

## New Zealand Writers Seeking Overseas Publishers, 1870-1914: *some issues of Nation and Empire*

LUKE TRAINOR

Blanche Baughan emigrated to New Zealand in 1900 after the death of her mother. The daughter of an English scrivener, she secured a first class Classics degree, but had a tragic earlier life and a social conscience. Her poems *Shingle Short*, (Whitcombe & Tombs, Christchurch) sold well, but in 1908 she wrote Johannes Andersen, poet and anthropologist, explaining that she and Jessie Mackay had resolved that nothing of theirs would be printed without pay and suggesting that the local newspaper editors should be told this, "pointing out that they are doubly damaging national literature ... they are (1) obliging us to send our exquisite productions to England forsooth! And Australie and (2) they print doggerel, since they needn't pay for it. Why we should fill their columns for nothing I do not see..."<sup>1</sup>

"The social forms through which human beings produce and reproduce their material life" has been represented explicitly by historian Richard Johnson in discussing cultural production.<sup>2</sup> He sketches a circuit of capital that is at the same time a circuit of subjective forms. This article borrows his outline as a starting point, adapting it to the history of script and print. Johnson indicates that production — publishing for example — involves a move from the forms that are more concrete and private to those more public and abstract. The circuit is based on lived cultures and social relations that display themselves in those years in British imperialism and colonial nationalism. In that way it captures the concerns of Baughan and others for national literature as well as the problems posed by overseas publishing.

The imperial system loomed large in 1875-1914; Australia and New Zealand together were by volume the main British book importing countries, higher than the US, Canada, India or Europe. Many British publishers had by 1906 emulated the Macmillan Colonial Library and less successful predecessors. The social relations behind this in Britain were assisted by the Anglo-Australian community; Petherick, former London manager of George Robertson, Melbourne might be cited. George Sladen and his friend Patchett Martin were other familiar members beating the drum. Great imperial occasions encouraged the production of colonial books — typically the South African war, conjoined with the formation of the Commonwealth of Australia.

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This paper looks, firstly at a cluster of poetry anthologies of the Australasian colonies produced by British publishers in 1888 (the centenary of the arrival of the misleadingly-termed 'first fleet' at Botany Bay), secondly at the role of the *Sydney Bulletin* in relation to writers of New Zealand (or Maoriland) and their publication abroad, and thirdly at the reception given to New Zealand manuscripts by the British publisher Macmillan.

A London author, Douglas Sladen, who spent five years in Australia where his uncle had been premier of Victoria, availed himself of publishers' interest in centenaries to launch a flurry of anthologies.<sup>3</sup> He had previously published five books of poetry with Griffith, Farran & Co. of London. In his Preface to *Australian Poets 1788-1888* he wrote: "Another Australian anthology! the critical may say. 'We have two already and from the same editor. What occasion is there for a new one?'" He explained that the other two *Australian Ballads and Rhymes* and *A Century of Australian Song* (Both from Walter Scott, 1888) were confined to poems inspired by the life and scenery of New Zealand and Australia, the third attempted to cover the best poems produced in those colonies, irrespective of subject. These anthologies had originated from Sladen's placing news items in papers on both sides of the Tasman, that he had been invited by the British publisher Scott to secure poems for an anthology. He would select from those offered, they must have appeared in print in newspapers or elsewhere and there would be no payment.

Anthologies of English poetry were enjoying great success in the second half of the century. F.T. Palgrave's enormously popular *Golden Treasury* had appeared in 1861 and Patchett Martin, an Anglo-Australian friend and collaborator, urged Sladen to keep it in mind in his compilations.<sup>4</sup> There was however no precedent for an Antipodean anthology of this kind. He had used the newspapers to help make clear that his titles included — as was frequent in British usage — New Zealand in Australia. He initially proposed poems grounded in the countries concerned — which would strike almost a nationalist note — and subsequently broadened the descriptor, partly in answer to criticism from some of his correspondents who felt that the language of verse was universal. The latter agenda might also raise the quality of the contents, a point very much at issue then and later.<sup>5</sup>

Sladen was thirty-one, with a history first from Oxford and a law degree from Melbourne. He published some of his initial works on commission, at his own expense. He was energetic, networked tirelessly and, in old age, could look back on eighty volumes listed in the British Library catalogue including those on New Zealand and Australian literature as well as popular travel books, biographies and fiction. It should not be assumed that the contents were all from his own pen.<sup>6</sup>

Those writers who participated in his anthologies were supportive although not unquestioningly. Mary Colborne-Veel of Christchurch wrote to him, "You advertise for poets to enrol themselves in your band as easily as calling for tenders ... you should end by describing your experiences — an essay 'Oppressed by Poets' might be written with effect." Still, it seems that he secured many replies from South Australia, Victoria and New Zealand, though far less from Eastern Australia. The *Bulletin* was hostile. It remarked in reply to an offer of some particularly poor verse "... it is not much better than Sladen's last."<sup>7</sup> It discussed the number of Australian poets. They "generally appear ... in the quiet corners of country newspapers ... They harm nobody and once published are never afterwards heard of ... until some defiler of graves like the aforesaid Sladen ... indecently exposes them to the world." Still, it went on to argue that if people were made to realise that there was such a thing as an Australian literature then no member of the Australian Natives Association would blame Sladen.<sup>8</sup>

In 1887 the Queen's jubilee had been marked in Sydney by riotous democratic take-over of official meetings supporting the event. The Anglo-Australian / New Zealand community in London of which Sladen was a prominent member can only have been discomforted. The centenary in 1888 was an opportunity to offset that by news which would stress not only the valuable colonial / imperial relationship but also the social propriety of the Australian colonists. This was important for Australasian loans, which were at this time up to a third of net British portfolio foreign investment.<sup>9</sup> This community met at clubs and societies such as the Royal Colonial Institute and mixed with the colonial Agents-General and those who held the strings of the commercial and financial activities of the six colonies in the City. Beyond that there were the wealthy who retired to Britain or writers and bibliophiles and publishers, such as Edward Petherick, who had connections through former residence. The Australian newspaper representatives were well known to Sladen and the New Zealand and Australian newspapers frequently carried a 'London Letter,' often reflecting Anglo-Australian views. It can be seen as a specific fraction of the British middle class. Elsewhere in Britain, there were other former Australians of a different class position, for example Robert Richardson a Scot born and brought up in the colonies and now writing Australian stories and poetry for British journals.<sup>10</sup>

Looking at the replies to Sladen from New Zealand and Australia, the grounding in everyday life of the poets becomes plain. Andrew Kinross of Invercargill wrote: "I am an advanced Liberal and I advocate the elevation of labour in prose and verse. I am a farmer so never devote much time to composition, so none of mine are long." Sarah Welch of Melbourne wrote after her poem was published that she would be "glad to have any remuneration, however trifling." The eco-

conomic pressure, especially perhaps on women, became obvious with the Australian depression of the nineties. Mrs M. Braithwaite from Adelaide sent a story to Sladen through his connection with the short-lived British Authors Syndicate. She admitted that she had a problem with paragraphing and noted that she was "... not thinking of honour but money, of which I stand so much in need at the moment."<sup>11</sup>

Sladen was involved with authors' organisations and foresaw a role as a proto-literary agent. He put a scheme before his publishers of "...editing, correcting, seeing through the press etc. Australian author's books..." H. Okeden, a principal of Griffith Farran and former university student friend, poured cold water on the proposal. The firm would want to see the author's manuscripts themselves "to see whether we know them personally and professionally and if we will publish them at all — even at the author's expense." Then, "we may want to purchase copyright and bring the book out at our own cost and risk." It would be difficult to provide an estimate of printing, as one of Sladen's correspondents had suggested, because the estimates might vary "in ways not familiar to a beginner author." The procedure would be that "the manuscripts would have to be sent through us ... for our approval and estimate. You could put an advertisement in the anthology that you would do the work for Australians at so much per thousand words if we were instructed to send it to you for that purpose. This can be a matter of conversation."<sup>12</sup> Sladen did not take it up in this form but remained interested. He secured in 1890 the publication of *Far South Fancies* by Alexander Bathgate of Dunedin, a contributor of the anthologies, in low-cost format by Griffith Farran. By about 1912 his general literary agent business occupied more of his time. Among the works he was asked to assist and attempted to place were *The Finger of Mr Blee* (John Lane, 1916), a British edition of Frances B. Lysnar's *New Zealand The Dear Old Maori Land* (Auckland 1913) and a proposed book of verse (1913) by G. Hodgkinson of Invercargill. In addition he published in conjunction with W.M. Hughes, Australian Prime Minister 1915-1923, *From Boundary Rider to Prime Minister* (1916) and assisted Sir John Monash of Victoria with work on his memoirs of the Western Front campaigns.<sup>13</sup>

Sladen's anthologies with their initial emphasis on the New Zealanders' or Australians' (of quite different colonies) love of their lands, flora and fauna were consistent with historian James Belich's notion of a 'recolonisation.' He sees from the 1880s, "a renewal and reshaping of links between colony and metropolis after an earlier period of colonisation." Much depends on the meaning attached to the notion of colonisation and the position of Maori in the argument. Belich argues that the British colonial project "... to convert or conquer the Maori" (the first colonisation) had "very mixed success" and was succeeded by "the amazing twentieth century Maori resurgence."<sup>14</sup>

In turning to literary nationalism and the role of the *Bulletin* in the publishing of New Zealand writing it may be useful to recall that, although this article is chiefly concerned with a narrow range of writers, almost all Pakeha, who had some aspiration to publish books, they were constantly aware of the Maori presence as a colonised people who not only had resisted conquest but continued to do so in these years. It was from the 1890s that they started their demographic recovery. The attempt to fashion a degree of political unity, Te Kotahitanga, helped lead to the Maori parliament movement of 1892. The South African war of 1899-1902 made important the fostering of some show of unity, especially accommodating Maori, as did the Seddon government's aspirations in the Pacific. In colonial situations the indigenous people have frequently observed that officials, missionaries and others "named" them, created them as groupings, some more favoured or co-operative than others. In Zimbabwe, for example, Shona and Ndebele had elements of this construction, as Terence Ranger has shown. The use of the name Maoriland for New Zealand, which emerged at this time, had obvious ambiguities.<sup>15</sup> It could turn in the hand of the user. Discussing Apirana Ngata's poem 'A Scene from the Past' Stafford and Williams argue: "As cultural performance, tradition is not memorialised or revisited but given celebratory force in the present."<sup>16</sup>

In the period 1870-1914 the weakening, strengthening or altering bonds of a small colony with Britain had frequently to be negotiated via the colonies or Commonwealth of Australia. Sydney was, for some New Zealanders, their London. Sydney harbour fulfilled an imaginative role, even for outsiders.<sup>17</sup> The *Bulletin* circulated widely in New Zealand and its editorial literary personnel in this period — James Edmond and A.G. Stephens, later Adams and McKee Wright, even Archibald — had connections with New Zealand. The paper facilitated a range of functions for aspiring local writers by considering, paying for and publishing their work.

In 1892 the *Bulletin* adopted the usage 'Maoriland' for New Zealand. This term had, of course, its own New Zealand roots but the significance at this time was in the recognition that each colony had its own identity. New South Wales Premier, Henry Parkes — included in Sladen's anthology — had introduced a Bill to rename his colony Australia in 1887. 'Maoriland' was opposed by some New Zealanders. 'Netta' in the periodical *Red Funnel* claimed that New Zealand had suffered dictation for example in relation to the name 'Maoriland': "as a foreign label it is melodious and inoffensive (but) it is as apropos and as dignified as a sale board at the front gate."<sup>18</sup>

The name 'Maoriland' had some political advantages for New Zealand, both before and after the Commonwealth was formed in 1901. It helped avoid conflict with the Australian colonies as federation approached; it left New Zealand policy

towards federation usefully ambiguous since the British government covertly supported federation but recognised that any signal of that would be counterproductive. Crucially, Captain Russell, New Zealand representative at the 1890 Federation Conference acknowledged, "were we to hand over the 'native question' to a Federal Parliament, mostly Australians, that cares nothing and knows nothing about native administration ... the difficulty which precluded settlement in the North Island might again appear."<sup>19</sup> Further, the term served the trade Union movement well as signalling the distinctiveness of its syndicalism in contrast with Australian Labour parties, as James Bennett shows in his recent book *Rats and Revolutionaries*.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, 'Maoriland' was, in literary terms, a strong brand. Macmillan's Reader, Mowbray Morris, faced with Grace's *Maoriland Stories* claimed that there were in New Zealand "... none of those peculiar features of the landscape which make what one may call the national background of Australian fiction. The only local colour of New Zealand comes from the Maoris."<sup>21</sup> Stafford and Williams in 2002 defined the term as: "the literature of incipient nationalism of late colonial New Zealand, roughly 1880-1915 ... (which) distinguished the Maori, who figure as 'a dying race,' whose archaic and romantic past can be borrowed by Pakeha (European) writers to give their settler culture the authority of history."<sup>22</sup> Still, it is necessary to recall the way in which 'Maoriland' was a contested term. This is relevant not only to the literary world. It fits with the anthropological work of Smith, Best and Tregear and the Polynesian Society formed in 1892. Key participants saw their work as participating in a wider anthropology debate with other countries rather than involving primarily New Zealand issues.

The reality was that the *Bulletin* provided a major outlet, apart from daily newspapers, for the publication of New Zealand literary work. Nesbitt points out that in the 1890s it published 145 New Zealand-based stories and some 400 New Zealand poems. They were sometimes included in volumes such as *The Bulletin Story Book* (1901).<sup>23</sup> The payment secured for contributions was higher than that available in *New Zealand Mail* and writers here were not paid for reprinted material.<sup>24</sup> Again, there was at least comment available from Sydney through the journal's columns or by the encouragement of literary editor, A.G. Stephens and his successors. Edith Lyttleton, looking back on her early twentieth-century experience, attached importance to the encouragement offered by the *Bulletin*.<sup>25</sup> For many New Zealand writers it offered access to the larger literary debates. They could see their own writings in the context of Stevenson, Kipling and Harte. Successful Australian authors sometimes chose New Zealand as a setting. One thinks of Boldrewood's *War to the knife or Tangata Maori* (1899).

A further option open to writers in New Zealand (and Australia) was to send their work, without specific invitation, to British publishers for consideration.

Macmillan was a reputable British publisher and their Colonial Library raised their profile in Australia. That series started from Maurice Macmillan's honey-moon-cum-commercial trip to India and Australia in 1885-6 promoting textbooks, their great volume sellers. The potential Macmillan saw for British popular novels in New Zealand and Australia was confirmed by the visit of George Platt of Macmillan New York to follow the contacts he had made.

The Colonial Library, a series of books cheaper than the equivalent in Britain and not for sale there, designed exclusively for the Indian and colonial markets, was launched in 1886 with Number 1, a reprint of *Station Life in New Zealand* by Lady Barker. Frederick Macmillan later remarked on the way in which other publishers in Britain had followed in the production of their own 'Colonial libraries.' While true, the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was the prime growth period for series or "sustained literary ventures." A calculation of the series titles listed in the *English Catalogue of Books* shows the change: (1872-80) 218, (1881-89) 407, (1890-97) 883, (1898-1900) 496.<sup>26</sup>

By the late 1880s there was no doubt about the existence of a British readership for colony-related books. But that was only part of the agenda for the Colonial Library as discussed by Publisher's Readers. They were also to identify authors who would meet the suggested readership in the colonies of Australia and New Zealand, although also in India, at the Cape and elsewhere. Although some titles were drawn from the Macmillan's backlist such as *Tom Browns Schooldays*, potential new volumes submitted from outside publishers were frequently considered by the Macmillan's Readers. New Zealand and Australian manuscripts were submitted — especially after 1889 with the success of Boldrewood's *Robbery Under Arms*. What was involved was a nice judgement of the commercial potential of a manuscript with necessarily speculative knowledge of the colonial market.

A sample of two hundred sixty readers' reports from Macmillan includes both Australian and New Zealand books, so as to be large enough to be significant. They are identified by the authors' birthplaces, residences and subjects and yield the following results. Of manuscripts submitted ninety-two per cent were rejected; Boldrewood stands out among those whose manuscripts were published. Given that fiction loomed so large and Macmillan was not primarily a fiction house, the rejection rate is not excessive. Three quarters of the submissions appear to have been by men. This is a high figure if compared with Tuchman's analysis of a longer period.<sup>27</sup> She found that some sixty per cent of manuscripts submitted to Macmillan in the middle years of the century were from women, although they were by the end of the century being supplanted by men. Yet this 'Colonial' sample is tilted towards fiction which was regarded as a female genre. Two thirds appear not to have been published authors, that is, those who have identifiable books published before or after submission, a result comparable with Tuchman's

sample of all manuscripts coming to Macmillan. That suggests that the Antipodean manuscripts were quite up to the average, despite the sometimes dismissive phrases of the readers. Significantly a quarter of submitters were New Zealanders, rather higher than 1901 populations in the two countries would suggest.

The readers usually concealed their role but most notable was John Morley, Cabinet Minister and Gladstone's biographer. Mowbray Morris, with brief and now distant experience of South Australia, received most of the manuscripts in this sample. He was editor of *Macmillan's Magazine* and a minor literary critic. In addition, specialist readers might be used for works on anthropology, religion or social economy. They were under pressure of time. Morris reported on twenty-three manuscripts a month in 1893. Their function was to report the level of performance but they were less now the literary critic and more concerned with "saleability and the market."<sup>28</sup>

The language of the readers' reports carried assumptions of middle class respectability. They used class and gender markers such as outrageous, coarse and vulgar. To take an Australian example, in 1904 Miles Franklin's manuscript "When I was Mary Ann" appeared at Macmillan with the support of Lord Tennyson, the Governor of the Commonwealth of Australia. Morris writes: "There is a great lack of variety in her experiences and also a great deal of angry and futile kicking against the pricks of existence and not a little unnecessary coarseness of language which comes with especially bad grace from a girl who is apparently not long out of her teens. I cannot imagine it finding a market here and I certainly would not recommend you to try to find one for it."<sup>29</sup> Duckworth in London had already published it. In 1905 Franklin submitted "In the Heart of One Woman." Morris condemned it as "coarse, vulgar and illiterate beyond all conception."

Among prominent New Zealand authors who submitted manuscripts to Macmillan from the late 1880s to the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century there were many familiar fiction or poetry writers: Arthur Adams, Andersen, Bathgate, Baughan, Bracken, Chamier, Alfred Grace, Grossman, Mackay, Satchell, Tregear, Harry and Julius Vogel and Satchell as well as reprints of F.E. Maning's *Old New Zealand* and Lady Barker's *Station Life in New Zealand*. Mrs Mayer thought Harry Vogel's *Gentleman Garnet* was "more of the Adelphi boards than the Australian bush ... I don't think it is worth transportation especially as we have no reason to suppose that Mr Vogel has made any name for himself." Morris was able to support the publication of Harry Vogel's *A Maori Maid*, finding the heroine charming and approving her being saved from the disgrace of illegitimate birth by marriage to the son of an English Baronet "and a fine young fellow." His status as son of former Premier Minister Julius Vogel also assisted.<sup>30</sup> Mrs Mayer thought William Satchell's *The Toll of the Bush* "unquestionably above the level of current fiction" and suggested it for the Colonial Library. Morris had reservations: "It is



not a romance of New Zealand in the sense in which "Geoffrey Hamlyn" and "Rolf Boldrewood" are romances of Australia — as stories, that is to say, which could be placed nowhere else in the world. The setting and the atmosphere are true colonial and some of the incidents can be called equally indigenous, but so far as the plot is concerned it could easily have been placed in England as in New Zealand."<sup>31</sup> It was published in Macmillan's Colonial Library although not circulated in Britain. To all these New Zealand authors there has to be added those who after a time in New Zealand wrote of it from Britain or Australia. Australia was important since the Trans-Tasman membrane was porous in those years. Further there were those writers who used New Zealand as a setting on the basis of sometimes quite superficial knowledge. Rolf Boldrewood published *War to the Knife or Tangata Maori* in 1899 but it was not well received although he was the most widely sold of Macmillan authors associated with either country in the 1890s.

As seen, the publisher's reader system developed in distinctive ways to accommodate new marketing strategies. Soliciting manuscripts in colonial markets raised the profile of the publisher and hence heightened recognition of the publisher's series at the point of sale. The rejection rate was high but the apparent strategy was not based on the discovery of a great many Australian or New Zealand authors. One 'name' author was almost sufficient. Boldrewood served such a purpose even when he had ceased to write manuscripts with anything approaching the appeal of *Robbery Under Arms*. Indeed, one can almost detect a rationing of acceptances by Macmillan on a basis of a few per area or colony and the distinction made of whether to publish in the Colonial Library rather than for British circulation.

The productive system changed in these years with literary agencies mediating between writers and publishers. Boldrewood came to use A.P. Watt, the literary agent, despite Macmillan's initial opposition. In 1899, A.W. Jose, Sydney writer and publisher's reader, arrived in London to promote the *Bulletin* and its books but even more to promote the attempted Australasian Literary Agency set up by himself and A.G. Stephens, the literary editor of the *Bulletin*. On his way, he wrote to Stephens that they would have to confront Patchett Martin and others of the Anglo-Australian literary fraternity. Despite ill health, he placed six books and seven articles before his departure in 1901.

The colonised nature of Australia's book culture has long been established. This applies equally, although in a different way, to New Zealand. If it be argued that there was at least some offsetting British market for Australian writers, Sladen could quote, before the first world war, five thousand of one of his anthologies sold and sixteen thousand of another. In terms of New Zealand authors, that was a short term and unsatisfactory option although Alexander and Currie's *New Zea-*

*land Verse* (1906) appeared in the same Walter Scott series of Canterbury Poets. A British publisher such as Macmillan had appeal to a sector of New Zealand writers and Macmillan wished to lift their profile on this side of the world to help maintain their sales in competition with other British publishers and even with their own New York branch. It was not, however, an easy option for New Zealanders; the number of manuscripts Macmillan would accept for publication was limited and the agenda they set was specific.

Occasionally writers raised their eyes to the political economy of their craft. One of the most professional of Australian writers, Edward Dyson remarked "The authors all want to know a good way of publishing books. All the ways I know of are bad ways." He pointed out the way in which sharing profits involved implicit trust in publishers. Another option open to opulent authors was to take the manuscript to a printer and publisher but he was sure that the rates for type setting, etc., would be much higher so that the author's hope of securing all the profits would be misled. "A third method was to sell the matter outright taking a stipulated sum and parting with all the rights ... In the case in which I followed this course I have estimated that my income to the present day on Australian sales alone would have far exceeded the price paid me, had I enjoyed the basis of half-profits." A last option was to send the Mss. to an agent in London to have it published and returned with the author making terms with an Australian publisher for distribution with a lower cost to the extent of thirty to fifty per cent. Dyson recognised that such an author would be likely to find himself abused as taking "advantage of foreign cheapness." Dyson concluded: "Much credit attaches to me in being a convinced protectionist in circumstances in which I am called upon to help fight all the other fellow's battles whereas he displays the blandest unconcern in leaving me to fight my own."<sup>32</sup>

Dyson stops short of discussing the problems of the local market and the development which was to appear in the Australian publishing market, partly through the protectionism he questions, but more fundamentally through the greater development of publishers such as Whitcombe and Tombs, in both countries, Angus and Robertson, the Bookstall Company and Lothian, among others. Writers did secure greater local options, although the complaints also continued throughout the twentieth century.

*Wellington, New Zealand*

## Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Blanche Baughan to Johannes Andersen 9 August 1908 in Nancy May Harris "Making it New: Modernism in B.E. Baughan's New Zealand Poetry" Ph.D., University of Canterbury, 8-9. The reference to "Australic" is probably a jibe at J.F. Archibald, *The Bulletin* who pretended to a French ancestry.
- <sup>2</sup> Richard Johnson, "What is Cultural Studies anyway?" *Social Text* (16) 1987, 38. See also Luke Trainor, "Australian Writers, British Publishers 1890-1902: 'Talking to the Nation?'" *Australian Historical Studies* (127) April 2006, 140-55.
- <sup>3</sup> The fundamental work is Chris Tiffin, "Douglas Sladen as literary Promoter" in I. Petersson & M. Duwell, eds. *What Books Do You Read? New Studies in Australian Literature*. (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1996), 38-50.
- <sup>4</sup> Sabine Haass, "Victorian Poetry Anthologies" *Publishing History*, 17 (1985): 51-64. Martin to Sladen, Tuesday, 21888, Sladen Papers, SLA33, Australian Joint Copying Project M Series 1977-8 (hereafter SLA).
- <sup>5</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette* (London) 1 September 1887 for review by Oscar Wilde. *The Bulletin* 31 March 1888, 13. Compare the unidentified British review by D.A. SLA 1-18.
- <sup>6</sup> Simon Eliot, "The Sunny Side of New Grub Street, The Writing of Douglas Sladen's Autobiography." *Publishing History* 5 (1988) 95-100
- <sup>7</sup> Mary Colborne-Veel to Douglas Sladen, 5 October 1887, SLA33; *Bulletin* Correspondence, 10 October 1885
- <sup>8</sup> Mary Colborne-Veel to Douglas Sladen, 5 October 1887, SLA33; *Bulletin* Correspondence, 10 October 1885. Also *The Bulletin* 6 June 1891, 10.
- <sup>9</sup> A.R. Hall, ed, *The Export of Capital from Britain 1870-1914*. (London: Methuen, 1968) 38-40
- <sup>10</sup> Robert Richardson to Douglas Sladen, 20 October 1887, SLA 33, Sladen Papers, M Series, 1977-8, Australian and New Zealand Joint copying Project.
- <sup>11</sup> Andrew Kinross to Sladen, 3 October 1887; Sarah Welch to Sladen 28 June 1888, SLA 33. M. Braithwaite to Sladen, 27 April 1896, SLA 2.
- <sup>12</sup> Herbert Okeden to Sladen, 9 November 1887, SLA 33.
- <sup>13</sup> SLA, 38-40 and 70.
- <sup>14</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*. (Auckland: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 2001), 16, 29. *Making Peoples*. (Auckland: Allen Lane, the Penguin Press, 1996), 446-450.
- <sup>15</sup> Linda Tuihawai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies, Research and Indigenous Peoples*. (Dunedin: University of Otago Press/Zed Books, 1999) 37-40, 50-53 and Chapter 4. David Omissi and Andrew S. Thompson, eds, *The Impact of the South African War*. (London: Palgrave, 2002), 260-264. Helen M. Hogan, *Hikurangi to Homburg*. (Christchurch: Clerestory Press, 1997) is an account in Maori and English, by participants of the Maori participants in the British coronation contingent 1902. Recent and important is Jane Stafford and Mark Williams, *Maoriland New Zealand Literature 1872-1914*. (Wellington: Victoria University Press 2006), 268-275.
- <sup>16</sup> Jane Stafford and Mark Williams "Victorian Poetry and the Indigenous Poet: Apirana Ngata's 'A Scene from the Past,'" *Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 39(1), 42.
- <sup>17</sup> Arthur Adams. *Tussock Land* (1904). Notice also the use made of Sydney Harbour by Melbourne author Ada Cambridge in Elizabeth Morrison, ed., *A Black Sheep, Serial Version of A Marked Man*. Elizabeth Morrison, ed. (Canberra: Australian Scholarly Editions Centre, ADFA, 2004).
- <sup>18</sup> Bruce Nesbitt, "Aspects of literary nationalism in Australia and New Zealand with special reference to *The Bulletin* 1880-1900," Ph.D., Australian National University, 1968, 505; for colonial identity, S.P. Shortus, "New South Wales Identity in the mid-1880s" *Royal Australian Historical Society Journal*, 59 (1973), 31-51.
- <sup>19</sup> Helen Irving, ed., *The Centenary Companion to Australian Federation*. (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1999. 'New Zealand' by Philippa Mein Smith, 403.

<sup>20</sup> James Bennett, 'Rats and Revolutionaries' *The Labour Movement in Australia and New Zealand 1890-1940*. (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2004) 62-78, and 102 for discussions of the *Maoriland Worker*. For British policy on federation of the group of colonies, see Luke Trainor, *British Imperialism and Australian Nationalism*. (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 155-163.

<sup>21</sup> Report on A.A. Grace "Maoriland Stories", 2 June 1896, Mowbray Morris, MCLXX (1896) 29-30, Macmillan Archives, Proquest Microfilm (hereafter Macmillan).

<sup>22</sup> Jane Stafford and Mark Williams: "Fashioned Intimacies: Maoriland and colonial Modernity," *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 37(1), 2002, 45.

<sup>23</sup> Nesbitt, 459. Not yet published is Teresa Liemlionio Marshall, "New Zealand Literature in the Sydney bulletin", Ph.D. University of Auckland, 1995, which includes an index and covers a longer period. I am grateful for the opportunity of reading it.

<sup>24</sup> Martin Lyons and John Arnold, eds., *A History of the Book in Australia 1891-1945, A National Culture in a Colonised Market* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2001), 84.

<sup>25</sup> Terry Sturm, *An Unsettled Spirit the Life and Frontier Fiction of Edith Lyttleton*. (G.B. Lancaster) (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003) 80-81.

<sup>26</sup> L. Howsam, "Sustained Literary Ventures, the Series in Victorian Book Publishing," *Publishing History*, 31 (1992), 5-26. On the colonial Library, G. Johanson, *Colonial Editions in Australia* (Wellington: Elibank Press, 2000); G. Johanson, P. Griffith, R. Harvey and K. Maslen, eds., *Book and Print in New Zealand. A Guide to Print culture in Aotearoa*. (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1997), 113-117. Elizabeth James, ed., *Macmillan: A Publishing Tradition*. (London: Palgrave, 2002)

<sup>27</sup> Gaye Tuchman with Nina Fortin, *Edging Women Out, Victorian Novelists, Publishers and Social Change* (London: Routledge, 1989), chapters 4-6.

<sup>28</sup> Dorothy Collin, "Interventions of the Publisher's Reader," *English Studies* 77 (1996), 133-41.

<sup>29</sup> Report on Miles Franklin, "When I was Mary Anne", Mowbray Morris, MCLXXXII, 1903-4, 221-3 Macmillan Archives, Proquest microfilm, hereafter Macmillan.

<sup>30</sup> Report on H.B. Vogel "A Maori Maid", Mowbray Morris, MCLXXII, 5 April 1898, 133-5; Report on H.B. Vogel "Gentleman Garnet," Mrs F. Mayer, MCLXXIX, 22 January 1902, Macmillan.

<sup>31</sup> Report on William Satchell, "The Toll of the Bush," Mowbray Morris Commenting on Mrs Mayer's report, MCLXXXII, 122 March 1904, 262-5, Macmillan.

<sup>32</sup> Edward Dyson, "The Australian Author and his Publisher" qMS-0100, Australian Mss.V.III. c.1900, Wellington, Alexander Turnbull Library.