

ROBBERY UNDER ARMS IN MONTREAL

THE two Canadian serialisations of *Robbery Under Arms* mentioned in the Introduction appeared in the stable of newspapers owned by Hugh Graham (1848–1938), one of Canada’s first press barons, based in Montreal. The ‘tale’, as it was conventionally termed, appeared first in the *Family Herald and Weekly Star* from 6 November 1901 till 1 October 1902 and then, in a new typesetting, in the corresponding *Montreal Daily Star*, starting on 24 May 1902 and concluding on 9 October. The firm had purchased the rights from Rolf Boldrewood’s literary agent, A. P. Watt, for CAN\$150, the relatively low amount being justified on the grounds that the novel had already appeared in the cheap double-column format.¹

The *Daily Star* cost one cent and, at this time, its daily circulation was a claimed 55,000, sold mostly by subscription. The newspaper normally contained 10–12 pages during the week and 24 on Saturdays. The *Family Herald* had around 120,000 subscribers at this time, was published on Wednesdays and cost \$1 p.a. in subscription, payable in advance. It advertised itself as ‘CANADA’S NATIONAL FARM MAGAZINE’ and, judging by the addresses of the subscribers who contributed letters to the various sections of the weekly, sold well both in and outside the boundaries of Montreal, where its daily counterpart fought out its commercial battle, day by day, for readers and advertisers.

Why did the firm bother with an Australian title, and why this one in particular? Part of the explanation must be that *Robbery Under Arms* was thought likely to help sustain or even boost circulation at a time when readers of newspapers, both dailies and weeklies, had

¹ For the correspondence, see Introduction, n. 133 and n. 16 below.

come to expect the provision of very cheap fiction.² A novel that had already proved itself to be popular, had been for sale from Macmillan Canada probably since its first Macmillan release in 1889, and whose text was available for licence at a little under the going price was always going to be a viable candidate, even though the decision was courting the danger that some percentage of the readers would already have read the novel. However, when the decision is placed in the context of the longstanding Imperialist agenda of the *Star* newspapers, the explanation of it becomes a less straightforward, indeed intriguing one.

Because it is mainly based on a study of the two newspapers limited to the time around that of the serialisations, the explanation given here cannot be considered definitive. Nevertheless, the surprising nature of the contextual evidence uncovered is too suggestive to be passed over without comment. This essay canvasses that evidence after summarising the (also unexpected) findings of a collation undertaken of the daily's serialisation (hereafter *Mo*). The essay is followed by three listings of *Mo*'s variant readings that together provide a substantial, representative sample of its textual adaptations.

The typesetting and the bowdlerising

There is no evidence that Boldrewood was involved in the preparation of the text of either serialisation, yet the evidence uncovered by the collation is no less interesting for that. Textual alteration started in the Canadian weekly's serialisation as it was set from the Macmillan double-column edition of 1898 (*E3*) during 1901 and 1902. When the daily version *Mo* was reset from the weekly in 1902 the adaptation went much further.³ Both suffered from a lack of careful attention to their copy, and the typesetting in the daily was

² Cf. Graham's counterpart in Toronto, John Ross Robertson (1841–1918), who established the *Telegram* in 1876 some seven years after Graham had established the *Daily Star*, and who followed similar popularising strategies. He began publishing pirated titles in book form in 1877 ('Robertson's Cheap Editions') that sold for between 10 and 50 cents, a fraction of their list price, and were often serialised in his newspaper as well. He published 350 titles, an estimated 2 million copies in total, between 1877 and the early 1890s: *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [DCB], gen. ed. George W. Brown (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966–), XIV. 878.

³ A sample collation of the substantives and accidentals of *E3* with the Montreal weekly and *Mo* serialisations, as well as spot checking, established the direction

particularly poor. For instance, *E3* had read in a deliberately non-standard way ‘edicated’; this became, by the time of *Mo*, ‘educated’ (56:19); ‘reel it out’ became ‘read it out’ (71:13); ‘halve the farm’ became ‘have the farm’ (73:31); ‘They all stared’ became ‘They all started’ (78:1); ‘cards and dice’ became ‘cards and ice’ (78:25); ‘we’d have a dozen rivers to swim’ became ‘we’d have frozen rivers to swim’ (198:5); and ‘bowling along over the firm green turf, along the plain, through the forest gully’ became, courtesy of an eye-skip, ‘bowling along over the forest gully’, which made no sense at all (82:12–13: ‘forest’ had lost its comma by *E3*).

The two Montreal typesettings often dispense with italics, expand some contractions and alter punctuation at will (*Mo* particularly so). *Mo* also deletes phrases and clauses for no obvious reason. Both capitalise ‘Her’ in ‘Her Majesty’s’ when *E3* had not (206:14), and change ‘a good deal’ (in the sense of *a lot*) to ‘a great deal’, perhaps to minimise a potential ambiguity for a North American audience (191:7). *Mo* far exceeds the second Sydney serialisation of 1884 in the cavalier manner in which the text of its copy was treated. However, in one instance this licence did lead to an inspired change of ‘extraordinary’ to ‘extwaordinary’ – which renders perfectly Starlight’s affecting the language and languor of a swell (482:35: cf. *SM*’s original form ‘extra-ordinary’; the weekly follows its copy, *E3*).

A careful bowdlerising was also revealed by the collation, one that is all the more significant in view of the generally careless standard of typesetting elsewhere. The attention of the Montreal typesetters was evidently fixed upon the question of what their readers had to be protected from. The weekly went a certain way towards this objective, but in *Mo* the process went much further, with curious results. The upshot was that readers of the Montreal daily would not be exposed to what the Fairfax press in Sydney had felt able to offer its readers only twenty years earlier.

Like other newspapers of the time, the *Daily Star* editorialised on public morality, though balancing calls for state intervention, for instance for sabbatarian laws in the 1880s, against the need for individual and family responsibility. The press saw itself generally

of textual change: the weekly was set from *E3*, not any other prior state, and its alterations are usually followed by *Mo*, which itself introduces new ones. See also Introduction, n. 160.

as having a social responsibility, especially as, in the late Victorian period, increasingly refined sensitivity towards the improper and the coarse became the publicly accepted norm. As early as 1875 the *Star* had pointed to the tendency of immoral and irreligious books to yield 'a sorrowful harvest' in the young, 'if not of wrong actions, at least of impure and unholy thoughts, which taint the whole character with weakness and instability'.⁴

The Montreal weekly's title proclaimed its service of a family audience. As considerable extra care would be taken in the daily to avoid giving offence, some criticism of the Boldrewood serial must presumably have been voiced during its serialisation. Who had complained? Probably some offended readers; possibly the cause was a direct complaint from one of the churches, or even conceivably from the proprietor himself. If so, it duplicated the situation with the original serialisation in the *Sydney Mail* in 1882–83 where James R. Fairfax, of John Fairfax and Sons the owners, was said to regret the serialisation 'on moral grounds'. But in Sydney the second serialisation in 1884 in the Fairfax evening daily the *Echo* was not bowdlerised.⁵

The conservative effect of the French-Canadian presence in Montreal, lacking in Sydney, could well have had an influence even though the serial's readers in Montreal would have been predominantly English-speaking Canadians. This presence would have been more relevant for *Mo* than the weekly, which sold further afield. Whatever the explanation, there were notable effects on the two texts, and especially on *Mo*.

Blaspheming and swearing were systematically eliminated in the daily, as was any reference to the persons of God, to the Virgin Mary and to religious denominations; and the devil – although he could be mentioned – was evidently not to be treated lightly.⁶ The process had begun in the weekly, which deleted *E3*'s 'By all

⁴ *Star*, 18 February 1875, quoted in Rutherford 166.

⁵ *ADB* XII. 382. See further, Introduction, pp. xxxix–xl, lxxxiv.

⁶ Cf. a (personal) copy of an impression of *E2* of 1895, which has the bookplate of Rosa M. Taylor of 38 Hamilton Rd, Ealing West in London and which was 'passed to Toby Taylor' in 1935. In pencil on the front endpapers she has written: 'Bad words have been erased by me RMT'. Heavy pencillings have obliterated occurrences of 'devil', 'blasted fool', 'blast', 'devils', 'd——d', 'd——', 'd—n', 'devilish' and 'in the devil's name'.

the devils in hell, if there are devils—and there must be to tempt a man’ (52:26–7); and *Mo* followed suit. The words ‘young devil’ became ‘young imp’ (61:23) and ‘My God!’ became ‘My Luck!’ (87:6) – but not until the daily. But ‘Virgin’ had already become ‘Church’ (575:15), and *Mo* followed.

The original Macmillan colonial edition of 1889 (*E2*) had changed ‘Damn’ to ‘D—n’ and *E3* followed suit; the Canadian weekly, setting from the latter edition, made it ‘Blast’, but even this must have been thought too strong, for in the daily it became ‘Hang’ (513:19). In both Canadian versions, *E3*’s ‘d—d’ was omitted entirely on one occasion and became ‘blasted’ on the next (54:23, 55:25). Even “‘By —;” he says,’ had to be deleted (in both, 59:21), but ‘the blazes’ remained in the weekly, only to be deleted in *Mo* (422:27); and ‘cursed ribs’ became ‘wretched ribs’ (in *Mo* only, 60:12).⁷

So sensitive were the typesetters to the possibility of double meaning that the common phrase ‘Keep up your pecker, old man’ required that ‘courage’ be substituted for ‘pecker’, which in both USA and Canada had acquired the slang meaning of *penis* (in both, 352:10–11). Similarly, the description of hard-ridden horses as ‘knocked up’ was clearly seen as potentially ambiguous in an objectionable way and had to be reduced to ‘used up’ (in both, 496:21). The account of a mare as being ‘like some women when they get their monkey up’ perhaps had the Montreal typesetters scratching their heads as to the meaning of this inoffensive colloquialism (it means, to become angry). They deleted it, preferring to err on the safe side (86:10). The idiom ‘that cock wouldn’t fight’ (574:23) survived in the weekly but was translated by the experienced compositors of the daily as ‘That wouldn’t go’: it meant much the same thing, but it was minus the cock.⁸

The choice of *Robbery Under Arms*

While the conventionally moralising framework in the novel is never explicitly challenged, at another level the first-person voice

⁷ So, also, ‘hell-broth’ in *E3* (301:21) became ‘humanity’ by *Mo*, ‘Methodies’ became ‘Church’ (368:16), ‘Great God’ became ‘Great Heavens’ (424:5) and ‘a poor devil’ became ‘a poor wreck’ (595:23); but, curiously, ‘The devil’ became ‘Satan’ (423:35–6).

⁸ Cf. also below, in the listing, Variants in wording in *Mo* for Chapters II–XXI, the entries for 41:19, 47:8, 64:33, 104:29, 156:2 and 187:32.

is implicitly and continually questioning it in its thrilling accounts of lawless behaviour. This potentially subversive contradiction, this tricky righteousness, endowed the novel with a multi-valency that has left it receptive to various appropriations over time. The Canadian serialisations were the first.

Boldrewood of course had no monopoly on contradiction. Compare the situation of a newspaper whose proprietor has a definite political agenda that nevertheless can only be pursued in relation to the unchanging capitalist imperative, in a highly competitive marketplace, of maximising profit. The successful newspaper can lead public opinion, it can prod, it can push: but ultimately it has to keep broadly in step with the gradually changing expectations of its readership. This is the horizon under which the serialisations need to be understood. The novel was probably chosen partly because, in the broad sense, its contradictions fitted it well to those of the newspaper.

This claim requires substantiation, but first the nature of the commercial environment for newspapers in Canada at the time needs to be appreciated. New web-fed rotary presses, much faster and cheaper typesetting on linotype machines, cheap wood-pulp paper and efficient distribution on the new railway systems afforded the technology on the basis of which, from the 1870s, newspapers prospered. Rapidly rising rates of literacy, essential to city life as the number of white-collar workers rose in the increasingly urbanised and industrialised Canada, provided the anglophone readership. The biggest city was Montreal.⁹ By 1900 the number of newspapers sold

⁹ Prime Minister John A. Macdonald's creation of the tariff-protected environment that followed Confederation in 1867 had been one of the prime economic drivers. Greater Montreal had a population of 360,800 in 1901. Greater Toronto was second largest with 238,100, in a national total of 5,371,300. By 1901 'roughly one in five Canadians, lived in or around the country's 12 largest centres of population' (Rutherford 11, 9). Montreal's population had increased 2.5 times since 1871, a result of its ability to profit from its central position as shipping harbour for ocean steamers (removing Quebec's dominance as a port) and railway funnel. There were 17,600 miles of track by 1900 (*ibid.*, pp. 15, 13). Francophone literacy was undoubtedly behind anglophone since, unlike the Protestant faiths, the Catholic church had never given priority to Bible reading. The 1891 census shows Quebec as the province with by far the worst literacy rate (*ibid.*, p. 28). Rutherford comments: 'The problem was that the traditional way of life in the Catholic countryside engendered what amounted to an Old World peasantry

comfortably exceeded the number of Canadian families. Susannah Moodie's observation in 1853 that 'the Canadian cannot get on without his newspaper any more than an American without his tobacco' had proved to be truer than she could have known.¹⁰

In this promising but competitive environment, the *Star* became Canada's largest and most profitable daily. Together with George Lanigan, Hugh Graham had established the daily in 1869, on the very cusp of these technological changes. It was almost immediately in financial trouble, but Graham managed to secure backing to buy Lanigan out in 1870. Graham positioned the paper as independent of political parties despite their being, once elected into government, sources of lucrative contracts for printing and advertising. He also eschewed the easy route of affiliation to a church, despite its capacity to deliver readership. Instead Graham pursued a strategy, already pioneered in the USA, of becoming, as he said in 1871, 'the organ of the people particularly the portion known as the working classes'.¹¹

This intent was reflected in every aspect of the newspaper. Rather than giving prominence to editorials or classified advertisements on the front page, Graham featured news items with headlines. There was also continuity with past newspaper practice, but with new emphases. Local news, provincial and city, was provided in great diversity and seemingly trivial detail, supplemented by a great many short reports from the overseas cable service. The completion of the London–Australia telegraph cable in 1872, and an extension to New Zealand in 1876, together with the existing under-sea cable from North America to Britain, meant that Empire news could be experienced as virtually contemporaneous with that occurring at home and in Britain.

Editorials thundered against malfeasance, incompetence or stubborn refusal, on the part of public authorities, to accept the march of progress. Graham often created the news rather than just reporting it, mounting various civic campaigns that must have seemed to give readers a stake in the newspaper itself. He liked to move on

which saw little utility in education . . . its priests suspicious of the schoolmaster as a rival or an agent of anglicization' (pp. 31–2).

¹⁰ Rutherford 5 (the number of newspapers sold is an addition of the average circulations of each daily and its weekly); Moodie quotation, p. 3.

¹¹ *Star*, 15 February 1871, quoted in Rutherford 51.

when each campaign was finished: 'not for him', as a contemporary said in 1895, 'the consolation of moral victories; losing causes were for others'.¹² In his entry in the second edition (1912) of *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time*, the information for which Graham evidently supplied, readers were informed that he 'has devoted his whole life to the paper and has made it what it is to-day, without the influence of any political party, without any sustained policy and without being tied to fixed opinions on subject or question'.¹³

Sensational stories of crime, political assassinations and natural and other disasters, often written in a prose style similar to that of a novelist, including scripted dialogue that the reporter cannot possibly have been witness to, gave the necessary spice, rounded out with small dollops of serialised fiction. In the 1880s the newspaper began to add illustrations. By 1901, photographs and even occasionally front-page cartoons had been added to the mix, both features doubtless helping to create, as they catered to, a new appetite on the part of readers.

The *Family Herald and Weekly Star* was redesigned in 1895 by its new editor John Wesley Dafoe, a Methodist Liberal.¹⁴ Graham was Canadian-born but of Scottish (presumably Presbyterian) extraction – a group that loomed large in the merchant, banking, industrial and governing class in Montreal, and that mostly lived in the so-called golden square mile (in what is now part of the downtown area).¹⁵

¹² A. H. U. Colquhoun, 'The Man Who Made the Montreal Star', *Canadian Printer and Publisher* (April 1895), p. 7: quoted in Rutherford 53.

¹³ *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters*, ed. Henry J. Morgan, 2nd edn (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 465.

¹⁴ (1866–1944). He succeeded J. C. Macdonald (possibly John Cameron Macdonald, later manager of the *London Times*). Dafoe had learnt the trade in Manitoba. His mission, which later made him famous, was to populate the West. He departed the *Family Herald* in 1901, to be succeeded by W. Allerdyce (no further information); and by 1904 Dafoe had returned to work for the *Manitoba Morning Free Press* (*DCB*, XIII. 422). The *Family Herald* is variously given as having started in 1869, 1870 and 1874 but reported holdings start in 1873 (National Library of Canada and Queens University Library). See André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, *La Presse québécoise des origines à nos jours* (Québec: University of Laval, 1975), II. 161. The entry for the daily is at II. 127–9.

¹⁵ Graham lived with his wife and daughter at 538 Sherbrooke Street. He had worked under his uncle E. H. Parsons on the Montreal *Telegraph* from 1863 before

The recipe for staying at such an address was to sell newspapers on a grand scale, including the weekly – and that meant creating a readership for it. Gone were the days of simply recycling what had appeared in the daily during the previous week, and it is indicative of the new initiative that *Robbery Under Arms* appeared first in the weekly and only then in the daily. It was Dafoe who had opened negotiations, in 1900, with A. P. Watt to purchase the Canadian serial rights for *Robbery Under Arms*: the negotiations concluded on 1 August 1901.¹⁶

Dafoe divided the weekly into a series of regular columns, each intended to attract a different section of the readership. Many of them solicited letters to the editor, or, for the children's page, submission of entries into its various competitions, and, for the women's page, membership of the Friendly Exchange Circle run by the so-called Hostess who put readers in touch with other readers who wished to exchange gifts. The *Family Herald* had its farm page where, in the issue of 31 July 1901 for example, there was information to be had about beekeeping and the treatment of swollen udders, as well as answers to readers who had sent in questions about their veterinary problems. There was a religious page called The Quiet Hour, a Nature and Science page, serialised novels (one each for children and adults), classifieds, as well as extensive digests of news: Our London Letter, News of Canada, News by Cable and News by Mail, which

setting up the *Star*. Once wealthy, he became a generous philanthropist for which he was 'created a knight bachelor in 1908, and in 1917 first Baron Atholstan of Huntingdon in the province of Quebec and of Edinburgh in Scotland, the first Canadian journalist to receive such honours': W. Stewart Wallace, *Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 3rd edn (London: Macmillan, 1963), p. 22.

¹⁶ Letter from Family Herald Publishing Company to A. P. Watt, 12 July 1901:

You may remember that the editor of the Family Herald had some communication with you last year about the republication of 'Robbery Under Arms' as a serial, and after the exchange of several letters we were asked to make you an offer. As the season during which we particularly wanted to publish the story had passed we did nothing further in the matter at the time; but we now write to say that we would be willing to pay \$150. for the Canadian rights to the serial reproduction of the story – publication to begin in our weekly paper 'The Family Herald & Weekly Star' in October.

The reply is dated 1 August 1901 (General and Literary Manuscripts, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, #11036 A. P. Watt and Company Records).

contained regular columns called England and Wales, Scotland, Ireland, British Colonies, World Over, and United States.

The choice of news for the weekly, and the slant given it in 1901, reflects the crucial contemporary context of the Anglo-Boer War in South Africa. It started in 1899, but its seeds had been sown earlier. The Boers had made their Great Trek north in the 1840s to avoid being assimilated into the British Cape Colony. They established their own Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Having defended themselves with military success against the British in 1880–81, they found themselves once again under threat of annexation after the recently discovered goldfields (1884) on the Witwatersrand around the new town of Johannesburg and the diamond mines of the Kimberley (discovered 1867) proved irresistibly attractive. Britain's justification for the war – the unequal enfranchisement of white Uitlanders (foreigners) who had flocked to the fields, thus imperilling the cultural homogeneity that the Boers had gone north to ensure – seems flimsy and adventitious in retrospect.

The Boers were at first vainglorious: while the British troop build-up in the Cape was still under way, they attacked on 11 October 1899, believing they could defeat the imperial might of Britain. They had early victories until the British brought more manpower and armaments to bear, whereupon the war settled down into a long, drawn-out pattern of commando raids by the Boers, and, on the part of the British, the burning of homesteads, a campaign of terror and then the institution of the world's first concentration camps. After appalling losses, many caused by the outbreak of disease in the camps, and with their President Paul Kruger trying in vain to rally support in Europe and unable to return home, the Boer leadership finally surrendered on 31 May 1902. On 2 June the *Daily Star's* front page quoted a report in the London *Times* describing the British victory: 'No other nation could have made such a military effort at such a distance from its base'.

Canada, Australia and New Zealand had sent troops, and they proved particularly adept in dealing with the unpredictable tactics of Boer commandos. This experience was a defining moment. After the War Lord Baden-Powell, one of the leaders of the British effort, would bear their outdoors self-reliance and their vigorous, horseback capability in mind when he moved to create the scouting movement

as a way of counteracting the defects in manliness, the lack of war-readiness he had seen amongst the British troops during the war. They had not eaten as well as the colonials had, they were not as tall and those from the industrial Midlands had spent far less of their lives outdoors or on horseback.¹⁷

A poem printed in the *Times* on 4 January 1902, 'The Islanders', had sparked a public debate on this issue. Addressing what he saw as English complacency, Rudyard Kipling wrote: 'And ye vaunted your fathomless power and ye flaunted your iron pride/ Ere – ye fawned on the Younger Nations for the men who could shoot and ride!' This touched off a controversy; a report that sixty per cent of Englishmen were physically unfit for service emerged in the same month; and the government appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration that finally reported in August 1904.¹⁸ The legend of the fine, strapping so-called Colonial Kings would be consolidated at Gallipoli in 1915, once again to the disadvantage of the British.¹⁹

Robbery Under Arms had been a formative precursor of this legend in Australia, but Boldrewood had laid a broader ideological

¹⁷ Cf. Sarah Jeanette Duncan's Canadian novel *The Imperialist* (1903): the young protagonist Murchison, fresh back from an official visit to London with a Canadian delegation that has been pursuing the imperial agenda on tariffs, says: 'England still has military initiative, though it's hard to see how she is going to keep that unless she does something to stop the degeneration of the class she draws her army from' (ed. Thomas E. Tausky; Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1988, p. 120). On the sufficiency of food, Murchison comments on 'the awful poverty [in England] – the twelve millions that haven't got enough to do with' (p. 131). Tausky (p. 330) quotes Chamberlain mentioning this figure in a speech in June 1903 (from Julian Amery, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain: Joseph Chamberlain and the Tariff Reform Campaign*, vols V and VI [v. 267]).

¹⁸ Samuel Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 21–7. *Times*, 4 January 1902, p. 9.

¹⁹ The term Colonial Kings gained some circulation. E.g. Rebecca West, in *The Strange Necessity: Essays and Reviews* (London: Cape, 1928), remarked on the evident physical superiority of Colonials ('So far as natural equipment is concerned anyone would choose to be a Colonial rather than one of the English-born', p. 152); and during the Great War 'certain Colonials moved like Kings' (p. 151) – an unacknowledged echo of John Masefield's *Gallipoli* (London: Heinemann, 1916): the ANZACS were 'the finest body of young men ever brought together in modern times. For physical beauty and nobility of bearing they surpassed any men I have ever seen; they walked and looked like the kings in old poems' (p. 19).

foundation for his inflection of the legend in a serial published anonymously in 1874 as 'Incidents and Adventures of My Run Home, by an Australian', and in book form in 1897 as *My Run Home*.²⁰ It is a fictionalising of his trip to Britain during 1860–61. The travelogue-cum-novel's main character is given the name adopted as his pseudonym in 1875, Rolf Boldrewood. Its lightly veiled thesis about the restricted scope for the expression of manhood in Britain as against that in the colonies reflected a current of colonial opinion. It is urged with a tendentiousness that would, within a few years of 1897, come to seem almost irresistible. The novel sets up a series of events in England and Ireland that demonstrate the physical prowess of visiting Australians: from Elinor Westland's victory in an archery competition, to the hero's courage, endurance and at-oneness with his horse in dangerous cross-country fox-hunts and when jumping high stone walls, and finally and extraordinarily by his winning a famous steeplechase at Ainsworth (based on the Grand National at Aintree). But physical qualities have not been earned at the expense of the spiritual and social. The gentlemanliness and courtesy of the colonial squattocracy, whose young representatives are on extended tours of the houses of family and friends at 'Home', are repeatedly demonstrated.

The underlying argument is a racial one. British stock was inherently superior, at least in the upper classes, but was in danger of going to seed. The Empire was too successful. The allurements of a life of ease were hard to resist at Home: life at the club, or the 'quiet dreamful country life, where action so rarely jostles contemplation',²¹ or in London society, was dedicated to the pursuit of pleasure and refinement. The latter quality was the fruit of an admirable tradition, but not sufficient to stir 'the larger nature of the man'.²² For too long there had been no battle to put the home soil in danger. The heroic legacy of the Peninsula War – the martial virtues it brought out and idealised – hung heavily over the Empire for much of the nineteenth century. War in the Crimea during 1853–56, and more particularly the desperate struggles around Lucknow, Cawnpore and elsewhere in the summer of 1857 during the Indian Mutiny, had revived memories of the glory (cf. 508:10–11 and note); but, thereafter, the

²⁰ *Town and Country Journal*, 10 January – 19 December 1874.

²¹ Rolf Boldrewood, *My Run Home* (London: Macmillan, 1897), p. 56.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 100.

Australasian colonies offered the primary and potentially the most productive field of endeavour. Unlike overpopulated Ireland, there was room to expand – to take up land where religion would not be the deciding factor. It was not only outdoor life and better diet in the colonies that accounted for the fine physical specimens the novel draws attention to again and again (meat three times a day, even for the poor rural workers²³), but the testing of mettle that colonial life inherently afforded. A man could make his fortune there by dint of intelligent application, and courage in the face of natural disasters and economic hardships. To be able to ride hard and to take risks were measures of the man.²⁴ It was the new battleground for the race, the necessary complement of life in Britain: it would be the source of reinvention both metaphorically and literally. The appropriate bride for the young hero is therefore, he realises at last, his own cousin Gwendoline: the woman who feels deeply the attraction of achievement through hard work in a difficult country, a satisfaction that would be denied her were she to remain in England.

When the Anglo-Boer War came along, an interpretative paradigm was already in place to deal with Britain's military failures. Boldrewood was reflecting the paradigm, indeed pursuing it in an almost programmatic way in *My Run Home*; but he did not originate it. He was well aware of Kipling's writings, but probably the more important literary source was Henry Kingsley's celebration of the colonial adventure in his *The Recollections of Geoffrey Hamlyn* (1859), which Boldrewood was devotedly reading in Ireland during his trip.²⁵ His idealising of the colonial challenge in *My Run Home* did not,

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

²⁴ Cf. 159:15–22 with the fox-hunt in *My Run Home*:

Cool as I seemed, I was now possessed by the desperate determination, the delirious recklessness, which I had often felt in Australia – felt when the scrub cattle or the mountain mustangs were approaching the yard; when the labour of days, and the expected possession of the half-wild animals, were to be realised or hopelessly lost. Then, stranger from the far home-land, is the time to see the men of the New World ride! Through tangled brush, o'er mountain steep and scarped, as though life and limb of man or horse were idle words; watch the horse and rider, in absolute demoniac possession, like the wild huntsman of the German legend, sweep stormily, resistless on. (pp. 246–7)

²⁵ See Introduction, p. xxxiii. An unpublished manuscript, 'Marseilles to Melbourne in 1861' (ML B1423), describes his return trip in the travelogue style of the first

however, reflect his own situation: his turning to serial-writing had been necessitated by his failures as a squatter, his height did not match that of his six-foot hero (so he did not literally embody the colonial ideal) and his family background was not unassailably upper class. But if the lives of the two Rolf Boldrewoods, the hero and author, did not parallel one another that was no bad thing. Imaginative commitment to an ideal could arise from actual failure, could function all the more purely, if not always convincingly, in the face of it. The author's writing was a form of romance intermittently feeding upon realistic detail and close observation (especially in relation to horses and riding), and enlivened by a good ear for idiolects and slang.

Eight years after the appearance of the serial, in the early 1880s when writing *Robbery Under Arms*, Boldrewood was more at ease. There was no need any more to argue a thesis. He could assume and enact the superior physical qualities of colonial life as he dramatised the desperately attractive derring-do and horseback heroics of nearly lawless, though essentially decent, colonial lads. And his incorporation of Captain Starlight's stylish villainy into the action meant that gentlemanly qualities deriving from Britain could be kept alive as part of the colonial imaginary, ideally or potentially grafted onto the local stock. It was a potent mixture, to which the Anglo-Boer War lent a new relevance and intensification for the *Star* newspapers in Montreal.

The commitment to the so-called mother country was not universally supported in Canada where radical parts of the trade union movement in Montreal denounced the war's shameful brutality in the interest of money-making. The francophone population saw little to gain by the imperial adventure. Quebec had made its bargain at the time of the American Revolution so that its culture and religion might be safeguarded, the only possible alternative – amalgamation into the USA – being seen as a worse fate. Very few French Canadians would serve in South Africa.

section of the novel. If its title-date is indicative of its date of composition, its existence suggests that Boldrewood may have been experimenting with an early version of *My Run Home* while there – though perhaps not in the form of a novel, a development that may have come later. This would help explain the thematic continuity with Kingsley's novel.

The Prime Minister of the time was Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a French Canadian. This moment – pushing Laurier to commit Canada to join the fight – proved to be Hugh Graham's supreme campaign where the power of the newspapers he had created proved itself. The after-effects of this campaign are palpable throughout the period of the serialisations of *Robbery Under Arms*; they probably help explain its choice in the first place. Once again Graham was leading the way, but only where channels of sentiment were already established.

His campaign grew out of the gradually mounting wave of imperialism in the 1890s. In his account of Canada and the South African War, Carman Miller explains the allure of late-century imperialism in Canada; similar observations could be made of the Australian colonies of the period:

To the young men of these decades, imperialism offered various schemes to build a greater Canada within a unified empire. Drills, demonstrations, and patriotic exercises had become part of the English-Canadian school curriculum. Many had read Rudyard Kipling, G. A. Henty, Robert Michael Ballantyne, H. Rider Haggard, as well as *Chums* and the *Boy's Own Paper*. They were familiar with their stories of manly adventure, endurance, heroism, 'Christian manliness and empire building.' In their churches, where the flag, the Bible, and the English language seemed as indivisible as the Trinity, young men were urged to rid the land of evil and win the world for Christ in their generation. Some . . . joined one or more of the recreational or patriotic organizations that promoted the imperial cause: the Navy League, Boys' Brigade, Cadet Corps, Sons of Canada, Sons of England, St George's Society, United Empire Loyalist Association . . . They were exhorted by schools, the press, the pulpit, and public men to rise above local identities to claim, defend, and spread their imperial heritage of British law, liberty, and justice. Songs, poems, and iconography of the period reinforced the imperial message.²⁶

In a judicious display of patriotism, Graham very publicly took out a \$1 million insurance policy to cover the welfare, at \$1,000 per

²⁶ Carman Miller, *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War 1899–1902* (Montreal: Canadian War Museum and McGill–Queen's University Press, 1993), pp. 3–4.

man, of the families of any men killed or wounded in the Canadian First Contingent to South Africa; and he organised the Children's Patriotic Fund to assist the families of British soldiers. Over \$16,000 was contributed through the exhortations of the *Star* newspapers.

With this background in mind, the appearance of repeated articles in the weekly on the 'royal journey' of the new but as yet uncrowned King Edward VII can be rightly appreciated. He had originally intended to travel to Melbourne to open the first Australian Parliament, but following the death of his mother, Queen Victoria, changed his plans to include a tour of the whole empire. The *Family Herald* commented proudly: 'Never before has the heir to a throne made a circuit of the globe without once leaving the shadow of his own flag.'²⁷ This continuity of the empire had been captivating imaginations for some decades, but the momentum for change was building.²⁸ James Francis Hogan's account, published in 1896 and called *The Sister Dominions*, of his travels from London, where he was a member of parliament, through Canada by train and then on to Australia, where he had spent much of the earlier part of his life, is replete with imperial enthusiasm. He refers to the areas of his travel as Greater Britain. He wanted to put pressure on the British government to subsidise a line of fast steamers across the Atlantic so that this route would become the preferred one for travellers and cargo between London and the Australasian colonies.²⁹ Various proposals, including the contentious question of preferential tariffs, were being mooted at the successive intercolonial conferences in the 1890s and 1900s. The common cause of the South African War led to public discussion of the logical next step, the formation of an imperial parliament. The colonial secretary in London, Joseph Chamberlain, was the prime mover. His speeches were reported at length in the *Daily Star* and the *Family Herald*, which tried to prod

²⁷ 25 September 1901, p. 1.

²⁸ E.g., *The British Empire: Proposed Institution of a Joint Committee of the Legislatures and Governments of the Empire, Having Periodical Meetings in Britain* (1869) and Thomas, Lord Brassey, *Papers and Addresses: Imperial Federation and Colonisation from 1880 to 1894*, ed. Arthur H. Loring and R. J. Beadon (1895).

²⁹ *The Sister Dominions: Through Canada to Australia by the New Imperial Highway* (London: Ward and Downey, 1896). Duncan also uses the term 'Greater Britain' in *The Imperialist* (p. 117).

Laurier, without success, as well as the Australian Prime Minister, George Barton, to pursue the agenda.³⁰

In the same issue in which the serialisation of *Robbery Under Arms* commenced in the weekly, an article appeared about the presentation of gifts by the Ministering Children's League in Adelaide, South Australia, to Their Royal Highnesses then still on tour.³¹ While the paper's appetite was most especially whetted by accounts of how Canadians were being portrayed in London, the imperial agenda required that events in Australia, the sister dominion, be regularly if not lavishly reported.

But the biggest story by far remained the South African War; although by 1901, with the Boers refusing to follow the script of adventure fiction and admit defeat, a fatigue in reporting it had set in. Still, the satisfaction of reporting the doings of the royal family remained. The politically conservative Rolf Boldrewood would have been quite at home with the paper's anglophilia: its fascination with whether Edward VII would resume the supposedly ancient title of emperor, a full page with photographs of the 'Animal Friends of the

³⁰ On 31 July 1901 the *Family Herald* reported Chamberlain's Dominion Day speech: 'if they (the colonies) are willing to assist us not merely with their arms, but also with their counsel and their advice, I believe that there is nothing that the people of this country will more readily welcome' (p. 18). The editorial comment followed: 'On the face of it, this is a plain invitation to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Barton to submit definite proposals for a representation in the Imperial Parliament.' But 'the Canadian ministry means to do nothing at all in reply', despite Laurier's 'call us to your counsels' speech having elicited Chamberlain's invitation. The invitation was perhaps more significant for its registration of how far imperialism had flowered under the hothouse stimulus of allied warfare than for its failure to recognise the impracticalities of achieving mutually acceptable policies on the highly politicised question of protected vs free trade, as well as the inevitable sharing of the costs for mutual defence and governance.

There was idealism at play, and perhaps the otherwise pragmatic participants were at first in the grip of their own daring. Domestic political considerations duly came into play and the idea lapsed. Lord Salisbury, who died in August 1903, was twice Tory Prime Minister, 1885–92 and 1895–1902, but never committed himself publicly to Chamberlain's ultimate proposal (of 15 May 1903) that Britain adopt preferential tariffs for the Empire, effectively thereby abandoning its longstanding commitment to free trade. The issue was a live one; Arthur Balfour, Salisbury's successor, staved off making a decision on the matter; his Cabinet split anyway; and, in the election of 1906, the Liberals won very convincingly.

³¹ 6 November 1901, Children's page (p. 5).

King and Queen of England', and the prominent advertisements for the 'Royal Welcome Number', the *Daily Star's* special souvenir of the coming visit of the future George V to Canada.³² Graham's imperialism and pro-war stance, increasingly indistinguishable from Conservatism, kept him in the Canadian mainstream that he was simultaneously helping to create. This was a wise place to be during a war. The choice of *Robbery Under Arms* can be seen as one expression of this positioning, one which evidently sold newspapers.

The serial was not only in the narrow sense ideologically, but was also in the more general sense discursively, porous. It catered to the appetite for thrilling stories of actual crime, which had long since been a staple of the Graham newspapers. On 7 August 1901, for instance, the *Family Herald* ran a condensed form of an article that had appeared some years before about 'The Great Northampton Bank Robbery' of 1876. When *Robbery Under Arms* began its serialisation on 6 November 1901 on page 11, the same issue ran on page 13 a story from Melbourne about the hold-up of a tram by a group of young criminals, the urban descendants of the outback bushrangers whose crime was, in legal parlance, robbery under arms.

Similar observations can be made in relation to the novel's serialisation in the *Daily Star*. Although the previously serialised novel was completed on 20 May, the first instalment of *Robbery Under Arms* was held over till the Saturday issue of 24 May 1902, the Queen's Birthday holiday in Canada, then known as Victoria Day. It was a traditional celebration of the imperial connection – and also, not coincidentally, the day on which Sarah Jeanette Duncan's novel *The Imperialist* (1903) opens.³³ The Boldrewood serial was

³² *Family Herald*, respectively 31 July 1901, p. 1; 14 August, p. 17; 4 September, p. 20 (advertisement).

³³ Duncan's novel is set mainly in Elgin (based on Brantford, Ontario):

The Elgin children had a rhyme about it—

'The twenty-fourth of May
Is the Queen's Birthday;
If you don't give us a holiday,
We'll all run away.'

But Elgin was in Canada. In Canada the twenty-fourth of May *was* the Queen's Birthday; and these were times and regions far removed from the prescription that the anniversary 'should be observed' on any of those various outlying dates which, by now, must have produced in her immediate people such indecision

given pride of place at the top of page 17, with its prominent title enclosed within an ornamental border. Typical of the accidents of page composition in newspapers, an advertisement for Baby's Own Tablets appeared to its right, but below it, less irrelevantly, appeared 'A List of Officers and Men Who Sailed Away to South Africa on Friday', as well as an article that was in fact a letter from a Canadian combatant entitled: 'BOER DRIVE NOT A SLEIGH DRIVE'. Page 4 of this same issue ran an article about the competition in Australia for the design of its first national flag and seal, together with a large illustration of the winning design. And on page 11 there was a report of a speech by Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister, to the Primrose League. He 'uttered a word of warning to those who would strive to hasten the Federation of the Empire by ill-considered schemes'.

A month earlier, in the issue of 9 April 1902, the *Daily Star* had reported the visit to Toronto of the Mayor of Sydney, Sir James Graham (apparently no relation), who was en route to London for the coronation of Edward VII:

'Australia rejoices at the heroism and bravery of the splendid troops Canada has sent to the front,' declared Sir James as he entered enthusiastically upon the subject of Imperialism, and hopes Canadians have some ground for pride in the conduct of the Australian troops. 'Imperialism is a factor in Australia, most pronounced and sincere, and not only was it shown during the recent visit of the Prince of Wales . . . Australians are proud of Australia, but they are still prouder of the grand old stock from which they came . . .'³⁴

as to the date upon which Her Majesty really did come into the world. That day, and that only, was the observed, the celebrated, a day with an essence in it, dawning more gloriously than other days and ending more regretfully, unless, indeed, it fell on a Sunday, when it was 'kept' on the Monday, with a slightly clouded feeling that it wasn't exactly the same thing. (pp. 4-5)

³⁴ Page 12. Cf. Arthur A. Adams's short story, 'A Colonial Point of View' (*Black and White*, 11 April 1903, pp. 486-7):

We're all Imperialists, all proud of belonging to the Empire. It was for the Empire we fought [in South Africa], not for England. To us the idea of Empire, the knowledge that we form an integral part of the Empire, is a very real thing . . . we're Imperialists, not English. We're New Zealanders first and proud of it, and members of the Empire second. (p. 487)

Headlines in the *Daily Star* serialisation

Porosity of a more literal kind occurred during the *Daily Star's* serialising of Boldrewood's novel. While the weekly had not introduced any new material into the text, the daily began, on 27 May 1902, to homogenise its physical presentation with that of the rest of the newspaper, adding headlines in a descending hierarchy of font sizes above the commencement of each instalment. Such headlining had not been applied to the preceding serial. Having achieved the innovation, sub-headlines were next introduced (from 9 July) *within* chapters to break up the flow of text, just as they were elsewhere in the newspaper.

Examination of the headlines shows that the unavoidable act of selection and rephrasing amounted to an adaptation of the story to the anticipated tastes and expectations of readers. The headline writing was, in effect, a form of interpretative reception. Its introduction may have been related to the bowdlerising, touched off by the same anxiety: headlines can draw attention to some aspects of a narrative while playing down others.

Thus many headlines stress the moralising in the novel:³⁵

DICK MARSTON'S/ STORY GROWS./ His Father Went on
From/ Bad to Worse Despite/ Warnings./ THE EVILS OF IDLENESS/
Soon Told Upon the Boys and/ They Got Into Bad/ Habits. (28
May 1902, 24:11)

HONESTY PAYS BEST/ IN THE LONG RUN./ Dick
Marston Forced to This/ Reflection After His Visit/
to the Old Home/ AILEEN AND HE TAKE A RIDE/ And Renew Old Friendships
at the/ Storefields While Planning the/ Escape. (20 September
1902, 532:15)

AFTER TRIALS/ COME HAPPINESS/ Dick Marston
Reaches the Old/ Home and Finds a Wel-/ come Awaiting Him/
GRACEY AND DICK MARRIED/ The Long Years of Suffering and Sin/
are Compensated for/ at Last. (9 October 1902, 597:25)

³⁵ For conventions of presentation (including the retention of *Mo's* errors) and page-and-line citation of headlines and sub-headlines, see the headnote to the Table of headlines below.

(ROBBERY UNDER ARMS.)

BUSHRANGERS THEY WILL BE HEREAFTER

Dick Marston Confesses the
Desperate Resolve of the
Gang to Aileen.

A TALK ON LOVE AFFAIRS.

Aileen Tells Dick That Gracie Loves
Him—Aileen Falling in Love
With Starlight.

(By *Red Boldrewood*.)

CHAPTER XXI—Continued.

Billy the Boy nodded his head, and jumping into his saddle, rode off again at much about the same pace he'd come at. He was a regular reckless young devil, as bold as a two-year-old colt in a branding-yard, that's ready to jump at anything and knock his brains out against a stockyard post, just because he's never known any real hurt or danger, and can't realize it. He was terrible cruel to horses, and would ruin a horse in less time than any man or boy I ever seen. I always thought, from the first he'd come to a bad end. However, he was a wonderful chap to track and ride; none could beat him at that; he was nearly as good, as far as the bush, as any man I've as stumped before any one he didn't know, or thought was too respectable, as if he was half an idiot. But no one ever stirred within twenty or thirty miles of where we lived without our hearing about it. Father

fished him out, having paid him pretty well for some small service, and ever after that he said he could sleep in peace.

We had the horses up, ready saddled and fed, by sundown, and as soon as the moon rose we made a start for it. I had time for a bit of a talk with Aileen about the Storefields, though I couldn't bring myself to say their names at all. Gracie had seen me led into the hut sooner by the police. She came into the hut afterwards with Aileen, as soon as mother was better, and the two girls sat down beside one another and cried their eyes out, Aileen said.

George Storefield had been very good, and told Aileen that, whatever happened to or the old man, it would make no difference to him, to his feelings, or to his health, and that he would do anything to let him disgrace himself by marrying into a family like ours. He had come over every now and then, and had seen they wanted for nothing when father and Jim were away; but she always felt her heart growing colder towards him and his prosperity while we were so low down in every way. As for Gracie, she (Aileen) behaved in a most wonderful way, and without a quiet steady way of her own, without showing it much, but that she would be true to me if I asked her to the end of the world, and she was sure that she could never marry any one else as long as I lived. She was that sort of girl. So didn't I think I ought to do everything I could to get a better character, and I was and good enough for a girl, and I knew Gracie another girl in the whole colony, and so on.

And when we went away where we were going to hide? I could not say about part-

cular distances, but I told her generally that we'd keep out of harm's way, and be careful not to be caught. We might see her and mother now and then, by bush-telegraphs and other people we could trust should be able to send news about ourselves.

"What's the Captain going to do?" she said suddenly, "the desertion, he'll be on your heels, just handsbly like the rest of you. What beautiful small hands he has, and his eyes are like sleeping fires."

"Oh, he's a good deal stronger than he looks," I said; "he's the smartest of the lot of us, except it's dad, and I've heard the old man say he must knock under to him. But don't you bother your head about him; he's quite able to take care of himself, and the less a girl like you thinks about him, the better for her."

"Oh nonsense," she said at the same time looking down in a bid-confused sort of way. "I'm not likely to think about him or any one else just now; but it seems such a dreadful thing to think a man like him, so clever and daring, and so handsome, and gentle in his ways, should be obliged to lead such a life."

"Take a bush-ranger, Alie," I said, for

that'll be the long and short of it. You may as well know it now, we're going to turn out."

"Oh! surely you will never be so mad. Do you want to kill mother and me right out? You don't do so for me, take care to take and do it at once. Her young've been killed all along. As for me, I feel so miserable and degraded and despairing at times that but for her I could go and drown myself in the creek when I think of what the family is coming to."

What's the use of going on like that, Aileen? You're making nothing out of what we've caught for years and years in goal. Mayn't we as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb? What odds can it make? We'll only have bolder work than duffing cattle and faking

Children cry for
CASTORIA

The headline writer also voiced the strain of sentiment in the novel, though not as insistently:

[be off again.]/ AILEEN'S USELESS PLEA. (*a sub-headline, 10 July 1902, 202:27*)

[certain.]/ JIM'S GOOD HEART. (*ditto, 7 August 1902, 340:27*)

AILEEN MARSTON/ IN THE HOLLOW./ She Reaches the Band's Hid- / ing Place After a Dangerous/ Ride./ THE OLD MAN WAS RAVING/ And the Poor Girl Had a Hard/ Time of it as His/ Nurse. (*27 August 1902, 429:16*)

A VISIT TO THE HUT/ OF THE OLD HERMIT/ Pleasant Days in the Hollow/ While "Dad" Is Con- / valescing./ AILEEN AND STARLIGHT/ Have Many Chats Over the Prob- / lems of Life in This/ World. (*29 August 1902, 434:28*)

Nor was the element of historical documentation woven into the fiction ignored:

THE RUSH TO THE/ GOLD DIGGINGS./ The Marston Gang Hears of/ the First Gold Dis- / covery./ ALL AUSTRALIA GOES CRAZY/ The Price of Horesflesh Goes Up,/ Much to the Profit of the/ Desperadoes. (*17 July 1902, 231:34*)

STARLIGHT'S BAND/ SURPRISE POLICE/ The Bushrangers Hold Up the/ Gold Escort With Amazing/ Success./ DESPERATE MEN, DARING DEED/ The Novelist Tells of An Historic In- / cident in the Annals of/ Australia. (*16 August 1902, 377:14*)

But it was the sensational elements in the novel that vied with the moralising strain for the headline writer's chief attentions:

"STAND IN THE/ QUEEN'S NAME!"/ The Startling Surprise Given/ to the Marston Boys on/ Christmas Morning/ DICK BECOMES A PRISONER/ Jim Escapes by a Clever Manoeuvre,/ But the Police are in Full/ Chase After Him. (*26 June 1902, 149:13*)

STARLIGHT'S NERVE/ SECURES FREEDOM/ The Notorious Bushranger and/ Dick Make Their Escape/ From Berrima Gaol/ JIM WORKED THE GAME./ They Make a Dash for Safety With/ All the Forces of the Colony/ in Hue and Cry. (*7 July 1902, 185:34*)

KATE'S JEALOUSY/ PROVOKES A CRISIS/ Just as All Was Ready for the/ Boys' Departure From the/ Turon Camp./ HER EYES WERE OPENED, AND/ She Swears to be Avenged, Even if/ She Ruins Her Own Sister's/ Happiness. (7 August 1902, 337:3)

AN AWFUL SIGHT/ IN THE GULLY/ Starlight and the Marstons/ Learn of Moren's Fiend-/ ish Revenge./ FOUR KILLED AT ONE TIME/ Warrigal, the Black Tracker, Leads/ the Party to a Dreadful/ Discovery. (25 August 1902, 421:8)

The tradition of outlawry and, in keeping with it, a fascination with Starlight's cool, gentlemanly swagger are also evident. The headline writer seizes on the traditional motto of Robin Hood's men (as in Scott's *Ivanhoe*) and the celebrated highwayman of the Restoration, Claude Duval, both mentioned in the novel:

A SHORT LIFE/ AND A MERRY ONE/ That Was the Motto of Star-/ light and His Associ-/ ates./ SEEING A BIT OF LIFE/ The Marston Boys Get Their First/ Glimpse of the Sea and are/ Amazed Thereat. (17 June 1902, 112:34)

THE HUE AND CRY/ AFTER TURON BALL/ How the Newspapers Went Wild/ Over Starlight's Daring/ Exploit./ AUSTRALIA'S CLAUDE DUVAL/ A General Demand for Searching In-/ vestigation Into the Deluding/ of the Police. (11 September 1902, 498:17)

[delineator.]/ "FASCINATING STARLIGHT." (a sub-headline, 11 September 1902, 500:24)

Because the headline writer so frequently seized upon the sensational or dramatic elements of the tale, the novel began visually to resemble a crime story, especially after the serial's title – the only immediate way of identifying the serial as a piece of fiction once it was relegated to the bottom half of the page – began to be enclosed modestly within parentheses in small type above the opening headline display. In a (real) news story reporting the shooting of a poacher, Peter Lafontaine, 'the most famous outlaw of the northern forest, operating along the border line between Maine and Canada', the *Daily Star* gave as its headlines: 'AN OUTLAW SHOT/ Daring Canadian Poacher is Caught/ by Game Wardens— He Draws/ a Gun and is Shot/ Down'.³⁶ Compare the headlines for

³⁶ *Daily Star*, 1 April 1902, p. 11

the serial's instalment of 30 September 1902 (564:14): 'CAPTAIN STARLIGHT/ MEETS HIS FATE/ The Bushrangers' Leader and/ Jim Marston Pay the Penalty/ of Their Crimes./ A DESPERATE FIGHT IN BUSH/ Sir Ferdinand and the Police Have/ the Best of it in the/ Long Run.' And consider such interspersed sub-headlines in the serial as 'A NIGHT OF TERROR.' (7 August 1902, 339:26) and 'A DASH FOR LIBERTY.' (8 August, 343:25). Fact and fiction fed off one another in the visual display and narrative styles of the newspaper.

The advertisements for *Robbery Under Arms*

The advertisements for *Robbery Under Arms* in the issues leading up to the commencement of serialisation in both weekly and daily strain to render its distinctive voice as continuous with the polyphony – the now imperially sensitised polyphony – of the newspaper. The *Family Herald* had advertised the tale as 'the autobiography of a bushranger, whose wild exploits constitute a story of the most thrilling interest. The narrator tells how at an early age he tired of the peaceful life of a squatter to which he had been brought up, and impelled by the love of adventure gradually drifted into evil ways.' (The full texts of the advertisements are given below.)

There was potential danger for the weekly here. The *Toronto Mail* had got into trouble when, in 1890, it serialised the autobiography of Oxford-educated Reginald Birchall who murdered those of his fellow countrymen whom he had enticed to Canada in order to get his hands on the money they had brought with them.³⁷ This was condemned as socially irresponsible journalism. Perhaps defensively, the advertisement for *Robbery Under Arms* in the Montreal weekly went on to stress its 'literary merit. The language, in keeping with the personality of the narrator, is simple and unaffected, yet withal vigorous and picturesque'; and it did not fail to mention that the author was '[i]n early life a pioneer squatter in Victoria, [and] he was in later years a police magistrate and warden of goldfields in New South Wales'.³⁸ He was a gentleman, that is to say, from an old colonial family.

In the following year, 1902, the advertising for the daily was changed, a change that may have been related to its extra bowdlerising described above. The serial is no longer cast as a thrilling

³⁷ See further Rutherford 199–200.

³⁸ *Family Herald*, 30 October 1901.

autobiography of a life of crime but rather, less helpfully if more respectably, as ‘one of the classics of Antipodean literature [that] gives a vivid picture of life in the Australian bush in the early years of settlement. Like “The Man From Glengarry” [the serial that was concluding] it is redolent of the soil, and will be read with interest by all lovers of clean, exciting fiction.’³⁹

Why the link? The serialisation of Ralph Connor’s *The Man from Glengarry*, like that of *Robbery Under Arms*, came after its publication in book form, in its case in 1901. Like Connor’s earlier works *Black Rock* (1898) and *The Sky Pilot* (1899), it had already proved successful – indeed his publishers sold five million copies of these titles – a success upon which the *Daily Star* was cashing in after the event, rather than being part of an orderly progression towards first book publication. Connor, himself born in Glengarry in Canada West (now Ontario), was a Presbyterian minister; his novels provided an extremely popular blend of muscular Christianity, displays of physical courage and late Victorian sentiment and pathos. As Judith Skelton Grant comments, ‘In Gordon’s stories principle wins through in the end. And although he often refers to God and Providence, his religion is human-centred, dependent on the ability of the individual to master his will.’⁴⁰

Throughout *Robbery Under Arms* its narrator, Dick Marston, is wishing that he too had done so. He repeatedly acknowledges the steady, dutiful way of living that he stupidly cast aside and he registers the hurt that his wildness has caused his mother and sister. At the last minute, and unknown to him as he writes, Dick will be saved from the gallows for a foreshadowed life of loving and tranquil responsibility. Even so, the advertisement in the *Daily Star*, unlike that in the *Family Herald*, can only be said to be highly selective and guarded, if not positively misleading, since the thrilling accounts of

³⁹ *Daily Star*, 19 May 1902.

⁴⁰ There is a limited parallel to Dick Marston (which the advertisement was implicitly stretching) in Ranald Macdonald, from Glengarry, who develops ‘into a man of self-control and principle whose energies are thrown into the struggle to civilize the West’: Judith Skelton Grant, entry for Charles William Gordon (1860–1937) – ‘Ralph Connor’ was his pseudonym – in *Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*, 2nd edn, ed. Eugene Benson and William Toye (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 474–6 [pp. 474, 475]. Macdonald is never a criminal.

outdoor and outlaw action in *Robbery Under Arms*, the sheer relief of escape from domestic responsibility, are there aplenty. Nevertheless, this meaning too – the virtues of a muscular christianity – was one that *Robbery Under Arms* was forced to absorb.

Its second instalment in the *Daily Star* on Monday 26 May 1902 was placed next to an article entitled ‘DEAN OF MONTREAL FORMALLY ENTHRONED’, which printed the sermon of Bishop Carmichael about the responsibilities of those from the Montreal Diocesan Theological College who had been ordained during the same ceremony as the enthronement. By chance, at the end of Chapter I in this instalment, Dick’s father Ben Marston, an ex-convict transported to New South Wales for poaching game, is declaring why, although he married an Irish Catholic and although his daughter will be brought up Catholic, he will always remain Anglican: ‘I stand’, he says, ‘for Church and King, and so shall the boys’ (26 May, cf. 18:6–7). This appeared in the column directly adjacent to the bishop’s sermon.

A transcription of the advertisements follows. Mistakes in the original are left uncorrected. New lines are indicated by the oblique stroke (/).

Family Herald and Weekly Star advertisement

[30 October 1901]

ROBBERY/UNDER ARMS/
Thrilling New Serial Story/ For the
Family Herald/and Weekly Star./

The Family Herald has secured/
at great expense the serial rights of/
“Robbery Under Arms,” a tale of/
life and adventure in Australia, the/
publication of which will be begun/
next week.

“Robbery Under Arms” is the au-/
tobiography of a bushranger, whose/
wild exploits constitute a story of the/
most thrilling interest. The nar-/
rator tells how at an early age he/
tired of the peaceful life of a squat-/
ter to which he had been brought/
up, and impelled by the love of ad-/
venture gradually drifted into evil/
ways. The stealing of cattle was his/

first venture; from this to horse-/
stealing was but a step, and almost/
before he had realized it he had/
become one of the leaders of a gang/
of outlaws whose regular occupation/
was holding up stage coaches and/
gold conveyers. The adventures of/
this gang, the wild midnight rides,/
the occasional brushes with the/
mounted police, the narrow escapes/
from death or capture, and the vari-/
ous other exciting incidents of a/
bushranger’s life constitute a story/
of marvellous interest. Never for a/
moment does the interest flag. From/
start to finish the action is sustain-/
ed, and a series of the most exciting/
incidents follow each other in rapid/
succession.

Nor is the story without literary/

merit. The language, in keeping/
with the personality of the narrator,
is simple and unaffected, yet withal/
vigorous and picturesque, and no/
better bit of word-painting has ever/
been done than is to be found in/
some of the descriptions of scenery/
or the graphic accounts of the hero's/
adventures. The author of the story/
is Thomas A. Browne, who writes un-/
der the pseudonym of Rolf Boldre-/
wood. In early life a pioneer squat-/
ter in Victoria, he was in later years/
a police magistrate and warden of/
goldfields in New South Wales, and/
is thus well qualified to depict the/

scenes and incidents of Australian/
bush life, and to his intimate know-/
ledge of the country and its ways/
must be ascribed the admirable local/
colour and descriptive detail of the/
story. Though presented in the/
guise of fiction, the narrative is not/
wholly fanciful, for much of it, the/
author himself tells us, can be veri-/
fied by official records.

"Robbery Under Arms" begins in/
next week's issue, and no one/
who appreciates a cleverly written/
story of absorbing interest should/
miss this new serial./

Daily Star advertisements

[19 May 1902]

"ROBBERY UNDER ARMS."/
The Montreal Daily Star has se-/
cured at great expense the serial/
rights of "Robbery Under Arms"/
from the pen of "Rolf Boldrewood,"/
the celebrated Australian author./
This story is one of the classics of/
Antipodean literature and gives a/
vivid picture of life in the Australian/
bush in the early years of settlement./
Like "The Man From Glengarry" it/
is redolent of the soil, and will be/
read with interest by all lovers of/
clean, exciting fiction. Its publica-/
tion will be commenced in the col-/
ums of the Montreal Daily Star at
the/ conclusion of "The Man From
Glen-/
garry" in a few days, and will
be/ continued from day to day until
com-/
pleted./

[22 May 1902]

"ROBBERY UNDER ARMS."/
The Montreal Daily Star will on/
Saturday next commence the publica-/
tion of "Robbery Under Arms"/
from the pen of "Rolf Boldrewood,"/
the celebrated Australian author./
This story is one of the classics of/
Antipodean literature and gives a/
vivid picture of life in the Australian/
bush in the early years of settlement./
No one should miss the opportunity/
of reading this masterpiece of Aus-/
tralian fiction./

Variants in wording and presentation in the *Daily Star* serialisation (*Mo*) for Chapter I and the revised section of Chapter XXII

This list complements the Sample Collation (for Chapter I) and the expanded foot-of-page recording for the part of Chapter XXII that Boldrewood revised (213:1 – 224:3): it adds *Mo*'s variants from *E*₃ for these two sections of the novel. It covers variants in wording and in presentation, including punctuation, capitalisation, hyphenation and word division.⁴¹ The silent categories identified on pages 6–7 are adopted here.

The reading to the left of the square bracket is from the reading text of this edition, based on its copy-text *SM*. *SM*'s reading appears before the square bracket without a symbol. Variants follow in the sequence *Ec*, *E*₁, *TZ*, *E*₂, *E*₃, *Mo*. If *SM* has been emended the symbol of the source-state from which the emendation derives is given.

See Note on the Text for explanation of the symbols and the conventions of presentation. Where *Mo* does not vary from the reading text but does vary from *E*₃, the recording is as follows:

e.g. 220:6 cliffs] cliff *E*₁–*E*₃

Here, *SM*, *Ec* and *Mo* happen to agree ('cliffs') against the variant reading ('cliff') in *E*₁, *TZ*, *E*₂ and *E*₃.

Chapter I

| | | | |
|-------|---|-------|---|
| 9:6 | back,] ~: <i>Mo</i> | 10:35 | <i>is</i>] is <i>Ec Mo</i> |
| 9:11 | in spite of] in spite of the <i>Mo</i> | 11:4 | chap] ~, <i>Ec</i> – <i>E</i> ₃ |
| 9:14 | curse] curse my <i>Mo</i> | 11:4 | was] had <i>Mo</i> |
| 9:16 | here,] ~ <i>Mo</i> | 11:13 | garden gate] garden-gate <i>E</i> ₂ |
| 9:18 | No. Better] ~, better <i>Mo</i> | | <i>E</i> ₃ |
| 9:22 | arms] ~, <i>Mo</i> | 11:16 | 'uns 'll] 'uns'll <i>Mo</i> |
| 9:22 | called it. And] call it—and | 11:35 | shanty] Shanty <i>Mo</i> |
| | <i>E</i> ₁ – <i>E</i> ₃ call it and <i>Mo</i> | 12:6 | sheep-killin'.] sheep-/ killin'. |
| 10:8 | made] makes <i>Mo</i> | | <i>E</i> ₁ sheep-killin' <i>Mo</i> |
| 10:29 | them <i>beforehand</i>] ~ | 12:6 | women,] ~ <i>E</i> ₂ <i>E</i> ₃ |
| | beforehand <i>Ec Mo them</i> | 12:9 | not?] ~ <i>Mo</i> |
| | beforehand <i>E</i> ₁ – <i>E</i> ₃ | 12:20 | face,] ~ <i>Ec</i> – <i>E</i> ₃ |

⁴¹ Variants in *Mo* may have already occurred in the *Family Herald and Weekly Star* from which *Mo* itself was set; the weekly is not collated.

| | | | |
|-------|---|-------|--|
| 12:20 | heartstrings] heart-/ strings E ₂ heart-strings E ₃ heart strings <i>Mo</i> | 15:19 | large, E ₁] ~— <i>SM</i> ~ <i>Ec</i> E ₂ E ₃ |
| 13:7 | I'll] I'll E ₁ -E ₃ | 15:29 | much,] ~ <i>Mo</i> |
| 13:11 | madman] mad man <i>Mo</i> | 16:10 | cattle] ~, <i>Mo</i> |
| 15:3 | shape] ~, <i>Mo</i> | 16:31 | windows,] ~ <i>Mo</i> |
| 15:7 | had] <i>Om. Mo</i> | 17:31 | Irishwomen] Irish-/ women <i>Ec</i> E ₁ E ₃ Irish women <i>Mo</i> |
| 15:13 | talk] told <i>Mo</i> | 17:36 | No!] ~, <i>Mo</i> |

Chapter XXII

| | | | |
|--------|---|--------|---|
| 213:5 | was . . . Sugarloaf. Everything . . . and, stranger <i>Ec</i>] ~ . . . ~ ~ . . . ~, ~ <i>SM</i> the clear hill we called {call E ₃ ⁺ } the Sugarloaf. Everything seemed dead, silent, {silent <i>Mo</i> } and solitary, and a rummier start <i>E₁⁺</i> | 216:25 | write . . . 1850.] write, like <i>her</i> , { <i>her</i> , <i>TZ</i> } though. <i>E₁</i> ~, ~ ~, though— <i>E₂ E₃</i> ~, ~ <i>her</i> , though— <i>Mo</i> |
| 213:9 | God-forsaken] forsaken <i>Mo</i> | 217:4 | him; (no] ~ (~ <i>Ec</i> ~— <i>E₁ TZ</i> ~—[~ <i>E₂ E₃</i> ~—(~ <i>Mo</i> |
| 213:13 | out,] ~ <i>Mo</i> | 217:6 | his] His <i>Mo</i> |
| 213:18 | it . . . brandy,] first-rate {first rate <i>Mo</i> } dark brandy it was, <i>E₁⁺</i> | 217:6 | church);] ~— <i>E₁ TZ</i> ~]— <i>E₂ E₃ ~</i> — <i>Mo</i> |
| 214:1 | God Almighty] <i>Om. Mo</i> | 217:7 | cattle-stealing,] cattle-/ stealing <i>E₁</i> cattle-stealing <i>TZ-E₃</i> |
| 214:2 | put] have been put <i>Mo</i> | 217:12 | have] had <i>E₁-E₃</i> |
| 214:4 | next minute,] straight, <i>E₁-E₃ ~ Mo</i> | 217:13 | YOURSELF] yourself <i>Ec</i> <i>Mo yourself E₁-E₃</i> |
| 214:11 | were . . . and] was a bag of ship biscuit; <i>E₁-E₃</i> was a bag of ship biscuits; <i>Mo</i> | 217:13 | know] ~, <i>Mo</i> |
| 214:20 | round] around <i>Mo</i> | 217:21 | me . . . husband] myself and my husband <i>E₁ E₂ E₃</i> myself ~ ~ husband <i>Mo</i> <i>nearly</i>] nearly <i>Ec Mo</i> |
| 215:1 | Opposite] “~ <i>Mo</i> | 218:4 | <i>but . . . again,</i>] but we may meet again, <i>Ec Mo but . . .</i> <i>again, E₁ TZ</i> |
| 215:13 | like: “Well] ~— <i>P</i> “~ <i>E₁ TZ E₃ ~— P</i> “~ <i>E₂</i> life— <i>P</i> “Well <i>Mo</i> | 218:13 | Marston, and] Marston. <i>Then E₁-E₃ ~. Then Mo</i> |
| 215:16 | We have] We've <i>E₁-E₃</i> We're <i>Mo</i> | 218:16 | “KATE] ~ <i>E₂ E₃</i> “KATE <i>Mo</i> |
| 216:10 | once, close together that <i>Ec</i>] ~ ~ ~. That <i>SM</i> together, in one place. <i>They E₁-E₃</i> together . . . <i>They Mo</i> | 218:16 | MULLOCKSON.”] ~. <i>E₂</i> MULLOCKSON.”/ —— / <i>Mo</i> |
| 216:21 | our] your <i>Mo</i> | 218:22 | Aileen and mother,] mother and Aileen <i>E₁-E₃</i> mother ~ ~, <i>Mo</i> |
| | | 218:25 | future,] ~. <i>Mo</i> |

| | | | |
|--------|---|--------|--|
| 219:1 | letter,] ~ <i>E1-E3</i> | 222:9 | it's a] it's <i>Mo</i> |
| 219:3 | fellow] ~, <i>Mo</i> | 222:12 | is] is <i>Ec Mo</i> |
| 219:5 | again,] ~ <i>Ec-E3</i> | 222:15 | bit,] ~ <i>Mo</i> |
| 219:6 | letter] ~, <i>Mo</i> | 222:25 | enjoying . . . a] engaging {enjoying <i>Mo</i> } yourselves this fine weather? Rather <i>E1</i> ⁺ |
| 219:16 |] <i>I E1-E3</i> | | |
| 219:16 | <i>can't</i>] can't <i>Ec Mo</i> | 223:7 | we've any roadwork] we have any road work <i>Mo</i> |
| 220:4 | gullies and covers] cover and gullies <i>E1-E3</i> covers and gullies <i>Mo</i> | 223:15 | together. There . . . now.] together. <i>E1-E3</i> ~, <i>Mo</i> |
| 220:6 | cliffs] cliff <i>E1-E3</i> | 223:16 | please.] please, Dick. <i>E1-E3</i> ~, ~, <i>Mo</i> |
| 220:14 | about, and] about till <i>E1-E3</i> ~, till <i>Mo</i> | 223:22 | to turn out] <i>to turn out</i> , <i>E1</i> <i>TZ to ~ out</i> , <i>E2 E3</i> to turn out, <i>Mo</i> |
| 220:19 | get] go <i>Mo</i> | 223:26 | again—] again, not <i>E1-E3</i> ~. ~ <i>Mo</i> |
| 220:22 | to . . . flat right] ~ . . . ~, ~ <i>E1-E3 Om. Mo</i> | 223:27 | bushranging; <i>Ed.</i>] bush-/ ranging; <i>SM Ec</i> <i>bushranging</i> , <i>E1</i> <i>bushranging</i> , <i>TZ</i> <i>bush-ranging</i> , <i>E2 E3</i> bush-ranging, <i>Mo</i> |
| 220:23 | the . . . walls,] the rock walls <i>E1-E3</i> rock walls <i>Mo</i> | 223:27 | another—] ~.— <i>Mo</i> |
| 221:9 | times] ~, <i>Mo</i> | | |
| 221:14 | was] was by <i>Mo</i> | | |
| 221:21 | come] comes <i>Mo</i> | | |
| 221:23 | them] ~, <i>E1-E3</i> | | |
| 222:1 | us] us to <i>Mo</i> | | |
| 222:9 | hearthstone:]~; <i>E1 TZ E3</i> hearth-/ stone; <i>E2</i> | | |

Variants in wording in the *Daily Star* serialisation (*Mo*) for Chapters II–XXI and the unrevised section of Chapter XXII

This is a list of *Mo*'s variants in wording from *E3*. (*E3*'s wordings are themselves provided at foot of page in the reading text whenever they vary from it.) The present list provides a substantial sample, covering Chapters ii–xxi and the first part of Chapter xxii. The headlines for Chapters i–xxii and a plot synopsis for readers who had missed earlier instalments are excluded: they are given in the next list instead. A collation of *Mo*'s variant wordings for the entire novel and a complete table of headlines and sub-headlines have been deposited in the Australian Defence Force Academy Library.

The reading to the left of the square bracket is from the reading text of this edition, based on its copy-text *SM*. *SM*'s reading appears before the square bracket without a symbol. Variants follow in the sequence *Ec*, *E1*, *TZ*, *E2*, *E3*, *Mo*. If *SM* has been emended the symbol of the source-state from which the emendation derives is

given. The silent categories that apply to the foot-of-page recording also apply here: see pages 5–6.

See Note on the Text for explanation of the symbols and the conventions of presentation. Where *Mo* does not vary from the reading text but does vary from *E3*, the recording is as follows:

e.g. 199:9 sniffing] snuffing *Ec–E3*

Here, *SM* and *Mo* happen to agree (‘sniffing’) against the variant reading (‘snuffing’) in *Ec*, *E1*, *TZ*, *E2* and *E3*.

| | | | |
|-------|--|-------|--|
| 19:26 | troubled] trouble <i>Mo</i> | 41:19 | hell] ruin <i>Mo</i> |
| 20:5 | and the] at <i>Mo</i> | 42:19 | bad] thick <i>Mo</i> |
| 20:12 | on] in <i>Mo</i> | 42:20 | below] below us <i>Mo</i> |
| 21:15 | we hardly could] he could hardly <i>Mo</i> | 42:21 | too] <i>Om. Mo</i> |
| 22:11 | will be hanged] will be hanged <i>Ec Mo</i> will be hanged <i>E1–E3</i> | 43:20 | it as] it that <i>Mo</i> |
| 22:22 | fairly] fairly well <i>Mo</i> | 44:23 | and I] and <i>Mo</i> |
| 23:17 | ran] rang <i>Mo</i> | 45:2 | they] them <i>Mo</i> |
| 23:33 | in] on <i>Mo</i> | 45:12 | on] <i>Om. Mo</i> |
| 25:5 | bad] mad <i>Mo</i> | 45:18 | of] of a <i>Mo</i> |
| 25:6 | right] all right <i>Mo</i> | 45:28 | dart] art <i>Mo</i> |
| 25:29 | ours] our tea <i>Mo</i> | 47:8 | blast 'em,] ~ 'em! <i>Ec–E3 Om. Mo</i> |
| 25:34 | an] for an <i>Mo</i> | 47:22 | in] in a <i>Mo</i> |
| 26:1 | off] of <i>Mo</i> | 47:25 | rocky] rock <i>Mo</i> |
| 27:3 | tell] can tell <i>Mo</i> | 48:2 | of a] of <i>Mo</i> |
| 27:15 | that] and <i>Mo</i> | 48:25 | was he] he was <i>Mo</i> |
| 28:4 | all-fours] all-four <i>Mo</i> | 48:32 | they] <i>Om. Mo</i> |
| 28:7 | couldn't <i>Ec</i>] couldn' <i>SM</i> could not <i>Mo</i> | 49:19 | a going] agoing <i>Ec–E3</i> going <i>Mo</i> |
| 28:18 | been a] been <i>Mo</i> | 50:28 | lurch] lurch now <i>Mo</i> |
| 29:23 | drown] down <i>Mo</i> | 50:32 | hell-hole] hellish hole <i>Mo</i> |
| 30:7 | glass] class <i>E3</i> | 52:11 | game] square <i>Mo</i> |
| 31:4 | any] at any <i>E3</i> | 52:21 | specially] especially <i>Mo</i> |
| 33:6 | he'd] he's <i>Mo</i> | 52:26 | By . . . man, or] <i>Om. Mo</i> |
| 33:12 | she] he <i>Mo</i> | 52:27 | how could he] How could a man <i>Mo</i> |
| 35:27 | being always] always being <i>Mo</i> | 53:5 | I'd] I had <i>Mo</i> |
| 35:31 | to be] <i>Om. Mo</i> | 54:13 | fore-hand] forehand <i>Ec E1 E2</i> fore-/ head <i>Mo</i> |
| 36:6 | mob to] mob <i>Mo</i> | 54:23 | d—d] d—d <i>E1–E3 Om. Mo</i> |
| 36:21 | say that] say <i>Mo</i> | 55:14 | horse-hide] horsehide <i>Ec–E3</i> horseride <i>Mo</i> |
| 37:15 | me] <i>Om. Mo</i> | 55:25 | d—d] d—d <i>Ec–E3</i> blasted |
| 40:18 | on the saddle] <i>Om. Mo</i> | | |
| 41:12 | Jim] him <i>Mo</i> | | |

- Mo*
 56:19 educated] educated *Mo*
 59:11 They'll] They will *Mo*
 59:18 thick] thicker *Mo*
 59:21 "By ———," he says,] "~ —!"
 ~ ~, *E1 TZ* "~ —!" ~ ~,
E2 "~ ———;" ~ ~, *E3 Om.*
Mo
 59:22 so] too *Mo*
 60:9 couldn't] could not *Mo*
 60:12 cursed] wretched *Mo*
 60:15 got] go *Mo*
 60:25 trod] trodden *Mo*
 61:12 d——] —— *Ec-E3 Om. Mo*
 61:23 devil] imp *Mo*
 61:31 d—— *Ed.*] d —— *SM*
 —— *Ec-E3 Om. Mo*
 62:4 the devil] *Om. Mo*
 62:10 me] us *Mo*
 62:13 hole] hold *Mo*
 64:33 mares to put to him] mares,
 too *Mo*
 65:33 pay up] pay *Mo*
 66:31 gin] gin* [*footnote*] "A black
 woman." *E1* ~¹ [*footnote*]
 "1~~~. *E2 E3* gin (black
 woman) *Mo*
 69:7 was always] always was *Mo*
 70:15 she'd] she's *Mo*
 71:9 or a] or *Mo*
 71:13 reel] read *Mo*
 72:18 he'd] he's *Mo*
 72:24 the] *Om. Mo*
 73:7 prices] the prices *Mo*
 73:31 halve] have *Mo*
 74:24 got] get *Ec Mo*
 75:11 or] and *Mo*
 75:25 saw] says *Mo*
 76:7 God Almighty] god *Mo*
 77:24 £5-notes] £5-/notes *TZ*
 five-pound notes *E2 E3* five
 pound notes *Mo*
 78:1 stared] started *Mo*
 78:25 dice] ice *Mo*
 78:26 mak'] ma' *Mo*
 79:29 he] she *Mo*
 81:4 with] and *Mo*
 81:26 read] head *Mo*
 82:13 the firm . . . through] *Om. Mo*
 82:34 or] of *Mo*
 84:8 gets] goes *Mo*
 85:14 got] gone *Mo*
 86:9 out] *Om. Mo*
 86:10 mare . . . up,] mare *Mo*
 86:13 it] she *Mo*
 86:13 infernal] *Om. Mo*
 86:17 and hung down] *Om. Mo*
 87:6 God] Luck *Mo*
 87:11 TELEGRAPH] telegraph *Ec-E3*
 telegraph *Mo*
 88:7 wanting] waiting *Mo*
 88:11 If it] It *Mo*
 89:3 By ——! they'll] They'll *Mo*
 89:12 God] luck *Mo*
 89:12 By . . . well] Well *Mo*
 90:3 to] *Om. Mo*
 92:24 and Mr. Falkland] *Om. Mo*
 94:4 telegraphs] telegraphers *Mo*
 94:9 horse] horse's *Mo*
 94:15 for] the *Mo*
 95:12 weed] tweed *Mo*
 96:25 devil's] bad *Mo*
 97:12 never would] would never *Mo*
 97:19 all] that all *Mo*
 98:19 thing] things *Mo*
 98:24 The . . . uppermost.] *Om. Mo*
 98:25 croak.] croak. *P* The head was
 uppermost. *Mo*
 98:34 devil] beast *Mo*
 99:15 queer . . . and] queer sort of
 way that *Mo*
 100:9 if] *Om. Mo*
 100:33 mile] miles *Mo*
 101:11 Fakesley] Kakesley *Mo*
 101:15 that] the *Mo*
 101:15 your] the *Mo*
 102:10 thought] though *Mo*
 102:35 come] comes *Mo*
 103:31 an] any *Mo*
 103:32 stockings] stocking *Mo*
 104:29 d——] d—— *Ec E2 E3 Om. Mo*
 105:6 that] the *Mo*

- 105:17 up] *Om. Mo*
 105:18 Momberah] Mamberah *Mo*
 105:28 a] *Om. Mo*
 105:35 with] *Om. Mo*
 105:36 he] and he *Mo*
 106:23 fault] find fault *Mo*
 106:33 up] in *Mo*
 107:2 year] years *Mo*
 107:6 saltbush] saltbrush *Mo*
 108:14 track] tracks *Mo*
 109:1 word as] work as *Mo*
 110:7 mattered] matters *Mo*
 110:31 and] or *Mo*
 111:9 There'd] There's *Mo*
 112:21 —] *Om. Mo*
 112:25 took] taken *Mo*
 113:18 German] Germans *Mo*
 113:36 'em] of 'em *Mo*
 114:6 come] came *Mo*
 115:2 simple] simply *Mo*
 115:4 natur'] nature *Mo*
 115:28 cuts] cut *Mo*
 115:34 harder perhaps] perhaps
 harder *Mo*
 119:16 day] days *Mo*
 119:20 was] were *Mo*
 119:27 that] this *Mo*
 120:21 strollin'] strolling *Mo*
 120:30 that] who *Mo*
 121:25 splendid] a splendid *Mo*
 121:28 lot of] lot *Mo*
 124:12 was] were *Mo*
 124:32 that] them *Mo*
 126:25 of] to *Mo*
 127:32 bit] *Om. Mo*
 130:13 But she] But *Mo*
 131:10 as white] a white *Mo*
 131:11 Mercy] mercy *Mo*
 131:20 we] he *Mo*
 132:24 so] as *Mo*
 135:7 couldn'] couldn't *Ec-E3*
 could not *Mo*
 135:30 a lot] lots *Mo*
 135:33 as] as he *Mo*
 136:10 word] work *Mo*
 136:13 as ever] *Om. Mo*
 136:19 in the] in *Mo*
 137:5 can] can't *Mo*
 137:22 hunter-hound] hunter-bound
Mo
 137:23 we] he *Mo*
 138:15 their] the *Mo*
 139:12 about] above *Mo*
 140:30 with that] with the *Mo*
 141:3 a] *Om. Mo*
 141:25 horse] horses *Mo*
 142:26 your] the *Mo*
 143:19 carrying] carriage *Mo*
 143:33 d—d] — *Ec d—d*
E1-E3 Om. Mo
 144:1 as] *Om. Mo*
 144:6 wish] I wish *Mo*
 144:21 "Christmas . . . George.] *Om.*
Mo
 145:24 you—] — *Mo*
 145:28 pitiful] piteous *Mo*
 146:15 to our] and *Mo*
 148:25 too] to *Mo*
 149:7 mare] care *Mo*
 149:20 heads] head *Mo*
 150:16 all] a *Mo*
 152:13 one] a *Mo*
 152:19 make] made *Mo*
 152:23 D—n] Blast *Mo*
 152:27 by —] *Om. Mo*
 152:30 d—d] d—d *E1-E3 Om.*
Mo
 152:33 be] he *Mo*
 152:34 wringing] wriggling *Mo*
 153:14 had] had *Ec Mo*
 154:5 on] to *Mo*
 156:2 devilish] *Om. Mo*
 157:1 careless] careful *Mo*
 157:36 as nearly] nearly as *Mo*
 159:35 a man in] in a man *Mo*
 160:10 pot] lot *Mo*
 160:31 dashed] dished *Mo*
 163:10 go] so *Mo*
 163:11 the] *Om. Mo*
 164:20 much of] much as *Mo*
 164:36 'D *Ed.]* —D *SM-E3* —D
Mo

- 165:2 in the] in *Mo*
 165:18 with the] your *Mo*
 165:28 or] of *Mo*
 165:35 steps] stepped *Mo*
 166:33 that] *Om. Mo*
 169:19 oldish-looking *Ec*] oldish-/
 looking *SM* oddish-looking
Mo
 170:8 beefsteak] beefsteaks *E1*
 beef-/ steaks *TZ E2* beef-
 steaks *E3* beef-steak *Mo*
 172:23 thinks] think *Mo*
 172:24 works] work *Mo*
 173:33 for] of *Mo*
 174:26 we] he *Mo*
 175:24 time] moment *Mo*
 176:4 thing] things *Mo*
 176:12 out loud] out aloud *E3* aloud
Mo
 176:13 a] her *Mo*
 176:13 she'd] she would *Mo*
 176:17 sent] *Om. Mo*
 176:22 they] there *Mo*
 177:31 gaols] gaol *Mo*
 178:16 knows] know *Mo*
 179:6 from] form *Mo*
 179:11 nor] or *Mo*
 179:26 gins] guns *Mo*
 180:34 done] did *Mo*
 183:16 a] *Om. Mo*
 184:12 mostly] most *Mo*
 184:13 all] *Om. Mo*
 184:23 plan] plans *Mo*
 185:8 down] *Om. Mo*
 185:15 we] he *Mo*
 185:28 was] saw *Mo*
 187:1 without] within *Mo*
 187:22 horses] horse *Mo*
 187:32 Lord God!] *Om. Mo*
 188:4 should] would *Mo*
 188:5 Any] And *Mo*
 188:8 on] in *Mo*
 190:7 night] night's *Mo*
 191:17 was the] was a *Mo*
 191:38 on] in *Mo*
 193:1 before] after *Mo*
 193:2 good] great *Mo*
 194:1 so much as] such as *Mo*
 196:16 we went] he went *Mo*
 197:14 Phillip] Philip *E1 TZ Mo*
 198:5 a dozen] frozen *Mo*
 199:4 that] and *Mo*
 199:9 sniffing] snuffing *Ec-E3*
 199:26 agin] again *Mo*
 200:12 we'd] after we'd *Mo*
 200:15 He'd] He's *Mo*
 200:16 remembered] remember *Mo*
 200:21 and] *Om. Mo*
 201:27 dabbed] dabbled *Mo*
 202:11 she'd] she's *Mo*
 202:12 ever] over *Ec Om. Mo*
 203:22 Somewheres] Somewhere *Mo*
 205:18 we] he *Mo*
 206:14 her] Her *E1 TZ Mo*
 207:1 They] He *Mo*
 208:2 regular] *Om. Mo*
 208:4 that] *Om. Mo*
 208:10 he] we *Mo*
 208:14 of] for *Mo*
 209:2 by] *Om. Mo*
 209:18 place like] place like this *Mo*
 209:24 not] *Om. Mo*
 210:4 all] all the *Mo*

Table of headlines in the *Daily Star* serialisation (*Mo*) for Chapters I–XXII

In *Mo*, headlines start in the third instalment: the serial's title is given first, then headlines and an author statement, usually followed by the chapter number: see the example of Chapter xxi (12 July 1902: 207:32) in illustration 3 on page 652. Mistakes in *Mo*'s headlines are not corrected. A plot synopsis for readers of the *Daily Star* who had missed earlier instalments was provided on 5 June 1902 at the start of the eleventh instalment: it is included here.⁴²

The headlines in *Mo* are located below by page-and-line number of the reading text: they immediately follow it or, if their location in *Mo* corresponds to a midline one in the reading text, they follow the given wording. Generally, the headlines are centred in *Mo* and decrease in typesize from the top line. The sub-headlines usually consist of one line only. Styling in the following entries does not report changes in font or the (normal) use of rules as headline dividers. Line breaks are indicated by the oblique stroke (/). The title and author statements, repeated at the start of each instalment, and the chapter-number statement are not given in the Table, nor those occasions when the reported sub-headlines in *Mo* replaced section breaks.

| | |
|---|---|
| [Instalment 1: 24 May 1902] PUBLISHED/ BY SPECIAL/ ARRANGEMENT./ A Story of Life and Adventure in the Bush and in the Goldfields of | Australia by Rolf Boldrewood, Author of "The Miner's Right," "The/ Squatter's Dream," "A Colonial Reformer," Etc. |
|---|---|

⁴² The weekly gave new readers of the serial three chances to catch up, with synopses at the start of consecutive instalments (within chaps. V, VI and VII; 27 November, 4 and 11 December 1901). The second and third progressively add to the summary description; the second synopsis (for the instalment that starts at 59:6) is the same in wording to that recorded here for *Mo* (where the instalment starts at 62:32) except for the last three sentences where the weekly has instead: ' . . . Starlight and Warrigal are away, and the present instalment of the story opens with their return from an expedition in which they have had a brush with the police, resulting in Starlight being seriously wounded.'

The *Daily Star* appeared Mondays–Saturdays. The first instalment of *Mo* appeared on Saturday 24 May 1902. The *Daily Star* apparently did not appear on Tuesday 1 July: there is no gap in the serial between the Monday and Wednesday instalments, and the Tuesday edition is not present on the microfilm.

- 14:30 [Instalment 2: 26 May 1902]
 (Published by Special
 Arrangement.)/ A Story
 of Life and Adventure
 in the Bush/ and in the
 Goldfields of Australia by
 Rolf/ Boldrewood, Author of
 "The Miner's/ Right," "The
 Squatter' Dream," "A Co-
 lonial Reformer," Etc.
- 20:16 [Instalment 3: 27 May 1902]
 OLD MAN DIED/ VERY
 SUDDENLY/ An Important
 Event in the/ History of Dick/
 Marston./ A GOOD INFLUENCE
 GONE/ An Incident in Cattle-
 Lifting/ Which Had Grave
 Conse-/ quences.
- 24:11 [Instalment 4: 28 May 1902]
 DICK MARSTON'S/
 STORY GROWS./ His Father
 Went on From/ Bad to Worse
 Despite/ Warnings./ THE
 EVILS OF IDLENESS/ Soon
 Told Upon the Boys and/
 They Got Into Bad/ Habits.
- 29:36 [Instalment 5: 29 May 1902]
 A MAN MUST/ WORK
 AND SAVE/ While Young
 If He Doesn't/ Want to be a
 Beggar/ When Old./ GOOD
 ADVICE DISREGARDED/ By
 Dick Marston and Serious
 Con-/ sequences are the Result
 in/ Later Days.
- 34:21 [Instalment 6: 30 May 1902]
 STRANGE CATTLE/
 DRIVEN HOME/ An
 Unexpected Event at the/
 Homestead of the/ Marstons./
 AILEEN'S VAIN APPEAL./ Her
 Soft Pleadings Could Not/
 Change the Course of Her/
 Brothers.
- 40:13 [Instalment 7: 31 May 1902]
 LIFTING THE/ LOOTED
 CATTLE./ The Marston
 Boys Learn/ What It Is To Be/
 Crooked./ CATTLE BRANDS
 WERE CHANGED/ And Every
 Means Taken to Put the/ Police
 off the/ Scent.
- 46:3 [Instalment 8: 2 June 1902]
 WAS LIKE THE/ END
 OF THE WORLD/ Dick
 Marston's First Essay/ in
 Crime Was/ Terrifying./
 CATTLE WORK ON THE
 CROSS/ Terrible Hollow and
 Its Safe/ Hiding for Stolen/
 Stock.
- 52:18 [Instalment 9: 3 June 1902]
 WAITING TO SEE/
 CAPTAIN STARLIGHT/
 How Easily the Road to Ruin/
 Can Be Taken by Young/
 Men./ THE FATAL DIE IS
 CAST/ And the Marston
 Boys Decide/ Upon a Life of
 Bush-/ Ranging.
- 56:6 [Instalment 10: 4 June 1902]
 CAPTAIN STARLIGHT/
 WAS WOUNDED/ Dick's
 First Sight of the Noted/
 Bushranger Was Im-/
 pressive./ HIT BY A POLICE
 BULLET/ The Narrative of
 Crime in the Bush/ Enters
 Upon An Exciting/ Phase.
- 62:31 [Instalment 11: 5 June 1902]
 STARTING AFTER/ BIG
 GAME,/ Captain Starlight's
 Plans Mat[. . .]/ ure as He
 Recovers From/ His Wounds./
 A DARING PLOT ON FOOT/
 The Marston Boys Start for
 Home/ With a Dark Secret in
 Their/ Hearts./

SYNOPSIS OF PRECEDING CHAPTERS./

“Robbery Under Arms” is the autobiography of Dick Marston, an Australian bushranger, who begins the story while lying in gaol under sentence of death. The condemned man relates the incidents of a career that has brought him within the shadow of the gallows. The Marstons are small farmers in the back country of New South Wales, Australia, and the family consists of the father and mother, the two boys, Dick and Jim, and the daughter, Aileen. The father was sent out from England as a convict, and after serving his term, married an immigrant girl and took up land in the back country, where cattle-raising is the principal occupation. Here the boys grew up, following a half-idle life, but becoming expert horsemen and thoroughly trained in the management of cattle. The father is away from home the greater part of the time, and the knowledge that he is engaged in cattle stealing darkens the lives of his wife and daughter, whose greatest fear is that he will lead his boys into a life of crime. The other characters introduced in the opening chapters are Mrs. Storefield and her two children, George and Gracey, a family of honest, hard-working farmers, neighbours of the Marstons, and living on terms

of friendship with them. The action of the story begins with the Marston boys being sent for by their father to assist in driving a herd of cattle. The boys find their father in possession of a large number of cattle bearing the brands of farmers living in that district. The cattle are driven to a stock yard hidden away in the bush, and there the calves are branded, and the brands of the grown cattle are altered so as to make it impossible for the owners of the cattle to identify their stock. They then set out with the herd, driving the cattle farther into the wild back country towards a mountain top, which the father points out to the boys as their guiding landmark. Near it is the headquarters of the cattle thieves. The stolen cattle are driven to Terrible Hollow, a valley hidden away in the mountains, the entrance to which is a secret possessed only by the eldest Marston and his associates. These are Captain Starlight and a half-caste boy called Warrigal. Starlight had been born in England a gentleman, but for years he had led a roving life of adventure and crime. When the Marstons arrive at the Hollow Starlight and Warrigal are away. They return soon afterwards, and with their advent the Marston boys are introduced to the two characters who play leading parts in the checkered career that lays

- before them. Starlight returns sev- erely wounded, for in his last encounter/ he has had an encounter with the Mounted/ Police, and it came very near being his/ last battle, but once safely back in the/ Hollow, he begins to mend.
- 66:11 [Instalment 12: 6 June 1902]
[Poor Norah!"]
BACK AT HOME/ ONCE
AGAIN/The Marston Boys
Welcomed/ By Their Mother
and/ Sister./ A PLEASANT
CHANGE OF LIFE/ From the
Discomforts of the Hol-/low
to the Comforts of/ Home.
- 71:11 [Instalment 13: 7 June 1902]
THE DRY SEASON/
CAUSES TROUBLE/ Lack
of Rain Breaks Up/ the Family
Gather-/ ing/ AND THE BOYS
GO SHEARING/ There Evil
Influences Again Re-/ sume
Their Sway Over/ Them.
- 79:28 [Instalment 14: 9 June 1902]
THEY WANTED/ LIFE
AND LIBERTY/ The
Marston Boys Have An/
Outing With the/ Shearers/
AN ACCIDENT HAPPENS TO
JIM/ And a New Feminine
Influence is/ Introduced Into
the/ Story.
- 85:13 [Instalment 15: 10 June 1902]
SAVED FROM AN/
AWFUL FATE./ Jim
Marston Proves Him/ To Be
a Real/ Hero./ WAS SAVED BY
A SIGNAL/ A Brotherly Code
Which Came/ in Handy in
An Ex-/tremity.
- 91:7 [Instalment 16: 11 June 1902]
A CLEAR CONSCIENCE/
IS HAPPINESS./ "What a
Jolly Thing to Have/ Nothing
on Your/ Mind."/ THE
BENEFITS OF HONESTY/
Impressed on the Boys Just
Be-/ fore An Emissary of
Evil/ Comes.
- 94:25 [Instalment 17: 12 June 1902]
A VISIT FROM/ BLACK
WARRIGAL/ He Brought
a Message From/ Starlight
and the Old/ Man./ HEAVY
STAKE ON COIN'S THROW/
How a Trifle Decided the
Fate/ of the Marston/ Boys.
- 100:14 [Instalment 18: 13 June 1902]
WITH STARLIGHT/ IN
SECRET CAMP/ A Warm
Welcome To the/ Lads
From Their/ Father./ THE
BIG PLOT REVEALED/ A
Daring Scheme Unfolded to
Se-/ cure Wealth Without
Working/ for It.
- 105:2 [Instalment 19: 14 June 1902]
STARLIGHT MAKES/ A
BIG STROKE/ A Mob of
Cattle Lified and/ Carried
Down to the/ Coast/
BOLDNESS PAID FOR ONCE./
An Auction Sale Whereat the
Pro-/ ceeds of Crime Were
Publicly/ Vended.
- 109:25 [Instalment 20: 16 June 1902]
SELLING THE/ STOLEN
CATTLE/ Starlight's Bold
Game Pulled/ Off Quite
Success-/ fully./ EVERYBODY
WAS FOOLED/ Including the
Police Who Thought/ That
Starlight Was a Great/ Swell.
- 112:34 [Instalment 21: 17 June 1902]
A SHORT LIFE/ AND A
MERRY ONE/ That Was the

- Motto of Star-/ light and His
Associ-/ ates./ SEEING A BIT
OF LIFE/ The Marston Boys
Get Their First/ Glimpse
of the Sea and are/ Amazed
Thereat.
- 116:21 [Instalment 22: 18 June 1902]
HAD A GOOD TIME/ IN
THE CITIES/ The Marston
Boys Enjoyed/ Themselves
Despite Their/ Fear of the
Police./ THE HARDEST
EARNED MONEY/ Is That
Which is Obtained "On the/
Cross," and It Brings Its
Curse/ With It.
- 120:20 [Instalment 23: 19 June 1902]
A WOMAN COMES/ INTO
THE STORY./ Jim Marston
Meets a Girl Who/ is to
Wield a Strong/ Influence
Over Him/ KATE MORRISON
AND HER WAYS/ While
Waiting a Chance to Give/
the Police a Slip the Country/
Lads Enjoy Town Life.
- 124:30 [Instalment 24: 20 June 1902]
HIDING AWAY/ IN THE
BUSH./ The Marston
B[oy]s Shake the/ Dust
of Melbourne Off Their/
Boots and Get Up-country/
HIDING FROM THE POLICE/
Home-sickness, However,
Drives/ Them Home for the
Family Re-/ union Around
Christmas.
- 128:7 [Instalment 25: 21 June 1902]
[Headlines obscured in
source]
- 133:23 [Instalment 26: 23 June 1902]
A WARRANT OUT/ FOR
STARLIGHT/ The Old
Man Comes Home and/ Tells
- the Boys Some Ex-/ citing
News./ AILEEN GETS VERY
ANXIOUS/ The Situation of
the Marston Lads/ Gets Very
Serious and the Police/ are
Expected at Any Time.
- 137:28 [Instalment 27: 24 June 1902]
A PLEASANT VISIT/ TO
A GOOD HOME./ Jim
and Dick Revive Old Ac-/
quaintance With a Plea-/ sant
Family./ AT STOREFIELD
HOMESTEAD/ A Welcome
From Gracey Which/ Should
Have Left Its Good In-/
fluence on the Boys.
- 144:23 [Instalment 28: 25 June 1902]
STARLIGHT TAKEN/ BY
THE POLICE/ Startling
News Comes to the/
Homestead of the Capture/
of the Leader./ AFRAID OF
THE BLACK CHAP/ They Had
Confidence in Starlight's/
Secrecy, But Doubted the
Faith/ of the Aboriginal.
- 149:13 [Instalment 29: 26 June 1902]
"STAND IN THE/
QUEEN'S NAME!"/ The
Startling Surprise Given/
to the Marston Boys on/
Christmas Morning/ DICK
BECOMES A PRISONER/
Jim Escapes by a Clever
Manoeuvre,/ But the Police
are in Full/ Chase After Him.
- 153:31 [Instalment 30: 27 June 1902]
CHRISTMAS DAY IN/ A
PRISON CELL/ The Day
of Reckoning Has/ Come
for Dick Marston,/ and He
Feels It./ JIM MANAGES TO
ESCAPE/ Despite All the
Efforts of the Police/ and the

- Trackers He Reaches/ Wild
Hollow in Safety.
- 158:32 [Instalment 31: 28 June 1902]
STARLIGHT PLACED/
UPON HIS TRIAL./ The
Crown Prosecutor Opens/
the Case Against Him and/
Marston./ THE COURT WAS
CROWDED/ Mr. Hood's
Imported Bull Affords/ the
Chief Evidence Against the/
Cattle Thieves.
- 162:30 [Instalment 32: 30 June 1902]
THE TRIAL GOES/
ON APACE./ Strong
Circumstantial Evidence/
Against Starlight and His/
Accomplices/ IN THE BIG
CATTLE THEFTS/ A Crown
Witness Unexpectedly Gives/
Good Testimony to Jim/
Marston.
- 167:11 [Instalment 33: 2 July 1902]
THE TRIAL IS/ NEARING
AN END/ Starlight's
Counsel Makes the/ Best
of a Bad/ Case./ HOW HE
WAS CAPTURED/ The Cattle
Stealer Would Have Prob-
ably Escaped if He Had Not
Been/ Too Bold.
- 172:19 [Instalment 34: 3 July 1902]
THE VERDICT WAS/ ONE
OF GUILTY./ Starlight
and Dick Convicted/ of the
Crime of Cattle/ Stealing./
THE CLOSE OF THE TRIAL/
The Judge Charged Strongly
Against/ the Prisoners and
Warned the/ Jury to be
Careful.
- 175:28 [Instalment 35: 4 July 1902]
LOCKED UP IN/
BERRIMA GAOL/ Starlight
and Dick Marston/ Begin the
Paying of the/ Penalty/ THE
JUDGE'S GOOD ADVICE/ Dick
Took the First Part of His
Five/ Years' Sentence Hardly
and/ Caused Himself Trouble.
- 180:37 [Instalment 36: 5 July 1902]
DARK DAYS IN/
BERRIMA GAOL/ Starlight
Gets Light From/ the Prison
Chap- / lain,/ AND MAKES
DARING PLANS/ Dick Has An
Unexpected Meeting/ With a
Lady Friend of the/ Family.
- 185:34 [Instalment 37: 7 July 1902]
STARLIGHT'S NERVE/
SECURES FREEDOM/
The Notorious Bushranger
and/ Dick Make Their
Escape/ From Berrima Gaol/
JIM WORKED THE GAME./
They Make a Dash for Safety
With/ All the Forces of the
Colony/ in Hue and Cry.
- 190:36 [Instalment 38: 8 July 1902]
RIDING BY NIGHT;/
HIDING BY DAY./ The
Refugees From Berrima/
Are Kept Busy Eluding/ the
Police./ FREEDOM AND GOOD
FOOD/ Tasted Well After the
Confinement/ and Prison
Rations Which They/ Had
Had for Months.
- 195:11 [Instalment 39: 9 July 1902]
RIDING TO SAFETY/
OVER ROUGH ROADS/
Starlight and Dick Continue
to/ Enjoy the Delights of/
Freedom./ STEERING BY
THE STARS/ Cold Weather
Did Not Detract From/ the
Pleasures of the Race for/
Liberty.

- 196:5 OVER ROUGH ROADS.
- 197:20 DELIGHTS OF FREEDOM.
- 198:35 [Instalment 40: 10 July 1902]
THE MARSTON BOYS/
BACK AT HOME AGAIN/
Welcomed by “Dad” and
War-/ rignal, as Well as by/
Aileen./ DARING PLAN
SUCCEEDS/ Starlight Gives
Them All a Sur-/ prise Before
They Start for the/ Hollow.
- 200:18 WARRIGAL’S WELCOME.
- 201:22 STARLIGHT’S SURPRISE.
- 202:27 AILEEN’S USELESS PLEA.
- 203:37 [Instalment 41: 11 July 1902]
BILLY THE BOY/ BRINGS
WARNING./ The Police
Again Preparing/ to Arrest
Star-/ light./ THEIR PLANS
DISCOVERED/ By a Daring
Ride Upon a Stolen/ Horse
Young Billy Apprises the/
Marstons.
- 207:32 [Instalment 42: 12 July 1902]
BUSHRANGERS THEY/
WILL BE HEREAFTER/
Dick Marston Confesses the/
Desperate Resolve of the/
Gang to Aileen./ A TALK ON
LOVE AFFAIRS./ Aileen Tells
Dick That Gracie Loves/
Him—Aileen Falling in
Love/ With Starlight.
- 213:12 [Instalment 43: 14 July 1902]
[for him.]*
- IN HIDING IN THE/
MARSTON’S HOLLOW/
“Dad” is in a Cheerful
Mood/ and Encourages the/
the Boys./ DICK HEARS FROM
KATE/ A Spiteful Letter in
Which She Says/ She Has
Married a Rich Man—/ She
Hints at Revenge.
- 214:15 [after sunrise.]* / A FINE
MORNING.
- 216:5 [tracks of the]* / HOW THE
OLD GANG WORKED.
- 216:22 [your correspondence.]* /
KATE MORRISON’S LETTER.
- 218:16 NOT A PLEASANT LETTER.
- 219:22 [Instalment 44: 15 July 1902]
A STRANGE FIND/ IN
THE HOLLOW./ Evidence
of the Dwelling of/ a Former
Inhabi-/ tant./ A COUNCIL
OF WAR HELD/ Jim’s Scruples
are Overborne and the/
Gang Decides to Become/
Bushrangers.
- 220:19 [and see.]/ A DISCOVERY.
- 221:24 [ask them.]* / THEY
FOSSICKED ABOUT.
- 223:4 [most people.]/ TAKE CARE
TO COVER TRACKS.
- 227:16 [from the start.]/ THE FINAL
RESOLVE.

* This reading, keyed from the reading text, is different in *Mo*, which follows *E3*’s: see the relevant foot-of-page entries in the reading text to determine the latter.