THE POEMS OF CHARLES HARPUR

in Manuscript in the Mitchell Library and in Publication in the Nineteenth Century

AN ANALYTICAL FINDING LIST

DR ELIZABETH HOLT studied under Reynaldo Ileto at James Cook University and has a PhD in Philippine History. She has written *Colonising Filipinas: A Study of the Representations of the Philippines from the Late Nineteenth Century*, shortly to be released by the Ateneo de Manila Press. She also holds an MA in Library Studies from the University of Hawaii and has researched widely in Australian literature.

DR ELIZABETH PERKINS is an Adjunct Professor of the School of Humanities, James Cook University. Her publications include work on Australian prose, poetry and drama, and Filipino literature in English. She has edited *The Poetical Works of Charles Harpur* (1984 and forthcoming on CD-Rom and via the Web in the *English Poetry Full Text Database* from Chadwyck-Healey), *Stalwart the Bushranger* (1987) by Charles Harpur and, with David Headon, *Our First Republicans: Lang, Harpur and Deniehy* (1998).

THE POEMS OF CHARLES HARPUR

in Manuscript in the Mitchell Library and in Publication in the Nineteenth Century

AN ANALYTICAL FINDING LIST

Compiled and edited by Elizabeth Holt and Elizabeth Perkins



Australian Scholarly Editions Centre

Occasional Publications Series, no. 2. Series editor, Paul Eggert. This is a refereed publication. It has been subject to independent peer review. Published in 2002 by: Australian Scholarly Editions Centre, School of Language, Literature and Communication, UNSW at the Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra ACT 2600

©Elizabeth Holt and Elizabeth Perkins, Australian Scholarly Editions Centre (UNSW at ADFA)

Intellectual design of the Analytical Finding List by Elizabeth Morrison

Typesetting by Margaret McNally

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

The poems of Charles Harpur: in manuscript in the Mitchell Library and in publication in the nineteenth century: an analytical finding list.

Bibliography. ISBN 0 7317 0371 5.

1. Harpur, Charles, 1813–1868 – Bibliography. 2. Mitchell Library (N.S.W.) – Catalogs. I. Perkins, Elizabeth, 1933– . II. Holt, Elizabeth, 1937– . (Series: Occasional publications series (Australian Scholarly Editions Centre); no. 2).

016.8211

CONTENTS

| Acknowledgements | page vi |
|--|------------|
| Acknowledgements | V1 |
| Chronology | vii |
| Introduction | |
| Charles Harpur and his manuscripts | Х |
| Provenance and form of the archival manuscripts | xi |
| Harpur editions | xii |
| Dating of Harpur's poems in the archival manuscripts | xiii |
| Newspaper and journal publication | xvi |
| The Analytical Finding List: Purpose and function | xvii |
| Checklist | |
| Harpur's poems: Nineteenth-century editions | xviii |
| Manuscript research and publications from manuscript | xviii |
| List of series and sequences | XX |
| How to Use the Analytical Finding List | xxi |
| ANALYTICAL FINDING LIST | 1 |
| Appendix A: Description of the Mitchell Library's archival collections of Harpur material | 167 |
| Appendix B: The 'Major' manuscript collections authorised by Harpur, other manuscript collections numbered by the Harpurs and | 220 |
| Mrs Harpur's List | 220 |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research, dating and design of the *Analytical Finding List* were carried out by Elizabeth Holt, Elizabeth Morrison and Elizabeth Perkins assisted by Teresa Markham and Kathy Anderson. Elizabeth Perkins, as principal researcher, is responsible for any possible errors or unexplained omissions.

Bibliographical indices prepared by Elizabeth Webby and Victor Crittenden were useful aids, as was Lurline Stuart's *Nineteenth Century Australian Periodicals: An Annotated Bibliography* (1979). Research on the Harpur manuscripts has been undertaken since the 1940s. Among the chief researchers into the manuscripts themselves are C. W. Salier, J. Normington-Rawling, Muir Holborn, Donovan Clarke, Judith Wright, Anthony Gray, Adrian Mitchell, Michael Ackland and Sheila Vance. The Manuscript Librarians and the Librarians of the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales; and the James Cook University Document Supply Librarians, greatly facilitated our work.

Grateful acknowledgement is made of the advice and assistance given by Paul Eggert, Director of the Australian Scholarly Editions Centre, Australian Defence Force Academy, Canberra.

Acknowledgement is also made to the Australian Research Council which supported the project with a Large ARC Grant in 1997 and 1998.

Resources made available by the School of Humanities, James Cook University, were invaluable in completing the *Analytical Finding List*. We are especially grateful for the assistance given by Jillian Bond and Carmel Lloyd.

The manuscripts and the newspapers and journals used in compiling this *Analytical Finding List* are held in the Mitchell Library Archives in the State Library of New South Wales. Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Trustees of the Mitchell Library for permission to publish its material.

July 2000

EP

CHRONOLOGY

Entries refer to Charles Harpur ('CH') unless otherwise indicated.

| 1811 | CH's father, Joseph Harpur, schoolmaster of the Public Charity School at Sydney, and then at Windsor, NSW. |
|---------------------|---|
| 1813 | Birth of CH, third child to Joseph Harpur and Sarah Chidley. Earlier children Elizabeth b. 1808 and Joseph Jehoshaphat b. 1810. |
| 1814 | CH's parents married. |
| 1815 | Birth of John Mileham (fourth child). |
| 1817 | Birth of Mary (fifth child, d. 1913). |
| 1819 | Birth of William (sixth child; later believed to be lost at sea, actually migrated to New Zealand). |
| 1820s | Prosperity for CH's family. |
| 1822 | Birth of James Henry (seventh child d. 1825). |
| 1826 | Charles Tompson's <i>Wild Notes from the Lyre of a Native Minstrel.</i> (CH's father buys 2 copies.) |
| 1827 | Father took over Royal Oak inn at Windsor. |
| 1828 | Daniel Henry Deniehy born. |
| 1830 | Financial loss re land: Harpurs move to Parramatta, NSW. |
| 1829–33 | CH on Hunter R. at some time in this period with visits to Sydney. |
| March 1829 | Clementson, free settler, shot by bushrangers (? Donohoe) – genesis of <i>Stalwart the Bushranger</i> . |
| 1830 | In Sydney. |
| Early 1833 | In Parramatta. |
| 1833–39/40 | In Sydney. At the Rocks with family in 1833. |
| 1833 | Sydney School of Arts founded; CH briefly an actor in Barnett Levy's theatre. |
| 18 September 1833 | Harpur loses case against Levy. |
| <i>c</i> . May 1834 | Visits editor Edward Smith Hall at Sydney Monitor. |
| <i>c</i> . 1835–36 | Employed in Post Office. |

| viii | CHRONOLOGY |
|--------------------|--|
| 1837 | Classified as letter-sorter, third class. |
| 1838 | James Martin, aged 18, publishes <i>The Australian Sketch Book</i> , with satirical portrait of CH as writer; death of CH's niece Esther Palmer (b. 1836); W. A. Duncan arrives in Sydney. |
| 1839 | Classified as clerk, salary £170 p.a.; resigns 10 October and leaves Sydney at end of year; Henry Parkes arrives in Australia. |
| 1840 | Branch of Owenism established in Sydney. |
| 1841–42 | Joins brother Joseph J. at Singleton/Patrick's Plains on Hunter. |
| 10 November 1842 | Death of father in Sydney. |
| May–September 1843 | Meets Mary Doyle at Jerry's Plains; W. A. Duncan establishes <i>Weekly Register</i> ; CH begins to publish in it. |
| 1844 | Parkes sends CH 1840 edition of Shelley's poems. |
| 1844–47 | Mostly in Sydney but often returning to Jerry's Plains; mother still living in Parramatta. |
| 1845 | Thoughts: A Series of Sonnets. |
| 1846 | Gipps replaced by Fitzroy as governor of NSW. |
| September 1847 | Returns to Jerry's Plains as Joseph J.'s proxy postmaster, pound keeper and agent. |
| 1847 | Fitzroy refuses CH government employment. CH probably now dependent on Joseph J. |
| 1 April 1847 | Death of John Harpur, thrown from horse at Seymour (Vic.). |
| 6 November 1847 | Mother marries John Welsh. |
| 1849–50 | Considers migrating to California. |
| 1850 | Establishes school at Farnborough with help of local people. |
| 2 July 1850 | Marries Mary Doyle at Jerry's Plains. |
| 1851 | Appointed to Muswellbrook Presbyterian School; resigned 21 May 1852 after brief visit to Sydney. |
| 31 March 1851 | Son Washington born. |
| 1852–59 | Sheep-farming on Hunter at Doyle's Creek. |
| 1852 | Begins correspondence with literary patron, N. D. Stenhouse. |
| 1853 | The Bushrangers: A Play in Five Acts, and Other Poems. |
| 15 June 1853 | Son Charles Chidley born. |
| 1856 | Considers himself 'pretty well to do'. |

| 1857 | Flood on Hunter R. |
|---------------------|---|
| 21 August 1859 | Daughter Ada Emily born. |
| 31 August 1859 | Appointed clerk of petty sessions for Gold Commissioner at Braidwood, NSW. Then to Sydney with Mary and family. |
| 29 September 1859 | Gives lecture at Sydney School of Arts, 'The Nature and Offices of Poetry'. |
| To 14 December 1859 | In Braidwood waiting for accommodation at Araluen. |
| 1861 | Pamphlet 'Coleridge's Christabel' published by ' <i>Dispatch</i> 'Office, Braidwood. |
| 3 October 1861 | Daughter Mary Araluen born. CH alone to the nearby Tuross goldfield. |
| 1862 | Begins correspondence with Kendall, aged 22. |
| 1862 | Pamphlet 'A Poet's Home' and 'The Poet' published by Hanson and Bennett (<i>Empire</i> office). |
| 1863 | Promoted to Assistant Commissioner at £350 p.a. |
| c. April 1863 | Moves to Eurobodalla; builds 'Euroma'. |
| 1864 | Pamphlet 'A Rhyme' published by Dispatch Office, Braidwood. |
| 1865 | Pamphlet 'The Tower of the Dream' published by Clarson, Shallard, Sydney. |
| 23 October 1865 | Death of Deniehy. |
| 1866 | G. B. Barton's <i>Poets and Prose Writers of NSW</i> appears with favourable criticism of CH's work. |
| April 1866 | Assists in hunt for bushrangers at Gulph (9 miles from Araluen). |
| 3 June 1866 | Harpur retrenched. |
| 1867–68 | 'Manuscripts' transcribed for possible English publication. |
| January 1867 | Tells Kendall he is writing 'The Witch of Hebron'. |
| 2 March 1867 | Son Charles Chidley killed in shooting accident. |
| 10 June 1868 | Death of CH. |
| 1883 | Poems. Melbourne: George Robertson. |
| 1889 | <i>Poems</i> reprinted in 'Popular' paperback edition, Sydney: William Dymock. |

INTRODUCTION

CHARLES HARPUR AND HIS MANUSCRIPTS

Charles Harpur was born in Windsor, New South Wales, in 1813. He was the third child of Joseph Harpur, an emancipist who arrived as a convict in 1800, and his wife Sarah Chidley, also an emancipist, who arrived in 1806. Sarah who was fourteen when she came to the colony, made a common law marriage with Joseph, ten years older, probably in November 1806. They were established respectably as schoolmaster and wife by the time Charles, their second son, was born. During an almost idyllic childhood in the Hawkesbury valley, Charles was able to borrow many books of literature and read avidly. He also roamed freely over the countryside and absorbed its landscape, flora and fauna in minute detail. By his twentieth birthday, however, Charles was trying to find work in Sydney, where the social and political environment was dominated by Exclusionist attitudes which denied status to emancipists and their children.

Charles Harpur had a fiercely patriotic love of Australia and determined from an early age to be the bard of his country. His first known poems, all published in 1833, are 'Australia Huzza', 'The Grave of Clements' (a settler killed by bushrangers) and 'The Wreck'. Extracts of a verse drama based on the life of Jack Donohoe, which developed into the five-act drama 'Stalwart the Bushranger', were published in 1834. A skeletal outline of the poet's personal, social and political life may be derived from the titles and first lines of most of his poems listed in this *Analytical Finding List*. A chronology of the chief events of his life appears above on pages vii–viii.

Harpur had rivals for poetic fame and made enemies more easily than he made friends. Nevertheless he received support from men like Henry Parkes and Daniel Deniehy. In 1852 he began correspondence with the literary patron N. D. Stenhouse who, like Parkes, would later maintain some assistance to the poet's widow after Harpur's death in 1868. Despite Harpur's literary detractors, in the forties and fifties he was several times referred to in print as the 'poet laureate' of Australia. But so were other less memorable colonial poets. Henry Kendall, to whom Harpur first wrote in 1861, and who quickly became one of his admirers, soon became the more acclaimed poet at home and in England. It appears, however, that Harpur never envied the younger man's reputation, and Kendall's admiration for the older poet never waned.

The pages of the *Analytical Finding List* record Harpur's extant poetic writings and revisions until his death in June 1868. His mother had died two years earlier and his second son, Charles Chidley, had died in a shooting accident in 1867 at the age of thirteen. Dispirited and weary, Harpur succumbed to pneumonia or pleurisy in mid-winter a year later. Mary Harpur, his wife, preserved a great deal of her husband's papers. Many handwritten and newspaper versions are known to have been lost, but there is always the possibility that some will surface. It seems unlikely that previously unknown poems will be discovered, although this is always the hope of an artist's devotees.

INTRODUCTION

The Harpur archival manuscripts in the Mitchell Library in Sydney are a small but significant part of Australia's cultural heritage. The holding by no means represents a complete collection of Harpur's working-papers, drafts or final manuscripts; but it is substantial. These manuscripts, and the many poems and prose pieces published in colonial newspapers and journals, augment the two small volumes of poetry of 1845 and 1853, and five or six broadsheets or pamphlets published between 1861 and 1865. Much of Harpur's work has unquestionable literary value and his opus as a whole has great sociopolitical importance. His prose and poetry reflect the local concerns and preoccupations of the colony from the 1830s to 1868. Moreover, perhaps more widely than any other literature from this period, they show how the events, philosophy and sociology of Europe and America were absorbed through the mind of an Australian-born thinker and disseminated to his country-men and country-women.

A little-known holding in the Mitchell Library (no. 169) is a small book with a hand decorated cover and a portrait of Harpur as a frontispiece. The handwritten collection, titled 'A Garland of Wild Flowers by Charles Harpur', was made by Sergeant C. C. H. Baldwin, grandson of the poet, who was killed in action at Bapaume on 3 March 1917. Sergeant Baldwin appears to have copied most of the poems from an old issue of the *Empire*, 6 January 1858, where they appeared under Harpur's title 'A Garland of Wild Flowers'. A letter from Colonel Moore to Mrs M. H. Baldwin of 'Euroma', Rose Bay, Sydney, Sergeant Baldwin's mother, notes that at Posières her son was awarded the Military Medal for conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in carrying messages under heavy rifle and shell fire, and that he was about to receive his commission before he was killed.

J. Normington-Rawling, who wrote the only biography of Harpur yet published, believed that in the collections transcribed by Harpur and his wife and son between 1867 and 1868, '[e]verything was prepared for the editor who has yet to do the job' (page 282). This was unduly optimistic. The so-called 'major' manuscripts are actually collections of transcribed poems, numbered 1–11. Authorised by Harpur before his death on 10 June 1868 (see Appendix B), they may include all the poems he considered suitable for an English edition, but they represent a little more than half of the poems which he obviously considered valuable and which he transcribed and re-worked many times.

PROVENANCE AND FORM OF THE ARCHIVAL MANUSCRIPTS

The twenty-three bound collections in varying formats that comprise the Harpur archival collection in the Mitchell Library could all be described as 'manuscripts' as their contents are either handwritten, or newspaper cuttings, most of which have handwritten changes and additions. With the exception of the collection known as A96, transcribed by Harpur's son, Washington, the collections are holographs, with a handful of poems transcribed by Mrs Harpur. Confusion may arise, however, in giving a detailed description of the contents of the archival collection, because Harpur titled many of the collections 'manuscripts' and Mrs Harpur and Washington added the title 'manuscript' to other collections after the poet's death. To facilitate the work of researchers working with the archival collection, Appendix A uses the word 'manuscript' to denote the collections so titled by Harpur and his wife and son. The convention by which the *Finding List* distinguishes between these collections is shown on page 167.

A probable *twelfth* addition to the eleven 'major' manuscripts was begun by Harpur and completed, possibly following Harpur's stated intentions, by Washington. Mrs Harpur also preserved a great deal of other verse, revisions and newspaper cuttings of poems. The collection was eventually sold to David Mitchell by Harpur's daughter Mrs Mary Araluen Baldwin, probably in the late 1890s, and formed part of the collection which became the nucleus of the Mitchell Library Archives in the State Library of New South Wales. Some of this handwritten material was sent to the Mitchell in various forms of home binding, and the Mitchell librarians bound other loose papers in with the collections. The numbered 'major' manuscript-collections were bound together, irrespective of numbering, before or after reaching the Mitchell. (See Appendix B). Nevertheless each manuscript within itself comprises the homogeneous series and collections obviously as Harpur intended. The Contents lists of the 'major' manuscripts are usually in Mary Harpur's writing. Other separate collections were bound before reaching the Mitchell, and some by the Mitchell librarians. Pages and groups of pages are sometimes randomly collated, and there is evidence that many transcriptions and revisions have been lost. A detailed description of the Mitchell archival Harpur collections, used by the present editors to facilitate dating of versions, is given in Appendix A. This description includes size, colour and watermarks, legibility of holograph and newspaper cuttings, and where appropriate, number of lines per page.

HARPUR EDITIONS

The Checklist below gives details of Harpur's book publications of 1845 and 1853. He also attempted to publish a collection to be called 'The Wild Bee of Australia.' In September 1851, believing its publication to be imminent, Deniehy referred to it in his lecture on Modern English Poetry in which he quoted Harpur's 'Sonnet on Completing "The Wild Bee of Australia".' In 1867 Harpur began planning a possible English edition, to be carried to England by T. S. Mort and offered to the London publishers Moxon and Company. The eleven 'major' manuscripts transcribed in the months preceding his death, and probably the twelfth collection completed by Washington, were to form the text of the English edition. Like 'The Wild Bee of Australia,' this edition did not eventuate.

1883 edition

Mary Harpur, who died in 1899, began her efforts to preserve Harpur's work shortly after his death, and continued to send his poems to newspapers, especially in Braidwood and Sydney. Other newspapers may have reprinted poems without permission. Mrs Harpur appealed for help to Stenhouse (d. 1873) and to Parkes (d. 1896). Correspondence suggests that Parkes had some intention of publishing or assisting Mrs Harpur to publish an edition, but again this did not eventuate. Mrs Harpur authorised an edition, *Poems* by Charles Harpur, in 1883, published by George Robertson. The collection was edited by an Adelaide friend of Mrs Harpur's family, Henry M. Martin, who apparently relied on an 'adviser.' Salier's article cited below reconstructs the apparent process of the preparation and production of this edition and adds the criticisms of the editors' work which have been endorsed by later readers. Dymock published a paperback 'Popular' edition in 1899, *Poems by Charles Harpur*, which is a cheap reprint of the 1883 edition.

1984 edition

In 1984 Angus and Robertson published *The Poetical Works of Charles Harpur*, edited by Elizabeth Perkins. This was intended to present for the first time a collection of one version of all the poems preserved in handwritten transcriptions and in newspapers. Editorial rationale was to present a text of all available poems, arranged in some of the series and sequences used by Harpur. Poems were therefore not always printed from the estimated final versions. The publisher omitted the list of sources in the Mitchell archives from which the texts were taken, and a booklet with this information was issued by the Department of English, James Cook University in 1984. The edition is marred by misprints, but reviewers' concerns that composite texts of some poems were created from variant versions may generally be met by reference to Harpur's newspaper versions, which may have been unknown to the reviewers, and were not included as cuttings in the extant archival collection. More than twenty poems not included in the 1984 edition have since been found in newspapers and journals.

DATING OF HARPUR'S POEMS IN THE ARCHIVAL MANUSCRIPTS

Harpur's dating is not entirely reliable unless a day and month are included or a place name precedes the date. In A87⁻² on page 545, the date 1847 is given with the place name Euroma. This cannot indicate when the version was written as Harpur did not name any of his homes Euroma until 1863. A date at the end of a poem, or in a footnote, sometimes indicates when Harpur first wrote or published the poem, but his memory was often faulty. For example, relying on memory, he occasionally suggested a poem was published in a specific newspaper a year or so before that paper began publication. Dates at the end of a preface or series may usually be taken as reliable, especially when textual comparison of the poems within the series supports Harpur's date. Harpur's reliable dating of the composition of versions, however, may not indicate that revisions made to that version were also made in the same year as the composition or transcription. The dated version and the next extant version, if any, suggest the period within which the revisions were made. Newspaper cuttings with no alterations retain the date of the original publication. Amended cuttings are dated where possible, as estimated by the changes in the text.

Watermarks and 'final copy'

Many pages of the MSS bear watermarks, but these are useful chiefly to confirm probable dates of composition arrived at by other means. In only one instance was a watermark helpful in establishing a firmer possible date for the transcriptions of a group of versions. Harpur wrote 'Final Copy' on poems in several collections, for example, A88, A89, A91 and A95. Poems so marked, however, rarely comprise the latest copy transcribed by Harpur, and later versions sometimes contain substantial changes. A89 with note 'intended to be a final' copy, dated Euroma 1863, seldom contains the final version of a poem.

Allocation of dates

Dates are allocated using the following indicators: Harpur's reliable dating, newspaper and journal dating, printed editions and broadsheets, lightbox readings, detailed comparison of versions, internal evidence (e.g. factual and historical evidence), handwriting, paper types and watermarks. Detailed comparison of textual versions has been of great importance. A probable or possible date is given only when all the indicators confirm the estimated dating.

Series and sequences

Harpur organised and re-grouped his poems into some fifty-seven groupings which the *Analytical Finding List* has called 'series' to facilitate understanding of Harpur's demonstrated intention. There are also groupings of poems forming a continuous narrative which the *Analytical Finding List* has called 'sequences'. These include six 'sequences' authorised by Harpur in which the story is based on the six sonnets in the 'Petrarchian Musings; or, The Hundred Sonnets of Love' published in the *Weekly Register* on 2 September and 11 November 1853. Four more sonnets from the same narrative of the progress of a romance were included in the published collection *Thoughts* (1845). The sonnets were expanded and rewritten as 'Rosa: or Sonnets of Love' (1853), 'Nora' (1861) and 'Records of a Poet's Love' (1866), and abridged again as 'Sonnets Inspired by Love and Beauty' (1867). The distinction between a series, a sequence and complete poem in parts is often a fine one, but the *Analytical Finding List* uses the simplest forms to interpret Harpur's possible intentions. All sequences and series are listed on pp. xx.

Generic series titles used by Harpur, such as *Lyrics* and *Odes*, are not listed as *filing titles* as the poems included under this generic title are too numerous and items may vary. The series names *Lyrics* and *Odes and Lyrics* used by Harpur are supplied for the appropriate individual entries. For example, see 'This Southern Land of Ours' which in 1863 was placed in the series *Lyrics*, and in 1867 is found in *Poems in Early Life*.

Harpur's texts and re-working

Sometimes the collections appear to contain Harpur's initial drafts of some poems while most pieces seem to be at least a second re-working. Versions of two poems on the same page may date from different years, as Harpur may have returned to the page to re-work one poem without changing the other. Alterations in versions, especially format, are not always progressive. Some versions experiment with line lengths (e.g. pentameter changed to trimeter and dimeter, or vice versa) but the following version may revert to the earlier format, e.g. 'Finality' in C376.

Handwriting styles

The three transcribers of the poems were Harpur, Mrs Harpur and Washington Harpur, the oldest son. By far the greatest amount of transcription is in Harpur's own hand. The handwriting of Mrs Harpur and Washington is distinctive, and there are many scribal slips in Mrs Harpur's and in Washington's writing. Harpur himself used a number of styles and sizes although his handwriting is also distinctive. Pages written by Harpur in similar style have sometimes assisted dating. Salier's identification of handwriting is sometimes misleading, but Vance's identification is more reliable. Harpur transcribed and made title-pages for the first eleven of the 'major' manuscripts, but died during the transcription of collection titled No. 12. It was completed by Washington who also supplied a title-page and manuscript number, and Mrs Harpur added 'An Australian' under Harpur's

name. The archival holdings include collections which are not among the 'major' manuscripts, but which were numbered and titled 'manuscript' by Washington and Mrs Harpur. Mrs Harpur added all the annotations 'An Australian' under Harpur's name. With one or two exceptions, the Contents pages for all the collections were added by Mrs Harpur and Washington, probably after Harpur's death. A96 titled 'Poems in Early Life' was transcribed by Washington, probably in 1867 or early 1868.

A96: Poems in Early Life

A96 has as a title-page 'Poems in Early Life' (page 5). The title was apparently cut from elsewhere and pasted in. Transcription may have been authorised by Harpur to represent earlier versions of some of his work. Nevertheless A96 does not include all poems dating back to earlier decades (e.g.1830s–1850s) and does include poems whose earliest extant version is in the 1860s. The poems were transcribed with many scribal slips by Washington and were not always copied from the latest preceding version. The probable date of these transcriptions by Washington is 1867, suggested by the dates of the documents from which transcriptions were taken and the strong possibility that Harpur was alive to authorise the selection. Transcription is sometimes from a very early version so A96 is not a reliable guide for dating changes in other versions. It must be used with care by an editor. Versions in A96, even when they are by date the latest, for example 'Sapho (sic) to Herself', extant in only two versions. 'Sapho (sic) to Herself' in A95 was probably transcribed in 1867. Although Washington's transcription in A96 includes the alterations in A95, it also introduces minor changes which are possibly scribal slips and not authorised by Harpur.

Only two full poems and two parts of one sequence and one part of another sequence from the 'major' manuscript poems, are included in A96, suggesting that 'Poems in Early Life' were partly chosen to bring together some poems excluded from these 'major' manuscripts, transcribed 1867–68. The document most frequently used in transcribing 'Poems in Early Life' is A90 (1863), but C376, A95 and A87⁻² were also used. Three of the poems in A96 are the only extant versions: 'A Lover's Quarrel – and the Result', 'To Twank', and 'The Poet's Burial'.

Numbered 'manuscripts'

C381, pages 289–322, contains a list begun by Washington and continued by Mrs Harpur under the heading 'List of Poems copied into Manuscript 1890'. Asterisked poems are designated '(To England)'. Page 321 carries an added note 'sent to Adelaide first' probably referring to Henry M. Martin who edited the 1883 edition in Adelaide. The poems are numbered in groups 1–20. An almost identical list as far as the end of No. 17 is found in a letter from Mrs Harpur to Henry Parkes dated 12 June1881 (Parkes Correspondence, Mitchell Library A923 Vol. 53).

The C381 list corresponds fairly closely to the extant contents pages for 'major' Manuscripts 1–11 authorised by Harpur and less closely to the contents of some of the 'Manuscripts' numbered by Washington. Harpur may have approved of these groupings, but all of them cannot be regarded as authoritative. Two titles in the list have no counterpart poems among the extant manuscripts or cuttings; but one has been located in the *Empire*

and the other, 'A Burley Beast', is an otherwise unlocated alternative title for 'My Only Hate'.

NEWSPAPER AND JOURNAL PUBLICATION

Harpur contributed to about forty known newspapers and journals, and poems were sometimes reprinted in papers outside New South Wales, possibly without Harpur's knowledge. This *Analytical Finding List* locates many of these, assisted by earlier bibliographies as given in the Checklist. Others are known to have been published but may not be extant. However, the number of new items that have been located suggests that there may be many other newspaper versions still undiscovered. Harpur himself seems to have sent the same poem to more than one newspaper or journal sometimes within a month or two, and occasionally he sent successive versions of a poem to the same newspaper. Dates added by Harpur to the copy sent to the editor indicate that poems were usually published within a fortnight of his submitting them. Earlier bibliographies record a handful of publications that have not been sighted for this *Analytical Finding List*: these are listed as 'unsighted'.

Cuttings from newspapers and journals

Harpur appears to have collected cuttings from the 1840s onward, apparently without noting the origin of the items, and to have compiled cutting-books in the 1850s and 1860s. Harpur's collections contain many cuttings from newspapers and journals, to none of which he added the name and date of the paper and from which he sometimes removed the title. Salier identified some of these and the majority have been identified for the present Analytical Finding List. The newspaper and date of some items were identified or partially identified by placing Harpur's page with the cutting against a lightbox which showed the print on the back of the cutting. Items for which the newspaper and/or date have been identified by lightbox readings are noted in the Analytical Finding List. Some cuttings are as yet unidentified. A major problem is the apparent loss of some early Braidwood papers, for example, issues of the Braidwood Dispatch in the 1860s to which Salier believed, with some justification, that Harpur sent many pieces. The Braidwood Dispatch is believed to have been founded by Charles Isaac Watson in 1854, but Harpur did not come to the district until 1859. Other papers, including relevant issues of the Spectator and single issues of some journals, are also apparently unavailable, so that the present Analytical Finding List is tentative in allocating some items, and may be missing others which may turn up in the future. The full title of newspapers and journals is given in the initial entry in each item, except for the People's Advocate and New South Wales Vindicator, shortened to People's Advocate and the Moruva Examiner, Miners' Advocate and the Eden District Advertiser, shortened to Moruva Examiner. Newspaper titles are abbreviated in the cuttings entries if the full title has already appeared in the item.

People's Advocate and New South Wales Vindicator

Harpur published extensively in the *People's Advocate* founded by E. J. Hawksley in 1848, a paper whose final publication date remains uncertain. In the 1960s Elizabeth Perkins consulted issues in hardcopy dating to December 1856, as Salier and Normington-

Rawling had done earlier. By the 1980s no library reported holding issues later than 28 June 1856, but Elizabeth Morrison eventually discovered the later issues for 1856 in the New South Wales State Library. Further research by Elizabeth Holt suggests that the *People's Advocate* continued into 1857. Cuttings from the Series 'Epigrams, Notes and Opinions, Etc.' (later 'Songs, Epigrams, Notes and Opinions, Etc.') published in the *People's Advocate* are pasted into several manuscripts, including A87⁻², which contains on page 796 'Mr. Mort's Testimonial' titled No. 24 and in format identical to the apparent last of the Series published 20 December 1856 and titled No. 20. Similar cuttings are found in C384, C376, A94 and A92, some with numbers intact.

THE ANALYTICAL FINDING LIST: PURPOSE AND FUNCTION

The *Analytical Finding List* is a bibliography which gives a systematic description of the manuscript versions and publication history of all the known poems of Charles Harpur. It includes a number of poems and versions which are known to have existed but which cannot presently be located. One of the purposes of the *Analytical Finding List* is to acquaint other researchers with the available poems and their versions to facilitate the recovery of those known to be missing.

The chief function of the *Analytical Finding List* is to provide the information essential to the preparation of a scholarly edition of Harpur's poems which would include as much variora as is practicable within one volume. The *Analytical Finding List* indicates the difficulties facing an editor who hopes to represent all the variations occurring in every version of a poem. The dating of the versions began with external evidence such as publication dates and the poet's own dating, where reliable. By far the greater number of versions, however, could only be dated by very detailed comparison of texts to ascertain in what sequence changes occurred. The work undertaken to prepare the *Analytical Finding List* therefore lays the foundation for the preparation of a scholarly edition.

The work undertaken by the co-editors and researcherswill assist literary critics to pursue a more precise and informed study than hitherto possible of Harpur's creative processes of composition and revision. The findings also widen our understanding of the encouragement given to Australian poets by the colonial newspapers and journals which published their work. This expands the extensive listings presented in Elizabeth Webby's *Early Australian Poetry: An Annotated Bibliography of Original Poems published in Australian Newspapers, Magazines and Almanacs before 1850* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1982).

CHECKLIST

HARPUR'S POEMS: NINETEENTH-CENTURY EDITIONS

| Harpur, Charles | Thoughts. A Series of Sonnets. Sydney: W. A. Duncan, 1845. |
|-----------------|---|
| | A Poet's Home. Sydney: Hanson and Bennett, 1862. |
| | The Bushrangers: A Play in Five Acts, and Other Poems. |
| | Sydney: W. R. Piddington, 1853. |
| | Poems. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1883. Rpt in Popular |
| | paperback edition. Sydney: William Dymock, 1899. |
| | Coleridge's Christabel. Braidwood: 'Dispatch' Office, [1861]. |
| | A Rhyme. Braidwood: Dispatch Office, [1864]. |
| | Songs of Australia. First and Second Series. Braidwood: |
| | 'Dispatch' Office, 1861. Publisher and date uncertain. Parts of |
| | pamphlets sighted only by lightbox reading of pages in MA92 |
| | and C384. |
| | The Tower of the Dream. Sydney: Clarson, Shallard, 1865. Rpt |
| | from the Australian Journal. |

MANUSCRIPT RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS FROM MANUSCRIPT

| Anon | 'A Harpur Discovery'. Southerly 5 (1944): 1. |
|--|--|
| Aurousseau, M. | 'Charles Harpur and His Biographer'. <i>Meanjin</i> 22 (1963): 69–79. |
| Cox, P. B. | 'Charles Harpur and the Early Australian Poets. (1810–1860)'. <i>The Royal Australian Historical Society</i> 25 (1939): 249–67. |
| Holborn, Muir | Letter Southerly 11 (1950): 54–5. |
| | 'It was Tale of Passion'. Rev. of <i>Rosa: Love Poems to Mary Doyle</i> , by Charles Harpur (Ed. C. W. Salier). <i>Southerly</i> 11 (1950): 105–6. |
| McCrae, G. G. | 'The Golden Age of Australian Literature 1860–1870'. <i>Southerly</i> 4 (1944): 39–46. |
| Normington-Rawling, J | . Charles Harpur, An Australian. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, |
| | 1962. |
| | 'A Currency Lad Poet: The Significance of Charles Harpur'. <i>Southerly</i> 7 (1963): 11–25. |
| O'Sullivan, Vincent (ed.)'The Temple of Infamy'. The Unsparing Scourge: Australian | |
| | Satirical Texts 1845–1860. Nedlands: The Centre for Studies in Australian Literature, University of Western Australia, 1988: 23–55. |
| Rawling, J. W. (sic) | 'Correspondence' to Editor of Southerly 12 (1951): 54-7. |
| Salier, C. W. | 'Charles Harpur – A Pre-centenary Note'. <i>Australian Quarterly</i> 15 (1943): 85–94. |
| | 'Charles Harpur's Translations from the Iliad'. <i>Southerly</i> 4 (1946): 218–23. |

| Salier, C. W. | 'Charles Harpur's Translations from the Iliad'. <i>Southerly</i> 9 (1948): 252. |
|---|---|
| | 'Harpur and His Editor'. Southerly 12 (1951): 47–54.'Harpur and Kendall: Footnotes to a Friendship'. Southerly 9 |
| | (1948): 101–08. 'Harpur's Sonnet-Series of 1845'. <i>Australian Quarterly</i> 17 (September 1945): 66–74. |
| | 'Henry M. Martin as Editor'. Mitchell Library Typescript 1946. Harpur MA1528. |
| | 'The Life and Writings of Charles Harpur'. <i>The Royal Australian Historical Society</i> 32 (1946): 89–105. |
| | 'The "Little Learning" of Charles Harpur'. <i>Australian Quarterly</i> 19 (March 1947): 5–10. |
| | 'Notes on the Harpur Manuscripts in the Mitchell Library; with Research on the sources of the text of the published Poems of Charles Harpur, 1883'. Mitchell Library typescript 1946. A98 ⁻² . |
| Editions | |
| Ackland, Michael (ed.) | <i>Charles Harpur: Selected Prose and Poetry.</i> Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1986. |
| Clarke, Donovan (ed.) Mitchell, Adrian (ed.) | <i>Charles Harpur</i> . Sydney: A. & R., 1963. <i>Charles Harpur</i> . Three Colonial Poets. Book 1. Melbourne: Sun Books, 1973. |
| Perkins, Elizabeth (ed.) | The Poetical Works of Charles Harpur. Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1984. |
| Salier, C. W. | <i>'Rosa': Love Sonnets to Mary Doyle</i> by Charles Harpur. Ed. C. W. Salier. Sydney: Hutchinson and Company, 1948. |
| Bibliographical researc | h |
| Crittenden, Victor | <i>Pseudonyms used by Australian Writers of the Nineteenth Century.</i> No. 5 Bibliographica Historica Australiae. Canberra: Mulini Press, 1996. |
| Webby, Elizabeth | Early Australian Poetry: An Annotated Bibliography of Original Poems Published in Australian Newspapers, Magazines and Almanacs before 1850. Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1982. |
| Unpublished theses with | h manuscript research |
| Devlin, Frances | 'The Critical Reception of Charles Harpur's <i>The Bushrangers</i> '. BA (Hons) Diss. U. of Queensland, 1969. |
| Gray, A. | 'The Collected Poems of C. H. Harpur'. 3 vols. MA Thesis, U. of Sydney, 1965. |
| Perkins, Elizabeth | 'Charles Harpur and the Concept of the Poet'. MA Thesis, U of Queensland, 1972. |
| Vance, Sheila | 'The Religious Philosophy of Charles Harpur'. PhD Thesis, Monash U., 1993. |

LIST OF SERIES AND SEQUENCES

Although Harpur only rarely used the term 'series' or 'sequence' (e.g. 'Passing Thoughts. A Series of Sonnets'), the following 'series' and 'sequence' titles are found in Harpur's manuscripts and published work. All variations are listed, as the changed series title usually indicated that the items in the series were also varied.

Series Australian Lyrics Autumnal Leaves Beautiful. The Being Leaves from Charles Harpur's Wild Bee of Australia Bits Bits of Philosophy, Caustic and Otherwise Characteristics and Bits of Philosophy Charles Harpur's Wild Bee of Australia Critical Rhymes **Domestic Sonnets** Epigrams, Notes, and Opinions Garland of Wild Flowers, A Leaf from Charles Harpur's Wild Bee of Australia, A Lyrics Miscellaneous Sonnets Monodies I Monodies II Monodies III Muse-Worship Odes Odes and Lyrics Morsels from Charles Harpur's Wild Bee of Australia Passing Thoughts. A Series of Sonnets Personal and Other Sonnets Petrarchian Musings: Or, The Hundred Sonnets of Love Poems in Early Life Poems of Melancholy Poetical Studies: Or Rhymed Criticisms Portion of Charles Harpur's Wild Bee of Australia, A Rhymed Aphorisms and Bits of Philosophy

Rhymed Criticisms Rhymes Rhymes, Humourous (sic) Poems, Epigrams, etc. Satirical Effusions Songs, Epigrams, Notes, and Opinions, etc. Songs, Odes, and Other Lyrics Sonnets Sonnets Dedicated to Australian Senators Sonnets Dedicated to Senators Sonnets Dedicated to the Squatocracy (sic). Sonnets Dedicated to Wordsworth Sonnets on Poets and Poetry Sonnets Relating to Poetry and Poets Sonnets (in Continuation) Sonnets Inspired by Love and Beauty Squatter Songs String of Epigrams, A String of Epigrams (Given Without Comment), A String of Gems, A String of Passing Thoughts (With or Without Comment), A String of Personal and Other Sonnets, A String of Pearls, A

Sequences

Love in the Past Love Sonnets Lyrical Love Story, A Muse's Ethics, The 'Nevers' of Poetry, The Nora or Records of a Poet's Love Records of a Poet's Love Rosa: Or Sonnets of Love Specimens of Love Sonnets

HOW TO USE THE ANALYTICAL FINDING LIST

- The *Analytical Finding List* comprises an alphabetical index of all the titles and alternative titles used by Harpur. Untitled poems are filed under the first line e.g. 'Life is a fearful thing! to be'
- The filing title of each poem is taken from the latest version transcribed or published in Harpur's lifetime. Variant titles in the 1883 edition are also listed.
- The extant versions of each item are listed chronologically, beginning with the earliest extant version.
- The number of lines (sometimes approximate) in each version is recorded, and the first line of each version.
- The series or sequences into which Harpur grouped various versions are also given, but broad general groupings such as 'Lyrics', 'Odes' and 'Poems' are not separately recorded.
- The sequence of thirty-four love sonnets extant in several versions is recorded under the title of the latest version which contains the greatest number of numbered sonnets: 'Records of a Poet's Love'. Earlier and later sequences and series are recorded under this title and cross-referenced where necessary.
- Dates allocated in the *Analytical Finding List* are bolded to indicate a firm date, and left unbolded if the date is considered reliable but not certain.
- Pagination of the manuscript volumes is irregular and is sometimes missing. Page numbers are given in the *Analytical Finding List* only when a version or part of a version is found more than once in the same volume. Pages numbered both by Harpur and later by the Mitchell librarians are indicated by a slash: e.g. 26/301.
- The frame numbers available to researchers in some photocopies of the archival manuscript collection have not been used in the *Analytical Finding List*.
- 'N' indicates the presence of a prose note by Harpur.
- 'Ø' indicates the version or part thereof is scored through, presumably by Harpur.
- Appendix A describes and enumerates the content of the Harpur manuscript collection.
- Mitchell Library manuscript collection numbers are given for holographs and printed cuttings; see Appendix A for precise locations.
- Appendix B locates in the listings in Appendix A the 'Major' manuscript collections authorised by Harpur and the other manuscript collections numbered by the Harpurs. Mrs Harpur's list of poems for the edition of 1883 is also given.