisfied, however, with a potboiler from Mary Elizabeth Braddon for the first *Age* serial in April 1872.<sup>29</sup> Exacerbating the intense rivalry with Edward Wilson's *Argus* and *Australasian* business, Syme was frustrated that the *Australasian* managed to obtain rights to Trollope's 'The Eustace Diamonds' and Eliot's 'Middlemarch'.<sup>30</sup> He was, however, satisfied at eventually getting Trollope's 'Harry Heathcote of Gangoil'. That the story, an outcome of the English author's recent visit, has an outback colonial setting, may have contributed to his satisfaction.

By 1874 Syme seems to have given up attempts to negotiate overseas for individual works. It was probably then that he contracted with Tillotson's Fiction Bureau for

a steady supply of works by stock novelists. This firm, the outgrowth of an English provincial newspaper-publishing concern, had been set up the year before to buy serial rights from authors and sell these on a syndicated basis to newspapers. Syme's arrangement with Tillotson's continued at least until the late 1880s, after which he may have turned to rival syndicating agencies then being established in London and elsewhere.<sup>31</sup> The most scholarly and detailed accounts of Tillotson's activities that I know are those by Michael Turner, who hints at, but does not explore, extension to markets overseas.<sup>32</sup> An index to serials in colonial newspapers would enable exploitation of the records in the Tillotson archive (which I inspected at the Bodleian Library in 1982) and thus could lead to the illumination of a pretty dark area of imperial publishing history.

The indexing I am considering would also tell more about the American connection. Ian Willison reminded members of the Colloquium not to neglect 'the American power-house'.<sup>33</sup> Brian Kiernan, in the first issue of the American-Australian journal *Antipodes* (March 1987), takes up some of the points made by Joseph Jones in *Radical Cousins* (1976), noting some thematic similarities between nineteenth-century American and Australian novels.<sup>34</sup> The main *explanation* Kiernan offers for these affinities is mid-century goldrush migrations. As I see it, the establishment of the regular Californian Mail service, which from the early 1870s brought English (and American) mail to Sydney via San Francisco, and of the telegraphic connection (via Europe) from 1872, together with the development of national press networks and international links, provide more cogent explanations of reciprocal influence. I have found references to instalments of serials being expected with the Californian Mail.<sup>35</sup> I have also found that the works of Bret Harte and Mark Twain were often featured in colonial newspapers from the 1880s.<sup>36</sup> Comprehensive indexing would augment knowledge not only of American literary influences but also of American press connections. To give one example of the latter, a couple of years ago I chanced on, in issues of the Melbourne *Daily Telegraph* from 12 May 1888, instalments of 'The Outlaws of Tunstall Forest: A Romance of the Old World', by Robert Louis Stevenson, published 'by special arrangement with the author'. Naively believing I might have discovered a new work, one not listed in the British Library Catalogue nor in the *National Union Catalog*, I imagined that R.L.S. had sent it to Melbourne from Samoa, where he had gone to live the year before. As some of you may know, but I did not until I checked R.G. Swearingen's detailed scholarly bibliography published in 1980, the work is an abridged version of *The Black Arrow* (lacking the first five chapters).<sup>37</sup> Written in 1883 and serialised in *Young Folks*, it was first published in book form on 16 June 1888 — that is, while the variant serial text was running in Melbourne. What is to me even more interesting is that 'The Outlaws of Tunstall Forest' was, according to Swearingen, also serialised in the United States through the newspaper syndicate of S.S. McClure. His was one of the leading American agencies for newspaper serial fiction (Kellogg's was another such).<sup>38</sup> I am led to formulate a working hypothesis that the *Daily Telegraph* and other colonial papers (I mentioned above a link with the *Adelaide Observer*) were customers of McClure — and thus perhaps were counteracting the dominant British press influences more than is generally recognized.<sup>39</sup>

Before concluding I want to comment briefly on New Zealand links and raise the question of the desirability of an Australasian rather than an Australian index. An example of a literary-journalistic connection is readily found in the works (and the travels) of the popular novelist Benjamin Farjeon.<sup>40</sup> A common literary culture is suggested by Clara Cheeseman, speaking, at a meeting of the New Zealand Literary and Historical Association in 1902 or 1903, about colonial writers on both sides of the Tasman and pointing out that the beginnings of colonial fiction had to be sought in the files of old newspapers.<sup>41</sup> (Her novel 'Estranged for Life' had been serialised in the *Sydney Mail* during 1880.) From the opposite perspective, an article in the *Illustrated Sydney News* of 11 April 1891 states that some Ada Cambridge novels were serialised in 'leading New Zealand journals' as well as in Australia – a tantalizing statement and one which I have not had the opportunity to verify.

So much for my case for compiling an index to serial fiction in colonial newspapers in order to extend the bibliographical infrastructure for research into colonial culture. I will now, and in conclusion, deal sketchily with some of the practicalities. The indexed information would have to be held in a computer database from which printed reference tools would be produced. The indexing would best be done in segments and added to the database incrementally. The segmentation should be on a colony-by-colony basis and, further, in chronological blocks. One might start, as a pilot run, with Victorian papers for possibly the most fertile period, from, say, 1885 to 1889. At the time of indexing one would collect: Title; Author; Newspaper; Instalment – dates, pages, chapter numbers and titles, and for works believed to be 'new' a summary of plot; Copyright statement (if any). A genre classification would be assigned. Later one would search for and add details of any book form publication and relevant notes of the work and on the author. Based on my indexing of the *Age* some years ago, I have a set of genre codes (which need modification) and a pro-forma which seems to suit.<sup>42</sup> To do the project properly, I or someone would need more money and more time as well as the continued co-operation of keepers of newspaper repositories.

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#### NOTES

1. 'Subject Bibliography and Australian Studies: Where Do We Go from Here?', *Reference Australia* 4 (1989), 34-44.
2. 'Colonial Literature and the Colonial Press', *Melbourne Review* 3 (1878), pp.337-343. Authorship of the article is in some doubt – see Lurline Stuart, *James Smith: The Making of a Colonial Culture* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989), p.98.
3. *Town Life in Australia* (London: Elliot Stock, 1883), pp.235-236.
4. *Town and Bush: Stray Notes on Australia* (London: George Routledge, 1896), pp.274-275.
5. "'Colonial Literature for Colonial Readers!'", *Australian Literary Studies* 5 (1971), 133-145.
6. *Nineteenth Century Australian Periodicals: An Annotated Bibliography* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger,

- 1979).
7. See, for example, Webby's 'Before the *Bulletin*: Nineteenth Century Literary Journalism', in *Cross Currents: Magazines and Newspapers in Australian Literature*, ed. Bruce Bennett (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1981), pp.3-34, and my 'Bibliographical Revisionism', in *Books, Libraries and Readers in Colonial Australia*, ed. Elizabeth Morrison and Michael Talbot (Clayton: Graduate School of Librarianship, Monash University, 1985), pp.67-75.
  8. 'Revolutions in Thought: Serial Publication and the Mass Market for Reading', in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp.225-257.
  9. The local authors are: Ada Cambridge ('A Woman's Friendship', *Age*); David Falk ('The Recidivist', *Leader*); Aubrey Haine ('Kidnapped', *Brunswick and Coburg Medium*); Robert Ross Haverfield ('Scattered Leaves: A Romance of Old Bendigo', *Bendigo Advertiser*); J.J. Utting ('The Accusing Scar', *Evening Standard*); 'W.H.H.F.' ('Harold Everleigh: An Anglo-Australian Story', *Tarnagulla and Llanelly Courier*).
  10. 'The Drift of Fate' (Russell), 'Mrs. Tregaskiss' (Praed), 'In a Hollow of the Hills' (Harte).
  11. 'Newspaper and Novelists in Late Colonial Australia' (MA Preliminary Dissertation, Dept. of History, Monash University, 1983). A list of *Age* serials is provided at pp.47-54; 'Press Power and Popular Appeal: Serial Fiction and the *Age*', *Media Information Australia* 49 (August 1988), 49-52.
  12. Brian Head, 'Australian Studies: Establishing a New Discourse?', in *Australian Studies: Theory and Practice*, ed. Carole Ferrier (St Lucia, Qld.: Australian Studies Centre, University of Queensland, 1983), pp.1-7.
  13. Ian Willison, 'The British Library Collections and Australian and New Zealand Studies', in *Australian and New Zealand Studies*, ed. P. McLaren-Turner (London: The British Library, 1985), pp.3-13 (p.10).
  14. For example, J.P. Henningham, 'Two Hundred Years of Australian Journalism: A History Waiting to be Written', *Australian Cultural History* 7 (1988), 49-64.
  15. E. Morris Miller, *Australian Literature: A Bibliography to 1938, Extended to 1950*, ed. Frederick T. Macartney (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1956), p.190; William H. Wilde, Joy Hooton and Barry Andrews, *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985), p.290.
  16. Ian F. McLaren, *Mary Gaunt, a Cosmopolitan Australian: An Annotated Bibliography* (Parkville, Vic.: University of Melbourne Library, 1986), pp.52, 56.
  17. Patricia Clarke, *Pen Portraits: Women Writers and Journalists in Nineteenth Century Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1988), pp.189-193.
  18. 'A Black Sheep' is the serial version of *A Marked Man* (London: Heinemann, 1890). Newspaper fiction by Gaunt includes 'A Man's Sacrifice', *Illustrated Australian News* 22 December 1888 and 'The Yanyilla Steeplechase', *Leader* 31 October 1891. *The Three Miss Kings* (London: Heinemann; Melbourne: Melville, Mullen and Slade, 1891, originally serialised in the *Australasian* 23 June to 15 December 1883) was reviewed by Gaunt in the *Australasian Critic* 1 (September 1891), 276-277.
  19. E. Morris Miller, p.111.
  20. Kathleen Thomson and Geoffrey Serle, *A Biographical Register of the Victorian Legislature 1851-1900* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1972), p.29.
  21. *The Crisis in Victorian Politics, 1879-1881: A Personal Retrospect*, ed. J.A. La Nauze and R.M. Crawford (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1957), p.40 (all quotations).
  22. *Victorian Press Manual and Advertisers' Handbook* (Melbourne: H. Byron Moore & Macleod, 1882), p.x (Advertisements).
  23. While there is no work dealing in any detail with this topic, brief references may be found in, for example, Ronald G. Campbell, *The First Ninety Years: The Printing House of Massina, Melbourne, 1859 to 1949* (Melbourne: A.F. Massina, 1949), and Sylvia Lawson, *The Archibald Paradox* (London: Allen Lane, 1983) pp.13-14.
  24. For example: *Bendigo Advertiser*, *Hamilton Spectator*, *Gippsland Mercury* (Sale).
  25. For example: the service provided by W.H. Williams in the 1870s (advertised regularly in the *Australasian Typographical Journal*); the apparently fully imported supplements supplied by Walter Mott (proprietor of the *Kew Mercury* and probably relative of George Mott, Manager of Gordon & Gotch) in the 1880s.
  26. N.N. Feltes, *Modes of Production of Victorian Novels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Mary Hamer, *Writing By Numbers: Trollope's Serial Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
  27. Serialised weekly in the *Age*, in eight instalments, from 15 November 1873 to 3 January 1874. First published in book form in 1874.
  28. See the copies of letters from David Syme to his London agents – to George Street, from April 1872 to March 1873; to George Levey, from July to October 1873 (Syme Family Papers, La Trobe Collection,

- State Library of Victoria MS 9751, Box 1181/1). The quoted words about Eliot are from a letter to Levey dated 13 August 1873.
29. 'To the Bitter End', serialised weekly in 37 instalments from 20 April 1872 to 11 January 1873.
  30. 'The Eustace Diamonds' was serialised in the *Australasian* from 12 August 1871 to 18 January 1873 and 'Middlemarch' from 3 February 1872 to 22 March 1873.
  31. In a letter of 13 November to London agent G.J. Bowes, Syme refers to existing arrangements with Tillotson's and suggests consideration of using new fiction syndicates (Syme Family Papers, Box 1181/3).
  32. 'The Syndication of Fiction in Provincial Newspapers, 1870-1939' (B.Litt. Dissertation, Oxford, 1968), p.48 contains a reference to overseas activities; 'Tillotsons' Fiction Bureau', in *Studies in the Book Trade in Honour of Graham Pollard* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975), pp.351-378; 'Reading for the Masses', in *Book Selling and Book Buying*, ed. R.G. Landon (Chicago: American Library Association, 1978), pp.52-72.
  33. Willison, p.4.
  34. Brian Kiernan, 'Some American and Australian Literary Connections and Disconnections', *Antipodes* 1 (March 1987), 22-26; Joseph Jones, *Radical Cousins: Nineteenth Century American and Australian Writers* (St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1976).
  35. Cf. report in the *Age* 3 October 1874: '... the first part of the new tale by Wilkie Collins, expected by the Californian Mail, has not arrived ...'.
  36. For example: Harte's 'A Waif of the Plains', Youth Section, *Leader* 22 December 1889; Twain's 'A Curious Experience', *Weekly Times* 4 February 1882, and 'The Burden of Guilt', 12 January 1884.
  37. Roger G. Swearingen, *The Prose Writings of Robert Louis Stevenson: A Guide* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1980), pp.83-84.
  38. Anthony Smith, *The Newspaper: An International History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), p.164.
  39. Cf. Catherine Spence's observation that 'newspapers take their tone from the English press' in 'American Literature and the Proposed Copyright Bill', *Victorian Review*, 25 (November 1881), 44-61 (p.61).
  40. English-born Farjeon lived in Victoria in the 1850s and New Zealand in the 1860s. Several of his novels reflect experiences in one or other colony. *Shadows on the Snow* (Dunedin: W.Hay, 1865), set in New Zealand, was serialised weekly in the *Age*, in eight instalments, from 16 December 1876 to 10 February 1877.
  41. 'Colonials in Fiction', *New Zealand Illustrated Magazine* 7 (1903), 273-282.
  42. Morrison, 'Newspaper and Novelists in Late Colonial Australia', pp.47-48.

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