Gender and nation formation in late nineteenth century

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NOTE

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14. Leon (Sonny) Poole *The Village Laundress* c. early 1890s
oil on canvas 83 x 123.5 cm
CHAPTER 4

WOMEN'S LABOUR

'Strong masculine labour'

The link between rural labour and the 'making of Australia' underpins much of the painting and literature which takes as its theme the taming and settlement of the land. The journey motif provides the narrative structure for nation formation and the search for, or engagement in work frequently motivates men's journeying. It is through men's labour that the land is domesticated. Over and over, this interlinking of the themes of masculine journey and masculine labour has been reiterated in bush mythology.

Tom Roberts described the attraction of the theme of masculine labour in both national and 'universal' terms. Responding to a criticism that shearing sheds were "unworthy of depiction", he replied that, "I had there the best expression of my subject, a subject noble enough and worthy enough if I could express the meaning and spirit—of strong masculine labour, the patience of animals whose year's growth is being stripped from them for man's use, and the great human interest of the whole scene." Paintings depicting men engaged in labour have come to play an important role in the representation of Australian nationhood. Amongst these, paintings by Tom Roberts—The Wood Splitters (c. 1886), The Break-Away (1890-1), Shearing the Rams (1890) (Plate 22) and The Golden Fleece: Shearing at Newstead (1894)—are certainly the most frequently reproduced and discussed as 'national icons'.

Masculine labour is seen to be the means of attaining nature's bounty, in Roberts' case, the fleece (described in terms of growth and use). The men who were engaged in this 'campaign' were represented as heroes and as the rightful leaders of the nation. To take one example amongst many, in Lawson's poem "The Men Who Made Australia" (1901) the bushmen form a revolutionary leadership cadre:

Round the camp fire of the fencers by the furthest panel west,
   In the men's hut by the muddy billabong,
On the Great North-Western Stock-routes where the drovers never rest,
   They are sorting out the right things from the wrong.
In the shearers' huts the slush lamp shows a haggard, stern-faced man
   Preaching war against the Wool-King to his mates;
And wherever go the billy, water-bag and frying-pan,
   They are drafting future histories of states! 
This poem is one of the clearest articulations of the centrality of masculine labour to open up the land in nationalist mythology, but its constituent elements are recurrent ones. It functions like a template, allowing a crude outline to be sketched from which fine-detailed work can then be developed.

A cast of itinerant and semi-nomadic bushman, consisting primarily of drovers, shearers, timber-getters, carriers, boundary-riders and station hands was implicit in this celebration of 'strong masculine labour'. In the literature and painting, as in life, these occupations were not open to women, and married men travelled 'unencumbered'. Gender differentiation, then, was constructed in terms of labour and place: in fiction, at least, women were not engaged in what Russel Ward has described as 'the real work of the pastoral world', and nor were they to be found in the places where the men lived and worked.

'Real work' was site-specific and what happened in the domestic domain was invisible to, and erased by narratives of nation formation. Since the domestic realm was represented as the place of women, activities within its confines were defined in terms of gender rather than nation. The ideological formation of separate spheres appropriated the discourse of national sovereignty, conceeding to women the 'rule' over the domestic realm to impart a rhetorical symmetry with men's reign over the public domain. Nations, however, were formed in the public arena of state and political institutions and in the discourses of liberal thought in which the displacement of women plays a major role in securing the formation of the bourgeois public sphere.

The late nineteenth century, however, was witness to profound challenges to the ideological formation of gender relations. Not only were women seen to be entering the public sphere through such avenues as employment and political activism, but they were also claiming the right to make this world more 'homelike', to impart to it the virtues of feminine reign. While Marilyn Lake's influential discussion of cultural contestation in the 1890s has occasioned considerable debate, there can be little doubt that gender relations and the delineation of public and domestic domains were under fire. Further, though the reorganisation of the domestic order was achieved in this century rather than the last, it was no longer impervious to the changes that were heralding state and public institutional intervention in domestic and family lives. The terms under which men would participate in the domestic domain would ensure that women, if they ruled at all, were subject to a higher authority vested in public and male-dominated institutions.
In the imaginary formation of the nation, women were acknowledged as engaged in
domestic labour, but their work was not seen to be productive in the sense of forging
the nation, as men's was. This being the case, their 'normal' domestic work tended to
be erased from view or eclipsed by the themes of romance and estrangement discussed
in chapter 1.

The form of female employment most frequently encountered in bush literature is
domestic service. As employees, a sense of common interests and shared experiences
might have formed bonds between servants on rural properties and male rural
labourers. However, two factors negated this sense of commonality. The first was the
romantic framing of the stories: bushmen were looking for wives not servants. The
second was the assumption that female employment was qualitatively different to male
employment. Servants in bush mythology are cast into a deference-based pre-modern
relationship with employers, who stand in *locus parentis* to them. Ironically, as Paula
Hamilton has suggested, this relationship was being undermined by the availability of
alternative female employment and a shift in patterns of class relations that saw servants
refusing to pay deference to employers and attempting to negotiate better pay and
conditions. This shift gave rise to a strident bourgeois discourse about 'the servant
problem', as it was widely known. Though domestic service was still the major form
of female employment in the 1890s, a growing number of urban working class women
were preferring the factory work in the rapidly expanding manufacturing industry. This
opening up of women's employment opportunities, resulting from expansion and
restructuring, has been the subject of some debate amongst historians. Nevertheless,
it seems reasonable to conclude that the window of opportunity in the late 1880s and
eyearly 1890s was reduced greatly by the turn of the century. The trend in domestic
employment was not to be reversed, and the twentieth century witnessed the re-
structuring of the domestic domain as a household without servants.

**Courting servants**

In spite of its focus on male labour and labour relations, bush mythology does not
draw the reader to consider labour relations within the home. Servants are almost
invariably represented in relation to the marriage theme, a preoccupation quite as
intense as those of male labour and mobility, and necessarily understood in conjunction
with these themes.

In *Such is Life*, a number of women are engaged in domestic service, including the ill-
fated Ida and the housekeeper, Mrs Beaudesart to whom Tom Collins acknowledges
some obligation to marry—one which he has no intention of keeping. Tom Collins, it
will be recalled, toyed with the notion of marrying Ida, who was not only lamed in an
accident in which a reaping-machine cut into one ankle, but also had lost the ends of her fingers in a chaff-cutter. These 'industrial' accidents serve to remind readers of the folly of women's labour outside the domestic realm, for they have contributed to the unmarriageability of this woman. The servant's class position is obscured by her representation in terms of gender.

Helenar Sollicker, flirtatious, kind and comely, is the wife of the boundary rider, Vivian Sollicker. The daughter of a station bullock-driver, she "had been in service at the house, but could n't hit it with the missus". The squatter in this case has authority over the lives of both his employees, for Sollicker informs Tom Collins that "Muster McIntyre wanted to see him settled down, and had fetched the parson a-purpose to do the job".

The assumption of locus parentis on the part of employers reinforces the servants' intimate but unequal relationship with others in the household. Thus, in "Joe Wilson's Courtship", when Joe Wilson asks the squatter for permission to marry Mary Brand, his agreement signals not the termination of her employment but her transfer from father-surrogate to husband. In popular discourse and in cultural practice, being a servant connoted availability as a woman. Here, 'respectability' in a servant referred, for the most part, to her sexual immaturity, and defined her as suitable for courting, with a view to marriage.

"There's a nice little girl in service at Black's," he said. "She's more like an adopted daughter, in fact, than a servant. She's a real good little girl, and good-looking into the bargain.... She's a regular little dumpling, and I like dumplings. They call her Possum. You ought to try a bear up in that direction, Joe."  

Joe's first sight of Mary is through a frame of ivy, baby rose and grapevine, as she stands on the front verandah of the old homestead now used for kitchen, laundry and servants' rooms. It is an image of romance, in which the homestead, and her presence on the front verandah, framed by vines, evoke her future as a wife. The ambiguous identification of Mary as servant, daughter, sweetheart and wife serves to romanticise and disguise the material conditions of employment. The incidents of the developing romance take place in domestic spaces, which are also the sites of her paid labour: the laundry, the clothes-line, the kitchen, and the surreptitious home-making of the bushman's bedroom.
Mary's readiness for marriage is suggested by her inclination to leave Black's household.

Mary wasn't very comfortable at Haviland. Old Black was very fond of her and always took her part, but she wanted to be independent.14

She confides in Joe her intention to go to Sydney to become a nurse. Joe's offer to help her by lending her money places the strain of misunderstanding on the relationship. The lack of accumulated financial resources by this respectable, responsible and well-favoured employee is not seen as reflecting on the conditions of employment. Declarations of aspirations to independence are counterpointed by deepening commitment to Joe Wilson. Mary slips away from the dance to meet Joe, presumably in the hope and knowledge that he will propose, inept though he is in such matters. She confides in him her plan to leave next month to train as either a nurse or an assistant public school teacher, her choices of occupation testifying to her class aspirations. As Joe takes her hands, the chances of independence slip through her fingers.

One of the consequences of the association of women with domesticity has been the eclipsing of women's work. The domestic sphere has been represented as the place of men's leisure rather than the location of women's work. In addition, the romantic depiction of young women, even where they are actually engaged in paid labour, has focussed on their marriageability in a way that makes it difficult to perceive these women as part of the labour force. Though domestic service was still the major form of employment for women, young working class women were apparently preferring factory work to domestic service. In this context, the rhetorical equivalence of domestic service and suitability for marriage appeared to reinforce the desirability of this otherwise underpaid and overly restrictive form of employment.

Representing women servants as engaged in employment could have positioned them as members of a community of men and women held together by bonds of common endeavour and conditions of labour. As employees, they could have been incorporated into the imagined community of the nation, and their contribution through their labour to the development of the nation could have been identified and valued. But this alternative is suppressed in romantic courtship stories. Such romantic stories tend to isolate lovers, but especially the women, from the communities of which they be part.

Women in Landscapes
In paintings, women's presence in the bush has tended to signify the domestication of the land. This is especially the case when paintings depict women playing, as does
Streeton's *Butterflies and Blossoms* (1890), or child-minding, as does Charles Conder's *Spring-time* (1888). Even when they are engaged in labour, their labour carries connotations very different to those of men working in the bush. For example, in McCubbin's *A Ti-Tree Glade* (1897) a woman is walking the cattle in for milking. This is certainly a form of labour, but the twilight, the placement within the landscape, the sense of evenly paced walking, and the implied viewing position all undermine connotations of labour. Male painters frequently depicted women who were unaware of being observed, bringing in cattle or feeding poultry, in an upright stance or bending towards the observer. Young girls too are depicted at work, carrying milk cans or bringing lunch to male workers (Julian Ashton, *The Corner of the Paddock* (1888), Frederick McCubbin *Midday Rest* (1888) respectively). Of the male painters, Walter Withers' treatment of female subjects stands apart from that of his contemporaries. His female figures are small and set back into landscapes which include clusters of houses and they appear to be engaged in purposeful activity (A Bright Winter's Morning (1894), The Last of Summer (1898)).

Female painters represented women's work differently. The recent exhibition of paintings by women artists of "the Heidelberg era" included a number of paintings of women working outside in rural settings. Of particular interest here are those which depict a woman bent over, positioned close to the front of the pictorial space but tending to face away from the viewer. This bent posture connotes actual labour, offering a counterpart to the action poses of male labourers, especially shearers. Generally speaking, the paintings depict women engaged in "appropriate" labour, and within sight of the house. Jane Sutherland's *A Cabbage Garden* (c. 1896) (Plate 15) and Clara Southern's *An Old Bee Farm* (c. 1900) (Plate 16) integrate the woman at work into the lyricism of the landscape but they do not deny her labour. Jane Sutherland's impressionist painting of a young girl out in the open in the misty early morning does not itself suggest an empathy with the girl or convey the sense that her labour is arduous. The toil and the empathetic response is suggested, however, by the title: *Numb Fingers Working While the Eye of Dawn is Yet Bedimmed with Tears* (1888).

These paintings by women do not contest the visual conventions or the construction of meaning of the subject matter as explicitly as the writing of Barbara Baynton. But, within the context of a general agreement with the aims, subjects and methods adopted by the impressionist and *plein air* painters, these women painters gave expression to different ways of perceiving women's labour.
15. Jane Sutherland *A Cabbage Garden* c. 1896
oil on canvas 51.1 x 76.4 cm
Women doing the work of men

In nationalist discourse, women's work, even in the context of paid employment, was not constituted as productive labour or as part of the struggle to form the nation. Women's labour outside the domestic domain was so charged with ambivalence that it, too, could not be seen as a positive contribution to the formation of the nation. Further, though the notion of separate spheres is inscribed in bush mythology, this ideology was under great strain in the broader cultural context. These strains, it is argued here, are also woven into the representation of public and domestic life. It is to this area of unresolved tension that the discussion now turns.

Women's work outside the home appeared to invert the natural order of things. Unresolved tensions and conflicts in the relations between men and women underpinned the delineation of public and domestic domains, which was played out in the context of the imaginary formation of the nation. In the rhetoric, the distinction between public and the domestic realms seemed definitive and unproblematic. In public discourse, this notion of separate spheres of influence was like a vessel which formed and contained the articulations of tensions and conflicts in gender relations. But cracks appearing in the walls of this vessel suggest that the ideological construct was itself under great stress. Two topical and controversial issues of the 1890s framed the representation of women's work in the public domain.

The first of these issues is the perceived dis ordering of the working class family resulting from the absence of male authority and material support. State and charitable intervention in the affairs of destitute families subjected them to male authority, but where the private and public domains had previously seemed partitioned by impermeable barriers, these barriers now became porous, diffusing the separation of the two domains.

The second issue is the ideological response to women's perceived incursion into the paid labour force. The actual shifts in patterns of paid employment were far more complex than commentators of the 1890s—or, indeed, the 1980s—recognised. The problem was not that women were engaged in paid employment, for as Paula Hamilton shows, domestic service was both widespread and acceptable as a form of female employment. Though there were tensions related to women's employment in retail, it was the apparent shifts in female factory employment that precipitated complaints that women were 'out of place' and 'taking men's jobs'.

The ramifications of this belief were felt by men, not only in the work force, but also in their domestic lives. Erosion of male authority over women within the home emerges in
the bush literature as a troubling consequence of women's productive labour outside the home. But the anxiety about the erosion of patriarchal authority within the domestic sphere undermines notions of women's 'sovereignty' over their own realm that had been integral to the rhetoric of the separate spheres. Consequently, we perceive again an unsettling of the idea of discrete domains of public and private spheres. The apparent certainty in the rhetoric of 'separate spheres' masked the extent to which the relations between men and women were characterised by uncertainty, anxiety and change. The rhetoric could no longer account for, nor subsume, lived experience in both public and private spheres. As Susan Magarey has argued, the strident invocations of the dichotomy of public and domestic spheres occurred partly because its material existence was under threat.

Significantly for the positioning of women, two irreconcilable nationalist imperatives were at work in bush mythology. On the one hand, the struggle to tame the land as the territory of the emerging nation drew men away from their families. On the other hand, with Federation on the horizon, the stability of the young nation was seen to rest on the intact family unit. Concurrently, the family unit was being defined to consist of breadwinner husband, dependent wife and children. Masculine independence and the disordering of the family unit emerge as two sides of the same coin.

There are very few instances of women actually depicted as engaged in labour outside their 'proper' sphere. Women are depicted fighting natural disasters to protect their farms and their homes, but significantly, these actions are more frequently recalled and retold than described. They are depicted scratching out the barest subsistence for their families in the absence of husbands, but rarely are they engaged in agricultural or pastoral farming. Not for these women, the fertile land and the clement weather: women who work 'as men' farm barren, drought-stricken land.

Thus, women are present in Lawson's poem with which this chapter was introduced. But the terms of their inclusion in "The Men Who Made Australia" reveal the ambiguous positioning of women in the concept of the heroic struggle to 'make Australia':

Call across the scrubby ridges where they clear the barren soil,

And the gaunt Bush-women share the work of men—

Toil and loneliness for ever—hardship, loneliness and toil—

Their labour is differentiated from that of men, and the marks of their toil are registered, not on the land, but on the women themselves. In "The Last Review",

Lawson sees "my haggard women plainly as they were in life", and he asks that it be remembered,

That I pitied haggard women—and wrote for them with all my soul.23

The labour of bushwomen renders them pitiable. Though they work 'like men', the bushwomen are not the 'true and straight' leaders, 'born to conquer fate'. Rather, they are the subjects of fate which determines that they should be defeated, physically and spiritually, by the struggle. Like madmen, these women are positioned not as the heroes of the battle, but as its casualties.

**Bushwomen's plight**

Deep anxiety about the disordered family is the dark side of the valorisation of mateship and 'unencumbered' masculine labour. The plight of the selector's wife alone with children and no visible means of support is a recurring theme in Lawson's writing, and undermines his celebration of masculine bush culture. Lawson does not embrace the ideal of masculine independence without registering concern about the disordering of the family unit that male absence connotes. Consequently, the family without a male breadwinner is represented in terms of distress and disorder.

In the bush stories, physical separation of men and women is the result of the inability, at least initially, of the selection to support the family and the need for an income to bring potentially productive land under cultivation.24 Permanent separation is consequently associated with the barrenness of the land.

There was no attempt at cultivation when I came to live on the creek; but there were old furrow-marks amongst the stumps of another shapeless patch in the scrub near the hut.25

The bushwoman's domain does not mark the frontier. Rather, hers is the land that men have left behind, the barren, unproductive scrub. Like the women who inhabit them, these selections are well along the road of decline and disintegration. The labour of such women as the Drover's Wife and Mrs Spicer elicits only the barest subsistence from the reluctant land. They labour 'as men' only to preserve what they have. The image of women doing farm work is, thus, one of loss: of their husbands, their identity and the productivity of the land.

It is to the late nineteenth century city that we must look for the meanings of this ambivalent and anxious response to the disordered family.26 The representation of the plight of fatherless families in the bush can be read as a metaphoric expression of an
urban social problem of great concern to middle class observers: that of destitution of families seen to be a consequence of desertion by breadwinners. Responses to desertion and pauperisation set the terms within which the bushwoman left alone to fend for herself was represented.

By the 1890s, the belief that desertion was on the increase was entrenched, and 'vicious and immoral' men who left their families were admonished for placing an intolerable burden on charitable and state institutions for the support of destitute wives and children. Public concern was focussed on the difficulties of coercing fathers and husbands into supporting their families and of extracting maintenance from deserting fathers. By the 1890s, the belief that desertion was on the increase was entrenched, and 'vicious and immoral' men who left their families were admonished for placing an intolerable burden on charitable and state institutions for the support of destitute wives and children. Public concern was focussed on the difficulties of coercing fathers and husbands into supporting their families and of extracting maintenance from deserting fathers. Nevertheless, as Shirley Fisher argues, the Sydney economy, revolving around pastoral and construction industries and the trading activities associated with Sydney's role as a port, called for a geographically mobile, casually employed labour force. Unemployment and under-employment of working class men, and their absences from the family as they searched for work or were engaged in casual labour away from home "placed extreme stress on the formation and maintenance of families". The structure of the labour market itself generated recurrent male unemployment, which could be intermittent or chronic, and resulted in men's absence from families who remained economically dependent on their support.

Whilst reformers vilified the deserting husband, they found it difficult to draw clear-cut lines of distinction between the absences of responsible men in search of casual labour and deserters. Marilyn Lake cites Justice Windeyer's assertion of 1885 that the Court would differentiate between well-intentioned men in search of "honest employment" and those absconders who "preferred" idleness. Nevertheless reformers were compelled to acknowledge that desertion was frequently the outcome of absences necessitated by the search for labour.

Given the reluctance of State and charitable institutions to assume the responsibility for dependent families, many women with small children worked as outworkers, earning insecure and meagre incomes under appalling conditions. Yet, this form of employment was itself under notice. Campaigns against sweated labour towards the end of the decade brought outwork into disrepute, and the introduction of payment by time rather than piece virtually eliminated outwork in the early years of this century. Poverty, hard labour and insecurity rendered 'hardship, loneliness and toil' the plight of many urban working class women.
Lawson was keenly aware of the structural conditions which underpinned men’s absence from home. He refutes the prevalent bourgeois view that these men, even those who are ‘more or less gone for good’, are mean, vicious or immoral. He writes of married men supporting families by sending home their cheques. When illness or misfortune interrupts their employment, their mates send the hat round to take up a collection for the families. Married men who waste their cheques on drinking sprees are frequently represented as weak and irresponsible, if not actually culpable.

This is not to argue that the literary response to historical circumstances was to produce a mirror-image of those circumstances. Patrick Morgan’s recent warning against such a literal reading of 1890s writing as historical documents reiterates Dominick LaCapra’s arguments about historians’ over-contextualisation of fictional texts. However, Morgan’s own argument fails to take into account the complexity of both the historical context and the literary response. Morgan argues that “regressive larrikinism” was exaggerated and celebrated in a literature which posited “continuing restlessness” as central and admirable. However, the more frequent and more successful response to the crash of the 1890s, he argues, was “settling down in a family group”. By underplaying “families in employment in incipient suburbia”, he continues, Australian literature generated a “distorted” image of societal trends. What Morgan sees as two alternative choices have been more adequately described by Marilyn Lake in terms of contestation over opposing constructs of masculinity. Further, the emergence of suburbs may well have coincided with poverty and unemployment, but these historical patterns were unlikely to have been experienced by those who lived in their consequence as ‘choices’. Graeme Davison’s study of the Sydney social location of the writers associated with the bush mythology explains why they would have been more drawn to the life circumstances of those most hard hit by the depression. What is also at issue here is the nature of the literary response to male unemployment and female labour. Morgan’s assumption that “restlessness” and “larrikinism” are celebrated as “hopeful images” of admirable actions seems glib in comparison to the ambivalent, complex representations of masculine mobility.

The motif of the absent husband and his continued financial responsibility for his family recurs not only in the writings of Henry Lawson. In Such Is Life, Alf Morris, having perceived his low-born wife’s infidelity, sold his saw-mill and divided the proceeds with her using his share to establish himself as a carrier.

All that he earned afterward, beyond bare expenses, he forwarded to her, to save or to squander as she pleased.
Not only does Tom Collins see this course of action as the correct one but, we infer, so does Stewart whose "amiable demeanour, unmeasured magnanimity, and spotless integrity" position him as moral arbiter in such matters. Furphy's characteristic irony does not undermine Stewart's position in this respect.

**Constructing an image of the poor**
The way in which middle class, and generally male, observers could comprehend working class women's lives was to frame their social and cultural experience in terms of their plight and their poverty. Thus their efforts to protect working class women from the consequences of poverty were also expressions of their determination to control this class. As Griselda Pollock has commented, the representation of working class people subjects them to specifiable forms of scrutiny, and necessitates manufactured and carefully managed forms of visibility. Andrew Tolson's conclusion in relation to Henry Mayhew's study of *London Labour and the London Poor* emphasize the ambiguity of representations of the poor. "The social character [of the Watercress Girl] becomes a subject on the grounds that she is already objectified," he says. As a consequence, "recognition of her 'humanity' involves a patronizing attitude to her plight." The very real consequences of this attitude are revealed in the case studies of charitable and state assistance given to the poor in which the amount and kind of support was frequently determined by the extent to which lifestyles appeared to conform to middle-class prescriptions.

Leon (Sonny) Poole's painting *The Village Laundress* (c. early 1890s) (Plate 14) is interesting here because it depicts a woman at work. It is nevertheless a pleasurable image of an attractive woman, conveying none of the ambivalence that attended women's engagement in productive labour. Rather, the image is constructed in such a way as to divert our attention from the heavy, hot work of the laundry and the subsistence income that her labour could earn.

The painting depicts a young woman with her two daughters walking along a track though open paddocks, away from a cluster of houses, carrying a basket and a bundle of laundry. From the quiet rectitude of the woman, her plain clothing and the sweet, resigned expressions on the faces of both woman and girls, we may infer her widowhood. This family is set apart from the village community, physically within the picture space itself, narratively through the assumption that their home is at a distance from the cluster of houses they have left behind, and socially by the assumption of the absent husband and father.
In spite of this 'displacement', the representation of the woman stands in significant contrast to the isolated bushwomen in Lawson's writing. Where their faces and bodies tell the story of their hardships, this woman's complexion is porcelain-fine, and the play of light emphasises her rounded breasts and hips, and her trim waist. The woman's body is open to the gaze of the viewer who may take pleasure from her modest, yet sexually coded form. Her face is turned to the side and her eyes, like those of her daughters, are averted, and do not question the viewer's privileged scrutiny. Her protective gesture towards the younger child shows affection and warmth. The elder child, carrying the other side of the basket, is separated from the mother and young daughter, but she is turned towards them, her posture echoing that of her mother, and her dress is the grey of her mother's dress, while the younger child's dress is pink. The separation between elder daughter and mother suggests not alienation, but maturation. Though they walk through the sombre bare grass, little details of unobtrusive plant forms in the foreground suggest a degree of variety and pleasure in their lives. Though the paddock through which they walk is in shadow, their heads reach into the golden sunshine of the distant land and the pale, clear sky.

This representation of this woman, out in the open, and engaged in paid labour, is not an ambivalent or troubled image: it is coloured with optimism and security. The sense of security imparted by the painting lies, of course, less in the projection of the family's future, than in the sense that the social order represented here is intact. Though she is out in the open, the labour she undertakes will be done at home, and though she is engaged in paid labour, her work is appropriate to her social position. The woman is in 'her place', both as the object of approving scrutiny, and as the representation of a woman whose respectability and mothering has withstood her poverty and her labour. The composition of the work, with its emphasis on the horizontal structure of the land, offset by the verticality of the figures themselves, contributes to the evocation of stability and serenity.

The expression of sympathy for women does not imply that the painters and writers identified with them. Whilst Lawson 'pitied haggard women', he observed them across barriers of class and gender difference that implicitly shape his representations of isolated bush women. The ways of perceiving the domestic lives of working class people served to reinforce the ideological justification for intervention in, and often punitive restructuring of, the family unit. In distinguishing between blameless hardship and culpable poverty, notions of cleanliness and dirt were invoked to connote moral values. For example, neatness and cleanliness in children testified to the moral worth of the impoverished mother.
And I think the saddest and most pathetic sight on the face of God's earth is the children of very poor people made to appear well... Behind the little row of children hand-in-hand—and no matter where they are—I always see the worn face of the mother.42

Conversely, the moral degradation of the 'delinquent' poor could be conveyed by images of dirt and filth. But, the interplay of images of cleanliness and dirt in Lawson's story "Water Them Geraniums" suggests that the sense of the degradation of poverty was deep-seated. In spite of Mrs Spicer's efforts to maintain the appearances of respectability, the rhythmic reiteration of Joe Wilson's account of the barren desolation and filth of yards around her hut conveys his disgust: "the dusty ground round the house was almost entirely covered with cow-dung".43 His account of the dung, the smell and the dirt of the yard is coloured by his loathing of the dung "crumpled to dust that rose in the warm, sickly, sunrise wind" and the ankle-deep "black liquid filth".44

Given her circumstances, Mrs Spicer is powerless to withstand the engulfing embrace of poverty. Her attempts to maintain a 'decent' environment come to grief, and, since her story is a foreboding of Mary Wilson's future, Lawson questions whether any woman could face such destitution without finally succumbing to its degradation. Whilst the cause of this degradation in bush mythology is frequently attributed to the natural order, the association of poverty and filth, and the fear of pollution from the filthy poor were widespread. As Lenore Davidoff and Cora Kaplan have argued, the degradation of peripheral groups was expressed in body images so that the criminal classes, paupers, beggars and the work-shy were visualised as the "nether regions" of society.45 They were visualised, says Davidoff, in "images that emphasize their powerlessness and degradation as well as their potentially threatening and polluting effects on those persons closer to the centre who exploit their labour and their persons."46

From the 1880s, desertion and the failure of parents to support their children were widely perceived as serious threats to the social order, violating the stability of the nuclear family and breeding crime, vice and immorality.47 Indeed, Mrs Spicer's daughter, it is hinted, has become a prostitute, and her son is apprehended for stealing a horse. Lawson's imagery of darkness and filth contrasted with light and cleanliness can thus be seen to trace out the terms of the bourgeois attempt to render comprehensible the lives of working class families.

Women's productive labour
It was not only men's prolonged absences that threatened the stability of the family. Bush mythology can be seen to articulate profound misgivings that attended women's
participation in the paid labour force. Public disquiet about women's employment stressed their perceived undercutting of men's wages and conditions. However, misgivings expressed in the bush mythology appear to have been directed towards the disordering of the family that was seen to result from women's productive labour outside the home. Women working on the land were represented as unable to fulfil their primary responsibility as "mothers of the yeomanry of our infant nation", and as achieving an authority within the home that undermined the proper order of the patriarchal family.

Women's labour outside the home was seen fittingly to take its toll in the private sphere, for which they were primarily responsible. Their toil and hardship is etched deeply into their faces and bodies, and their lifestyles and child-rearing practices will perpetrate the harsh cycle of poverty and emotional deprivation.

Mrs Grogan, the widow in Steele Rudd's story, "In the Drought Time", provides an interesting example of this interplay between rural labour and domesticity. "The only female on Sleepy Creek who owned a selection", she also furnishes one of the few examples of a woman's crop cultivation in the bush mythology.

Rudd's youthfully naive narrator informs the reader that, when her husband died, Mrs Grogan "cheerfully" inherited the selection, ten children, a mortgage and "a heavy bill to pay, and the fence to mend, and the ploughing to do". "For a year she strained and struggled—put on a man's hat and shirt, cleared land, humped water, ploughed through the hottest day, or tramped beside the harrow". The cost of the harvest of "several bags of wheat" is high. The "frail, jaded widow with bent back and sunken cheeks", with her "train of ragged, helpless offspring at her heels, crying and complaining of hunger, and of burr and bindai in the shoeless feet" are "objects of pity". Her ability to care for her children is undermined by the demands of farm-work.

To Kate's enquiry after the children, Mrs Grogan lists their complaints and illnesses:

"Pretty well most of them is, though Kitty's in bed with th' cold ter day; an' Wilie had a bad foot—all festered up roun' the heel; an' Mitty's complained terrible about 'er stomach ever since yes'dy, an' las' night I had t' be up four times with her..."
The demands of child-rearing are incompatible with her labour, and public concern about the plight of children whose mothers undertook paid employment is echoed by Mrs Grogan herself:

"Oh! it's a worry with so many, so 'tis, an' one can't see to them all as y' would like an' be out workin' in th' paddick."54

Hearing this, Kate would thank God "that she had a husband to toil for her".

Mrs Grogan is not to succeed in farming her selection: but it is her house, not her crop, that burns:

And as the train of homeless ones tramped in file along the narrow winding track, the moaning oak trees, the charred ruins of Hodgson's Scrub, the dead, gaunt gums, and the great desolate Range, all seemed to join in their despair.55

The connotation of maternal deprivation is as central to the meaning of this story as is maternal affection and nurturing in Poole's painting, *The Village Laundress*. Significantly, the labour of the laundress, implicitly located within the home, is constructed through the image as compatible with mothering, whereas the children of the farming woman are likened to "motherless lambs". The children of both women are engaged in labour, but the laundress's daughters work alongside her, in chores appropriate to the gender and class. Mrs Grogan's eldest children contribute to the family's labour, but are separated from their mother by it, and loaded with too great a responsibility for such young shoulders.

The representation of women such as Mrs Spicer and Mrs Grogan, impoverished mothers with large families forced to work the land in order to survive, struggling against overwhelming odds, to keep the families intact and virtuous, articulates late nineteenth century discourse of social disorder. In the context of nationalist mythology, underlying the sympathy for the plight of the woman is a deep concern about the ability of such women to nurture and rear the nation's 'human capital', the children.

**Women's labour and contested authority within marriage**

Rather than directing their hostility towards the machinery which degraded their traditional craft skills or against the employers who introduced the machinery, working men and their union representatives tended to focus their grievances on the women who were 'out of their proper sphere'. As Susan Magarey comments:
Contentions that a woman's 'sphere' consisted of housework and childcare had never before seemed so entirely at odds with the material conditions of women's lives.\textsuperscript{56}

In the bush mythology, however, women are rarely seen as effectively competing with men. Two bushwomen, Squeaker's Mate and Mary Wilson, undertake work which, if done by a man, could be celebrated as 'strong masculine labour'. But in both "Squeaker's Mate" and "A Double Buggy at Lahey's Creek", it is not the women's competitive labour that is at issue, but the authority relations within the home.

Barbara Baynton's story "Squeaker's Mate" describes a 'disordered' relationship, in which the woman presides over both the work on the selection and the home.\textsuperscript{57} Where she is strong, competent, authoritative, honest, he is morally stunted, lacking in both imagination and empathy, indolent, infantilely opportunist and dependent to the point of inflicting great pain and bitter grief on his 'mate'. Baynton hints that Squeaker's moral and emotional incapacity is, at least in part, a consequence of the Mate's authority, competence and indulgence. She is alert to his deceitful strategies to avoid hard work, always at her expense, but "her tolerance was one of the mysteries". Later, when Squeaker is forced to fetch water from the creek for the washing, labour his Mate would have done without his help, he ineptly improvises a horse-drawn sledge to carry the water-cask.

He had various mishaps, any one of which would have served as an excuse to his old mate, but even babes soon know on whom to impose.\textsuperscript{58}

Nevertheless, now that his Mate is incapacitated, "with an energy new to him he persevered".

The other bushmen have great respect for the woman who had laboured alone "for every acre and hoof on that selection". They find it incomprehensible that she had taken up the selection in Squeaker's name, even though the money was her own. Her labour cuts across conventional notions of women's and men's work, as she falls trees, with axe and cross-cut saw, sizing them up for fence posts and rails and runs some sheep and sells the honey she collects, stains and boils. She meticulously repairs broken axes. She purchases their supplies and rations their tobacco. And it was she who lifted the heavy end of logs, and carried the heavy tools, while Squeaker carried the billy and the tucker. Though the women "pretended to challenge her right to womanly garments", the realisation that she does not wear male clothing for bush work comes as a surprise. She is tall, and the "equability of her body" contrasts with his "indolent
slouch". Her wearing of female clothing combined with the suggestion of masculinity of her body is more transgressive in its implication of transexuality than is the cross-dressing of 'Alf Jones' or 'Monsieur' Caloche.

The woman's back is broken when the thick branch of the worm-riddled tree falls on her. She lies unable to move, and the fire-stick that the impatient Squeaker thrusts into her incapacitated hand falls and sets her clothes smouldering, burning her arm. She is brought home, and, unable to move, she is bed-ridden and totally dependent on the callously indifferent Squeaker. For a while, she is deeply concerned about the sheep, the rusting fence wire, and "she spoke of many other things that could be done by one, reserving the great till she was well". The strength of her character that held Squeaker to her commitment to acquire the selection and farm it, depended on her ability to provide for him. A stronger, but more loathsome Squeaker, no longer dependent on her, sets about realising his assets without the restraint his old mate had exercised over his short-sighted self-indulgence.

In the context of this discussion of the representation of women engaged in 'the work of men', this story picks up themes found in the Lawson and Rudd stories. Elizabeth Webby has argued that the revisions of the manuscript of "Squeaker's Mate" indicate that the story's theme of "sex reversal" was initially more explicit.59 In the revising of the story, the character of Squeaker becomes more brutal, while Mary is more passive in her suffering. Webby comments that "traditional male/female characteristics were superimposed on Baynton's characters, characters designed to question such sexual stereotypes". In spite of Webby's conclusion that "instead of a study of reversal of sex, we have a tale of true and false mateship",50 "Squeaker's Mate" remains a complex interrogation of gender relations through sexual ambiguity and role reversal.

In spite of Squeaker's 'agency', her injury, her immobilisation and her humiliation are the result of the natural order: the rotten tree; the new, younger and fertile mate. The inversion of the social order that her authority and her labour implied could be righted only by the reinstatement of her extreme physical dependence, her powerlessness and her confinement to the hut. As Joan Kirkby concludes, she is "brought back to a grim caricature of the female condition: confinement and sexual subordination".61

To be placed in a position of dependency and subordination to a man such as Squeaker, nevertheless, is the ultimate subjection. As Rosemary Moore has argued, Baynton utilises the conditions of bush life, and the conventions and themes of the masculinist bush story, to examine the effects on women of the "imposition of a brutalised bush male ethos".62 Baynton's story is subversive of the ideology of separate spheres
because, by reinstating the 'proper relations' of the gender order, she emphasises the contemptible inadequacy of Squeaker to occupy a position of such authority and power.

If we read "Squeaker's Mate" as a metaphoric treatment of the vexed question of women's engagement in paid employment outside the home, then it is significant that the other bushmen accepted this woman as a 'mate', and "agreed that she was the best long-haired mate that ever stepped in petticoats". As long as she "hard-grafted with the best of them", and interacted with them through economic exchange, the men perceived her fraternally, not as competition, but as a colleague. It is when she is reduced to the condition of a dependent woman that her uncompromising independence is severely punished by ostracism by both women and men since "most husbands accept their wives' views of other women". But the confinement, immobilisation and dependency of the woman, which results from her inability to work 'as a man', is represented in this story in terms of humiliating powerlessness.

Baynton's story registers a shift in the ideology of separate spheres away from a notion of complementary partnership between men and women, sovereigns in their own spheres of influence and engaged in productive and interdependent labour, towards the notion of breadwinning husbands supporting dependent wives whose domestic work was no longer thought of as productive labour. Women's participation in the paid labour force was curtailed, and as Desley Deacon has argued, the perception of their contribution to the nation's prosperity through labour was suppressed. Not only were men to be protected from what they perceived as competition from women workers, but also their authority within the home was to be augmented by wives' economic dependency on their 'natural guardians'.

Nevertheless, the achievement of this shift was neither automatic nor untroubled. In bush mythology, though women's labour outside the home is seen to undermine the proper relations of authority of a man over his wife, women do not readily concede to their husbands' authority over domestic matters. Conflict and dissent within the ideology of separate spheres finds expression in matters relating to child-rearing practices, and the location of the family home as the delineation of the public and private spheres becomes permeable and contested. Further, it is possible that the concept of separate spheres itself implicitly assumes the permanent location of the home. The experience of family mobility in bush literature suggests that the husband's decision to move the family may have been an area of unresolved tension. This is a recurring theme in the stories of Joe and Mary Wilson, but also emerges in the On Our
Selection stories in Mother Rudd’s vehemently expressed opposition to the shift from Shingle Hut to Saddletop.66

The issue of matrimonial authority is a recurring, and never resolved, issue in the Joe Wilson Stories. "A Double-Buggy at Lahey’s Creek" combines the negotiation of authority with Mary Wilson’s intervention in the cultivation of the land. Mary not only persuades Joe to plant the crop that begins his run of good luck and prosperity, but she also manages the preparation of the paddock for planting, in his absence, without his assent and in spite of his initial reluctance:

And Mary was down on the bank superintending. She’d got James with the trace-chains and the spare horses, and had made him clear off every stick and bush where another furrow might be squeezed in.67

Like many such bushwomen, Mary wears her husband’s clothes for such unwomanly work. Once again, images of cross-dressing accompany an implied breach in the gender order, never quite set to rest in the layered narratives of Joe Wilson. Unlike most bushwomen, Mary wears Joe’s new boots, rather than the clothes he has discarded:

'I thought I’d make the boots easy for you, Joe,’ said Mary.

'It's all right, Mary,’ I said, 'I'm not going to growl.' Those boots were a bone of contention between us; but she generally got them off before I got home.68

The outcome is "the finest potato crop ever seen in the district”. There is a degree of ambiguity in the recounting of this project, which is told by Joe Wilson years later. On the one hand, the competition for the boots suggests that Mary’s successful cultivation of the land undermines Joe’s authority and that she achieves a degree of autonomy through her labour and management of production outside the domestic sphere. On the other hand, the co-operation and intimacy suggested by their joint venture as Joe enters "into the spirit of the thing" is rare in bush mythology. The eventual outcome of the prosperity, however, reminds us that Mary’s labour does not greatly augment her authority in decisions about the way in which income is spent. The buggy that she had set her heart on long before they could afford such a luxury, comes as Joe’s gift. "The great acts of generosity”, says Mauss, "are not free from self interest”—"to give is to show one’s superiority.”69
Brian Matthews sees two of Lawson's "great themes" coming together: "the idea of an original innocence being eroded by hardships, pressure and a resultant, insidiously growing selfishness" and "the alienation of men and women from humanity and life by the pitiless physical, psychological and spiritual barrage" of the natural environment.

Matthews appears to recognise the difference in Lawson's treatment of women and men, but draws back from the implications of this difference for his interpretations of Lawson's writing. The original innocence that was eroded was associated in Joe's and Mary's courtship with sexual immaturity, but the growing selfishness in this story is Joe's alone. For Matthews, Joe has "helped recapture the former 'innocence' through the gift of the buggy which momentarily rekindles the courtship, and he has 'rescued' Mary temporarily from 'the journey to that annihilation of character and humanity' that is the fate of Lawson's women. But it is, characteristically in bush mythology, Joe who emerges transformed by the experience. Matthews appears to identify too strongly, not only with experiences and insights of Joe Wilson, but more importantly with the spiritual values implicit in his own interpretive framework to attend to Mary's point of view which also finds expression in the Joe Wilson stories. While Joe yearns for a return of courtship, Mary appears to seek a marriage based on emotional maturity and the partnership of common purpose and labour.

In the emerging construction of modern gender relations, the bond between men and women is re-defined away from mutuality in favour of guardianship and dependency. Joe Wilson's gift to Mary reflects his greater earning power and his overall control over the family budget, and as such it celebrates, symbolizes and reaffirms the unequal marriage relationship, functioning as a means of social control, analogous to charity or patronage.

If, however, the 'proper' relations of husband and wife are re-established through the gift in "A Double-Buggy at Lahey's Creek", the stories of Mary and Joe Wilson nevertheless offer a rare glimpse of a mature relationship, characterised not only by loss of romance and conflict, but also by partnership, affection and commitment.

Conclusion

The 1890s witnessed the production of the modern family unit in which the husband supported his dependent wife and children. The texts of the bush mythology by and large subscribe to this ideal, and represent the bourgeois nuclear family as fundamental to the stability of the emerging nation. But this commitment cuts across another major theme of the nationalist mythology, that of the centrality of rural labour in the formation of the nation. The valorisation of 'strong masculine labour' evokes anxiety for the family as the site of reproduction of future generations of Australians.
Itinerant male workers whose intermittent employment necessitated prolonged absences were familiar figures not only in the rural landscape, but also in the cities. Depression in the early years of the decade and the employment practices associated with construction and trade activities generated a pattern of irregular employment and geographic mobility for many working class men. Similarly, working class women and children eked out barest subsistence lives, depending on charity or ill-paid, irregular and onerous toil. Their plight appeared to be the result of men's absence, both in rural and urban contexts.

State and charitable support for destitute families entailed surveillance over the lives of the working class people and often punitive intervention in their personal and domestic affairs. Public attention was frequently diverted from the structural causes of family poverty to judgements of the culpability of the "deserting" fathers and the moral worth of the "destitute" mothers. I have argued in this chapter that these urban observations and experiences have coloured the representation of women's rural labour. That women's work on the land should be represented in terms of "suffering and misfortune" represses the possibility that their labour was heroic in the same terms as men's. My reading of bush mythology, then, agrees with Desley Deacon's conclusion to her study of census classifications that "most Australian women were labelled nonworkers during the crucial period when the modern labour market was being established."71

Debates of the 1890s heralded shifts not only in the family unit but also in prescriptive definitions of masculinity, as "the noisy libertarian vision of the Lone Hand was quietly transformed into the 'hobbled' male of craft union respectability".72 Women's participation in the labour market proved to be a contentious issue in public life, and this adds another element to the representation of bushwomen "doing the work of men". With the expansion and mechanisation of manufacturing, employment opportunities opened up to women. Many men perceived women's growing participation in the labour force to be at their expense. Whilst unions tended to oppose what they regarded as women's competition for men's jobs, this study of bush mythology suggests that loss of male authority within the family was also deeply troubling. The stable family unit, seen to be fundamental to the well-being of the young nation, was to be based on patriarchal authority as well as male breadwinning. Participation in the paid labour force appears to have lent women an authority within the family that usurped men's role as head of the household. Women emerged from the ideological struggle over the deployment of their labour, not as "important contributors to the nation's prosperity", but as "minor economic actors".73
The differentiation of men and women in terms of the separate spheres implied that women engaged in productive labour outside the home were 'out of place'. But the spatial metaphor is reinforced by the assumption that such labour was 'men's work'. The continuity of the rhetoric of separate spheres masked both the extent to which the public domain interpenetrated the private realm, and the re-organisation of both the labour market and domestic lives. The ideology itself was also undergoing significant transformation. Notions of sovereignty and complementary labour in the relations between men and women were to be displaced by those of guardianship and dependency.

In the imaginary formation of the nation, women's contribution was to be through their reproductive, rather than productive, labour. Women's labour outside the home was seen to offer few benefits to the nation, and the cost was measured in the women's distraction from their primary responsibility as mothers of the nation's future generations. As mothers in their 'proper place', women's contribution to the emerging nation could be celebrated unambiguously. But the representation of women as mothers in bush mythology placed them under virtual house arrest. Barred from work outside the home, their domestic labour was defined as non-productive. The bush mythology played its role in an ideological closure as constricting as the domestic space to which it consigned women.

The nationalist and gender ideologies that find expression in bush mythology turn a blind eye to women's experience of domestic confinement. But, when all is said and done, we are left with the images of women. Squeaker's Mate's fierce independence and her broken back, Mrs Spicer's numbing sense of loss, and Mary Wilson's resistance—such images out-distance the construction of meaning through metaphor in these narratives. If women could live in 'their proper place' only when their bodies and spirits were broken, these images remind us that this may have been too high a price to pay.

2Argus, 4 July 1890, cited in ibid., p. 113.
3Other examples in which men at work is the immediate subject include Julian Ashton Gold Mining in Australia—The Monitor at Work (1884); R. Godfrey Rivers A Woolshed (1890); working men as part of landscapes include David Davies A Hot Day (1888), Charles Conder Yarding Sheep (1890), John Ford Paterson Nearing
the Camping Ground (1889), Tom Roberts Twilight at Healesville (c. 1886), John Miller Marshal Gold Prospecting, near Creswick, Ballaarat (1892).


5Paintings depicting working men not actually engaged in labour are likely to figure two men engaged in conversation, such as Walter Withers The Fossickers (1893), Frank Mahoney The Bullock Team (1891) and A. Henry Fullwood The Station Boundary (1891). Alternatively, paintings may depict a solitary man resting, putting the billy on the fire, smoking contemplatively, or watching the billy come to the boil: Frederick McCubbin While the Billy Boils (1886). A further group of paintings depict the bushman at rest or at the end of the day watching or conversing with a woman, who may herself be at work, such as Frederick McCubbin's Midday Rest (1888), in which a resting man watches a young girl approach with his lunch, or the middle panel of McCubbin's The Pioneer (1904). It appears that women engaged in domestic labour are restful to watch, and the representation of women working can therefore denote a man's well-earned respite from labour.


7Paintings of bushmen's living quarters tended to favour the image of the bushman living alone. See Arthur Streeton The Selector's Hut: Whelan on the Log (1890), Arthur Streeton Settler's Camp (1888). The solitary bushman in Streeton's Settler's Camp was described by the Argus as "lonely and self-reliant" (30 April 1888, cited in Jane Clark and Bridget Whitelaw, Golden Summers: Heidelberg and Beyond, exhibition catalogue, International Cultural Corporation of Australia, 1985, p. 73).


10Paula Hamilton, "Domestic Dilemmas—Representations of Servants and Employers in the Popular Press", in Susan Magarey et al. (eds), *op. cit.*


14*ibid.*, p. 700.


16Note, however, the debate in between Jenny Lee and Bruce Scates on the nature of the changes in female factory employment; Jenny Lee, *op. cit.*; Bruce Scates, *op. cit.*

17American historian Margaret Marsh distinguishes between 'separate spheres' ideology that could extend to legitimating women's engagement in political campaigns to make the world 'homelike', and 'domestic' ideology that confined the location of women's activities to within the home itself. Margaret Marsh, "From Separation to Togetherness: The Social Construction of Domestic Space in American Suburbs, 1840-1915," *Journal of American History*, 1989, pp. 506-27.


20Marilyn Lake, *Helpmeet, Slave, Housewife: Women in Rural Families, 1870-1930*, in Patricia Grimshaw, Chris McConville and Ellen McEwan (eds), *Families in Colonial Australia*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1985, p. 179. Note, however, that the notion of 'women's work' could be extended to include house-paddock activities, such as milking and poultry-raising. The pictorial conventions for representing bushwomen engaged in appropriate rural labour suggest a romantic contemplation of women at work, which, I have argued elsewhere, is associated with masculine leisure. Sue Rowley, "Sliprails and Spur: Courting Bush Sweethearts in Australian Nationalist Mythology", *Span*, no. 26, 1988, pp. 29-31.

22 It is ironic, in the light of this discussion that Ken Buckley and Ted Wheelwright should comment on the stereotype of women as bearers of civilised values in the bush in the following terms: "The seldom asked question was not what women did for life in the bush, by way of softening its harshness, but what the bush did to them." (italics in original) Ken Buckley and Ted Wheelwright, *No Paradise for Workers: Capitalism and the Common People 1788-1914*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1988, p. 129.


28 Shirley Fisher, "The Family and the Sydney Economy in the Late Nineteenth Century", in Patricia Grimshaw et al. (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 154.


31 Kay Daniels and Mary Murnane, *Uphill All the Way—A Documentary History of Women in Australia*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1980, p. 52.


33 Michael Wilding's suggestion that "'The Drover's Wife' poignantly presents the broken family" is an example of a critical account which, in La Capra's words, "is less self-critical and probing than the literary narratives for which it tries to account"; Michael Wilding, "Henry Lawson's Radical Vision", in H.Gustav Klaus (ed.), *The Rise of Socialist Fiction 1880-1914*, Harvester, Sussex and St. Martin's, New York, p. 212.
See, for example Henry Lawson, "His Brother's Keeper", *A Fantasy of Man*, op. cit., pp.26-34.


Joseph Furphy, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

*ibid.*, p. 207.


*ibid.*, p. 125.


*ibid.*, p. 725.

*ibid.*, p. 727-8.


Lenore Davidoff, *ibid.*, p. 89.


Steele Rudd, "In the Drought Time", *ibid.*, pp. 287-94.

*ibid.*, p. 288.

*ibid.*

*ibid.*

*ibid.*, pp. 289-90.
54ibid., p. 291.
55ibid., p. 294.
57Barbara Baynton, "Squeaker's Mate", in Sally Krimmer and Alan Lawson (eds), Barbara Baynton, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1980, pp. 11-26.
58ibid., p. 22.
60ibid., p.459.
64Desley Deacon, op. cit., pp. 27-47.
66Steele Rudd, "Good-Bye to the Old Home", On Our Selection:, op. cit., pp. 138-144.
68ibid., p. 736.
71Desley Deacon, op. cit., p.41.
72Desley Deacon, "Reorganizing the Masculinist Context: Conflicting Masculinisms in the New South Wales Public Service Bill Debates of 1895", in Susan Magarey et al (eds), op. cit.
73Deacon, Desley, "Political Arithmetic", op. cit., p. 35.