

## The Bibliographic Life of an Australian Classic: *Robbery Under Arms*

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In an article published in these pages in 1988, I discussed the idea of the reception of a work as properly falling within the bibliographic study of it. I illustrated the idea in relation to *The Boy in the Bush*, for which an extraordinary number of early reviews had been collected by Mollie Skinner and preserved. In a later essay in *TEXT* I extended the idea to argue that the bibliographic 'life' of a work should be seen as a continuum stretching from first jottings through production, later editions and successive stages of reception.<sup>1</sup> The idea of the continuum itself, in all its parts, being worthy of study (rather than merely the early editions as bibliographic objects) was more startling then than it is today. But the prospect of actually carrying out such a study for a genuine classic is daunting, attended as it has been by the inevitable anxiety that it may not be worth the effort. *The Boy in the Bush* is part of the D. H. Lawrence canon (at least, that was my argument in the critical edition<sup>2</sup>); but it is scarcely a classic, whether of Australian or of British literature. Rolf Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms*, on the other hand, *is* a classic; and, in the course of an editorial study of the work, the many wrinkles in its bibliographic unfolding that I have uncovered have proved too extensive — and too intriguing — to document within the confines of the critical edition published in 2006 that I prepared (with Elizabeth Webby) for the Academy Editions of Australian Literature series.

The purpose of this article, then, is not to provide a descriptive bibliography (although there is a clear need for one in view of the *circa* 130 impressions I have identified<sup>3</sup>) but rather to complement that editorial study of the work in bibliographic and book-historical ways, and to point, simultaneously, to some of the ways in which bibliography can be thought of as an instantiation of the sociological currents that affect the commercial fortunes and the receptions of a classic. Other Australian classics might yield a similar story, but it is unlikely that, say, *His Natural Life*, *The Recollections of Geoffrey Hamlyn* or even *The Getting of Wisdom* would yield so rich a one. The account of *Robbery Under Arms* that follows, then, is a tale of professionalism (rather than creative inspiration), opportunism, hard commercial realities, exploitation of copyright, varying bibliographic formats and dustjacket design, nationalism, feminism, postmodernism — and readers.

*Script & Print: Bulletin of the Bibliographical Society of Australia & New Zealand*  
29 (2005): 73-92

**Getting published**

Not counting the serialisations of *Robbery Under Arms* (five have been identified), there have been twelve editions to date. Diagram 1 gives the stemma that plots the relationships of the textual states considered relevant for the critical edition; that is, those that appeared in the author's lifetime (Boldrewood died in 1915). Computer collation of the relevant states and optical collation of impressions revealed some surprising new information, and archival material in the Mitchell and Dixon collections at the State Library of New South Wales and in the Macmillan archive at the British Library helped fill out the picture.

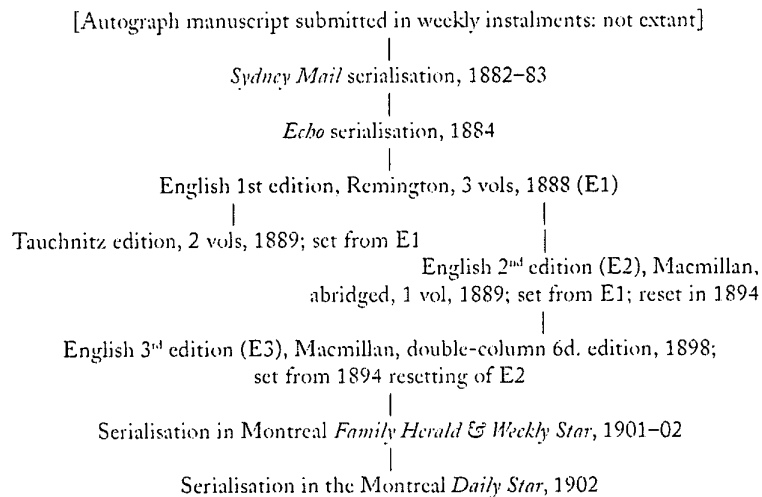


Diagram 1: Textual transmission of *Robbery Under Arms* to 1915

The *Sydney Mail* serialisation of the novel has long been known, but not the facts that the first English edition (E1) published by Remington was actually set from a previously unremarked, second serialisation in another Fairfax newspaper, the *Echo*; that Boldrewood did revise one, but only one, section of the novel in collecting *Echo* copy to send on to London; that this explains the strange omissions in E1 that Alan Brissenden noticed in his pioneering bibliographic study of the novel in the 1970s;<sup>4</sup> and that the Macmillan abridgement of the novel that Boldrewood authorised (E2) botched his instructions about deletions.<sup>5</sup> All subsequent editions derive directly or ultimately from the abridgement first published as E2. The critical edition examines this textual transmission in some detail and gives the evidence and reasoning leading to the conclusions I have given here in summary.

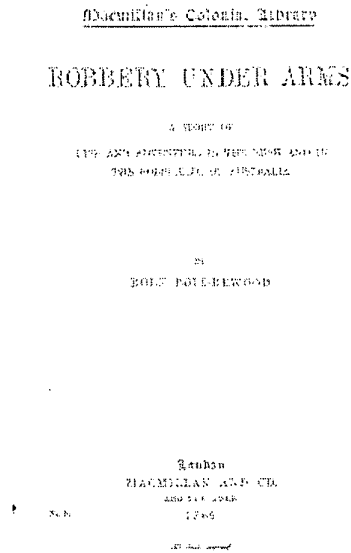


Fig 1. E2 (Macmillan, Colonial issue, 1889), title page



Fig 2. E3 casebound front cover (Macmillan, 1921), 1s. 6d.

It needs also to be recognised that Boldrewood was a professional: he wrote to make money. He liked what he did, and he was a hardworking man; but he did not write primarily to serve the *daemon*. Though neither did he find the two calls on his time incompatible, later telling Louis Becke that “my best work was done when I was half drowned in debt.”<sup>6</sup> When G. B. Barton contacted him (among other authors) in preparation for the series of essays that he would publish as ‘The Status of Literature in New South Wales’ in the *Centennial Magazine* during 1889, Boldrewood replied that what he was paid for his serials “was reasonably fair — even liberal.”<sup>7</sup> Barton gave the typical payment as 10s.–15s. per column but believed it “very low.”<sup>8</sup> Boldrewood of course was voicing his opinion at the very time when his serial had been re-serialised, published in a three-volume format by Remington in London, in two volumes by Tauchnitz in Leipzig (for European distribution only), and in an abridged form by Macmillan on 4 June 1889.<sup>9</sup> Success was staring Boldrewood in the face, and he would move quickly to ensure that Macmillan publish his previously serialised ‘tales’ (as they were usually called in the colonial press) as novels: writers wrote tales, and so much per column was appropriate; but authors wrote novels, even if their text was the same. When Boldrewood had received reviews in 1879 of his first novel to be published in London (by Silver & Co.), *Ups and Downs* (previously serialised as ‘The Squatter’s Dream’), he recorded in his diary: “now ... I am an *author*.”<sup>10</sup>

But it was not for another nine years that reviews of his next separately published novel, *Robbery Under Arms*, would begin to appear: the mysteriously long delay between the appearance of its *Sydney Mail* serialisation (1882–83) and its first English edition (1888) can now be explained.

Local publication was actively considered early in 1885 (soon after the end of the second serialisation) by Boldrewood in consultation with his sister Lucy Darley; but, as Barton tellingly commented, the disincentives to such a course of action were powerful:

Let us see what an author has to encounter when he proposes to publish. In the first place, all the risk of the publication falls on him; the publisher will take none of it under any circumstances. Secondly, owing to the higher rates prevailing here for printing, binding and paper, an author who determines to publish in Sydney has to pay some fifty percent. more on those items than he would have to pay if he published in London. Thirdly, publishers here insist on charging forty percent of the receipts from sales — a charge which they justify on the ground that they have to allow twenty-five percent. discount to the trade, (that is, the other book-sellers, who may take a certain number of copies on sale or return), leaving themselves, as they say, only fifteen percent. for their trouble in bringing the work out and putting it on the market. The author’s share of the

profits — supposing there are any — will therefore amount to sixty percent. of the total receipts, probably just enough to pay his printers' bill and other expenses, leaving him nothing to show for his hard work and the time devoted to it.

But this is taking a very rosy view of the speculation, because it assumes that a sufficient number of copies will be sold to pay all the expenses of the publication.<sup>11</sup>

Half-profit arrangements could sometimes be reached with London publishers, but that also meant putting up money, which, for an "overburdened paterfamilias" (as Boldrewood described himself<sup>12</sup>), was too risky, even impossible. He saw himself as a gentleman, he was a police magistrate, he had a large family and there were bills to pay.

The London firm of Remington & Co. is known to have courted colonial authors, including Rosa Praed, John Barry and Olive Schreiner, but typically on a shared-costs basis. In a letter of 19 April 1883 to the critic Jonathan Kent, Schreiner recalled that she "took the MS. [of *The Story of an African Farm*, rejected by Bentley because of its 'reprehensible' heroine] to Rimington [sic] ... He offered to publish it, I running a small share of the risk and receiving nearly all the profits. But ... I couldn't afford to lose money, so I drew back."<sup>13</sup> Schreiner must have got a better offer, for Chapman & Hall published the work in two volumes in January 1883 and in one volume in July. *Robbery Under Arms* was published in London by Remington in 1888, thereby initiating the chain of events that would lead to its becoming cheaply available in its abridged form from 1889 and its achievement of a classic status; but this was only after a relative (almost certainly Boldrewood's brother-in-law, the barrister and future NSW Attorney-General, Frederick Darley) put up the money. (This chain of events is spelled out in full in the critical edition.)

Appearance in the luxury three-volume format was no doubt gratifying, and it held out the prospect of wide recognition; but it was also a business-like move. As someone cognisant of the law, Boldrewood was fully aware of the need to retain and exploit the copyright in his intellectual property. This was underlined in 1890 when E. A. Petherick sought to republish *Ups and Downs* as *The Squatter's Dream*. Petherick normally purchased sets of pages from a work's English publisher for binding and distribution in Australia. On this occasion, he first purchased from Silver & Co. the right to publish the novel in his Australian series. Petherick next offered the English rights to Macmillan who contacted Boldrewood. He in turn disputed that Silver & Co. had had any right in the novel to sell, saying that John

Henniker Heaton, editor of the *Australian Town and Country Journal* in which the novel had first been serialised, had transferred it to him, Boldrewood, in 1887.

Exemplifying his professionalism as a “literary workm[a]n,” Boldrewood attached an attested copy of the transfer. In the letter to Barton, Boldrewood had commented: “I have never — except temporarily — parted with my copyrights — & do not intend to do so — having the example of Marcus Clarke, John Lang ... Henry Kingsley, & other Australian writers whose books now are in steady demand, before me — They doubtless received a mere trifle for their work at the time — and of the *incomes* which their books now produce what share do they or their families receive? —.” With *Ups and Downs*, Macmillan felt it safer to buy the rights Petherick believed he owned for what he had paid for them (£10). Petherick then bought Colonial copies of the Macmillan edition at a low rate — meaning that Boldrewood had to be content with reduced royalties.<sup>14</sup>

The inverse of professional (if not always successful) practice on the part of the author can be unprofessional or sharp practice on the part of the publisher. Macmillan seems to have been above this; but Remington was not, as extant correspondence in the British Library between Remington, Boldrewood and Macmillan reveals.

Once Remington & Co. became aware — for reasons set out below — of the further commercial potential of *Robbery Under Arms*, the firm moved to secure from Boldrewood the right to publish the novel in a one-volume, abridged format, and cabled him in Albury seeking permission. Boldrewood had to travel to Melbourne to find a copy of E1: Mullens’s circulating library had the three volumes, and so he was able to prepare notes specifying the sections to be deleted and to post them to Remington on 12 December 1888.<sup>15</sup> Apparently, however, Remington had no intention of publishing a cheap edition but merely wanted to secure the right to do so; it would be saleable. Some ‘Literary Notes’ columns in a New Zealand newspaper show that George Robertson of Melbourne had approached Remington with the idea of a 6s. edition to be published by Remington, with Robertson taking sheets for an Australian issue.<sup>16</sup> This seems to have spurred Remington into action: presumably the firm sniffed profits. Getting Boldrewood’s agreement to the one-volume edition was the first thing to do. Selling the right to another publisher — and who better than Macmillan, which had been aggressively expanding its Colonial Library series since its inception in 1886 — was the second; there was easy money to be made without the expense or bother of typesetting and distribution, and probably on better terms than Robertson was offering.<sup>17</sup>

Boldrewood’s reply of 12 December 1888 would not have reached Remington in London in under a month. By 7 February 1889, Mr E. Power of Remington &

Co. had offered the cheap edition rights to Macmillan for £50 and Macmillan had become sufficiently interested to investigate the likely printing costs.<sup>18</sup> Frederick Macmillan accepted the offer on 11 February — provided the author would agree to accept the same royalty as Remington had offered Boldwood of 4d. per copy sold “on all copies of his book sold in England and the Colonies and will hand the same [the copyright licence] over to us.”<sup>19</sup> Mr Power busied himself to achieve this end, securing Boldwood’s agreement by 25 February 1889. The next day, Power sealed the arrangements. (The “[James] W. Ash” mentioned in Power’s letter was temporarily acting for Boldwood instead of his usual agent Robert J. Jeffray.<sup>20</sup>)

Dear Mr. Macmillan

I have this morning received enclosed letter from W. Ash dated yesterday in which he advises acceptance by Mr. Browne of the royalty of four pence per copy.

Mr. Jeffray has been acting throughout for Mr Browne in the matter.

I take this opportunity of enclosing copy of our letter to Mr. Ash of 13 Inst: making known to him your offer & I also enclose copy of our original offer [to Jeffray for Boldwood] for cheap Edition dated 22 Nov: last.

Also I enclose letter from Mr. Browne dated 12 Decr. last covering draft preface for cheap Edition and instructions for cutting out 133 pages of the 3 vol Edition.

The enclosures Power mentions are still with the letter in the Macmillan archive, but unfortunately the instructions are lost.

One of the enclosures — a copy of the letter from Remington to Mr Ash of 13 February — was evidently in response to an attempt by Jeffray to secure a higher level of royalty:

Dear Sir.

Your letter of the 11th Inst.

In reply we cannot afford more than fourpence royalty as we explained to Mr. Jeffray

Messrs Macmillan & Co will take over the work from us and allow to author the same royalty i.e., 4 pence per copy on all copies sold of future Editions published in England and the Colonies. Messrs Macmillan’s Colonial series of cheap

novels is in high repute and Mr. Browne speaks of it in his letter to us [i.e. the letter of 12 December 1888]. We would strongly advise him in his own interests to accept Messrs Macmillan's offer and if you have not power to authorize us to do so on Mr. Browne's account we advise your cabling, as unless the book is put in hand at once it will miss the Spring season. Messrs Macmillan would publish the story in one vol as we intended doing.

The pressure could scarcely have been stronger. As later correspondence would show, knowledge of Macmillan's £50 payment to Remington was not communicated to Boldrewood or to Jeffray even though it affected the level of royalty per copy that Macmillan was prepared to offer. Mr Power had made a tidy sum for Remington & Co. for relatively little outlay.

The £50 was sent on 27 February 1889 together with a Macmillan contract for signature,<sup>21</sup> which Power evidently forwarded to Ash. He again quibbled on the 4d. per copy royalty. Informed by Power of this, Macmillan replied on 6 March:

I return Ash's letter and the agreements. I am sorry that we cannot accept his proposed alterations, but the terms of payment are those agreed to by *all* the authors for whom we publish & it would be very inconvenient to make an exception in this case.<sup>22</sup>

As negotiations for later titles would show, this was stretching the truth a little; but Macmillan was entitled to insist that the agreed terms be stuck to.

The novel went to press; but, as the critical edition shows, Macmillan's printer, R. & R. Clark of Edinburgh, failed to carry out Boldrewood's instructions properly; and — so far as is known — he never realised the fact. This edition in its Home and Colonial issues, in red boards with gold lettering at 3s. 6d. and in soft, drab-green covers on lighter-weight paper at 2s. 6d. went on, through impression after impression, to make Boldrewood's reputation. The critical edition discusses the novel's reception in some detail: suffice it to say here, that in London it was seen as having "brought into the jaded heart of social London a savour of wild adventure from the Australian bush," as Rosa Praed later recalled;<sup>23</sup> and in Australia it was soon being heralded as an essential work in what was emerging in reviews of the novel as the (colonial) classics of Australian literature. The recent centenary celebrations of 1888 had doubtless encouraged such reflectiveness on the local literary achievement so far, but the other candidates for likely classical status were few: principally *His Natural Life* and *The Recollections of Geoffrey Hamlyn*, as well, occasionally, as other novels by Boldrewood.

By the time of his death in 1915, Boldrewood's position was secure, and the terms of the praise for the 1850s Australia rendered in *Robbery Under Arms* remained little changed into the 1920s, though with varying valuations of the



element of romance in the novel. In an essay in 1920, A. G. Stephens stated what had become the consensus that had emerged from the cultural nationalism of the 1890s: "perhaps seven-tenths of it is Australian truth. The dashing bushranger 'Starlight' is the least real figure ... But the bush boys and bush girls, and particularly the old father, Ben Marston ... are as natural as trees ... the liveliest incidents ... are seized from the fact[s]." <sup>24</sup> According to 'Fabian' [James Devaney], writing in 1924: Boldrewood "was an historian as well as a story-teller ... more the observer than the inspired creator. There are no analytical subtleties in his novels, but he has a passion for reminiscence and descriptive detail ... Starlight is Rolf Boldrewood's greatest achievement." A "judicious element of exaggeration" in Starlight "makes the book the great romance it is." <sup>25</sup> There remained a genuine popular affection for the novel; it was a 'work' that also continued to do its work in people's lives. In 1923, the motoring columnist 'Napier Lyon' called it "the one book that I love ... When in hospital at the war, the parents of another patient brought me in *Robbery Under Arms* ... When I reached the death of Jim Marston I put my head under the blankets and howled like a child. It has always been the same since boyhood." <sup>26</sup>

### ***Print runs of Robbery Under Arms***

For the period in the novel's life up until World War II, there is hard information about print runs. Macmillan remained the novel's sole publisher in the English-speaking world. Comparison of the firm's printing orders in correspondence with printers copy-pressed into Macmillan letterbooks (1892-1937) <sup>27</sup> with figures recording copies printed and received (from before 1889; still at the firm's premises at Basingstoke) allows an unusually accurate tracking of the novel's commercial fortunes.

A detailed annual figure of copies intended for the Home market is available, together with a composite total for colonial copies until 1896 when separate print runs for the colonial market on cheaper paper ceased. Thereafter the 3s. 6d. printings apparently served for both markets, but in different boards. Excluding the colonial copies, the Basingstoke records show a first printing in May 1889 of 1,000 copies. This run was repeated in August and December 1889, increased the next year to 2,000 (in March, June and August), to 3,000 in November 1890 (repeated in January and June 1891), to 5,000 in October 1891, February 1892, January and November 1893, and so on. By 1896, 46,000 copies are noted for the Home market and a total of 52,000 colonial copies. Thereafter the number tailed off gradually (a further 46,000 copies for 1897-1915), and there was a revival but at a lower level after the end of World War One and through the 1920s. In 1918 the retail price of E2 issues rose to 4s. 6d. and by 1921 they were being advertised

as part of a "Uniform Edition" with eleven other Boldrewood titles at 6s. The Basingstoke entries record E2 printings of 1,000 in June 1918, 2,000 in April 1919, 2,000 in July 1920, a special issue of 5,625 at 6s. in April 1922, and 3,000 in November 1926.

There were also at least two Macmillan Canadian issues of E2 (1909 and n.d.), which are bibliographically elusive. Their binding is not standard Home or Colonial Library issue. They have red boards with a blind-stamped, large floral design on the front, and in the 1909 issue the surname is spelled "Bolderwood." (The undated issue has the correct spelling.) The title-page has been adjusted and the copyright page is blank. If they were printed in Toronto, it would have involved sending stereotyped plates (or moulds) from Britain. However, two copies of 1909 (at McMaster University Library and Thomas Fisher Library, University of Toronto), as well as two personal copies, have cancel title-pages, and the printer's statement on page 413 remains that of R. & R. Clark, Edinburgh. A report in the Toronto *Globe* of 16 January 1902 suggests a possible explanation. It stated that "George N. Morang & Co. of Toronto have bought from Macmillan sole control of Macmillan publications in Canada, including the right to print & bind a 'great many' of them ... here."<sup>28</sup> In 1906 the Macmillan of Canada Inventory Book shows the company had received some copies of E2 on consignment from London, already bound.<sup>29</sup> Graeme Johanson has pointed to evidence in the Macmillan correspondence between the London and Canadian branches that indicates that Frank Wise in Toronto preferred to buy sheets (at 10d. a set), bind them as part of the firm's Canadian Library and sell copies at the normal London Colonial Library price.<sup>30</sup> Probably confirming this, the bibliographic evidence suggests a changing of arrangements from already bound imports: spine and title-page of 1909 and n.d. copies give the publisher as Macmillan, Toronto.<sup>31</sup>

### *Changing formats, and the profits*

Within three years of Macmillan's beginning to publish Boldrewood titles, the author had received or was due over £3,750 in royalties: an average of more than £1,250 per year. But by June 1897, the annual result was only £341.<sup>32</sup> The idea of stimulating sales by trying his most popular novel in the burgeoning, end-of-century market for very cheap reprints would have been attractive. A third English edition of *Robbery Under Arms* (E3) set from E2 was prepared in double-column format (222 pages) for "Macmillan's Sixpenny Series." Priced initially at 6d. and section-sewn in paper wrappers, *Robbery Under Arms* was the first title in the new series and would be by far the biggest selling format for Boldrewood's novel.<sup>33</sup>

Frederick Macmillan had told A. P. Watt, Boldrewood's agent since 1895, the idea was that, in return for £100, the author would give the publisher the right "to

print a certain number of copies (probably 30,000) and sell them right out, not reprinting after the first Edition was exhausted" so that the "permanent sale" of E2 would not be impaired.<sup>34</sup> But the temptation for all concerned to continue with the format must have been too great: 320,000 copies would be printed by 1926. The Editions Books at the British Library show that three print orders of 30,000 copies were made in 1898 and single orders of the same size in 1903, 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1911. The Melbourne bookseller George Robertson took one of the 1898 printings in its entirety, and Macmillan arranged for the title-pages to bear Robertson's imprint.<sup>35</sup> The special cover bore an advertisement for Melidon Spa Water, was a "Special Australasian Edition" and sold at "ONE SHILLING" (double the Macmillan retail price), and the half-title-page did not bear "Macmillan's Sixpenny Series" as the normal issue did.<sup>36</sup> Thereafter orders of E3 of 20,000 were made in 1913 and 1916 (published in 1917) when the price was increased to 1s. The orders at this price reduced to 10,000 in 1921 (by which time a hardback issue of E3 at 1s. 6d. also became available with a linocut illustration of a horseman by "E. P. K." on the front cover) and 1922, and there were two such orders in 1926. Presumably the second order is the issue of 1927 — the last for E3.

Despite the very high sales figures for the cheap format, not all booksellers would have been happy with it. Compare a comment that had been published in 1914 in *Publishers' Weekly* (quoting the Australian *Bookfellow*) on the effect of lowering the cost of books: "Looking back twenty years ... it is becoming comparatively more difficult to sell high-priced new books; and we have already pointed out the effect of cheap trade in reducing turn-over ... The most profitable field of trade for real booksellers ... is between 3s. 6d. and 6s. Low prices demoralize the customers; high prices deter them."<sup>37</sup>

By 1928 Macmillan must have agreed that the idea of having cheap (E3) formats and 6s. E2 formats in competition with one another no longer made commercial sense. A new sales strategy was devised for 1928 when a new edition at 2s. appeared in Globe octavo (506 pages) with an initial printing of 30,000, reprints in June 1930 and July 1937 (4,250 copies in total), and a second printing in 1937 (for Macmillan's new "Cottage Library") in August of 10,000. The last issue was apparently in 1941.<sup>38</sup> The total number of copies of all Macmillan editions until 1937 was of the order of 523,125 copies — an average of roughly 11,000 copies per year sustained for 48 years.<sup>39</sup>

### *A second life after World War II*

Had he lived so long, Boldrewood would have probably been as much surprised as gratified with the sales results. In a letter to a new writer of Australian fiction W. G. Henderson in 1907, Boldrewood shows himself to have been nothing if not a pragmatist about his literary reputation:

I feel gratified that a book of mine should have been instrumental in awakening your literary talent, and starting you along the path of story-writing, which, when a man begins he never leaves, while he can hold a pen. There are disappointments and draw-backs about the vocation — many and various — for such you must be prepared. First of all, you make a bit — as doubtless you are likely to do with “Midnight’s Daughter” — a good title for a book. Then you think you can go on writing master-pieces — for ever and ever. The first two or three — perhaps half a-dozen sell well — and pay proportionately. Then a horrid rumour arises that you have written *yourself out*. The receipts fall off. The public are attracted by some new scribbler — and you have sorrowfully to confess that the public are right. They generally are, in the long run.<sup>40</sup>

Of Boldrewood’s works, only *Robbery Under Arms* survived “in the long run”; but for a while it too seemed to falter. Macmillan seems to have reprinted E2 and E3 for the last time in 1926, its 506-page edition in 1941, and then to have retired from the field until 1958, leaving the title to other publishers.<sup>41</sup> Given Macmillan’s evident decision that, by the mid-1940s, the novel’s commercial fortunes were exhausted, it is surprising to discover what a vital bibliographic life the novel enjoyed in Australia after World War II. Before speculating about what this was responding to in the social and cultural life of the postwar decades, it is necessary to set down the bibliographic facts. (Those impressions that I have not seen, where I am relying on information from copyright pages, are asterisked.)

As copyright would not have expired until 1 January 1966, licensing arrangements were presumably entered into. As a result, four new editions appeared from 1947 to 1954. Dymock’s “First Australian Edition” appeared in 1947 (typeset in Sydney, 427 pages, with a biographical foreword by W. A. Morris). The first impression has four black-and-white reproductions of inkwash or watercolour illustrations by Walter Tardin (or Tardini) of exciting incidents in the novel. They have a feeling of sculptural mass: the images are planar, gritty, heroic — very 1940s. This edition was reprinted in 1949\*, 1951 and 1955; and in 1957 “The Book of the Film” impression was issued, with ten stills from the Peter Finch (as Starlight) film scattered through the volume, but still with Tardin’s galloping horseman, revolver in hand (a watercolour or inkwash illustration) on the front cover (see Plate 5). Rigby in Adelaide continued the approach with this typesetting (but in paperback and with different shots from the film on the covers) in 1970\*, 1972\* and 1974. By 1976 Rigby had changed the paperback cover to a reproduction of Tom Roberts’s painting *Bailed Up*, and this was reissued in 1977 and again in 1981 (but in a large format with an illustration by Jim Gully of a bushranger pursued by police), and by Weldon (Sydney) in 1991 (but in a series design only). Again without the illustrations, the setting was reproduced in 1968 by Discovery Press in Penrith, NSW, introduced by Alan Brissenden, in imitation-leather bind-

ing as a "Bicentennial Edition" (commemorating in advance Captain Cook's voyage to the east coast of Australia in 1770) in an Australian Classics series.

A Cassell's edition of 432 pages had been published in London, also in 1947, with a biographical introduction by Charles Barrett and a reprinting of Boldrewood's "How I Wrote *Robbery Under Arms*" (1904). Omitting Barrett's introduction, which was still in copyright, Angus & Robertson reprinted this edition twice in 1980 in the firm's A&R Classics (paperback) series with a cover illustration by Don Stephens — evidently a commissioned watercolour of two bushrangers bailing up a stage-coach — and again in paperback in 1982\*, 1985, 1986\*, 1990, and in 1994 for Hinkler Book Distributors. The impression of 1985 (and probably the 1982 and 1986) had no illustration on their front covers, but the last two impressions used a detail from a painting of 1852 by William Strutt, *Bushrangers, Victoria, Australia*.

Oxford University Press had issued a new edition in 1949 (660 pages) in its World's Classics series with an introduction by Thomas Wood. The dust-jacket carried the series design. It was reprinted in 1951\*, 1955, 1957 and again in 1957\*, 1961, 1963 (twice) and 1965. By the 1955 impression and thereafter, the dust-jacket carried a drawing by Lynton Lamb of a man on horseback, cracking a whip (see Plate 6).

The Collins edition of 1954 (446 pages, with introduction by G. F. Maine and biographical outline by 'H.d.R.') was reprinted in 1963 and 1964, and in imitation-leather binding by Heron Books of London as a part of its "Literary Heritage Collection" (undated, 1968?). The same setting was used but without the introduction or outline (perhaps because still in copyright) by Lloyd O'Neil of Hawthorn, Victoria in 1970 (a hardback with a reproduction of *Bailed Up* on the dustjacket, see Plate 7). There were three issues in that year. The hardback format was repeated (same typesetting) by Lloyd O'Neil for Budget Books in 1979, by Lloyd O'Neil for Currey O'Neil in paperback in 1980 with a stylised front-cover rendering by Derrick Stone of *Bailed Up* and in 1984 (using *Bailed Up* itself), and by Claremont in 1990. Hale of London had also issued it in 1972\*. In their Australian Classics (hardback) series in 1982, Angus & Robertson reprinted the same edition — and in 1985\*, 1986 and 1990 — but with the Australian Frank Mahony's painting of 1892 *In the Days of Old* (men on horseback with pistols blazing) reproduced on the dustjacket (see Plate 8). Once again without introduction or outline, Times House Publishing, Sydney, in association with the *Australian* newspaper, published this edition in a red leatherette binding in 1983, 1986\*, 1987\* and again in 1992, by this time alone — but in each case as part of The Collector's Library of Australia's Great Books.

Perhaps influenced by the 1957 film, Macmillan re-entered the field in 1958 with a new printing of its 1928 edition (506 pages) in its St Martin's Library with a sober, series jacket-design. This edition was again reprinted in 1960\*, 1961 (with

a new, unattributed, colour illustration of a man on horseback turning in the saddle to shoot at two pursuers), and in the firm's Pocket Papermacs in 1965\* and 1966\*. The "First School Edition" (1968) was a Macmillan impression of this paperback edition with a still from the 1957 film on the cover. Penguin Australia (Ringwood, Vic.) reprinted the Macmillan 1928 edition (506 pages) in 1985 as a tie-in with the new film version (the actor Sam Neill, pointing a revolver, appears on the front cover: see Plate 9). Penguin had also printed in 1968\* and reprinted in 1977.

In 1992, the first new typesetting of the novel since 1954 appeared (528 pages) with a new, unattributed foreword on Boldrewood in cheap-hardback format (perfect-bound, with illustrated boards — a collage of WANTED posters and a sepia photograph of a young man of the period, see Plate 10).<sup>42</sup> Another use of a (postmodern) collage design was adapted by the only other trade edition to date, published in Adelaide by Axiom in the firm's Australian Experience series (431 pages, 2001). Print-on-demand artifacts that derive (undeclared) from the ASCII keying done for the Project Gutenberg electronic version of the novel, dated February 1998, have been available since *c.* 2002. They are of varying, inferior quality. Their typographic presentation, addition of some notes and correction of a few errors betray their source, itself made from what must be an 1892 copy of E2.<sup>43</sup> The novel has also been twice abridged for children,<sup>44</sup> repeatedly adapted for sound recordings and Braille, extracts have been anthologised and the novel has been translated into various languages. Not counting the print-on-demand artifacts, adaptations, translations and the serialisations, there have been about 130 impressions and issues representing eleven editions (original typesettings) in book form; the Academy Edition is the twelfth.

### *Bibliography and cultural study*

Ascertaining the complete bibliographic facts about a long-lived work is typically undergirded by a great deal of patient work, of surveying of library catalogues, examination of actual copies and, often, of dedicated book collecting. We do it because of the intellectual control it potentially offers, for the ordering of data that (we fondly hope) any interpretative study will require. In the present case, the preparation of a full-scale critical edition that prompted the exercise has lent an exactitude to the discrimination of typesettings, their relationship to one another and to the great many impressions that sprang from them, as well as to a deepened understanding of the book-historical and other questions that the work's bibliographical history begs. Literary and cultural critics, however, frequently ignore these sources of information, to their cost and to that of our wider culture. The question I am now raising is one of methodology.

In the 1990s, the attractions of literary theory together with the pungent flavouring of political urgency that post-colonialist critique afforded, tended to create an unwelcome climate for the call that D. F. McKenzie had made in 1985 in his Panizzi lectures: the considering together, as interlinked, questions of bibliography and sociology. Yet, since then, the prolific and in many ways allied work of Jerome J. McGann has been having its effect, and not only in McGann's area of particular expertise, Romantic and Victorian literature. His central insight that meaning in a literary work springs not only from its linguistic text but also from its physical embodiment has tended to widen the remit of bibliography by shifting it from a science to an interpretative discipline — to a hermeneutic.<sup>45</sup>

I see some evidence that smart post-graduates in the humanities are willing to engage in tough empirical pursuits, provided they can be potentially enlivened by a wider theoretical or cultural-historical understanding. The answering of a wider cultural question requires some intellectual leverage: the blandishments of theory have been strong here, but they typically rely on a specialised vocabulary in the service of a very generalised philosophical position. Their capacity to enlighten at the level of the particular case (and thus to be communicable to a wider audience) requires something more. Here, it seems to me, is where bibliography and book history come potentially into play, and one of their great benefits is their reintroduction of questions of causation and agency into understandings of cultural and historical shift. The bibliographic study of a classic over many decades can be an instructive example: its empirical facts afford the necessary leverage. Facts beg questions. And bibliography is a powerful analytical ordering of facts about texts and their physical embodiments.

In a case-study in the third volume of *A History of the Book in Australia* I have estimated postwar sales figures of *Robbery Under Arms* as 163,000 and gone some way towards an interpretation of the post-World War II bibliographic life of this novel, mainly by tracing the changing styles of dust-jacket and cover design.<sup>46</sup> In the Introduction to the critical edition I have summarised literary-critical reactions to the novel from the late 1950s: ranging from condescension towards it as an aesthetic work scarcely worthy of prolonged attention, to implicit rejection by feminist critics seeking to reinstate the role of women novelists of the colonial period, and finally to a recognition of its role in late-nineteenth century imperial romances.

Despite this predominantly dismissive reception, there is no doubt that this work had cultural work to do in the 1950s and 1960s: but it was the publishers and the historians, in the main, who understood or intuited it. The strong revival of the Ned Kelly story dates from the 1940s. Publishing interest in *Robbery Under Arms* was simultaneously at a high level; it was extended by the effect of the 1957 film. The reversion of interest to the colonial 1890s in the cultural nationalism of

the immediate post-war period gave a validation (and a cultural centrality) to male experience, particularly outside the domestic sphere. Books by Vance Palmer in 1954, and A. A. Phillips and Russell Ward (both in 1958) confirmed a living link to the 1890s: "Here [in *Robbery Under Arms*], if anywhere in imaginative literature", wrote Ward, "is the actual birthplace of the 'noble bushman'."<sup>47</sup> There was an ever-present danger in all this of inflated valuation of what the novel was expressing. T. Inglis Moore cautioned in 1957 that it needed to be realised that Boldrewood "wrote as a conservative squatter of the 'eighties, not as a radical democrat of the 'nineties." But, despite this, Dick was a true bushman, in a direct line from the Wild Colonial Boy: the apparent capitulation of "Dick's much-condemned 'moralising' ... isn't really moral at all," Inglis Moore argued. "It is not remorse he feels for crime or sin, but regret that he's been such a fool."<sup>48</sup>

However mixed were its signals, the novel was clearly touching a nerve in the 1950s, and not only in Australia. It is significant that three of the four early post-war editions were published by London-based publishers and two of them were actually printed in Britain (Oxford and Collins; Cassells published from their branch in Melbourne). Beginning in 1921 when a linocut of a horseman was used on the new Macmillan hardback of E3, this motif served as visual shorthand for the experience in the novel supposedly on offer. The explosion in Hollywood westerns in the 1950s went hand-in-hand with the new interest in *Robbery Under Arms*: hence the relative stability of versions of the same visual icon, noted above, and the abundant use of stills from the 1957 film.

From 1970, however, Australian firms took over the great bulk of the publishing of the novel, and it is at this point that dust-jackets began to use reproductions of nineteenth-century Australian paintings, Tom Roberts's *Bailed Up* being the most frequent. A historical consciousness (as opposed to a living myth) was taking hold of the bibliographic life of this novel. The directness with which the novel spoke to readers in the preceding decades was gaining a documentary quality, a historical respect, in the years leading up to and just after the Australian Bicentenary in 1988.

But, in the universities, feminist literary criticism and historiography was, at the same time, tending to place the novel beyond the intellectual pale, just as New Criticism and Leavisite close reading had done in the 1960s. The novel's fortunes suffered from what was in some ways a reaction against not so much Boldrewood's late-colonial literary achievement itself, as the 1950s characterisation of it.

In the 1990s in the popular sphere, with the bicentenary in the past and with the effects of postmodern styles and globalisation inducing an internationalism in cultural taste, there was no longer a vital or even historical place for *Robbery Under Arms*. The company that produced the Australian Classics series, including



*Robbery Under Arms* in 1992, became insolvent, and in the second half of the 1990s the novel was out of print. As in the mid-1940s (from Macmillan's viewpoint), the novel's fortunes had reached another nadir. But, once again, it may prove to have been temporary. The 2001 edition followed the appearance of the first full-scale scholarly biography of Boldrewood (by Paul de Serville, 2000), the appearance of Peter Carey's *True History of the Kelly Gang* (2000), and coincided with the publication of Ned Kelly's Jerilderie Letter after the gift of the original to the State Library of Victoria (2001). The Kelly Gang story and *Robbery Under Arms* are likely to remain in a fertilising mythic connection with one another, just as they did in the 1890s, and to the extent that both validate male-bonded vigorous, outdoors and at times heroic or foolhardy experience in defiance of lawful authority, the chance that Boldrewood's novel will continue to have a cultural resonance remains high.

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#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> "The Literary Work of a Readership: *The Boy in the Bush* in Australia 1924–1926," *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, 12 (1988), 149–66. "Document and Text: The 'Life' of the Literary Work and the Capacities of Editing," *Text*, 7 (1994), 1–24.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction in, D. H. Lawrence and M. L. Skinner, *The Boy in the Bush*, ed. Paul Eggert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>3</sup> The existing one is incomplete, bibliographically naive and factually unreliable: Keast Burke, *Thomas Alexander Browne (Rolf Boldrewood): An Annotated Bibliography, Checklist and Chronology* (Cremorne, NSW: Stone Copying Co., 1956); see n. 14 below.

<sup>4</sup> See Brissenden's *Rolf Boldrewood*, Australian Writers and their Works series (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1972); *Rolf Boldrewood*, ed. Brissenden, Portable Australian Authors (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979); and "Robbery Under Arms: A Continuing Success" in *The Australian Experience: Critical Essays on Australian Novels*, ed. W. S. Ramson (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974), 38–60.

<sup>5</sup> For details of this and other factual claims not supported here, see Introduction to the critical edition: St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 2006 (hereafter, 'critical edition'), where Elaine Zinkhan is thanked for information that her research assistant Helen Doyle had come across referring to the *Echo* serialisation. As an independent scholar, Zinkhan has been particularly generous in providing other information, noted below, from her own work-in-progress. I am most grateful to her.

<sup>6</sup> Letter Rolf Boldrewood (hereafter RB) to Louis Becke, 16 October 1893: Mitchell and Dixon Libraries (hereafter ML), MS Q207.

<sup>7</sup> Letter RB to G. B. Barton, 3 August 1889: ML MSS Q102.

<sup>8</sup> Barton went on: "the scale of remuneration . . . cannot possibly give the author any adequate return

for his work" ("Literature in NSW: II. How the Publishers Look at It," *Centennial Magazine*, 2, 2 (1889), 89–90). In "Literature in NSW: III. How the Newspaper Proprietors Look at It," he gives the rate. The series was republished separately by Mulini Press, Canberra, in 1993 as *Publishing Literature in N.S.W.: The Status of Literature in 1889*.

<sup>9</sup>The Tauchnitz English-language edition was set from E1 (as collation confirms). Both title-pages give the author as "Rolf Bolderwood"; but, textually speaking, the Tauchnitz edition is a dead-end. E2 was not.

<sup>10</sup>ML MSS 1444/2.

<sup>11</sup>Barton, "Literature in NSW: II," p90.

<sup>12</sup>Letter RB to Lord Rosebery, 18 August 1889 (owned by Graham de Vahl Davis).

<sup>13</sup>Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. My thanks to Andrew van der Vlies for this information. For Praed, see letter, Remington to Praed, 2 January 1878: Praed Papers, John Oxley Library, Brisbane (9A/7/1): item 1632 in *The Praed Papers: A Listing and Index*, comp. Chris Tiffin and Lynette Baer (Brisbane: Library Board of Queensland, 1994), 85. This is discussed in the critical edition.

<sup>14</sup>Letter, RB to Barton, 3 August 1889 (ML MSS Q102); letter, Macmillan to R. J. Jeffray, 22 April 1890, British Library (hereafter 'BL': references are to Additional Manuscript and folio numbers in the Macmillan archive) 55430/1419. Burke, *Boldrewood: Annotated Bibliography* notes a "Petherick Edition. No. 50" of *Robbery Under Arms* (19): not seen. This is almost certainly a confusion with the Petherick issue of the 1890 Macmillan edition of *The Squatter's Dream*, advertised as no. 50 in the "Petherick Collection of Favourite and Approved English and American Authors. For Circulation in the Colonies Only", *Torch and Colonial Circular*, December 1890, 9. See n. 36 below.

<sup>15</sup>Letter, RB to Remington & Co., BL 5489/155–7.

<sup>16</sup>*Canterbury Times* (NZ), 31 January 1889 in "Literary Notes" dated "LONDON, Dec. 7": the two publishers are reported as having "after all, come to terms": see further, Paul Eggert, "Robbery Under Arms: The Colonial Market, Imperial Publishers, and the Demise of the Three-Decker Novel," *Book History*, 6 (2003), 127–46.

<sup>17</sup>Without informing RB or Jeffray, the company sold Continental rights to Tauchnitz in December 1888 for £25 and went on to conceal the matter: see further, critical edition.

<sup>18</sup>On that day Macmillan asked the printer R. & R. Clark to estimate a page extent for a one-volume edition: BL 55329/653.

<sup>19</sup>Letter from Macmillan to Remington, 11 February 1889 (BL 55427/133).

<sup>20</sup>Jeffray and Ash worked for the Union Mortgage and Agency Company of Australia Ltd in London: Jeffray had been appointed to look after RB's affairs by Robert Murray Smith, who had returned from London after a successful stint as Agent-General for Victoria. RB thanked Murray Smith in the preface to E2 for his help in getting the novel placed in London (i.e. E1) in the first place. The letter and enclosures are BL 5481/150v.–158.

<sup>21</sup>Letter, Macmillan to Power (BL 55428/25).

<sup>22</sup>BL 55428/86.

<sup>23</sup>*Our Book of Memories: Letters of Justin McCarthy to Mrs. Campbell Praed*, ed. Rosa Praed (London: Chatto & Windus, 1912), 214 n. 1.

<sup>24</sup>Stephens, "Australian Writers. V. T. A. Browne," *Bookfellow*, 15 April 1920, 1; reprinted in *A. G. Stephens: His Life and Work*, ed. Vance Palmer (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, 1941), 41. See also Stephens's "Australian Literature," *Commonwealth Annual*, 1901, 32–6.

<sup>25</sup>Devaney, "Rolf Boldrewood: A Critical Study," *Brisbane Courier*, 23 February 1924, 17.

<sup>26</sup>Lyon, "Mostly about Ourselves," *Sydney Mail*, 15 August 1923, 40.

<sup>27</sup>The onion-skin paper of letterbooks retained a transfer of ink when a freshly handwritten letter with the ink still wet was inserted beneath a leaf and pressure applied. The transfer was therefore in negative image on the back of the leaf, but as the paper is nearly transparent one reads through it, seeing the writing normally, in positive image.

<sup>28</sup>Clipping, BL 54891/184. Elaine Zinkhan reported on the copies in the Canadian libraries, and John Spiers on a personal copy: I thank them both. The second personal copy is mine.

<sup>29</sup> At McMaster University Library, S/W 591, 1906 (information from Elaine Zinkhan).

<sup>30</sup> Graeme Johanson, *A Study of Colonial Editions in Australia 1843–1972* (Wellington, NZ: Elibank Press, 2000), 174–5 and 205 n. 83 refer to a letter from G. J. Heath of London to F. Wise of Toronto, 5 January 1910. The original reads: “*Robbery Under Arms*. We can supply you with 500 sheets delivered flat at 10d.”; but a later letter of 15 August 1910 refers to 500 copies for Canada being bound in Britain: BL 55281 (vol. CDXCVI).

<sup>31</sup> Bruce Whiteman’s *Bibliography of Macmillan of Canada Imprints 1906–1980* (1985), lists no RB titles. The only other special issue of E2 sighted was a semi-luxury production in 1899 for a *Daily Telegraph* series. The BL Editions Books have a column for recording instructions to do with maps or plates. The only such reference for *Robbery Under Arms* occurs in the entry for 23 January 1899: “Overhaul plates & mend headlines etc” (BL 55914/30–1). This may relate to the 1899 issue of E2. The Editions Books also note a print order on 22 June 1894 for 1,250 copies on Quad Crown 120 lbs stock, when the norm was 80 lbs, and only 50 lbs for Colonial copies (BL 55909/130–1). The Basingstoke Editions Book for this period gives, for July 1894, only “Reset and stereotyped,” but no quantity is recorded. Evidently a special issue had been ordered (not seen).

<sup>32</sup> See letter from Macmillan to RB, 5 May 1892 (BL 55843/355). For the figure of £341, see BL 54939/70.

<sup>33</sup> The last known typesettings of the novel before RB’s death in 1915 were serialisations in the Montreal *Family Herald and Weekly Star* and *Daily Star* in 1901–02 that he mentions in his article “How I Wrote *Robbery Under Arms*” (1904), reprinted in Rolf Boldrewood, ed. Brissenden, 491–8 [491] from *Life*, 1. 1 (1904), 58–61. The copy for the *Weekly* (which began appearing first) was E3, and the *Daily* was reset from the *Weekly*: see further, the critical edition’s Introduction and, for an explanation of the choice of the serial and for the bizarre alterations made to the text, its appendix *Robbery Under Arms* in Montreal.

<sup>34</sup> 15 February 1898 (A. P. Watt Papers, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 26.18): I thank Elaine Zinkhan for this information. Cf. RB’s diary (“Private Journal”) for 1898 (at 23 March): “Letter from Macmillan & Co. offering £100 for 6d. Edition of *Robbery Under Arms*. To cable ‘Yes’” (National Library of Australia MS 3208).

<sup>35</sup> Letter, Macmillan to Clay, 25 August 1898 (BL 55357/767, 778).

Distortion and loss of characters consistent with slight damage to plates on several pages of the first impression of 1898 show that E3 was printed from stereotyped plates from the start. Inspection of copies of 1921 and 1922, where the damage had been made good and the type impression (in 1921) is fairly sharp, show that new-generation plates must have been made from original moulds, since optical collation (which detects tiny shifts in the lateral position of pieces of type, occasioned by line-by-line resetting) of 1898 and 1922 copies of E3 show it had not been reset. This process must have been repeated, as a copy of 1927 is sharper than one of 1921 (both at ML). But the 1922 copy has some spot resetting of a number of parts of lines, one to overcome a spacing error in 1898 (“andStarligh twerc”, 32 col. 1) and two others presumably to repair damage that was not present in 1898. At 125 col. 2 “Guess” has been sweated into the plate although a lower-case “g” was needed, and there are at least three cases of loss of individual characters or punctuation marks by 1922. It is a 16mo whereas 1898 had been an octavo, occasioning correction of the signatures. *Copies inspected*: 1898 ordinary Home printing of E3 (McLaren collection, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne); another, rebound copy of 1898; a copy of 1921; and a 1922 hardback E3 (last three, personal copies).

<sup>36</sup> Copy at ML. A paper-covered E3 (or E2) issue with the name of E. W. Cole on the title-page and dated 1899 is noted by Burke, *Bibliography of Boldrewood* (p19): not seen.

<sup>37</sup> *Publishers’ Weekly*, 26 December 1914, p2071.

<sup>38</sup> 1941 issue: not seen. Copies of 1928 and 1937 (the latter in red boards with E. P. K. illustration on its dustjacket) have been consulted, and another 1937 issue (in dark blue, soft covers: neither claims to be a second printing): personal copies.

<sup>39</sup> This figure is calculated from the Basingstoke records wherever possible (copies actually printed and received: E2, 157,625; the typesetting for the 2s. edition, 44,250) and from the BL records

(copies ordered for printing) for E2 a further 1,250 copies (see n. 30) and for E3 (320,000 copies).

<sup>40</sup>Letter to W. G. Henderson, 30 September 1907: ML DOC 33a. Henderson (1870–1957) had recently published *Midnight's Daughter and Other Stories* (1907).

<sup>41</sup>E2 was revived by the University of Queensland Press, in 1979 in hardback and in 1988 in paperback, in the form of a facsimile of an E2 reprint of 1893: *Rolf Boldrewood*, ed. Brissenden. Both use a photograph of RB on their cover.

<sup>42</sup>("Australia": Modern Publishing Group, 1992). The copyright page states: "Editorial support, Printworks Publishing; author research, Michelle Graham," but the foreword's many obvious typos inspire little confidence.

<sup>43</sup>Two (personal) copies inspected are:

(1) 838 pages, no ISBN or publication details but "LR" is printed on the spine and front gatefold paperback colour cover, which bears a badly pixellated illustration of a Frederick McCubbin painting. "LR" apparently refers to LongRead Books, Bexhill-on-Sea, UK, the supplier of the (large-print) copy that listed it on [www.abebooks.com](http://www.abebooks.com) as "2004" (accessed 28 February 2006). This copy retains the ASCII source's use of capitals for italics, new paragraphs preceded by a blank line, unrounded quotation marks, dashes presented as two hyphens etc.

(2) 463 pages plus 2 pages of advertising (also present in the ASCII source) that date from what must be an 1892 impression of E2 (the Macmillan advertising changed regularly). Similarly accessed and dated as "2002" from [Paperbackshop.co.uk](http://Paperbackshop.co.uk), this paperback copy bears publication details on its copyright page: (McLean, Virginia: IndyPublish.com, n.d.), ISBN 1 4043 2892 0 (hardcover) and 1 4043 2893 9 (pbk). More typographic adjustment has been made than for (1), e.g. solid dashes, rounded closing (but not opening) quotation marks and apostrophes, but capitals represent italics.

The ASCII source at [isis.library.adelaide.edu.au/pg](http://isis.library.adelaide.edu.au/pg) (a mirror site for Project Gutenberg: [www.gutenberg.org](http://www.gutenberg.org)) declares: "This text was prepared by Alan R. Light ... To assure a high quality text, the original was typed in (manually) twice and electronically compared." In Chapter 17 in both copies and the e-text, a note is added (mid-page), signed, "A. L., 1997", that hazards a correction to E2's typographic presentation of a cattle brand. The e-text states its source only as E2 and gives the date of E2's first impression (June 1889) but does not give the date of the impression actually used.

<sup>44</sup>(London: Ginn, 1968), 152 and, in the Classic Australian Stories series (West Melbourne: Nelson, 1977), 72, adapted by Gail Halst and with four illustrations: two collages, a contemporary painting and a photograph. The colour cover-photograph is of an old revolver and rifle, belonging to the National Trust of Australia.

<sup>45</sup>D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts: The Panizzi Lectures 1985* (London: British Library, 1986). Jerome, J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983; repr. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992); *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); and *Black Riders: The Visible Language of Modernism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). For an important early statement, see McGann's "The Monks and the Giants: Textual and Bibliographical Studies and the Interpretation of Literary Works" in *Textual Criticism and Literary Interpretation*, ed. McGann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 180–99.

<sup>46</sup>"New Life for a Colonial Classic *Robbery Under Arms*", *Paper Empires: A History of the Book in Australia*, vol. 3, 1946–2005, ed. Craig Munro and Robin Sheahan-Bright (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2006), 260–3.

<sup>47</sup>Ward, *The Australian Legend* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1958), 204. Palmer, *The Legend of the Nineties* (1954); Phillips, *The Australian Tradition*. And the only bibliography of RB to date appeared (cited in n. 3).

<sup>48</sup>Inglis Moore, "A Word for Boldrewood," *Bulletin*, 13 March 1957, 2.