THE COLLECTED VERSE
OF MARY GILMORE

Two volumes

VOLUME TWO: 1930–1962

THE ACADEMY EDITIONS OF AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE

THE COLLECTED VERSE
OF MARY GILMORE

Edited by
JENNIFER STRAUSS

Two volumes
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UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND PRESS

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GENERAL EDITOR'S FOREWORD

THE Academy Editions of Australian Literature is the first series of critical editions of major works of the nation's literature. The series provides reliable reading texts and contextual annotation based on rigorous scholarship and thorough textual collation. The term 'Literature' in the series title is interpreted broadly. It is taken to extend beyond the traditional literary genres and to encompass other forms, for instance, personal diaries and plays for the popular stage.

The project was initiated by the Australian Academy of the Humanities as a response to the unreliability of most currently available printings of Australian works dating from the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century. It is not generally appreciated that the normal circumstances of the transmission of the text of a literary work, say a full-length novel that undergoes several typesettings over a fifty- or hundred-year period, invariably lead to some thousands of textual changes. Most of these are variants of punctuation and other matters of detail, consequent on the publisher restyling each new edition for its intended audience (magazine or newspaper, Australian, British or American). However, a significant number of changes in wording inevitably occurs as each new typesetting is proofread, to whatever degree of accuracy the time permits, against its copy – typically the immediately previous printing. Rarely do publishers scrupulously check the new edition against the original one. Where photo-lithographic reprints of early editions have been decided upon, the choice has usually been determined by the modern one-volume format, whereas original printings of nineteenth-century novels were typically in two or three volumes.

The textual changes of new typesettings are not often sanctioned by the author, even if still alive: authors tend to have their eye on what they are writing at the moment rather than on the textual accuracy of reprintings of what they have written in the past. The accumulated changes are also historically misleading in that they do not represent exactly what the original audiences read and therefore distort our understanding of the relationship between those audiences and the version of the work that they read. This is particularly important in the case of Australian literary works, which were often written for publication or serialisation in a local magazine or newspaper, were revised by the author, and then reshaped by well-meaning but interventionist editors for first publication in book form. Further textual changes or abridgement often occurred in the course of first overseas publication and by the reissuing of the work in cheap, double-column or collected works formats. American editions usually varied from their British counterparts, and both contained departures from their Australian original. All this assumes that the works have actually remained available. In the case of plays for the commercial stage, poems published in fugitive broadsheets or in brief-lived newspapers, and privately kept diaries, our access is conditioned by the accidents of their collection by family, individual collectors and libraries.

The case for full-scale critical editions that would address these problems for major Australian works is overwhelming. The Academy Editions volumes clarify the often confusing textual histories of these works and establish reliable reading texts. Notation of textual variance in the different versions is provided, together with historical and other explanations of whatever in the texts may be no longer clear to the modern reader.

The Introduction gives a history of the writing, revision, production and reception of the work (or body of works), and will be found to contain much hitherto unknown information. A biographical context is provided where possible, focusing parti-cularly on and around the time of writing and publication. The author's relevant dealings with amanuenses, editors, publishers and advisers, as revealed in letters, memoirs and publishers' archives, are canvassed for any effect they may have had on the work and on how the author saw his or her task and audience. All extant

manuscript and other pre-publication material is described, as well as any serialisations and the early publications in book form. These have been consulted as a preliminary to the editing process, and variant readings in the printed tradition are recorded at the foot of the reading page.

The historical account (supplemented in the present volume by the Preface) lays the groundwork for the description of the editorial principles adopted. Given the range of authors, genres and historical periods covered by the Academy Editions series, no uniform editorial approach has been prescribed in advance. Where previously unpublished material is extant in only one version, the choice of copy-text is straightforward. However, the editor must still decide how, in a myriad of ways, to balance the needs of a modern readership against the historical interest of the manuscript's peculiarities of presentation. In the case of prose fiction volumes, editors are obliged to make a difficult choice between a textual presentation that gives highest authority to authorial intention and one that has a documentary form of the text as its authority. As the Academy Editions series is intended to serve a predominantly Australian readership, both now and in the future, some editions will favour the form of the work read by its earliest Australian audiences before being reshaped overseas. Whatever the approach taken by the editor, original spellings and punctuation are respected wherever they would not actively mislead the modern reader, and unavoidable decisions to emend the copy-text are recorded. Errors in quotations left uncorrected are present in the original sources.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I AM grateful in the first instance to the Australian Academy of the Humanities for its acceptance of my proposal for a Collected Verse of Mary Gilmore as part of the Academy Editions series and for the contributions of the members of the Editorial Board. The Academy has been a generous supporter of the edition, especially in funding editorial assistance, and the Australian Research Council and the Arts Faculty of Monash University both provided much-needed research funds. The Department of English at Monash University has unquestioningly provided infrastructure support.

It is fourteen years since I first wrote on Mary Gilmore for the collection of essays entitled *The Time to Write: Australian Women Writers 1890–1930* (1993). In the intervening period many people and many institutions have contributed to the knowledge of Gilmore's life and writing, as well as to specific research into the poems themselves, their manuscripts and their publication history. This edition has benefited from their work. For a variety of research assistance in both areas over those years I have to thank Karen Cramer, Sue Foster, Dianne Heriot, Dunya Lindsey, John Lowe, Susan McDougall and Anne Olsen. Special thanks are due to Margaret Henderson, who was responsible for transferring the poems in Gilmore's collections to computer files, as well as searching out poems in the Mitchell and Fryer libraries. Kate Chadwick assisted in a preliminary proofreading of many of the uncollected poems. At the Australian Scholarly Editions Centre, Tessa Wooldridge helped with proofs and Caren Florance contributed far more than a typesetter would normally be expected to do.

This edition could not have come into existence without the resources of various libraries and archives. I am greatly indebted

minute details in his constant determination that the edition should meet the highest possible standards of scholarly editing. If there is any falling short, the responsibility is entirely mine.

January 2007   *JS*

The Academy Editions of Australian Literature

The Academy Editions project was initiated under John Mulvaney's Secretaryship of the Australian Academy of the Humanities with an Institutional Grant from the Australian Research Council. The project has been housed at the Australian Scholarly Editions Centre, University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra, and has received continuing support from its host School of Humanities and Social Sciences and its Information, Communication and Technology Services. The co-operation of the National Library of Australia, the ADFA Library, and State and major university libraries, as well as that of libraries and scholars overseas, is also gratefully acknowledged.

Management Committee

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CHRONOLOGY

Entries refer to Mary Gilmore ('MG'; born Mary Jean Cameron) except if indicated.

16 August 1865	Born near Goulburn, first child of Donald Cameron and Mary Ann Beattie.
July 1878	Unpaid pupil teacher for her uncle, George Gray, at Cootamundra.
Early 1879	Accompanies Grays to school at Woomargama near Albury.
From mid-1880	Pupil teacher with uncle, John Beattie, at Yerong Creek, near Wagga Wagga.
January 1883	Probationary pupil teacher at Wagga Wagga Public School.
31 May 1886	Posted as 'Teacher of a Small School' to Beaconsfield.
12 March 1887	'After the Shipwreck' in *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*.
22 September 1887	Posted to Silverton (near Broken Hill) as a provisionally qualified teacher, after passing classification examination.
19 November 1887	First issue in Brisbane of William Lane's radical journal, *Boomerang*.
January 1890	Appointed Assistant Teacher at Neutral Bay, Sydney.
From January 1890	Meets Henry Lawson, John Farrell and J. F. Archibald.

March 1890	William Lane becomes founding editor of Brisbane *Worker*.
From 16 August 1890	Maritime Strike involves seamen, coalminers, transport workers and shearers throughout s.e. Australia. MG active in Labour Defence Committee organised by Trades and Labour Council.
January–May 1891	First Queensland Shearers' Strike ends in trial and conviction of 12 union leaders.
October 1891	New Australia Co-operative Settlement Association announced in *Worker*.
17 September 1892	'A Spell Is on Me', first of poems (1892–93) in *Queenslander* as 'Em Jacey' or 'Emma Jacey'.
23 October 1892	Meets William Lane.
29 October 1892	First poem in *Worker*: 'The Dream-Mother Came to Me'.
November 1892	New Australia Association journal, *New Australia*, begins publication in Wagga Wagga.
March 1893	Association and journal move to Sydney. MG involved in its production and writing articles and poems as 'Rudione Calvert', 'M.J.C.', 'M.C.' and 'M.'.
July 1893	*Worker* becomes a separate publication in New South Wales.
16 July 1893	First colonists sail for Paraguay in the *Royal Tar*.
17 August 1895	'Mighty Easy, Ain't It', first of *c.* 35 poems (1893–1907) in *Hobart Clipper*.
Mid-November 1895	Leaves for second Paraguayan settlement (Colonia Cosme) to be its school teacher.
2 January 1896	Reaches Colonia Cosme via Wellington (New Zealand) and Montevideo (Uruguay).

January 1896 – December 1899	Active in production of *Cosme Evening Notes* and *Cosme Monthly*.
8 August 1896	First poem in *Bulletin*: 'The Outcast'.
29 May 1897	Marries William Alexander Gilmore, a shearer and farm labourer from Strathdownie, near Casterton, Victoria.
November 1897 – November 1899	Eight poems in *Cosme Monthly*.
21 August 1898	William Dysart Cameron Gilmore ('Billy') born at Villa Rica (*or* Villarrica).
25 March 1899	First poem in *Bookfellow*: 'Good-Night'.
12 August 1899	Gilmores resign from Cosme.
November 1900	Gilmores leave Paraguay for Patagonia (Argentina).
July 1902	Gilmores return to Australia.
Early 1903	Settles at Strathdownie. Correspondence with A. G. Stephens begins.
1 October 1903	14 poems published by Stephens on Red Page of *Bulletin*.
From 1904	Poems and articles in *New Idea* (to December 1910), *Worker* (to February 1931) and other journals.
1906	Included in Bertram Stevens's *An Anthology of Australian Verse*. Several of her Red Page poems set to music as 'Six Songs from the South'.
Early 1907	Moves to Casterton; active for local Labor Party till 1911.
7 February 1907	Invited to contribute to Stevens's *Native Companion*.
14 February 1907 – 30 November 1921	Poems published in A. G. Stephens's revived publication of *Bookfellow*.
November 1907	Suggests a Women's Page to NSW *Worker* editor Henry Lamond.

2 January 1908	First *Worker* Women's Page (salary £2 a week).
8 November 1909	Volume of poems accepted by George Robertson.
1910	*Marri'd and Other Verses* (Melbourne: George Robertson).
January 1910 – December 1917	Poems in *Lone Hand*.
June 1911	Family leaves Casterton: MG (with Billy) to Sydney, Will to farm in North Queensland.
July–November 1912	Campaigns for Maternity Allowance.
October 1913–1916	Involved in financing of *Bookfellow*.
February 1914	*The Worker Cook Book* (Sydney: Worker Trustees).
March 1914	Founding member of Sydney Lyceum Club.
15 May 1914	Billy leaves Sydney to join his father in Queensland.
15 July 1915	'Australia Marching On' (*Worker*) reflects initial support for war effort.
24 November 1915	First publication in *Sydney Morning Herald* ('Mother-Word'); last is 'The Proud', 3 August 1957.
September– October 1916	On sick leave from *Worker* during period of first conscription referendum.
1917	*The Tale of Tiddley Winks* (Sydney: Bookfellow).
November 1917	In second conscription referendum, opposes conscription for overseas service.
1918	First of surviving diaries.
November 1918	*The Passionate Heart* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson).
From November 1918	Campaigns in *Worker* for soldier settlement schemes.

August 1920	In hospital with blood pressure, heart and respiratory problems.
March 1921	To Goulburn for health reasons. Periods in St John of God's Hospital, otherwise living in Hotel Imperial.
After March 1921	Contemplates conversion to Catholicism.
12 May 1921	First publication in *Catholic Press*: 'So Great This Faith'.
1922	*Hound of the Road* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson) is first collection of essays recollecting pioneer days.
May–July 1922	As 'Hill 17' campaigns for Rocky Hill to be site of Goulburn war memorial.
2 September 1922	Henry Lawson dies.
15 December 1922	'The Dead Poet', among earliest of poems in *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*.
7 July 1923	'Song Immortal', first of poems in *Daily Telegraph* (last in mid-1927).
March or April 1924	Dictates her version of relationship with Lawson ('Henry Lawson & me') to Lawson's sister (Gertie) in Goulburn.
December 1924 – July 1927	Poems in *Spinner*.
July 1925	Returns permanently to Sydney.
December 1925	*The Tilted Cart* (Sydney: Worker Trustees).
May–June 1926	Articles on her life and work in *Australian Women's Mirror*, *New Zealand Tablet*, *Wentworth Magazine*.
October–November 1927	Essay series 'Literature: Our Lost Field' in *Sydney Morning Herald* begins MG's public involvement in Aboriginal issues.
23 November 1928	Chairs inaugural meeting of the Fellowship of Australian Writers (FAW); elected one of four Vice-Presidents.

January 1930	Appointed to Film Censorship Appeal Board.
August 1930	*The Wild Swan* (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens).
From 1931	Manuscript reader for Angus & Robertson.
Early 1931	*The Rue Tree* (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens).
6 February 1931	Resigns from *Worker* after period of strained relations with editor, Henry Boote; final column 11 February.
Mid-1932	*Under the Wilgas* (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens).
Early 1933	Settles in Kings Cross flat, Sydney.
16 August 1933	Made Life Fellow of FAW at birthday celebration which becomes a regular feature of Sydney literary life.
January 1934	Begins keeping of diaries later presented to Mitchell Library, Sydney.
June 1934	*Old Days Old Ways* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson), a great popular success.
May 1935	Awarded King's Silver Jubilee Medal.
December 1935	*More Recollections* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson).
1 February 1937	Created Dame of the British Empire.
1938	Awarded Commonwealth Literary Fund (CLF) Fellowship.
9 April 1938	Correspondence begins friendship with R. D. FitzGerald.
2 August 1939	*Battlefields* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson).
29 June 1940	'No Foe Shall Gather our Harvest' in *Australian Women's Weekly*, a major popular success.
1941	'The Pear Tree' in first of Angus & Robertson's annual anthologies (*Australian Poetry 1941*).

December 1941	*The Disinherited* (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens).
From 1942	Begins collecting biographical and literary material for donation to Mitchell Library.
14 March 1942	'Singapore', on the fall of Singapore, in *Australian Women's Weekly*.
November 1942	First approach to CLF for support for proposed *Fourteen Men*.
23 January 1943	Awarded CLF Scholarship.
1944	*Pro Patria Australia and Other Poems* (Sydney: W. H. Honey).
July 1944	Seeks assistance from CLF for publication of a volume of selected verse.
22 February 1945	Will Gilmore dies of septicaemia.
28 June 1945	Awarded CLF pension.
30 July 1945	Sudden death of Billy Gilmore.
Early 1946	CLF appoints R. D. FitzGerald and Tom Inglis Moore to assist with preparation of *Selected Verse*.
May 1947	In political dispute over award of CLF grants to left-wing writers.
20–25 October 1947	Official guest at Children's Book Week, in Wagga Wagga.
12 November 1947	Speaker at Eureka Youth League celebration of Children's Book Week.
28 July 1948	Again approaches CLF for support for a revised *Fourteen Men*.
16 August 1948	Receives advance copies of *Selected Verse* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson; 2nd revised edition 1969, re-issued as *The Passionate Heart and Other Poems*, 1979).
1949–51	Campaigns against Menzies's Suppression of Communism Bill.
March 1952	Offers regular column ('Arrows') to *Tribune*

	in protest against scare tactics of the Cold War; writes for *Tribune* till 1962.
12 September 1953	Memorial poem for W. M. ('Billy') Hughes in *Daily Telegraph*.
16 August 1954	Receives first copies of *Fourteen Men*.
November 1954	Prepares material for donation to Mitchell Library and Poetry Collection at State University of New York at Buffalo before entering hospital for tests and observation.
1955	*Verse for Children* (Sydney: Writers' Press).
24 February 1955	Operation for colon cancer.
June 1955	Special issue of *Overland* with tributes to MG.
18 August 1955	Controversy over MG's 'fictionalising' of Lambing Flat riots in the apparently auto–biographical title poem of *Fourteen Men*.
May 1956	Union movement endows Mary Gilmore Awards for Literature.
8 September 1956	Appears at National Assembly for Peace organised by Australian Peace Council.
September 1957	William Dobell portrait, commissioned by Australasian Book Society, proves controversial but MG defends it.
9 November 1958	Honorary member of the Australian Journalists' Association.
3 May 1959	Leads Sydney May Day pageant.
9 August 1959	Australian Broadcasting Commission screens 'Dame Mary Remembers'.
4 October 1960	Donates Dobell portrait to the Art Gallery of New South Wales.
December 1960	R. D. FitzGerald's article on MG, with a Louis Kahan portrait, in *Meanjin*.
May 1961	Wins union movement's Queen of the May competition as nomination of Building Workers' Industrial Union.

2 December 1962   Dies.

6 December 1962   State funeral, Sydney. Ashes later interred
                     at Cloncurry, Queensland.

15 August 1965   Centenary of birth marked by special
                     issue of *The Realist* and by Mary Gilmore
                     Centenary Celebrations, including launch
                     of *Mary Gilmore: A Tribute* – a celebration
                     of her life and work, edited by Dymphna
                     Cusack, Tom Inglis Moore and Barrie
                     Ovenden for the Australasian Book Society.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

'Gilmore' is used in text and 'MG' in notes. Gilmore's main publishers are abbreviated in notes as 'A&R' (Angus & Robertson) and 'R&M' (Robertson & Mullens). Individual poems are cross-referenced by the alphanumeric identifier (M1, R66 etc.) assigned in this edition (see p. 3). The companion volume ('volume 1') to the present one is *The Collected Verse of Mary Gilmore: Volume 1 1887–1929*, ed. Jennifer Strauss (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2004). In addition, the following abbreviations are used:

Works by Mary Gilmore

Bat   *Battlefields* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1939)
Dis   *The Disinherited* (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, 1941)
FM   *Fourteen Men* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1954)
HR   *Hound of the Road* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1922)
MR   *More Recollections* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1935)
MV   *Marri'd and Other Verses* (Melbourne: George Robertson, 1910)
ODOW   *Old Days Old Ways: A Book of Recollections* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1934)
PH   *The Passionate Heart* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1918)
PPA   *Pro Patria Australia and Other Poems* (Sydney: W. H. Honey, [1944])
RT   *The Rue Tree* (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, 1931)
SV   *Selected Verse* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1948)
TC   *The Tilted Cart: A Book of Recitations* (Sydney: The Worker Trustees, 1925)
TTW   *The Tale of Tiddley Winks* (Sydney: The Bookfellow, 1917)
UW   *Under the Wilgas* (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, 1932)
VC   *Verse for Children* (Sydney: The Writers' Press, [1955])
WS   *The Wild Swan* (Melbourne: Robertson & Mullens, 1930)

Anthologies

Anthologies are abbreviated by the name of the editor or the first named of multiple editors. Where an editor has been responsible for more than one anthology this is indicated by the addition of a numeral.

Dubois   *The High Light: A Souvenir Volume by the Adelaide Drawing and Sketch Club*, ed. Bernard Dubois (Adelaide: George Robertson, 1910)

Eldershaw   *The Peaceful Army*, ed. Flora Eldershaw (Sydney: Fellowship of Australian Writers, 1938)

Green   *Modern Australian Poetry*, ed. H. M. Green (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1946)

Hansen   *An Austral Garden: An Anthology of Australian Verse*, ed. M. P. Hansen and D. McLachlan (Melbourne: Roberston & Mullens, 1912)

Ingamells   *New Song in an Old Land*, ed. Rex Ingamells (London: Longmans Green, 1943)

Lavater   *The Sonnet in Australia*, ed. Louis Lavater (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1926)

Lawson   *Australian Bush Songs and Ballads*, ed. Will Lawson (Sydney: Johnson, 1944)

Mackaness1   *The Wide Brown Land*, ed. George and Joan Mackaness (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1934)

Mackaness2   *Poets of Australia*, ed. George Mackaness (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1946)

Mackaness3   *An Anthology of Australian Verse*, ed. George Mackaness (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1952)

Moore   *Australia Writes*, ed. T. Inglis Moore (Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire, 1953)

Mudie   *Favourite Australian Poems*, ed. Ian Mudie (Adelaide: Rigby, 1963)

Murdoch1   *A Book of Australasian Verse*, ed. Walter Murdoch (London: Oxford University Press, 1924)

Murdoch2   *A Book of Australian and New Zealand Verse*, ed. Walter Murdoch and Alan Mulgan (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1949)

Pizer   *Freedom on the Wallaby*, ed. Marjorie Pizer (Sydney: Pinchgut Press, 1953)

Serle   *An Australasian Anthology*, ed. Percival Serle (London: Collins, 1927)

Stable   *The High Road of Australian Verse: An Anthology for Australian Schools*, ed. J. J. Stable (London: Oxford University Press, 1929)

Stephens   *Anzac Memorial 1916*, ed A. G. Stephens (Sydney: Returned Soldiers Association, 1916)

Stevens1	*An Anthology of Australian Verse*, ed. Bertram Stevens (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1906)
Stevens2	*The Golden Treasury of Australian Verse*, ed. Bertram Stevens (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1909)
Thompson	*Penguin Book of Australian Verse*, ed. John Thompson, Kenneth Slessor and R. G. Howarth (Mitcham, Vic: Penguin, 1958)
Wannan	*Treasury of Australian Frontier Tales*, ed. Bill Wannan (Melbourne: Lansdowne Press, 1944)
Wilkinson1	*Gleanings from Australasian Verse: Poems of Manhood*, ed. Mary Wilkinson (Melbourne: Whitcombe & Tombs, [1919])
Wilkinson2	*Gleanings from Australasian Verse: Love Poems*, ed. Mary Wilkinson (Melbourne: Whitcombe & Tombs, [1920])
Wilkinson3	*Gleanings from Australasian Verse: Nature Poems*, ed. Mary Wilkinson (Melbourne: Whitcombe & Tombs, [1920])
Wright1	*A Book of Australian Verse*, ed. Judith Wright (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1956)
Wright2	*New Land New Language*, ed. Judith Wright (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1957)

Periodical publications

AB	*Albury Banner*	*BFP*	*Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*
Adv	*Advocate*	*Bkfw*	*Bookfellow*
AinA	*Art in Australia*	*BM*	*Barrier Miner*
AJ	*Australasian Journalist*	*Bn*	*Bulletin*
AJSU	*Arts Journal of Sydney University*	*Boh*	*Bohemia*
Annals	*Annals of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart*	*BPMag*	*Burns Philp Magazine*
		Bth	*Birth*
ANR	*Australian National Review*	*CEN*	*Cosme Evening Notes*
AP[*year*]	*Australian Poetry* (Angus & Robertson Annual Anthology. Year [italicised] is included in title)	*CFP*	*Casterton Free Press*
		Clip	*Clipper*
		CL	*Country Life*
		CM	*Cosme Monthly*
APA	*Australian Poetry Annual*	*CP*	*Catholic Press*
Argus	*Argus*	*CT*	*Canberra Times*
ArgL	*Argyle Liberal*	*Des*	*Desiderata*
Aus	*Aussie*	*DT*	*Daily Telegraph*
AusH	*Australian Highway*	*DTNP*	*Daily Telegraph News Pictorial*
AV	*Adelaide Voice*		
AWA	*Australian Writers' Annual*	*DTPS*	*Daily Telegraph Pictorial Supplement*
AWM	*Australian Women's Mirror*		
AWW	*Australian Women's Weekly*	*EJ*	*Everylady's Journal*

FAdv	*Farmers' Advocate*	*Quad*	*Quadrant*
FAW	*Fellowship* (Journal of the Fellowship of Australian Writers)	*RA*	*Red Ant*
		Reveille	*Reveille* (Journal of the New South Wales Branch of the Returned Sailors, Soldiers and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia)
FJ	*Freeman's Journal*		
Fwp	*Fellowship* (Melbourne Free Religious Fellowship)		
GEPP	*Goulburn Evening Penny Post*		
HA	*Home Annual*	*SMag*	*School Magazine (New South Wales)*
Hermes	*Hermes* (Sydney University Medical Journal)	*SMH*	*Sydney Morning Herald*
		SmW	*Smith's Weekly*
Hesper	*Hesper*	*SnMH*	*Southern Morning Herald*
Ink	*Ink* (Annual Anthology of the Association of Women Writers, NSW)	*Spin*	*Spinner*
		ST	*Sunday Times*
		StW	*Standard Weekly*
Jindy	*The Jindyworobak Anthology* (Annual)	*Sun*	*Sydney Sun*
		Sy	*Southerly*
Junee	*Junee Democrat and Southern Cross*	*T&C*	*Town and Country Journal*
		TD	*Tasmanian Democrat*
KCT	*Kings Cross Times*	*TemI*	*Temora Independent*
LD	*Labor Daily*	*TLS*	*Times Literary Supplement*
LH	*Lone Hand*	*Tri*	*Triad*
LMag	*Lilley's Magazine*	*Trib*	*Tribune*
Mjn	*Meanjin*	*TribM*	*Tribune* (Melbourne)
MP	*Murray Pioneer*	*Verse*	*Verse*
NA	*New Australia*	*WB*	*Woman's Budget*
NC	*Native Companion*	*WDA*	*Wagga Wagga Daily Advertiser*
NewI	*New Idea*		
NZT	*New Zealand Tablet*	*WMag*	*Wentworth Magazine*
OL	*Orange Leader*	*WmC*	*Wingham Chronicle*
Ovld	*Overland*	*Wr*	*Worker* (also known as the *Australian Worker*)
Presb	*New South Wales Presbyterian*		
QD	*Queensland Digger*	*WWE*	*Wagga Wagga Express*
Qlr	*Queenslander*	*WWld*	*Woman's World*

Reference works and other abbreviations

CG	W. H. Wilde, *Courage a Grace: A Biography of Dame Mary Gilmore* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1988)
Dixon	R. M. W. Dixon, W. S. Ransom and Mandy Thomas, *Australian*

Aboriginal Words in English: Their Origin and Meaning (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990)

Letters *Letters of Mary Gilmore*, ed. W. H. Wilde and T. Inglis Moore (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 1980)

Macquarie *The Macquarie Dictionary*, ed. A. Delbridge, J. R. L. Bernard, D. Blair and W. S. Ransom, 2nd revision (Chatswood, NSW: Macquarie Library, 1987)

OCAH *Oxford Companion to Australian History*, ed. Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart Macintyre (Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1998)

OCAL *The Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, ed. William H. Wilde, Joy Hooton and Barry Andrews, 2nd edn (Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia, 1994)

OED *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie and C. T. Onions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933)

Parker K. Langloh Parker, *Australian Legendary Tales* and *More Australian Legendary Tales* (Melbourne: Melville, Mullen and Slade, 1896 and 1898). The Word Lists provided are identical in the two volumes.

Parker 1905 K. Langloh Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe: A Study of Aboriginal Life in Australia* (London: Constable, 1905)

Reed A. W. Reed, *Aboriginal Words and Place Names* (Adelaide: Rigby, 1965)

Ridley William Ridley, *Kamilaroi and Other Australian Languages* (Sydney: Government Printer, 1875)

Thieberger *Aboriginal Words*, ed. Nick Thieberger and William McGregor (Macquarie University, NSW: The Macquarie Library, 1994)

Webster *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Company, 1966)

ADFA Australian Defence Force Academy Library
Buf   Library of State University of New York at Buffalo
CLF   Commonwealth Literary Fund
FAW   Fellowship of Australian Writers
Fryer   Fryer Library, University of Queensland (Hayes Collection)
ML   Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales
NLA   National Library of Australia

MS, MSS Manuscript(s) (AMS: autograph MS; TMS: typescript)
n. d.   no date
n. t.   no title

For the abbreviation of references to the contents of manuscript collections, see volume 1, Appendix.

PREFACE

THIS second volume of *The Collected Verse of Mary Gilmore* opens with the three collections that marked a new phase in her writing and in her public reputation: *The Wild Swan* (1930), *The Rue Tree* (1931) and *Under the Wilgas* (1932).[1] While the religious poems of *The Rue Tree* stand as something of an anomaly in Gilmore's oeuvre, *The Wild Swan* and *Under the Wilgas* not only demonstrated in their best poems a maturing and deepening of the lyrical powers that had pleased reviewers of *The Passionate Heart* (1918), but also introduced unpredictable preoccupations that were to be persistent in her future writing. New perceptions of the damage done by white settlement to Australia's natural environment and its Indigenous inhabitants, and a newly formed evaluation of Aboriginal culture, influenced and complicated her previous attitude to the pioneering enterprise. In her earlier writing the settlement of Australia had been a source of pride or of pathos, but never of shame. A new and disturbing note was struck in such lines as 'Like a blast of the desert we came, and we slew' from 'A Song of Swans' (I3).[2]

It was not that Gilmore surrendered all her admiration for the courage and hardiness of the pioneers. It would still find a voice in 'The Ringer' (M1) or 'Ode to the Pioneer Women' (M3) in *Battlefields* (1939), but it is heard in *Fourteen Men* (1954) only in her increasingly expansive author's notes. These develop the apotheosis of her that had begun in the notes to *Under the Wilgas* and in the prose essays of *Old Days Old Ways* (1934) and *More Recollections*

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[1] For a general overview of MG's life, see volume 1, Introduction; and see also Chronology.

[2] Poems are cited by their alphanumeric position: here, the third poem of Section I.

(1935).[3] As the socially and ecologically virtuous pioneer, Donald Cameron comes to represent the witness for the defence against the accusations heard in the Indigenous voices of 'The Lament of the Lubra' (I21), 'The Myall in Prison' (K15), 'Truganini' (M67) and 'Ichabod' (R63), or manifest in the silences and absences of a brutalised nature exemplified in 'A Song of Swans' (I3), 'Primeval Australia' (I27), 'The Wollundry Lagoon' (K17) and 'I Saw the Beauty Go' (M30).

The achievement of three major collections in as many years appears all the more impressive when one remembers that Gilmore spent several years of the period during which these poems were written in semi-seclusion in Goulburn for health reasons. Their publication also required a considerable degree of the formidable Gilmore determination, a quality that would be called upon twenty or so years later to bring *Fourteen Men* to the bookshops.[4] Although *The Passionate Heart* had been a publishing success for Angus & Robertson in 1918, sales of *Hound of the Road*, the first of Gilmore's collections of prose reminiscences, had been disappointing. The firm was not receptive to the idea of a new volume of verse. Approaching 65, and with a justifiable conviction of the worth of what she had to offer, Gilmore decided to look elsewhere.[5] She turned to her Melbourne publisher of *Marri'd and Other Verses* (1910). George Robertson & Co. had now become the firm of Robertson & Mullens, and its manager was Captain Charles H. Peters. He accepted all three volumes in rapid succession and published them promptly and with a high standard of production, although the cost was borne by Gilmore herself.

Nevertheless, her reputation was rising, and appropriate public figures were summoned to bear witness to it. The distinguished naturalist A. H. Chisholm provided the Introduction to *The Wild Swan*. *Battlefields* attracted a Foreword by Sir Donald Charles

[3] On Donald Cameron as a valuer and transmitter of Aboriginal culture and as a protector of the environment, see MG's notes to K12, K16, K20, M62, R53, R55, R72 and the additional notes for I26 and N1 supplied by MG in *SV*.
[4] See volume 1, Introduction, pp. lxvii–lxviii.
[5] There is no evidence of any falling out with George Robertson over A&R's unwillingness to publish. During the 1930s Robertson began to use her as a reader of manuscripts, a role that made a welcome contribution to an income depleted by her resignation from the *Worker* in 1931.

Cameron, ex-soldier, member of Parliament 1933–37 and head of the Clan Cameron in Australia. In 1941, Peters, a returned soldier, wrote the Introduction to *The Disinherited*, and the Foreword to *Selected Verse* (1948) was written by fellow poet and man of letters, Robert D. FitzGerald. In the case of *The Rue Tree* and *Under the Wilgas*, Gilmore herself provided introductory remarks that show considerable self-confidence. In the Foreword to the latter, for instance, she dismisses with contempt those who belittle Aboriginal language (along with the languages of the South Americans and Chinese) as 'gibberish' and concludes:

> I have attempted to write here in songs some of the emotions of a people once generous, once wise, once proud and free; and I have written them in words I think they might have used, had they spoken English instead of the language so unfortunately[6] theirs.

As a financial investment, the arrangement with Robertson & Mullens afforded only modest returns. As her letters and her biography show, Gilmore was never a wealthy woman, and at times her financial situation was precarious. In terms of her reputation, however, the returns were high. These three volumes, followed by the very popular *Old Days Old Ways* and *More Recollections*, confirmed her as a major figure in the literary landscape of Australia, with an appeal for a remarkably wide range of readers. It was a position intensified by the popularity of her World War II poems[7] and persisting until her death, and it was honoured in ways that reflected the diversity of her admirers. Her fellow writers made her a Life Member of the Fellowship of Australian Writers on her birthday in 1933, instituting a tradition of annual celebrations in her honour; politicians made her a Dame of the British Empire in 1938; and the trades union movement made her their May Queen in 1961.

[6] I.e. as helping to bring about their misfortunes (because of arrogant assumptions that English possessed an exclusive lien on civilisation).
[7] See volume 1, Introduction, pp. lxiv–lxv. See here Section O, numbers 3, 6, 8, 9, 15, 16 and 17 and Section R, numbers 37 and 38, but especially O10, R29 and R33.

The division of poems between the two volumes of this edition required some deliberation. In terms of published collections, *The Tilted Cart* (1925) can be seen as both the culmination and the effective end of Gilmore's role as a *Bulletin*-style versifier of bush themes and bush ballads. It might therefore have seemed an appropriate place to end the first volume, but it was decided to include in it, as Section H, the uncollected poems that followed *The Tilted Cart* during 1925–29. Heterogeneous as these are in theme and style, they have more affinity with either that collection or other, earlier uncollected poems than with the three collections that would follow. Some twenty can be seen as continuing in the thematic and stylistic mode of *The Tilted Cart*,[8] while a number, usually published in the *Worker*, are poems of social criticism based on urban life, maintaining a strain also found in the poems of Section F. The extent to which Section H represents the whole range of Gilmore's composition over the period 1925 to 1929 is limited, however, by the fact that Gilmore selected for the collections of 1930, 1931 and 1932 those poems from this transitional period that she considered appropriate in theme and style.[9]

Of the collections published in the period covered by Volume Two (1930–62), it is probably *The Wild Swan* that most consistently and fully demonstrates her poetic powers. Gilmore herself elected to give poems from this collection prominence in *Selected Verse* in 1948, placing them second only to those poems she chose from the finest of her earlier volumes, *The Passionate Heart*. *The Wild Swan*, then, makes a fitting point of entry to Volume Two and the second phase of Gilmore's poetic career. In emphasising what is new in its themes, however, there is a risk of overlooking important elements of continuity. From the outset, Gilmore's work showed an unusual combination of attitudes. It combined compassion for the weak and the maimed with an admiration for energy and passion, a trust in the forces of life that drew her towards vitalism; but she equally admired personal stoicism, as witnessed in the cogent simplicity of 'Never

[8] See Section H, numbers 1, 3, 6, 9, 11, 13, 18, 21, 29, 38, 42, 48, 59, 63, 68, 72, 73, 87, 95 and 97.
[9] In such cases, these texts appear only as collated states within volume 2, since the editorial policy mandates preference for the collections as copy-texts: see volume 1, Introduction, pp. lxxiii–lxxv.

Admit the Pain' (I73), the poem that would supply the title for W. H. Wilde's biography of Gilmore, *Courage a Grace* in 1988.

The more complex interplay of attitudes is better illustrated, however, by 'Nurse No Long Grief' (I87):

> O, could we weep,
>   And weeping bring relief!
> But life asks more than tears
>   And falling leaf.
>
> Though year by year
>   Tears fall and leaves are shed,
> Spring bids new sap arise
>   And blood run red.
>
> Nurse no long grief,
>   Lest thy heart flower no more;
> Grief builds no barns; its plough
>   Rusts at the door.

Through a long life, until she joined 'the Army of the Dead,/ Stilled for a while, in camp' (I150), Mary Gilmore was always one to put her hand to the plough, to create and capture through her poetry the 'sheaf that my hand must bind' (R1).

Editorial rationale

The presentation and sequence of poems in this edition respects the logic of their publication, as explained in more detail in the Introduction to Volume One. Volume Two follows the same chronological policy, placing the uncollected poems in dated sections between the sections that present the published collections. Copy-texts of collected poems are taken from their first appearance in a collection.[10]

An Appendix to this volume lists the poems individually by their date of composition, regardless of their groupings by section in this

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[10] This explains the seeming oddity of why Section P (*PPA*, [1944]) contains only one poem, the previously uncollected title poem: the remaining eight poems in this booklet had all appeared in earlier collections and have been located accordingly, with printings in *PPA* treated as collated states (see p. 607 n. 1). All poems in *SV* had been published in earlier collections.

edition. This different ordering may assist literary, biographical and other interpretation.[11] Compositional sequence can help to reveal Gilmore's working methods as a poet and the rapid gestation of much of her verse. Her occasional poems, for instance, often followed hot on the heels of some event or encounter. This can be a source of strength of feeling but also of rough-and-ready art. Composition dates can shed light on the poet's development as a writer; they show peaks and troughs of productivity, the ebb and flow of preoccupations.

The dates also show that the coherence of the collections – something to which Gilmore gave considerable attention – can obscure the extent to which she was pursuing several lines of thought and of style simultaneously. The interlocking composition dates of the poems of Sections A and B, for instance, remind us that the radical and the womanly co-existed in a way obscured by the selection of poems in *Marri'd and Other Verses*. Composition dates of 1917 for J72 and J68 show that Gilmore's writing of religious poetry was not solely due to the influence of the nuns of Goulburn, where she lived during 1921–25, and that she did not simply tire of Aboriginal themes after *Under the Wilgas*, to return to them later in *Fourteen Men*. Rather, with the important exception of M62 ('Aboriginal Themes'), she chose different emphases for the poems selected for *Battlefields*.

Glossing Aboriginal words

This volume contains, mainly in Sections I, K and R, a number of poems with Aboriginal themes containing Aboriginal words that Gilmore glossed. Her motivation was partly nationalistic: in her notes, she argues for enriching a distinctive sense of Australian identity by culturally absorbing native elements, in the manner of New Zealand and America.[12] She also saw the practice as a process of restitution, as she explains in her Foreword to Keith McKeown's *The Land of Byamee: Australian Wild Life in Legend and Fact* (1938):

Thus to this poor, sad, dispossessed people, whose stories these

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[11] E.g., the celebratory 'Marri'd' (B1) dates from 1896, whereas MG was not married until 1897.
[12] See, e.g., I22 author's note for line 5 and the collation entry for lines 11–22 in

are, is given back possession. We see them as they were before they were ruined and destroyed, and we realize that they had a lore that gives them an equal place in the world with those so long thought to be the only ones worth recording.[13]

The glosses that she provided for Aboriginal words in her poems were part of her attempt to transmit Aboriginal lore. For later readers they also raise questions as to how reliable they are and from what source she drew them.

In this edition an attempt has been made to corroborate Gilmore's use of Aboriginal words and her glossing of them, typically presented in her notes to the poems. This has been possible in many instances, but not all. When author's notes are described as 'uncorroborated' this means that the Aboriginal word she cites has not so far been confirmed. If the existence of the word is confirmed but the meaning given in her gloss is doubtful, this is noted.[14]

'Uncorroborated' does not necessarily imply error or fabrication, any more than local traditions that enshrine meanings not yet confirmed by scholarly research can be considered as other than not proven. Gilmore's glossing of 'Mirrabooka' as the Southern Cross in K1 and K4 agrees with local readings of that popular place name. But the claim of local authorities in the Queensland region of Capricorn that the town of Biloela is named for the cockatoo (or white cockatoo) – a claim that is reinforced by the Revd William Ridley's early word list – throws little light on 'The Song of Biloela' (I147), except to confirm the impression that the poem may draw on an unidentified Aboriginal legend or use an Aboriginal name for its associative value.[15]

Despite the sustained efforts of modern scholarship, we still do not possess a comprehensive knowledge of all the Aboriginal languages that existed in Australia before white settlement, nor has agreement been reached on how known material should be described. Dharuk and Dharug, Wiradjuri and Wiradhuri still compete as names for two of the best documented of New South

R64.
[13] (Sydney: Angus & Robertson), p. ix.
[14] Evidence has been drawn from Dixon, Parker, Parker 1905, Reed, Ridley and Thieberger (see Abbreviations for full citations). The word lists in Parker (unlike those of Parker 1905) and Reed do not identify particular Aboriginal languages.

Wales (NSW) languages. Early recorders of Aboriginal language were confronted with entirely oral languages that lacked certain sounds heard in English[16] and had distinctive sounds that had to be given ad hoc representation by English spelling. R. M. W. Dixon notes that there was considerable interest in Aboriginal customs and languages from the late nineteenth century up to World War I, but contributions to his compilation from that period are mainly local and linguistically limited.[17] He concludes: 'Despite this activity before the First World War, most Australians had little idea of the nature of Australian languages', and adds: 'Between 1920 and 1960 little work was done on Australian languages.' This context for Gilmore's writing must be appreciated.

One result of the resumed activity of the 1960s is that the written form of many words changed, rendering older forms outmoded. The name given in 1896 to the widely spread tribal people of central Australia and to their language, by the pioneering anthropologist W. B. Spencer, was Arunta. This form was confirmed in the 1910 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and by Spencer and F. J. Gillen's *The Arunta: A Study of a Stone Age People* (1927). Gilmore uses 'Arunta' up to her composition of R54 in 1952. It was so well-established that she felt that it could stand as a general name for Aborigines and for Aboriginal Australia.[18] In the 1950s the transcription of the name changed to Aranda (also Aranta);[19] in the 1990s, as Dixon notes, Arrernte was claimed as a more accurate form.

Corroborated words used by Gilmore are drawn mainly from NSW languages.[20] These include Dharuk (also Dharug) from the vicinity of Sydney; Wiradjuri (also Wiradhuri) from the area of the Murrumbidgee and Lachlan Rivers in southern-central NSW; Kamilaroi, from the Liverpool Range (NSW) north to the

[15] Cf. the unidentified titular names in I20, K13 and K18.

[16] Cf. R65 author's note and n. 6.

[17] See Dixon 6–7; known to MG among those cited was William Ridley (see M62 author's note and n. 4).

[18] See K4 author's note for line 24 and cf. K2, where a similar significance is given to *churinga* (sacred tribal object), which also entered general usage through Spencer and Gillen's study of the Arunta.

[19] See citations in the on-line edition of the *OED*.

[20] Exceptions other than 'Arunta' and *churinga* (see note 18) are instances apparently from Gabi-Gabi (Queensland, see K19 n. 1) and Kaurna (vicinity of Adelaide,

Queensland border; Yuwaalaraay from northern NSW (regarded as a dialect of Kamilaroi); and Wembawemba from southern NSW and northern Victoria along the area of the Murray River between Swan Hill and Echuca (Victoria). Gilmore might reasonably be expected to have had access to surviving oral traditions from most of these areas, either directly in her youth, or through her father, or later during her years in Goulburn (1921–25).[21]

In the absence of any explicit references to written sources that might have been available to Gilmore in the 1920s, other than to K. Langloh Parker and William Ridley,[22] the probability that she drew on oral traditions for words in *The Wild Swan* and *Under the Wilgas* is strong. After 1932, her interest in Aboriginal culture largely found expression in the prose reminiscences of pioneering history in *Old Days Old Ways* and *More Recollections*, but in 1954 in *Fourteen Men* she acknowledged two writers who had stimulated her interest in Aboriginal narratives: Keith McKeown (noted above) and William E. Harney.[23] The latter's knowledge of Aboriginal culture relates to the Northern Territory and northern Queensland. Harney started publishing poems and short stories in the 1940s in *Walkabout* and the *Bulletin*, to which he was a prolific contributor during the period 1951–53. Other works by him that would have been available to Gilmore while she was preparing *Fourteen Men* were *Taboo* (1943), *North of 23 Degrees: Ramblings in Northern Australia* (1946), *Brimming Billabongs: The Life Story of an Australian Aboriginal* (1947) and *Songs of the Songmen: Aboriginal Myths Retold* (1949).

see K4 n. 3).

[21] On MG's claim for direct childhood experience of Aboriginal life, see I19 author's note for line 44, K17 and author's notes, and further author's notes to K20, M62 and R55. These also present her father as knowledgeable in Aboriginal matters: cf. n. 3 above for further instances. On the Goulburn years, see volume 1, Introduction, pp. li and liii–liv.

[22] K. Langloh Parker was the publishing name of Catherine Langloh Parker (née Field, 1856–1940). She grew up with Aboriginal children on her father's property on the Darling River (NSW) but her Aboriginal legends were mostly collected while living after marriage on pastoral properties in northern NSW and Queensland. On MG's knowledge of Parker's work, see *CG* 267–8 and MG's acknowledgement of it in the last of her 'Our Lost Field' articles (*SMH,* 29 October 1927). On Ridley see M62 n. 4.

[23] (1895–1962). MG's first reference is in material added in *SV* (1948) to the author's note to M62 (see entry for line n26); in *FM* he is referred to in R55,

From 1943 he was a regular visitor at Gilmore's Kings Cross flat and is several times referred to in her published correspondence.[24]

Neither McKeown nor Harney were linguists or provided systematic listings of Aboriginal words; nor do the poems of *Fourteen Men* show other evidence (as might have been expected) of changes in Gilmore's knowledge of Aboriginal languages.[25] The expectation may, however, be unreasonable, given the gap in development of studies of Aboriginal languages between 1920 and 1960.

author's note for line 27.

[24] See *CG* 369–70 and *Letters* 191, 208, 219 and 252.

[25] The poems in the section 'Aboriginal Versions' all have composition dates earlier than 1950: R65, 1932; R63, 1938; R66, R69 and R70, 1940; R64, no date but published 1942; R72, 1947 and R71, 1948. R67 and R68 are annotated as revised in 1947, but their undated manuscripts in ML 4/3 are included with poems dated from 1920–29. See volume 1, Appendix for manuscript locations