ROBBERY UNDER ARMS

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ROLF BOLDREWOOD

ROBBERY UNDER ARMS

Edited by
PAUL EGGERT
and
ELIZABETH WEBBY

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, invarably 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.

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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 variants 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 particularly 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

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pre-publication material is described, as well as any serialisations and the early publications in book form. These have been collated as a preliminary to the editing process, and their variant readings are recorded in textual apparatus. Important categories of variants may appear also at the foot of the reading page.

The historical account in the Introduction 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.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CRITICAL editions ask hard questions about textual traditions and editors don't always find the answering of them straightforward. So it has been with this edition.

The job was begun in 1993 with bibliographic identification of extant versions, inputting of them and computer collation, organised by Elizabeth Morrison. New states of the text were uncovered and other hurdles were jumped. The original editor withdrew, and it was not until 1999 that the present editors were able to take up the task in earnest. Paul Eggert was textual editor, and he wrote the Introduction, Chronology and the appendix, *Robbery Under Arms* in Montreal. Elizabeth Webby wrote the appendixes, Adaptations and Historical Background, and compiled most of the explanatory notes and glossary entries. Julieanne Lamond assisted Webby and also wrote the appendix, Places in *Robbery Under Arms*. We thank our fellow members of the Academy Editions Editorial Board, Virginia Blain, Harold Love and Chris Tiffin for their advice and trust in us; and we record a tribute to UQP representative Craig Munro. Though not a member of it, his services to the Board, and to the series as a whole over a dozen years, were deeply appreciated.

We have received assistance from many people, and we wish to record our thanks: Elizabeth James and the staff of the Manuscripts reading room at the new British Library (the Macmillan archive); the State Library staff of the Mitchell and Dixson Libraries in Sydney, the La Trobe Library in Melbourne and the John Oxley Library in Brisbane; the staff of the National Library of Australia in Canberra (Boldrewood materials); the National Library of Canada and the Bibliothèque Nationale de Québec; and for the general support of the staff of our own libraries: the Fisher Library at the University of

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Sydney and the Library of the Australian Defence Force Academy.

Various scholars have been generous. Elaine Zinkhan alerted us to the existence of the *Echo* serialisation and to relevant material in the A. P. Watt archive at the University of North Carolina; and we also thank her research assistant Helen Doyle. Dirk Spennemann gave us access to unpublished work of his on Boldrewood in Albury, and other materials. Bruce Moore of the Australian National Dictionary Centre gave us valuable advice on the Glossary. Mary Jane Edwards tracked down copies of one of the Canadian serialisations for us; and John Handford, former Macmillan Archivist at Basingstoke, kindly supplied us with vital facts and figures. Other information came from Adrian Caesar, Pierre Coustillas, Victor Crittenden, Stephen Herrin, Helen Hewson, the late John Holroyd, Elizabeth Morrison, Irmtraud Petersson, Andrew van der Vlies and Gerry Walsh.

Earlier Boldrewood scholars also deserve our thanks, even when we have corrected their findings or rejected their speculations, including Alan Brissenden (who generously gave us his archive of Boldrewood material), Keast Burke, Robert Dixon and J. S. Ryan. Paul de Serville's biography of Boldrewood appeared after the Introduction had been drafted but nevertheless allowed us to add some details and check many others, particularly in the Chronology; and he generously passed on other materials. Graham de Vahl Davis, owner of a Boldrewood letter to Lord Rosebery, kindly gave us access to it.

At the Australian Scholarly Editions Centre in Canberra, a number of people assisted at various stages in the project: Leslie Banson, Jennifer Berrie, Phill Berrie, Jack Bowers, Susan Cowan, Sascha Dilger, Caren Florance, Jo Hansen, Jenny Huntley, Sarah Randles, Jane Rankine, Andrea Tomkinson, Mary Walsh, Thérèse Weber and Philippa Wicks. Roger Osborne's assistance with the textual apparatus and Tessa Wooldridge's at proof stage were particularly important. The accuracy of the text and apparatus benefitted from the close scrutiny of Lindeth Vasey.

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PE, EW *December 2005*

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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 is 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.

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CHRONOLOGY

Unless otherwise indicated, entries refer to Thomas Alexander Brown (Brown*e* from 1864) – 'TAB' – whose principal pen-name was Rolf Boldrewood (RB). Titles of his serialised novels are presented within inverted commas, but italicised when separately published. *TCJ* is *Australian Town and Country Journal* (Sydney).

c. 1 February 1826	Capt. Sylvester Brown marries Eliza Alexander in Mauritius.
6 August 1826	Claimed birth date, London.
Late 1827–1828	Family's return voyage to Bombay in Capt. Brown's *Proteus.*
c. 14 April 1831	Family leaves from Portsmouth for Van Diemen's Land on *Proteus* with convicts as cargo.
3 August 1831	*Proteus* arrives in Hobart.
From 21 September 1831	Family in Sydney (Spring Street, Macquarie Place). Capt. Brown sets up whaling business.
c. 1833	At William Timothy Cape's Sydney Academy.
1835	At Sydney College (Cape as headmaster), living at Enmore till 6 or 7 April 1839 in house designed by John Verge.
By October 1837	Capt. Brown overlands to Port Phillip with sheep, cattle and convicts, then begins

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	speculating heavily in land and buildings in Melbourne.
15 April 1839	Family arrives in Melbourne; TAB later continues his schooling in Sydney.
1840	Family moves to Hartlands at Heidelberg, overlooking the Yarra River.
By 1841	Joins his family in Melbourne. To the Revd David Boyd's school.
By 1843	Family in severe financial difficulty as economic depression deepens.
Spring 1843	To Grasmere near Belfast (later Port Fairy) surveying land with the Revd John Bolden.
20 October 1843	Arrives in Melbourne.
January 1844	Droving cattle to Western District; takes up land temporarily on Merai River (near the later town of Warrnambool).
c. July 1844	Moves to take up land that TAB names Squattlesea Mere (between Belfast and Portland).
By January 1848	Joined by mother, six sisters and younger brother. Period of prosperity follows.
Spring 1851	To Melbourne and then Ballarat goldfields with cattle for sale.
1854	Elected to the Melbourne Club.
1858	Purchases Murrabit (n. Victoria, s.e. of Swan Hill).
18 June–December 1860	To England; courts Miss H. Trench in Ireland but is rejected. Leaves for Melbourne.
1 August 1861	Marries Margaret Mary Riley of Raby (Mulgoa, near Liverpool, NSW).
17 June 1862	First child, Rose, born.
By October 1863	Low prices for livestock and mounting debts: loses Squattlesea Mere and Murrabit. Penniless.

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22 February 1864	Capt. Brown dies.
By September 1864	Family changes surname to Browne; TAB takes up Bundidjaree (e. of Narrandera, NSW) with absentee partners.
3 September 1864	NSW 'suffering an epidemic of bushrangers' (letter to Edward Wortley, 1st Earl of Wharncliffe).
c. June 1865	Writes 'A Kangaroo Drive'.
December 1866	'A Kangaroo Drive' published in *Cornhill Magazine*.
Spring 1867	Held up by bushrangers.
By 7 February 1868	Interviews one of them in Wagga Wagga gaol.
10 July 1869	Sends 'Shearing in Riverina' to *Cornhill* (published January–June 1871).
December 1869	Following drought in 1866 and 1868–69, leaves Bundidjaree, again penniless. Goes droving to Gippsland.
1870	In Sydney. Twins born, adding to his four children (another had died in infancy). Begins writing for *TCJ* and looking for other work.
24 September and 1 October 1870	'Across the Mountains from Manaro to Gipps Land', in *TCJ*. Part of it revised and collected in *In Bad Company* (1901).
22 October – 12 November 1870	*TCJ* reprints 'Shearing in Riverina'.
7 April 1871	Appointed Police Magistrate, Gulgong, near Mudgee, NSW, and later Goldfields Commissioner and Coroner.
May 1871–1874	Faces down growing criticism in local press and a Commission of Enquiry in 1874.
7 June – 23 August 1873	First of many serialised novels, 'The Fencing of Wanderowna: A Tale of Australian Squatting Life', *TCJ* (collected in *A Romance of Canvas Town*, 1898).

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1874	Eighth child born.
10 January – 19 December 1874	'Incidents and Adventures of My Run Home', *TCJ* (as *My Run Home*, 1897).
23 January – 27 November 1875	Adopts RB pseudonym for 'The Squatter's Dream', *TCJ* (as *Ups and Downs*, 1878; as *The Squatter's Dream*, 1890).
1876	Brother-in-law Frederick Darley offers 'The Squatter's Dream' to publishers while in London.
1 July 1876 – 23 June 1877	'A Colonial Reformer', *TCJ* (as book, 1890).
30 June – 29 September 1877	'The Wild Australian', *TCJ* (not republished).
6 October 1877 – 1 February 1879	'An Australian Squire', *TCJ* (as *Babes in the Bush*, 1900).
1878	*Ups and Downs* ('The Squatter's Dream') with ending altered by publisher (London: S. W. Silver & Co.); last (ninth) child born.
1879	S. W. Silver & Co.'s *Australian Grazier's Guide* published anonymously.
6 September 1879	Reads reviews of *Ups and Downs*: 'now . . . I am an *author*' (diary).
3 January – 18 December 1880	'The Miner's Right', *TCJ* ; in *The Colonies and India* (London), 21 February 1880 – 12 March 1881; as book, 1890.
December 1880	Appointed Police Magistrate, Dubbo.
1881	S. W. Silver & Co.'s *Australian Grazier's Guide No. II – Cattle*.
February 1882	Begins writing 'Robbery Under Arms'.
1 July 1882 – 11 August 1883	'Robbery Under Arms', *Sydney Mail.*
8 July 1882 – 5 April 1884	'Old Time Sketches: Old Melbourne Memories', *Australasian* (as *Old Mebourne Memories*, 1884, 1896).

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11 August – 8 December 1883	'Country Sketches', *Sydney Mail*.
1884	*Old Melbourne Memories* (Melbourne: George Robertson).
12 January – 27 December 1884	'The Rambler: Walks Abroad', *Sydney Mail*.
16 February 1884 – 7 February 1885	'The Sealskin Mantle', *Sydney Mail* (as *The Sealskin Cloak*, 1896).
3–6 April 1884	In Sydney en route to new posting as Police Magistrate and Mining Warden, Armidale.
31 May – 4 October 1884	'Plain Living: A Bush Idyll', *Australasian* (as book, 1898).
31 May – 10 October 1884	'Robbery Under Arms', *Echo.*
1–12 January 1885	In Sydney en route to new posting in Albury as Chairman of the Land Licensing Board. Discusses publication in book form of 'Robbery Under Arms' with his sister Lucy Darley.
13 January 1885 – June 1895	In Albury.
3 February 1885	Sends 'the first half' of 'Robbery Under Arms' to Lucy Darley, and on 4th the 'second half'.
5 February 1885	Refers to 'cost of printing'.
19 December 1885	'The Final Choice; or, Pollie's Probation', *Australasian* (as *The Crooked Stick*, 1895).
19 August 1887	Police Magistrate and Mining Warden, Albury.
19 November – 17 December 1887	'The Sphinx of Eaglehawk: A Tale of Old Bendigo', *Australasian* (as book, 1895).
By 11 August 1888	*Robbery Under Arms*, 3 vols (London: Remington, 1888).

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September 1888 – January 1889	'A Sydney-Side Saxon', *Centennial Magazine* (as book, 1891).
c. 22 November 1888	Remington proposes a one-volume, cheap edition of *Robbery Under Arms*; RB accepts on 12 December and sends instructions for abridgement.
December 1888	Remington sells Continental rights to Tauchnitz.
By 7 February 1889	Remington offers cheap edition rights to Macmillan (accepted on 11th) and secures RB's agreement to Macmillan's terms.
March 1889	*Robbery Under Arms*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Tauchnitz).
9 March 1889	Macmillan instructs printer R. & R. Clark to commence typesetting.
By 18 April 1889	Proofs corrected.
Late May 1889	RB rents new, well-situated, 8-bedroom house ('Raby') in Albury.
4 June 1889	*Robbery Under Arms* (London: Macmillan), 1 vol. (413 pages).
August 1889 – September 1890	'Nevermore', *Centennial Magazine* (as book, 1892).
8 November 1889	Mother dies.
1890	*The Squatter's Dream* and *A Colonial Reformer* and *The Miner's Right* (Macmillan).
1 March – 18 April 1890	Adaptation of *Robbery Under Arms* by Alfred Dampier and Garnet Walch staged in Melbourne.
1891	*A Sydney-Side Saxon* (Macmillan).
1892	*Nevermore* (Macmillan).
January 1892	In Hobart, lectures on 'Heralds of Australian Literature' (published in *Report of the Fourth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1893).

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November 1892 – December 1893	Adapting and adding to South Seas tale purchased in manuscript from Louis Becke.
c. July 1894	Macmillan's 413-page edition of *Robbery Under Arms* reset.
By 13 August 1894	*A Modern Buccaneer* (Macmillan): Becke's role not mentioned; he protests and RB apologises publicly.
1895	*The Sphinx of Eaglehawk* and *The Crooked Stick* (Macmillan).
Mid June 1895	Retires with superannuation from NSW Civil Service; moves to Melbourne.
22 July 1895	Appoints A. P. Watt as his literary agent.
Late September – October 1895	Meets Mark Twain in Melbourne.
1896	*The Sealskin Cloak* and *Old Melbourne Memories* (Macmillan, revd edn).
March 1896	In New Zealand, gathering material for a novel (*War to the Knife*, 1899).
1897	*My Run Home* (Macmillan).
1898	*Plain Living* and *A Romance of Canvas Town and Other Stories* (Macmillan).
By June 1898	Third English (double-column) edition of *Robbery Under Arms* (London: Macmillan), 222 pages.
1899	*War to the Knife; or, Tangata Maori* (Macmillan).
1900	*Babes in the Bush* (Macmillan).
1901	*In Bad Company and Other Stories* (Macmillan).
6 November 1901 – 1 October 1902	'Robbery Under Arms', *Family Herald and Weekly Star* (Montreal).
1902	*The Ghost Camp; or, The Avengers* (Macmillan).

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24 May – 9 October 1902	'Robbery Under Arms', *Montreal Daily Star.*
1905	Final novel: *The Last Chance* (Macmillan).
11 March 1915	Dies.
1928	506-page edition of *Robbery Under Arms* (Macmillan).
13 June 1936 – 1 May 1937	*Robbery Under Arms* serialised in *Weekly Times* (Melbourne).
1947	Dymocks edition of *Robbery Under Arms* (Sydney), 427 pages; Cassells edition (London), 432 pages.
1949	World's Classics edition (Oxford University Press), 660 pages.
1954	Collins edition (London), 446 pages.
1992	Modern Publishing edition ('Australia'), 528 pages.
2001	Axiom Publishing edition (Adelaide), 431 pages.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	*Australian Dictionary of Biography*, ed. Douglas Pike and others, 16 vols (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1966–2002).
BL	British Library (references are to Additional Manuscript and folio numbers in the Macmillan & Co. archive).
Burke	Keast Burke, *Thomas Alexander Browne (Rolf Boldrewood): An Annotated Bibliography, Checklist and Chronology* (Cremorne, NSW: Stone Copying Co., 1956).
de Serville	Paul de Serville, *Rolf Boldrewood: A Life* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press at Melbourne University Press, 2000).
ML	Mitchell and Dixson Libraries, State Library of New South Wales.
NLA	National Library of Australia.
OED2	*Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
RB	Rolf Boldrewood.
Rutherford	Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

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