Gender and nation formation in late nineteenth century

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NOTE

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CHAPTER 10

NARRATIVES OF COMMUNITY

Introduction

The previous chapter argued that mateship can be seen as a fraternal community emerging out of the masculine experience ofjourneying. The isolation and waiting of women appears to be a consequence of the over-determination of their subservient role within the masculine plot. An effect of the privileging of mateship has been the fragmentation and repression of those experiences of women which lie outside the auxilliary role ascribed to them within the journey narrative. Nevertheless, the possibility that the scope of women's lives may exceed the limits implicit in the narrative of the masculine journey remains. In the writing of Lawson and Rudd, for example, it is implied that women are enmeshed in a network of relationships which form the basis of settled bush communities. This means that, in spite of the privacy and isolation of the domestic household that is implicit in the ideology of separate spheres, the domestic domain can be seen also as part of a community. And indeed, we can discern amongst bushwomen characters a perception of interrelatedness and shared experiences that constitutes a community. The journeying bushman's interaction with this community is contingent on his comings and goings and his perception of communal life is likely to be partial. It is not generally an all-female community. But it is likely that it will be held together by women, given the comings and goings of men. In returning to their homes, many men also returned to communities.

This notion of two communities can also be inferred from Anderson's study of nationalism. In Anderson's writing, the first community is that of pilgrims, associated with male fraternities. In the context of this study, this has been associated also with mateship. The second community in Anderson's analysis is formed from those who in effect 'read themselves into national consciousness'. The distribution and the content of vernacular colonial print media are seen as nurturing an identification in colonial subjects with other readers and this identification forms the basis of their imagined national community.
In Anderson's theory, the implied role of women in this community is both marginal to nation formation and undifferentiated from that of men. Anderson in no way breaks with this convention that underpins the study of nationalism. Thus, he fails to ask whether the processes and mechanisms of the formation of national consciousness are gender-specific. He assumes that the spread of literacy was the same process for women as for men, that readerships of print media are non-segregated, and therefore that women subjects are drawn into the imagined community through the same process as men are. Anderson's *inclusion* of women in the reading public appears to lend credence to his assertions about the penetration of the print-media into the middle classes. Both the words and grammatical structures he employs to incorporate women, however, seem parenthetical. Excluding queens, Anderson refers to women twice, and in both cases they are included as indicators of the penetration of literacy amongst previously illiterate populations. He describes the creation of "a large new reading public—not least among merchants and women, who typically knew little or no Latin" and the "families of the reading classes—not merely the 'working father', but the servant-girded wife and the school-age children". Studies of women's acquisition of literacy and of the gendered segregation of readerships, however, suggest that this cursory inclusion may mask the extent to which Anderson's analysis is gender-specific. It appears to explain the rise of nationalism amongst men and women, but arguably does so on the basis of male experiences of literacy and reading of print media. It leaves unformed the question of women's attachment to nation.

Anderson thus assumes women's presence but does not recognise any implications of gendered subjectivities for a theory of nationalism. However it is a central argument in this thesis that a study of such subjectivities can be richly rewarding. In Australian narratives of nation formation, assumptions of gender difference implicitly exclude women from the processes by which national consciousness is formed, but include them in settled bush communities. It will be clear from this apparent contradiction that the incorporation of women into imagined communities of nation is a complex one, not adequately explained by simple categories of inclusion and exclusion. This chapter, then, examines the relationship between women's participation in communities and the formation of national consciousness.
Narrative doubling

Sandra Zagarell seeks to examine the generic conventions by which communities have been represented in literature by considering "narratives of community". Narratives of community, she says, are not characterised by linear development or chronological sequence. Rather than being constructed around conflict and progress, such narratives are rooted in process and "tend to be episodic built primarily around the continuous small scale negotiations and daily procedures through which communities sustain themselves."4

In bush mythology, the linear plotting of the masculine journey overlays the representation of bush communities in what might be described as a figure-ground relationship. The conventions by which the masculine journey is plotted follow a dynamic, lineal sequence predicated on a concept of change. Quest, rite of passage, and pilgrimage are lineal constructs. Appropriating these motifs, the imaginary formation of the nation out of struggle depends on the progressive development of the story. But, as far as can be discerned in the spaces of the dominant plot, this lineal unfolding is underpinned through a representation of a community that is going nowhere. The representation of this community is threaded through the privileged masculine journey. But other views of community formation are also offered sometimes.

Homi Bhabha has argued that a double narrative movement is frequently found in and is characteristic of narratives of nation. He observes that the consequence of a splitting within the text between a "continuist, accumulative temporality" and a "repetitious, recursive strategy" is a conceptual ambivalence that becomes the "site of writing the nation".5 Bhabha's complex examination of the discursive formation of nation is centred on the issue of the "ambivalence that haunts the idea of the nation" in narration. The 'people', Bhabha argues, is constructed in narration through two processes. They are 'objects' produced by a "nationalist pedagogy" and, at the same time, the 'subjects' whose daily lives are constituted as signs of a national culture. The 'pedagogical' narrative, in Bhaba's terms, will produce a national past and trace a trajectory between past and present along a lineal, progressive sequence. The double-time that was observed in the previous chapter between the construction of a past, the conceptualisation of the present, and the anticipation of the future is elaborated through this further doubling of plot structure and representation of the national community. The nation's 'people' is made up of those who inherit the legacy of the past, and those whose present daily lives realise the national culture.
24. Frederick McCubbin *A Bush Burial* 1890
oil on canvas 122.5 x 224.5 cm
The relationships between the dominant journey narrative and the repressed narrative of community in bush mythology appears to exemplify Bhabha's analysis. In the writing and painting of the 1890s the narrational ambivalence towards the national community is heightened by a sense of disquiet in relation to the immediacy of Federation and the need to conceptualise the formation of a stable social order. Continuity, stability and integrity in the representation of community appears to be most readily imagined in those communities which implicitly belong to the past. The representation of pioneer cultures, for example, frequently carries these connotations. But because these cultures were pre-modern, the representation of pioneer communities suggests what has been lost as much as it describes the foundations of a modern national culture.

The passing of the pioneers
Frederick McCubbin's painting *A Bush Burial* (1890) (Plate 24) exemplifies the difficulties attached to imagining a modern national community through the representation of pioneers. The alternative title McCubbin gave the painting—*The Last of the Pioneers*—suggests a perception of its subject matter as a poetic tribute to those of the earlier pioneering generation who, by the 1880s, were reaching the end of their lives. Leigh Astbury places the work within the context of the Victorian Jubilee of 1884 and Australian Centennial of 1888. In a recent essay he has suggested that the ambivalence and disillusionment of contemporary urban audiences towards the experience of modernisation would have informed their reception of this painting.\(^7\) The mood of the painting, he says, is elegaic, lyrical, and reflexive with the blue-green-grey tones of the bush complemented by the warmer tones of the turned earth, child's dress, old man's coat and the dray.

The painting suggests a story. In the foreground is an open grave with four figures standing at its head. A grey-haired man, standing at the edge of one side of the grave, reads from a small book. A woman in black dress and grey shawl stands head-bowed, one hand raised to her mouth and the other around the shoulders of a girl who is turned into her skirts, arm raised so that her face would be resting on her forearm against the woman's waist. From the unity of these two figures and their placement at the head of the grave, as much as from the narrative conventions which appear to inform this painting, we infer that these two figures are mother and daughter and that their relationship to the dead one is also familial. On this side of the grave, and further back from its edge, stands a bearded man dressed in lighter greys, hat in hand, head bowed
in respect as much as grief. Beside him a black and white dog stands in abject misery. Back behind them is the waiting dray facing away from the grave and into the breach in the dense bush towards the soft grey sky. In this position the dray connotes, as Astbury suggests, "continuity of life and 'better things to come'".

The long line of the grave and the placement of the three figures at its sides and top form a cross, imparting a reverence and spirituality that anticipates the use of the triptych form in *The Pioneer* (1904). The presence of three generations suggests both the continuity of life and the 'three stages of man'. The ambiguity of the work lies in the sense of completion and of closure in the representation of communal life that the mourners impart. It is unclear who is missing and is therefore the subject of the burial. Though the picture suggests a conventional narrative of life and death as a metaphor of communal life, there is little connotation of breach in the fabric of communal life that the open grave implies. And in fact contemporary critics were not in agreement on the question of the identity of the deceased.

"Doubtless the wife of the grey haired old man reading the service," said the *Age* review (29 March 1890). "The group is completed by the stalwart son-in-law, his weeping wife and child, and a dog." One could read this painting as the death of the woman's mother and child's grandmother, but it would be unconventional for a female to represent both male and female pioneers. If the painting is interpreted in this manner, then the distance between the mother-daughter dyad and the 'son-in-law' is problematic: should he not stand with his wife to comfort her? But more problematic is the implication that "the last of the pioneers" is survived by her husband. Surely he is the last of the pioneers? Alternative readings—the deceased as the woman's husband or an old male pioneer or a child—are similarly unresolved. While one can agree with the reviewer in *Table Talk* (14 March 1890) that "[t]hey stand out as types of character", what is missing is an indication of which "type of character" has departed. Reviewers however were in agreement that this was an image of national significance:

Nowhere could a subject be more affecting in its pathos, more picturesque in its setting, and more truly characteristic of national experience and environment.

The work is sincerely full of genuine feeling and thoroughly national.
Is it possible that the cast of national characters are standing around an empty grave and that what has departed is the past itself? Rather than seeing it as a realistic representation of a burial, the painting could be read as a memorial, a ritual to the memory of pioneers collectively. The relationship between the fictive present and its past, and the representation of the burial as in the past in relation to its production in 1890 is an additional ambiguity. Although the representation appears to connote a reverence of an imagined national community, these levels of ambiguity unsettle this inference.

This ambiguity lies at the heart of the idea of a national community. If the community is to be represented by a cast of typical characters, then certain conventions will generally inform the selection and depiction of characters. If the community is seen as having continuity through time, then either generations or the presence of children are likely to carry that connotation. If the community is seen as the basis of a stable social order, then the relationships between characters will generally be specified as familial. If either the mother or the father are absent, then this absence will register anxiety about the future. If there is no suggestion of hardship, toil and struggle, then the formation of the nation is not figured. If there is hardship, toil and struggle, then the presence of women and children again suggests a moment of rupture in the social order. In an earlier chapter, I argued that the representation of childbirth in bush mythology suggested a complex and unresolved negotiation of the relationship between passage of life symbolism and the specificities of imagining the formation of Australia as a nation. From this lack of resolution in the representation of death, it appears similarly unlikely that death can function unambivalently as an moment in the imagining of the national community.

Narratives of Community

It is not only in the representation of human figures that this ambiguity of past and presence occurs. As Helen Topliss has argued, even the representation of the uncultivated bushlands by the 'plein air' painters depended on blocking out the evidence of encroaching suburbia. "It is likely," she comments, "that the artists chose to paint an enclosed view of their undeveloped camp site to avoid the all too evident progress of surrounding land development. They were in fact re-creating the landscape of a preceding era—the Box Hill of the 1860s." The dereliction of the bush hut in Walter Wither's painting *Bush Hut* (undated) suggests an unusually explicit
relationship between the artist's presence and the imagined past. Whilst the painting shares in the nostalgia for the past that inflects so many of the late nineteenth century paintings, it does not imply that the pioneers are inhabiting the present. Withers appears to relinquish the past in a way that McCubbin resists. But Withers' paintings rarely function as representations of national life, and Helen Topliss notes that his work "was occasionally criticised for not being sufficiently Australian in subject or character".14

Like the visual representations of the bush, much of Lawson's writing glances back in time. The reflexive remembering and recounting of the past from the point of view of a sadder, more mature man is a typical narrational stance in Lawson's writing. Lawson's writing observes the conventions of nation formation by including the lower classes and locating the origins of a national community in the pre-modern past. Realism, as Timothy Brennan has argued, allowed the "serious treatment" of everyday life and the incorporation of the lower classes into the imagined national community.15 These lower orders became co-terminous with 'the people', in a way that obscured the fundamental difference between the working classes 'produced' by capitalist modernisation and the 'folk' as an expression of a form of communal life which was displaced by this profound shift in political, economic, social and cultural institutions. The production of a national 'people' rests on the construction of a national past which expresses the homogeneity and unity of the people in terms of their common origins, ancestors, and shared experiences through time.

Nancy Cott has argued that women's connections with the pre-industrial modes of community lingered far longer than those of men.16 The rhythms of childcare and domestic life which formed the basis of much communal life in pre-modern cultures continued to suffuse the patterns of domestic life long after the processes of modernisation, rationalisation and fragmentation had re-shaped public life. The idealised pre-modern past has much in common with the imputed character of domestic life. Close ties, moral feeling, ritual and other forms of bonding, Cott suggests, reinforced the strongly relational orientation of the domestic sphere while excluding women from public life. Cott's observations are reinforced by other studies of late nineteenth century communities. Ellen Ross, for example, comments on the strength of support that women found and gave in London working-class neighborhoods.17

McCubbin's *Kitchen at the old King Street Bakery* (1884) depicts the kitchen of his family's bakery, suggesting the continuity of domestic and communal production.
Leigh Astbury comments that the painting represents "a genuine cottage industry, where the distinctions between domestic work performed in the home and that taking place outside it were less easy to maintain". The signifiers of feminine occupancy and domestic work function not only as nostalgic indicators of passing modes of community and production, but also as a perception that the domestic domain was retaining those "basic human values" which were seen as being eroded in the public domain.

In the Joe Wilson stories, Lawson creates a community around the Wilson household which is characteristically pre-modern, with communal bonding seen as an extension of domestic relationships. In contrast to the male fraternal culture of the road, these communities do not espouse egalitarian values or cultural practices. As Beverley Kingston has argued, "it was by relegating some of the essential responsibility for differentiating and maintaining social distances to women, that male-dominated Australian society was able to project itself as egalitarian". Inequality, deference and a concern for welfare are threaded through Lawson's representations of bush communities. Male authority and female deference appear as unresolved and contested issues in Lawson's representations of both marriage and community relations. As a generalisation, however, we might observe that bushwomen are generally not obsequious, but they frequently place their husbands' needs before their own and treat them with careful, non-reciprocated respect.

She is glad when her husband returns, but does not gush or make a fuss about it. She gets him something good to eat, and tidies up the children.

Between women, deference tends to be paid rather than withheld by poor women towards middle class women. Mary Wilson's relationship with Mrs Spicer, in "Water Them Geraniums", is clearly between women of different classes. (Though Mary was herself a servant, she was not low-born; though Mrs Spicer may have been well-brought up, she is now impoverished.) When the Wilsons, "the aristocrats of Lahey's Creek", visited Mrs Spicer, they'd see her "bustle round, and two or three fowls fly out the front door, and she'd lay hold of a broom... and flick out the floor...Or she'd catch a youngster and scrub his face..." Her reluctance that they should see her place "in such a muck" and her insistence on polite behaviour by the children towards Mary Wilson contain elements of deference not characteristic of men's behaviour towards each other. The positive representation of women remained tied to middle class cultural
ideas about feminine virtue and working class women were seen to be at a disadvantage as they struggled to uphold middle-class values rendered natural and legitimate in these myths.

Charity and hospitality are similarly class-differentiated in "Water Them Geraniums". Mrs Spicer sends her boy over to meet Mary Wilson the day after she arrives at the selection at Lahey's Creek.

"Well, mother told me to ride acrost and see if you want anythink. We killed lars' night, and I fetched a piece er cow."

When Mary, almost abusively, requires to know how much she should send Mrs Spicer in payment for the meat, the boy replies, "We ain't that sorter people, missus... We don't sell meat to new people that come to settle here." For an income, Mrs Spicer sells her nutritious butter and eggs and her family survives on "bread and honey, or bread and treacle, or bread and dripping, and tea". Mary realises that the children go hungry and she feeds them when they come to her house, but Mrs Spicer's pride stands in the way of such charity. When Annie denies that she is hungry, a "ragged mite she had with her" explains:

"Mother told Annie not to say we was hungry if yer asked; but if yer give us anythink to eat, we was to take it an' sey thank yer, Mrs Wilson."

There is an asymmetry in the representation of Mrs Spicer's giving as a form of ill-afforded hospitality, and Mary Wilson's giving as a form of welfare charity that is difficult to square with J.B.Hirst's comment that the conservatism of the pioneer legend "is not the conservatism of deference".

Lawson's bush communities are nevertheless formed on the basis of a strong sense of interrelatedness and shared experiences, and communal ties bind Mrs Spicer and Mary Wilson. Their mutual adherence to values derived from pre-modern and colonial society lays the groundwork of a culture that nurtures human integrity so frequently lacking in the male fraternity of the road.

In Lawson's stories, there is an intermittent recognition on the part of journeying men that those left behind might seek or desire bonds of community with other people. In
"A Double Buggy at Lahey's Creek", Mary's long-standing desire for a buggy signifies her desire for mobility—not to travel across great distances of outback country, as bushmen do—but to get around in her own sparsely-populated community. As Mary's sister tells Joe,

"Now if Mary had a comfortable buggy, she could drive in with the children oftener. She wouldn't feel the loneliness so much."

The purchase of a buggy is forestalled many times, initially by misfortune and eventually by the greater priority that Joe places on the success of his farming ventures, wealth and security. When the coach-builders, the Galletly Brothers, offer to sell Joe a new buggy, they remind him that he is now successful enough that "little Mary" shouldn't be "stuck out there in the scrub, or jolting the dust in a cart like some old Mother Flourbag". Even so Joe almost decides against the deal resolving instead to "take Mary for a trip to Sydney". (The later story, "Drifting Apart", makes it quite clear that this was not the kind of mobility that Mary was seeking. It is the sight of the squatter, young Black, and his wife that reminds Joe that Mary could have married into wealth and comfort had she not loved him. Once again Joe thinks of Mary "out there in the lonely hut on a barren creek in the Bush—with no-one to speak to except a haggard, worn-out Bushwoman or two." He remembers her hardships and loneliness.

I thought of Mary, outside in the blazing heat, with an old print dress and a felt hat, and a pair of 'lastic-siders of mine on, doing the work of a station manager as well as that of a housewife and mother.

And as he thinks of her now, "her cheeks were getting thin, and the colour was going", he resolves to buy the buggy.

He persuades Mary's brother James to bring the buggy home without letting on to Mary that he has bought it. The new buggy has been loaded up with gifts from relatives and friends and the description of the load gives us a rare glimpse into the community to which the Wilsons belong. The Galletly brothers in Cudgegong sent "a dozen of lemonade and ginger-beer"; the storekeeper at Home Rule sent a large ham; Aunt Gertrude in Gulgong sent three loaves of bread, a cake, and material "to make up for the children"; Dave Reagan sent a fresh-water cod he'd caught in the Macquarie River; Sun Tong Lee, the storekeeper at Gulgong sent a jar of preserved ginger, some lollies,
a Chinese doll and a rattle; and there was a holland suit and red trimming braid for the "black boy".

As a family, the Wilsons participate in this community bound not only by ties of kinship and friendship but also by economic transactions. Mary's brother-in-law, a butcher at Gulgong, sells meat to outlying "little bits of gold rushes", and Mary argues that if she had a decent buggy, she could take produce to sell in Gulgong or Cobborah. This network of friends and relatives that stretches across a region to encompass a number of towns and hamlets as well as more isolated farms is barely discerned through the more insistent themes of nomadic mateship, on the one hand, and isolated, lonely bushwomen, on the other. Nina Auerbach's study of communities of women in fiction is suggestive for the study of these bush communities. "The bonds of hospitality and sympathy between women that pervade the isolated landscapes", she says of nineteenth century American writers, "are more potent than men's railroad tracks in keeping alive the human world and knitting it together." The voices of bush communities, like those of women, seem "furtive", "whispering", and plural. There is, in fact, a striking similarity between the way in which narratives of community are described from feminist perspectives by Nina Auerbach and Sandra Zagarell and Brian Matthews' description of Lawson's fictional world. The "submerged", inarticulate quality that Matthews attributes to the psychic disintegration of Lawson's characters is reinterpreted by these feminist critics as a mode of narration of communities which subverts the linearity and authority of the narrative of the male quest.

Bridging communities

The narrator is participant and observer in both the fraternal network of the road and the settled bush communities, and bears witness to the contrast between them while frequently acting to diminish the distance that separates them. In "Brighten's Sister-In-Law" Joe Wilson bridges the gap between the Bushmen and the bush community. On his return trip home Joe collects his son Jim from Mary's sister and her husband with whom he has stayed while the Wilsons settled at Lahey's Creek. Jim begins to fall into convulsions while on the road and Joe is beside himself with worry. In his desperation, he perceives "the figure of a woman, all white" floating amongst the trees, pointing up the main road. His first thought is that Mary is dead but he then understands that the figure is directing him to Brighten's sister-in-law. He had heard the women of Gulgong talk about this woman who had been a hospital matron, and had come to live in the bush with her sister and her husband. There were rumours that
she got the sack for exposing doctors—or carrying on with them”. But, Joe concludes, there must have been "something extra about her, else Bushmen wouldn't have talked and carried her name so far”.33 As Brian Matthews suggests, the heavy-handed treatment of ghosts, phantoms and delusions in this story lends Brighten's sister-in-law a ghostly, enigmatic quality. The elements of the supernatural, death and illusion, he says, "gather about the vaguely tragic figure of the woman with a macabre intensity, enhancing both her role as the cheater of death and her ghostly, remote existence."34 Matthews suggests that her "return to the world"—by which he refers to human society—is momentary, and "her nemesis is never in doubt".35

The ride through the bush to save little Jim serves as a rite of passage for Joe. In his most dreadful moment of the ride when he is "mad with anxiety and fright", he repeats over and over "I'll be kinder to Mary after this! I'll take more notice of Jim!" Joe's ordeal brings him closer to comprehending something of Mary's life, and closer to an intimate relationship with his three-year old son.

Brighten's Sister-in-law does pull Jim through and in doing so, she too undergoes a transformation. The hardness of this women's shell is cracked and Joe catches sight of her tears. Later that night, she orders her sister to take away the black bottle of the grog that has dulled her pain. The next evening she entertains the men splendidly with lively yams. She bids farewell to the child and to Joe with affection and unfilled longing and Joe's last look catches "that haggard, hungry, hopeless look come into her eyes in spite of the tears".36

Later when she hears of the ordeal, "nothing would suit Mary but she must go over" to visit Brighten's Sister-in-law, staying overnight. On her return from the visit, she is "extra gentle" with Joe for a few days.

In this episode, Brighten's sister-in-law is drawn into the community both through her own fragile and perhaps momentary transformation and through the deepening of her relationship with bushmen and women. But, perhaps more significantly for this discussion, Joe Wilson becomes more integrated into his family, whilst at the same time he bridges the gap between the bushmen who knew the woman's reputation and enjoyed her yarns and the bush community of which women are also part.
Plate 25. Jane Sutherland *The Mushroom Gatherers* c.1895
oil on canvas 41.3 x 99 cm

Plate 26. Jane Sutherland *Field Naturalists* c.1896
oil on canvas 81.3 x 122 cm
Although mateship privileges the community of mobile men way from home, an alternative community in which the role of women is more active can be discerned. Women's mobility within the known terrain of the region enables them to sustain meaningful relationships with friends and relatives, and this mobility is valued by women. Men feel part of this community when they are drawn closer to the lives of the wives and children, and are able to locate their marriages in this broader context. It is a submerged and fragmentary narrative because of the masculine point of view implicit in the narration. It is as though the bushmen narrators only dimly perceive its existence. In the writing of male authors, this community is given its most concrete expression at times when male protagonists act in ways that bring them closer to the women, so that they become aware of the community of which the women are part.37

Seen from the point of view of those who inhabit it, the distinction between the domestic domain and the broader community is far from absolute, with the sharing of food and the social interactions of children breaking down the seclusion of domestic from public domains. Jane Sutherland's painting The Mushroom Gatherers (c.1895) (Plate 25) carries a suggestion of women's friendship and co-operation in its depiction of two women in a misty open terrain. One bends to pick mushrooms, the other holds her apron up to form a makeshift bag. There is an intimacy of scale to the work itself which suggests the quality of the relationship between the women. They appear to be absorbed in their activity and their conversation, the figures turned in towards each other. The figures are small in the space and set back a little, conveying an impression of spaciousness and easy familiarity with the land. A similar mutual absorption, intimacy and occupancy of the land is conveyed in Sutherland's Field Naturalists (c.1896) (Plate 26). Here three children—a girl and two boys—stand knee-deep in a pond, again turned inwards to face each other, heads bent in as they appear to examine something they have picked up out of the water. The girl, slightly at a distance, holds up her pink dress to reveal white underwear and sturdy legs. Though the tonal rendering in these two paintings softens the landscape, the combination of open space and intimate groupings of figures absorbed in each other and engaged in what could be called an "intimate transaction" with the land (picking mushrooms, collecting specimens) resists a sentimental response by the viewer.

Shifting Homes
This sense of belonging to communities that is muted in Lawson's stories is very much the subject of Steele Rudd's stories of selection life. The sense of dislocation that Ellen
Rudd experiences when Dad insists on shifting to Saddletop resonates with Mary's sorrowful journey to the selection on Lahey's Creek in "Water Them Geraniums".

If home were simply constituted as the point of return for journeying men, then in a sense, the location of the home would be immaterial provided that a livelihood of some kind could be scratched out of the ground. And indeed, in Lawson's stories, men's homes and families are scattered through towns and hamlets and isolated in the god-forsaken bush. It appears that the choice of location finally rests with husbands, but frequently their decisions are bitterly contested and resisted by their wives. Whereas men choose where their families will live on the basis of such considerations as the availability of affordable land and the prospect of additional income-earning ventures, women's attitudes to shifting home suggests the value they place on belonging to communities.

Steele Rudd's *On Our Selection* opens with Dad Rudd taking his family out to the selection on the Creek. The nearest house was three miles away from Shingle Hut and "Mother, when she was alone, used to sit on a log, where the lane is now, and cry for hours. Lonely! It was lonely." But, the Rudd family does gradually settle in and the land yields almost enough to keep them in a precarious balance between hunger and actual starvation. Neighbours help each other and join together for kangaroo hunts, horse races, circuses and other 'sporting' activities. Midwives arrive to deliver babies. Marriages and baptisms are robustly celebrated. Women come in and out of the house. And though their exchanges lack the detailed narration of the men's relationships, we are nevertheless in no doubt that Ellen Rudd and the girls in the family have a place in the community and as rich a cultural life as their menfolk. It would be churlish not to accept the terms of such good-natured narration when "[n]early every week mother gave a ball".

So it is that when Dad is inclined to leave the selection, reflecting gloomily on the year's of toil and disappointment after a supper of dry bread and sugarless tea, "...Mother pleaded for another trial for it—just one more."

She had wonderful faith in the selection, had Mother.
Eventually Shingle Hut prospers, and Dad's reputation as a farmer is established. But Dad grows restless, and begins to talk of selling up and taking a thousand acres elsewhere.

But Mother opposed it; she thought we were doing well enough. Shingle Hut was good enough for her; and she had worked hard and spent the best of her days in it, scraping and struggling, and all she asked for now was to live the rest of her life there—to die peacefully and be buried near the house.

The rest of the family were ready for a change: "[r]ipping up the old house—rounding up the stock—camping under a dray a night or two on the way to the Promised Land". But in a fury of frustration at having found a dead horse in the well and in the course of pulling it out, lost one of the live horses down the well after it, Dad sells Shingle Hut under impulse.

Mother clutched her knees with both hands and stared hard and silently at the fire-place till her eyes filled with tears.

It is Dave who tries to explain to Mother the advantages of selling up and starting afresh. But when it comes time to leave, Mother breaks down and has to be helped into the spring-cart. In time, the Rudd family makes new friends at Saddletop and becomes immersed in a new community, a little more affluent than the Creek, but recognisable in its likeness.

In the decision to shift home can be read not only signs of the close interconnection between domestic and communal bonds, but also the contested authority of men's decisions relating to women's relationships with their communities. In these stories, with their implicit support for and naturalisation of masculine authority over women, the location of the household represents a focus of conflict between men and women. The contested authority relations within the home, which were discussed in Chapter 3, are seen to extend to the public domain because, for women at least, the separation of public and domestic was far from discrete.

**Everyday Life in Community Narrative**

In "Bush Church", Barbara Baynton takes up the themes observed in the writings of the male authors of bush mythology, and turns them on their heads. Baynton, like
Lawson and Rudd, explores the exercise of authority in bush communities and trains her lens on the drift of food and children, and the relationships of the women to each other and to the men.

Baynton, too, begins with a traveller, in this case, a parson riding a poor horse for "[t]he hospitality of the bush never extends to the loan of a good horse to an inexperienced rider". But the parson does not take up the position of the narrator: he is rather the observed than the observer. The parson has come to the area to hold a church service, to christen the children and take a census of them. The service is to be held at the squatter's house the following morning. As he rides, he is joined by 'flash' Ned Stennard, who carries the news of the service to each of the selector's humpies they pass along the road. Ned cooks up a story to impress upon the selectors the dire need to attend and to produce all their documents related to family, land and possessions for inspection by the parson. On this pretext, he is able to extract food from the impoverished women.

Most of the men are away shearing, and those who were home left their dinners to talk with Ned outside, as was the custom.

A visitor at meal times is always met outside the humpy, and the host, drawing a hand across a greasy mouth, leads the way to the nearest log. The women of the bush have little to share, and nursing the belief that how they live is quite unknown to one another, they have no inclination to entertain a caller.

But Ned's news is sufficient to trade on and he demands to "see the missus". While the 'culture of poverty' is seen by Lawson to generate sharing that breaks down the privatisation of the domestic domain, in Baynton's writing privation begets privacy.

The next morning the families from the selections begin arriving at the grazier's house for the service, clutching the documents they believe the parson requires them to produce. At first intimidated, they soon realise that they have nothing to fear from the parson and that they have been fooled by Ned yet again. The service is constantly interrupted by the unruly activities of the children and by the talking of adults who have no interest in nor attention for religion. The grazier's wife—the "hostess", as she is called—is distraught to hear the children eating the meal she had prepared for the
parson, her husband and herself, for though her means are greater, she is herself cut to the same pattern as the rest of the women.

The grazier's wife, lacking even in knowledge of the names of local plants, has no claim on status in this community. But there is a struggle for control between Ned Stennard and Jyne, whose husband Alick is Ned's brother. Ned's claim to authority is based on his wit to fool them, his ability to write his name (which for readers of the story is a demonstration of functional illiteracy) and his trips to Sydney. Ned is surprisingly like Lawson's "Australian bushman with city experience", and one suspects that Baynton is turning over the conventions of bush narrators to see their undersides. Ned is not well liked amongst the women, however.

This was partly from his being "flash", but more from his reputation for flogging his missus.47

Ned had tried to influence the other men in this community to beat their wives. He "takes it outer" his missus Liz and "her own boy" Joey for events over which they have absolutely no control. "But for all this, Liz thought she was fairly happy... it did not always rain when he wanted it fine. Things did not go wrong every day, and he did not beat her or Joey unless they did."48

The basis of Jyne's leadership claims was her midwifery. "She was a great power in the bush, being styled by the folk themselves "Rabbit Ketcher"... And the airs Jyne gave herself were justifiable, for she was the only "Rabbit Ketcher" this side of the township."49 Jyne's evident pride in her resourceful daughter Jinny suggests a transmission of female authority based on a kind of folk wisdom down the line. Jyne is not a particularly commendable character and she too, in her way, "takes it outer" Liz. She and Ned are verbally sparring during much of the service.

There was between Jyne and Ned the opposition that is distinctive between commanding spirits.50

Baynton looks closely at the interactions of a community, much as one might examine a potentially venomous spider. Her treatment of the children's indifferent torture of animals finds its parallel in human relations where power is unequally shared. (Steele Rudd's Joe also tortures animals with total lack of empathy or morality, but grows into
a 'normal' man.) In "Bush Church" leadership emerges as a matter of contestation between male and female modes of power. Significantly the male power is partially derived from experience of the world beyond the community and, in his literacy and his travel, Ned represents the power of the outside world, the public domain of, what is after all, a patriarchal society. That power is contested by women on the basis of knowledge that is located within the community and not readily discernible by travelling narrators. Nevertheless, domestic and community affairs are intertwined together and in spite of the women's wish that others might not know the extent of their poverty, matters relating to their domestic lives, from childbirth to wife beating, are aired in public.

**Authority and Contestation for Public Culture**

The narrator mediates between the male journeying fraternity and the bush communities in which relations are closely aligned with those of the domestic sphere and in which domestic lives are inscribed. But the relationship of these communities of men and women in the bush is predicated on the existence of another place, and indeed time. The narrator mediates not only between bush journeying and settled communities, but also between the city and the country, and derives his position as narrator of the bush from his experience of the city. Both the journeying fraternity and settled community appear to belong ambiguously to the past as well as to the present. The distance between city and country is a spatial metaphor for a temporal breach between the pre-modern society of frontier and colony and the modern society of nation, industrial capitalism and urbanisation. Mateship and bush communities do not simply create a national past, but they implicitly support the values and bonds identified with the past against their erosion and loss in the modern city. The narrator is typically familiar with both city and country, and consequently he forms a bridge between past and present.

As was argued in Chapter 6, the narrator cannot commit himself to the bush, with its maddening sameness, for to do would be to lose contact with the world beyond. If we see these stories and paintings as writing and visualising the past, then the narrator's inability to fully inhabit the bush articulates a recognition that one cannot live in the past. For the imaginary formation of nation, this recognition is a crucial one. The writing and painting articulates a vision of a past in which communal bonds are nurturing and strong—and these ties of community function as metaphors for the bonding of the imagined national community. But these representations of the past are made in response to the processes of modernisation which apparently places those
forms of communal attachments out of reach. The narrator's address is to the modern—masculine—reader, and the project of coming to terms with modern urban, industrial society is implicitly shared by the narrator and the reader. (Significantly, some writers have suggested that women were less daunted by city life than men, and that the connotations of fear, disorder, uncontrollable complexity and chaos so frequently found in male modernist writers is not shared by their female counterparts.51) It is this society that is becoming a nation, and the uncertainty about the prospects of a nation formed out of the given present pervades the representation of the past. We observe again the sense of dislocation of past, present and future in the representation of bush communities.

A number of writers have suggested that the writers and artists of the late nineteenth century should be seen as articulating the experience of modernity, and beginning to explore the artistic and literary strategies of modernism. The concept of 'the modern' has itself been subject to historical shifts, and intellectuals and artists at the turn of the century understood their modernity to connote a relationship of present to future as much as it did a relationship of present to past. "Not only was the duration of the present reduced to a point within a temporal flow," says Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "but it was also reduced as a past of the future so that it would have a chance to experience the shaping of this future."52 In a recent essay, Leigh Astbury has observed that "the experience of modernity was problematical" for McCubbin who has conventionally been described as less formally innovative and culturally non-conformist than his colleagues, Streeton and Roberts. Astbury notes that Melbourne in the 1880s bore the signs of progress and modernity. "Yet," he says, "the city's progress entailed a sense of human loss as well as gain: the values of an older society were forced to confront the appearance of flux, rapid change and contingency that seemingly characterised the experience of modernity."53 Graeme Turner (following Brian Matthews) describes Lawson's formal strategies as "modernist, moving towards the more conventionalised less individuated use of character as a function of plot".54 G.W.Turner and Ivor Indyk have perceived in Furphy's writing elements of post-modernism.55 Turner argues that in Such Is Life, the contrived plot of the nineteenth-century novel is questioned and "the introduction of an unreliable narrator begins to subvert the solid moral world of the nineteenth-century novel. When the unreliable narrator becomes the foolish philosopher a strong element of satire is added, and when he adds an interest in the technique of story-telling and its relation to lying, we approach the post-modernist fiction of our own time."56
One focus of this uncertainty is the issue of the patterns of authority exercised by men and women both in the home and in the public domain. The authority of the narrator to tell the story is seen to derive from his ability to mediate between bush/past and city/present. But from the point of view of women characters, the narrator's city experience is frequently a corrupting one. In Baynton's "Bush Church", Ned's 'flashness' and 'flogging' are associated with his trips to Sydney, even though Baynton ironically belittles his familiarity with urbane Sydney society. Ned is seen as attempting to persuade other men in the bush community to adopt his practices of domestic violence. His authority is contested by Jyne's more archaic, more organic authority as midwife.

In Lawson's writing, the issue of living in Sydney is a contentious one between Mary and Joe Wilson, because of Mary's belief that Joe will be unable to resist ruinous drinking if he lives in the city. The question of contested authority within their marriage is most evident when the question of living in or taking trips to Sydney is raised.

"Well, why didn't you come to Sydney, as I wanted you to?" I asked Mary.

"You know very well, Joe," said Mary quietly.

(I knew very well, but the knowledge only maddened me. I had had an idea of getting a billet in one of the big wool-stores – I was a fair wool expert – but Mary was afraid of the drink. I could keep well away from it so long as I worked hard in the bush...57

The household and familial relations of the domestic sphere are represented as contiguous with those of the pre-modern bush community. In urban culture, public and domestic domains seemed more discrete and more at odds with one another. But, even in this context, women were seen to retain the close ties, moral feelings and bonds of attachment of pre-modern communities. The nostalgia for the communities of the past could be seen also to reflect a sense of loss that accompanied the formation of public and domestic domains as integral to the process of modernisation.

The rhetoric of 'separate spheres' imparted an absoluteness to the separation of public and domestic, and in fact an integrity to them, that masked the fact that public and
domestic concerns had intersected one another in various ways throughout the century. But in the 1890s, the nature of the intersections between public and domestic domains was changing and there emerged a heightened awareness of the impact of contentious cultural, political, and economic shifts. The 'natural' separation of domestic and public life was seen to be at risk. Women were seeking access to the public realms of paid employment, professional occupations, higher education and citizenship rights of political participation. State and public institutional intervention in the home rendered domestic life more open to public surveillance and intervention, and changing concepts of masculinity heralded a greater level of male participation in at least some activities of the home. Feminism itself represents an attempt by women to participate in the process of modernisation and the formation of a modern society. Just as male authority over women in marriage derived in part from their participation in the public realm, so women's increased participation in the employment and public discourse increased their claim to authority within the home. Chapter 3 of this thesis argued that the effects of women's participation in paid employment were registered in anxiety about their increased domestic authority at a point in time when men's participation in the home was being renegotiated.

In bush mythology, the implicit recognition that women experienced a lesser degree of separation from the community than did men opened up the further possibility that this contestation over authority might not be contained within the confines of domesticity. To the extent that men may have seen domestic life as confined and isolated, the problems of authority could be contained within quite narrow parameters, and men could, in any case, 'take to the tracks'. But if the boundaries between public and domestic were, for women, porous, then the location of the contestation over cultural authority did not necessarily need to be restricted to the domestic realm.

This interpretation argues against the conventional characterisation of the nineteenth century women's movement as concerned only with domestic issues of concern to bourgeois women. Miriam Dixon, for example, has argued that the legacy of convictism in Australian identity was a version of domestic feminism that, compared with American feminism, was impeded by its "ultrarespectability" and "ultradomesticity". Dixon's thesis, however, is premised on the assumption of virtually complete separation of domestic/private and public domains. It is largely a product of her theoretical framework that she represents Australian late nineteenth century feminism as overly conforming to bourgeois ideologies of respectability and
domesticity and as of "diminished political effectiveness". Elsewhere I have argued that historians seeking to account for historical moments in which domestic ideology has exercised near-hegemonic control over the lives of men and women are likely to perceive it as evolving, stable, unified and coherent. Those who seek to account for the inability of domestic ideology to achieve and maintain hegemonic control are more likely to see it as unresolved, inconsistent, and unstable. The extent to which the ideology of gendered public/domestic domains appears resolved and unified depends not only on the historical moment chosen for study, but also on the conceptual framework that shapes the kinds of questions asked of the past.

This conclusion is supported by the work of other feminist historians, following Marilyn Lake's important discussion of the 1890s as "one of the greatest political struggles in Australia: the contest between men and women ... for control of the national culture". Lake analyses the period in terms of a struggle between competing ideals of masculinity and women's attempts to reform male culture as it impinged on domestic life. In seeking "to curtail masculine privilege and those practices which were injurious to women and children", says Lake, feminists "did not seek a total independence for women, but to make their dependence a happier and more secure state." Feminist demands for men's reform coincided with the increasing need of an urbanised, industrialising society for a disciplined, sober and efficient workforce, and with a competing idealisation of "straight, temperate and monogamistic" masculinity supported by some sectors of the labour movement and by the 1920s "the misogynists were in retreat".

The home was a battleground and the issue was masculinist culture—or in Wardian terms, the 'national character'.

It does appear from the work of Susan Magarey that the home was a site of conflict. And it is argued in this thesis that authority relations in the home were contested in bush mythology. However, in spite of the insistent articulation of separate spheres ideology, it was perceived by writers of national mythology that women may not have experienced domestic life as cut off from public life. The terms of the suffrage debates indicate that women's attempts to reform the culture were not to be limited to the domestic sphere; rather, activists in women's campaigns effectively undercut the separation of home and public further. Margaret Marsh distinguishes between the
restrictive ideology of domesticity and the "broader doctrine of separate spheres", the advocates of which "insisted that gender separation gave women important tasks in society, notably establishing and enforcing social morality. Separate spheres could enjoin women to leave the home in order to make the nation homelike." As Penny Johnson has suggested, to the extent that feminist ideology articulated views that were coming into acceptance by the newly emerging urban bourgeoisie, the demands themselves were not necessarily radical. The radical impact of feminist campaigns lay in their undermining of the social and legal boundaries between domestic and public life.

The opposition to women's incursions into civic affairs was not simply on the grounds that they were out of place, however. While many women articulated their mandate to reform culture in terms of their domestic virtue, their opponents frequently charged that their neglect of domestic responsibilities undermined their right to intervene in public affairs. The disquiet that found expression in bush mythology in relation to marriage and to motherhood, and the contestation of authority within the home has ramifications for the ways in which women's claim to public authority was perceived. Significantly, the distrust of women's reproductive and mothering practices was articulated within a discourse of nation. Birth control was represented as a form of 'treason' at a moment when the contribution of women to the formation of the nation was increasingly restricted to their motherhood. The same women who seemed to be threatening to reform 'national culture' were seen as failing to meet their obligation to the nation. As Lawson put it, "with never a thought for their country's sake are their selfish bosoms vexed".

Lawson's polemical writing suggests that those women who intervene in the public—national—order are also those whose domestic practices are most at odds with the national interest:

They'd burst up homes and the marriage-tied, and they'd sell their country too;
And they always accuse the opposite side of doing the things they do.

It is significant however that his strident misogyny was expressed in doggerel. In Lawson's earlier, more successful, writing of the bush, his perception of the pre-modern relationship between household and community was more favourable, though eclipsed by the more dominant discourse of mateship, of which domestic isolation was
a corollary. It was when he tried to imaginatively form a national culture and a stable social order for the immediate future that Lawson's vision and craft faltered. When he anticipated the emerging nation, he did so in terms of a struggle to defeat forces which, in spite of his opposition, he saw as playing a strong role in determining national outcomes.

'Tis the day of our great battle! We must lose or we must win!
Strike for Justice! Strike for freedom from the tyranny within,
Not for freedom for our pleasure, but the freedom to do right.
O our country shall be crippled if the Wowsers win tonight.

Twenty years through storm and sunshine we have followed our old drum,
And the mighty work of long years shall be lost for years to come;
Throw the old drum on the dust heap! Put the banners out of sight!
Never face my Western Bushmen if the Wowsers win tonight.

In aligning nationalist sentiments with the Bushman ideal, Lawson attached the 'defeat' of this ideal of masculinity to the imaginative formation of the nation. In Australia, Lake says, "where masculinist values had been elevated to the status of national traditions, feminist activism acquired a particularly subversive, counter-cultural dimension". When Lawson attended to a vision for the future, he struck a note of alarm, and his tirade of verse ran about like a headless chook:

Keep the wealth you have won from the cities, spend the wealth you have won on the land,
Save the floods that run into the ocean – save the floods that sink into the sand!
Make farms fit to live on, build workshops and technical schools for your sons;
Keep the wealth of the land in Australia – make your own cloth, machines and guns!

Clear out the Calico Jimmy, the nigger, the Chow, and his pals;
Be forewarned for years: Irrigation! Make a network of lakes and canals!
See that your daughters have children, and see that Australia is home,
And so be prepared, a strong nation, for the storm that most surely must come.

Marilyn Lake's analysis assumes that the "separatist model of masculinity which lay at the heart of the eulogies to the Bushman" was more coherent and resolved than this
study has argued. She suggests that those who embraced this ideal were 'nationalists' without examining the ways in which their opponents also appropriated the discourse of nation formation. In conflating masculinist and nationalist ideologies, Lake's reading of bush mythology is as unreceptive to the nuancing and ambivalence of narratives of nation as were earlier readings of historians such as Russel Ward to whose interpretations of the bush legend she implicitly accedes. In this thesis it has been argued that there is doubt and hesitancy deeply ingrained in the imaginary formation of a national community that bush mythology represents. Though it could construct an imagined past, it faltered in the translation of this past into a national society for the future. The relations of men and women emerge as a key issue in the unsettling of the imagined nation both of the past and the future.

Conclusion
To read bush mythology as a buoyant, radical, masculinist nationalism is to neglect the significance of the uncertainty, ambivalence, conservatism and fatalism which is also written into these works. From the point of view of the journeying bushman, 'home' might be the private isolated domestic domain. But an alternative reading allows that the domestic domain is part of a bush community held together by networks of women and only partially perceptible to journeying bushmen, of whom the narrator is typically one. Relationships within these communities appear to be shaped around deference and sharing rather than egalitarian values. Because women's domestic lives are implicitly more closely bound up with communities, the issue of women's authority is not contained within the home. Women's authority emerges as a stumbling block in the imagining of a national community.

Bush communities and male fraternities are implicitly written into the past. The narrator not only mediates between these networks but also between country and city, where these function as spatial metaphors for past and present. The lack of continuity between the past and the present means that the imagined communities of the bush do not lay down the foundations of the immanent national society. The heightened sense of conflict found in polemical writings of the time finds more muted expression in bush mythology, but it articulates a concern that the national community seems, in important respects, unimaginable.


I am grateful to John McQuilton, Department of History and Politics, University of Wollongong for suggesting that the deceased could be a child.

*Table Talk* (14 March 1890), cited in *ibid.*, p. 135.

Sidney Dickinson, letter to *Argus* (24 April 1890), cited in *ibid*.

*Table Talk* (14 March 1890), cited in *ibid*.


Helen Topliss, *ibid.*, p. 112.


22 *ibid.*, p. 724.

23 *ibid.*, p. 725.

24 *ibid.*, p. 726.

25 *ibid.*


31 *ibid.*, p. 11.


35 *ibid.*, p. 35.


37 In his defence of Lawson's characterisation of women, Stephen Murray-Smith suggests that Lawson's childhood experience as a "bush child" was the basis for his "greater feeling for women and their role". "That Lawson could recognise the ill-treatment of women, and write of their suffering, their humanity and their influence for good is perfectly within the range of his own formative experience. The bush child has traditionally had a particularly close and reliant relationship to his womenfolk." Stephen Murray-Smith, *Henry Lawson*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1975, p. 38.


39 *ibid.*, p. 77.

40 *ibid.*, p. 72.

41 *ibid.*, p. 138.

42 *ibid.*, p. 139.

43 *ibid.*, p. 143.

44 Barbara Baynton, "Bush Church", *Barbara Baynton*, Sally Krimmer and Alan Lawson (eds), University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1980, pp. 61-88.

45 *ibid.*, p. 61.

46 *ibid.*, p. 65.

47 *ibid*.

48 *ibid.*, p. 70.

49 *ibid.*, p. 68.

50 *ibid.*, p. 70.


54 Graeme Turner, op. cit., p. 91.
56 G. W. Turner, ibid., p. 51.
57 Henry Lawson, "Water They Geraniums", op. cit., p. 378.
58 An interesting British case study of this intersection of public and domestic concerns revolves around food. Imports, exports, tariffs, markets, on the one hand, and health, diet, cost of living, taxes, on the other, place food at the centre of national politics and domestic lives. For a British case-study, see Martin Pugh, "Women, Food and Politics, 1880-1930", History Today, vol. 4, 1991, pp. 14-20.
60 For such an account, see Raymond Markey, The Making of the Labor Party in New South Wales 1880-1900, University of NSW Press, Sydney, 1988, pp. 205-208. Markey argues that women organised around the demand for woman suffrage "largely under middle-class leadership". Though the leadership of the Labor Party ambivalently supported female suffrage, working class support was uncertain. Markey argues that Louisa Lawson's working class orientation was marginal to the concerns of the women's suffrage movement. Liberal support was instrumental in the achievement of the vote. For Markey, Labor's commitment to women's suffrage indicates "labor's retreat from class politics".
63 See, for example, Catherine Hall, "The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology", in Sandra Burman (ed.), Fit Work for Women, Croom Helm & ANU Press, Canberra, 1979, pp. 15-32; Griselda Pollock, Vision and Difference—


66ibid., p. 127.

67ibid., p. 126.

68Susan Magarey, "Sexual Labour: Australia 1880-1910", in Susan Magarey et al. (eds), Debutante Nation, op. cit.

69Margaret Marsh, op. cit., p. 506.


71Anne Muirhead suggests that the masculinist response was one of anxiety that women's demand for participation in the public sphere would recognise no limitations. Anne V. Muirhead, "Public Discourse on the Position of Women in Society: Sydney, 1888", Australia 1888, Bulletin no. 13, November 1984, p. 86.

72Henry Lawson, "The Cliques of Who'll Get In" (1905), A Fantasy of Man, op. cit., p. 247.


74Henry Lawson, "If They Win Tonight", ibid., p. 487.

75Marilyn Lake, op. cit., p. 127.

76Henry Lawson, "Australia's Peril", A Fantasy of Man, op. cit., p. 246.