Bony at Home and Abroad: The Arthur Upfield Phenomenon

CAROL HETHERINGTON
AustLit, The University of Queensland

Arthur Upfield (1890-1964) is a unique phenomenon in the literary history of early-to-mid twentieth century Australia. He is the first example in our literary history of a home-grown author with international status: the young nineteen-year-old from England soon 'developed a passionate love for the Australian bush which …burn[t] until the end' (qtd. in Lindsay 28) and pervades all his work. Others have been equally popular in Australia – Ion Idriess (1889-1979), Frank Clune (1893-1971), E.V. Timms (1895-1950) and F.J. Thwaites (1908-1979) can all make this claim.[1] But none of these writers featured significantly in the American or European markets. Another Upfield contemporary, Nevil Shute (1899-1960), had and still has a considerable international reputation but this was established well before he came to Australia in 1950, and only a small number of his total output, six of thirty-five novels, have Australian themes or settings. Best-selling author Morris West (1916-1999) belongs to a marginally later period. His first novel was published in 1945 but his major success did not come until the mid 1950s. The incredibly prolific Carter Brown (1923-1985) undoubtedly surpasses Upfield in terms of sheer volume of output and market penetration. But his slick, hard-boiled thrillers are American in plot and setting. There is nothing 'Australian' about them. While he is undeniably one of Australia's greatest literary exports, as Toni Johnson-Woods says, 'few readers realised that the Americanesque stories were written by an Australian author' (172). Upfield is the only author of his generation to have produced an exclusively and distinctively Australian product which was marketed world-wide, attracting a readership and maintaining a reputation that has lasted from the 1930s up to the present day. However, the nature and extent of Upfield's success both at home and overseas have not been properly explored and fully understood. What was the extent of his success? What sort of people read his books and why? What made him different from other authors of his generation who tried and failed to gain international recognition? Did his novels sell because they are good crime or because they are Australian crime? Is genre or geography the key factor in his success?

Answers to these questions can shed some interesting light on the marketing and reception of Australian literature in a global context. In addressing them I would like to borrow an idea from Professor Jill Roe. At the February 2007 ASAL mini-conference in Sydney she gave a paper titled 'Six Silly Things People Say about Miles Franklin'. One can similarly list three fallacious arguments about Arthur Upfield: that he was virtually ignored in Australia; that he gained entrée to the American market because Australia had become interesting to Americans due to their troop presence here during WWII; that his sensational 'tourist thrillers' were produced by the cheap and nasty paperback industry, part of an American cultural imperialism that penetrated markets worldwide.

Fallacy One: Ignored at home

Upfield was as guilty as anyone of perpetuating half-truths and myths about himself. He liked to play up the claim that he was ignored at home and celebrated overseas. Indeed it is a quintessentially Australian complaint, whether in reference to writers, inventors or businessmen. Certainly he was given scant recognition by the 'literary

establishment'. The details of this, although fascinating, are outside my scope here, but it means that an acquaintance with Upfield and his work in Australia is a generational thing. Many younger Australians, including those in the field of literary studies, have either not heard of Upfield or remember him dimly because of television series broadcast in the 1970s, or even the 1990s, or because of paperback editions of his work on bookshelves in the homes of their parents or grandparents.

Upfield arrived in Australia in 1911 and published thirty-four novels between 1928 and 1964, all with Australian themes and settings, twenty-nine of them in a crime fiction series featuring the part-Aboriginal detective Inspector Napoleon Bonaparte, 'Bony' as he prefers to be called —'all my friends call me Bony' (*Death of a Swagman* 28). In 1936, Upfield gave up his life in the outback to become a full-time writer. As well as his crime fiction, he wrote feature articles, short stories and anecdotes about outback life, landscape and culture. His work appeared frequently in the pages of newspapers, particularly the *West Australian* and the Melbourne *Herald*, and in a range of popular publications such as *Walkabout*, the *Australian Journal*, *Wide World Magazine* and the *Bulletin*. Upfield books sold well and in Australia most were also serialised in newspapers or magazines and read as serials on radio. In 1953 a 30-part radio series 'Man of Two Tribes' based on Bony novels was produced by Australasian Radio Productions and was broadcast nationally; a selection of episodes was repeated in 1958 and future film and TV productions were contemplated.[2] At one stage (between 1954 and 1955) Upfield and illustrator Robert Sperring explored the possibility of developing a comic strip series of Bony. When the first television series featuring Bony was made in 1972 there were still plenty of people around who could remember the detective. W.G. Cousins, managing director of Angus and Robertson between 1932 and 1950, had aimed to make Bony a 'national figure' (Upfield to J. K. Ewers 20 Dec. 1936, qtd. in Stone 190) and one would have to acknowledge that by the end of the 1930s Bony was acquiring that status.

Despite Upfield's sense of injustice at his meagre income and his annoyance with publishers, it does seem that even before his move into the American market he was making a modest living, although shortcomings and inadequacies in local publishing and distribution, and the inherent smallness of the market, were limiting factors. Granted, he had needed to supplement the income from his books with articles for newspapers and magazines but by 1937 he had bought a comfortable house in the Dandenong Ranges, outside Melbourne. To J.K Ewers he wrote:

> The house you visited here I bought last May with an acre of land adjoining and, having thrown the properties into one I have had three additional rooms, a hall and passage added to the house. One of my dreams has come true in this my study, a room 12x12 with double windows and glass doors off the hall, carpets on the floor and a desk and book cases. (Letter to J.K. Ewers 6 Aug. (completed 14 Sept.) 1937 qtd. in Stone 191.)

Upfield had already travelled a considerable distance from the camel-drawn dray on Western Australia's Number One Rabbit-Proof Fence where he wrote his early novels by hurricane lamp after long days as a patrolman (Hawke 189-91).

By 1942 Angus and Robertson's New York agent had managed to place five novels with Doubleday and the next year three Napoleon Bonaparte mysteries appeared in America – *Mr Jelly's Business* (as *Murder Down Under*), *Wings above the Diamantina*

(as *Wings above the Claypan*) and *The Mystery of Swordfish Reef* – and Upfield's international reputation began to take shape. Other titles quickly followed at a regular rate. The financial rewards were immediate. In a statement from Doubleday for May 1943, and referring only to royalties for one novel (*Mr Jelly's Business* [*Murder Down Under*]), Upfield received £370 which was almost as much as his annual war-time salary at military headquarters in Melbourne (qtd. in Lindsay 159). The trade-mark black Daimler was already in Upfield's mind if not quite yet in his garage.

Fallacy Two: A war-time love affair with Australia

Attributing Upfield's success in the United States to a war-time fascination with Australia has become common. It occurs regularly in the press – for example in recent articles (Baume) and a television documentary (*In Search of Bony*) in 2007 – and in scholarly commentary. Ray Browne asserts that 'American GIs who served in Australia and the Pacific theatre during World War II read Upfield, brought him back with them, and introduced a new author to the United States' (1044.). Stephen Knight has gone as far as claiming that Upfield's success was 'boomed on an aura of American militarism' (*Continent* 191, see also 159). Another example of a half-truth promulgated by Upfield himself, it originates most probably in some rather vague and fanciful passages in Jessica Hawke's (Upfield's partner's) biography of Upfield (Hawke 234), written with a good deal of input from Upfield, if indeed not written mostly by him, and in some biographical notes supplied by Heinemann to the *San Franciso Chronicle* in 1950. The latter, which refer to an American serviceman buying every Bony book in the Sydney Angus and Robertson bookshop, are promotional rather than reliable (qtd. in Lindsay 156).

An examination of correspondence between Upfield and his publishers would seem to discredit this view. At best the connection between American publication and a burgeoning interest in Australia due to war-time American troop presence is exaggerated. W.G. Cousins had been testing the American market for Upfield since 1937with no success: Cousins both visited New York himself and worked through agents. He repeatedly notes individuals' interest in Australia and publishers' indifference. [3] Publishers he approached included Simon & Schuster, who turned down *The Bone Is Pointed* in 1939, and Dorrance who had published Upfield's first novel, *House of Cain*, in 1929. When Cousins sent them *Wings above the Diamantina* in 1937 they rejected it, saying it had 'something of greater Australian than American reading interest' (qtd. In Lindsay 137). There is no evidence in the files that his efforts were increased as a result of the war. The only reference in the Angus and Robertson records to increased North American interest in Australian writing refers to Canada, not the United States, and comes in a letter from Upfield to Cousins:

> A couple of weeks ago I received confidentially a report that the Toronto Star Syndicate […] needed urgently Australian fiction suitable for newspapers, and copies of magazines and papers publishing Australian fiction, for offer over North America. As this indicated to me a sudden wide interest in Australia, I sent them per airmail samples of my short stories and by ordinary mail a copy of Diamantina offering serial rights […] this interest in Australia may have been aroused by the work of our boys in Egypt as well as by the growing number of air trainees in Canada' (3 Feb. 1941, Angus and Robertson Archive).

It is interesting to compare this passage with its counterpart in Hawke's biography. She writes that 'After the American boys arrived in Australia, another man said: "Look! America is cabling for special articles and stories from Australia, as the people over there are keen to know all about us now their lads are here. Why don't you push some of your books across?"' (234).

In any event, nothing seems to have come of this overture on Upfield's part. *Wings above the Diamantina* appears not to have been serialised by the *Toronto Star* and other, later serialisations of Bony novels by Canadian newspapers was negotiated by Upfield's American agents. Likewise, if increased interest in Australia was a factor in Doubleday's decision to publish Upfield's fiction, I have been unable to find mention of it. The archive in the Baillieu Library contains correspondence both with MCA Management, Upfield's first agents in the United States, and with Doubleday, from the early 1940s to the 1950s. The letters do express personal interest in Australia on the part of the writers but nowhere is there anything to suggest that this is of paramount importance to potential readers. Discussion of characterisation, or the accuracy of small details of plot, is more common than discussion of Australian themes or setting.

Display advertisements in the *New York Times* for the first two titles published in America place no emphasis on the 'Australian connection' even when other house titles are advertised in terms of war-time issues – such as their suitability as presents for GIs overseas. A full-page advertisement for *Murder Down Under* in the *Publishers Weekly* (December 1942) introduces 'Australia's Leading Mystery Story Writer' but this is dwarfed by the large font advertisement for the fact that it is one of two Crime Club selections for the month. In even smaller font towards the bottom of the page is the comment that the book is 'Particularly timely right now in view of Australia's sudden prominence.' One would also expect reviewers, at least at first, to make some reference to the issue if it were important as a selling point but this is not the case. *The New York Herald Tribune* reviewer writes in January 1943: 'Mr Upfield makes a successful debut in our midst, with promise of more to come … Not to dwell on the pleasing novelty of the Antipodean setting, *Murder Down Under* is a solid, meaty affair worthy of any fan's attention' (Cuppy 13). A reviewer of *Wings above the Diamantina* finds only that 'the descriptions of strange flora, fauna and weather phenomena [are] nicely handled [and] will make you grateful for not being rushed' (Bullock 8) and the influential Isaac Anderson in the *New York Times* complains 'the author might have spared us some of the scenic background' (8). Only one reviewer, columnist Dorothy Quick, linked the Australian setting and American troops, commenting that 'Australia is very much in the news now and everyone is intensely interested in the country down under. Our boys are there and so we want to know what it's like'. And in discussions of marketing the books, there is only one mention of promoting the 'cultural tourism' aspect. In August 1948, four titles were advertised 'as the Crime Club offer of a vicarious vacation in Brazil, Australia, Paris and New York'[4] It was a departure from usual practice and in this display advertisement the location of Upfield's book is of no greater or lesser interest than the locations in the other three. So though location is undoubtedly important in Upfield's novels, indeed his treatment of place is his strongest claim to 'literary' status', it does appear to have been relevant to his American success only in so far as it is an important component of the crime fiction genre.

Doubleday's perceived audience were not American servicemen and their families, or a public newly aware of a distant and previously unfamiliar country. They were

dedicated crime fiction buffs always eager to meet new fictional sleuths from different backgrounds, whether cultural or geographic. They were not captivated by new locations per se: for these readers, Paris was of interest only in the mysteries of Georges Simenon, Oxford only in the work of Dorothy Sayers, Australia only in the adventures of Bony. Crime fiction was big business. The Doubleday Crime Club began in 1928 and operated until 1991. It published a wide range of crime and detective literature and had a huge following. It was part of a crime fiction industry, a close-knit network of crime devotees, publishers, magazines and reviewers, involving Dorothy Gardiner from the Mystery Writers of America, Howard Haycroft from the Detective Book Club, and reviewers like Anthony Boucher, Will Cuppy and Elizabeth Bullock.

Upfield's success was orchestrated by a thoroughly professional organisation. From 1950, after a rift with Angus and Robertson, Doubleday became his main publisher. From 1952 they acted as both his agent and publisher and co-ordinated publications and rights negotiations with their contact in London, Richard Steele, who liaised with Heinemann and handled at least some of the translation rights. Upfield was not a passive partner in all this: the correspondence shows him constantly querying issues of rights and royalties and he was active in joining professional bodies like the Mystery Writers of America and contributing to their 'trade' journal *The Third Degree*. It is clear, though, that commercial success of international proportions was only possible with such a supporting apparatus – comprising editing, publishing, marketing, distribution and reviewing.

Fallacy Three: Fame through 'American paperbacking' (Knight, *Case* 240)

The view that Upfield's American, and therefore worldwide, success derived from sensational 'tourist thrillers' mass-produced in cheap American paperback format (see Knight, *Continent* 159) betrays lack of attention to the publishing history and to the details of literary production in the crime fiction genre. Quite frankly, one also suspects a certain prejudice: all of these terms – 'tourist', 'thriller', 'paperback', 'American' – are used pejoratively, not least the term 'American', even in scholarly articles. And when the Australian memory of Upfield may be coloured by the crude, and often salacious paperback covers of the 1970s,[5] it is not surprising that one often hears people mistakenly categorise Upfield as a pulp-fiction writer. This blurs the telling distinctions between pulp fiction and popular fiction and obscures differences in the cultural and commercial circumstances of their production. It is important to separate Upfield from a pulp fiction writer such as Carter Brown and from the pulp fiction industry where titles were often completed in a matter of weeks and rushed through production at breathtaking rate.

In Australia, England and America Upfield's novels were all published first in hardcover editions. The Doubleday Crime Club editions were handsome, well-designed hardbacks. The books also appeared in omnibus editions marketed by subscription book clubs such as the Unicorn Mystery Book Club and the Detective Book Club; these contained works by other notable crime writers like Ellery Queen, Georges Simenon (creator of Maigret) and Sax Rohmer (creator of Fu Manchu). In fact, relatively few English language paperback editions were released in Upfield's life-time – five in the prestigious green and white English Penguin editions between 1949 and 1962 (Upfield was the first living Australian author to be published in Penguin)[6], one in a New

American Library edition in 1948 and eight in the US Berkley Medallion Books series in 1963 and 1964, shortly before or just after Upfield's death in 1964. The real proliferation of paperback editions did not begin until the 1970s.[7]

Crime fiction was taken extremely seriously in the United States, regarded as a reputable craft. Nowhere is this clearer than in the correspondence between Upfield and his American editor, the head of Doubleday's mystery department, the highly respected and long-serving Isabelle Taylor. She took great pains with Upfield's manuscripts. It is clear that her experience, her careful attention to detail and her thorough knowledge of the craft of crime fiction did a great deal to improve the quality of the finished product. Upfield appears to have taken her criticism well, happily acceding to her requests to make cuts or changes. He responded to her obviously sympathetic reaction to his work and recognised her respect for him as a writer, as well as for his potential readers. The changes and corrections made by Taylor range through details of every kind – the age of a dog in *The New Shoe*, the hair-do of a female character in *Sinister Stones*, the use of Texan slang words by an American character in *The Mountains Have a Secret*, the exact figures for a wool clip in *Venom House*. Choice of titles was one point on which Taylor and Upfield often disagreed. When working on a new book in 1959, he commented: 'Doubleday have a habit of calling my books what they like' (qtd. in Stone 29). Sometimes this was simply because a title would mean nothing to an American audience: *Bushranger of the Skies* became *No Footprints in the Bush* because the term 'bushranger' was unfamiliar to American readers; similarly *Wings above the Diamantina* was published as *Wings above the Clay Pan*. In most cases, however, changes were made for sound literary or commercial reasons, not to accommodate any particular American prejudices. One would have to agree with Taylor's reasoning: she found the title 'The Fourth Ring' 'unimpressive…its significance in the story is minor and comes just at the end. What [she asks] do you think of 'The New Shoe' which, by its matter-of-factness as a mystery title, becomes provocative?' (Letter to Upfield 21 Nov.1950). *The Mountains Have a Secret* was submitted with the title 'Can That Man Be Dead?' Taylor changed the title because 'its significance is only apparent after one has finished reading the book. It is very much better selling policy to have a title which is provocative and, at the same time, applicable to the initial problem or mystery with which the book begins' (Letter to Upfield 7 Apr. 1948).

In 1953 *The Devil's Steps* appeared in Italian and a steady stream of translations followed in more than a dozen languages.[8] As in the Unites States, they were all published by houses with a special interest in crime fiction – by Garzanti Libri in Milan and most enthusiastically by Wilhelm Goldmann in Munich. All the Bony novels were translated into German, although not in publication order, and like the Crime Club editions they were initially hardback books on quality paper, only later issued in pocketbook editions. Various anniversary and omnibus editions appeared, including four titles in the Meisterwerke der Kriminalliteratur (Masterpieces of Crime Fiction) series. By 1967 a total of 25 Bony books had been published in German editions. In the 1990s, through the initiative of the German author Gisbert Haefs[9], the final four titles were issued. Upfield titles were marketed under licence to Goldmann in Switzerland and also in the former German Democratic Republic and even exported back to Australia.[10] The serial rights for *The Widows of Broome* were sole to *Quick* magazine, a popular illustrated weekly, for 11,000 Deutschmarks in 1956. In a 1962 Goldmann publicity leaflet showing the figures for the previous decade, Upfield is

placed second in a list of 65 foreign authors. Sales of his books were by then 663,000 (Arthur Upfield Collection). Dr Lothar Pützstück, a German scholar and Upfield fan, estimates that even by the 1970s sales would have been well over the one million mark with individual titles selling 100,000 copies and many going through nine editions (email to author May 2008). Today three German titles are still in print.

French translations came much later, beginning in the 1990s. Of 24 translated titles, 18 are currently in print from Editions 10/18. They are quality paperbacks with attractive covers featuring authentic Aboriginal artwork. Given French interest in Indigenous Australian culture it would be natural to assume that this prompted the publisher to commission the translations. However, Editions 10/18 is also a crime fiction specialist. The impetus for publishing the Bony books came as a result of the firm's success with translations of the work of American mystery writer Tony Hillerman, whose work has similarities with Upfield's.[11]

Genre not Geography – Marketing Bony

So what does this tell us about Upfield in the global market? There is compelling evidence to suggest that Upfield's ability to break into the international market and to establish a global reputation was entirely due to the fact that he was first and foremost a crime writer. Without this key qualification it is doubtful that an American publisher would have been interested in more than one or two novels, if that. Indeed, what was needed was to gain the attention of a dedicated crime fiction publisher: as noted earlier Simon & Schuster and Dorrance were not interested in Upfield. But his books were not sensational thrillers like the pulp fiction sold in news-stands; they were carefully crafted and edited products for an essentially middle-brow crime fiction audience. Their 'tourist' value, their Australian interest, was subordinate to their detective aspect. Genre not geography was the central factor.

The last Bony mystery was published in 1964 but his story continues. It is no accident that Bony soon became as frequently mentioned as Upfield himself. Even before Upfield's death, Bony took on a life of his own – the detective sent his friends Christmas cards and bookmarks with seasonal greetings (see Figures 1 and 2) and even wrote an introduction to Jessica Hawke's biography of Upfield. Since then his fans have been accommodated by numerous paperback editions in English in Australia, England and the United States and in numerous other languages, the most recent being Vietnamese. Some editions had specially commissioned introductions by critics or well-known crime writers. As well, braille, sound recording and large print publications have appeared right into the twenty-first century. As mentioned earlier, the tales inspired two television series – broadcast in Australia, UK and Germany. In the 1980s a small independent American publisher, Dennis McMillan, republished four early, and virtually unobtainable, works: three non-Bony novels – *A Royal Abduction*, *House of Cain* and *Gripped by Drought* – and the non-fiction *The Murchison Murders*. The first two had specially commissioned introductions by leading popular fiction writers, crime writer Tony Hillerman and science-fiction writer, Philip Jose Farmer respectively. These were attractive limited editions, designed to be the collector's items they have become.

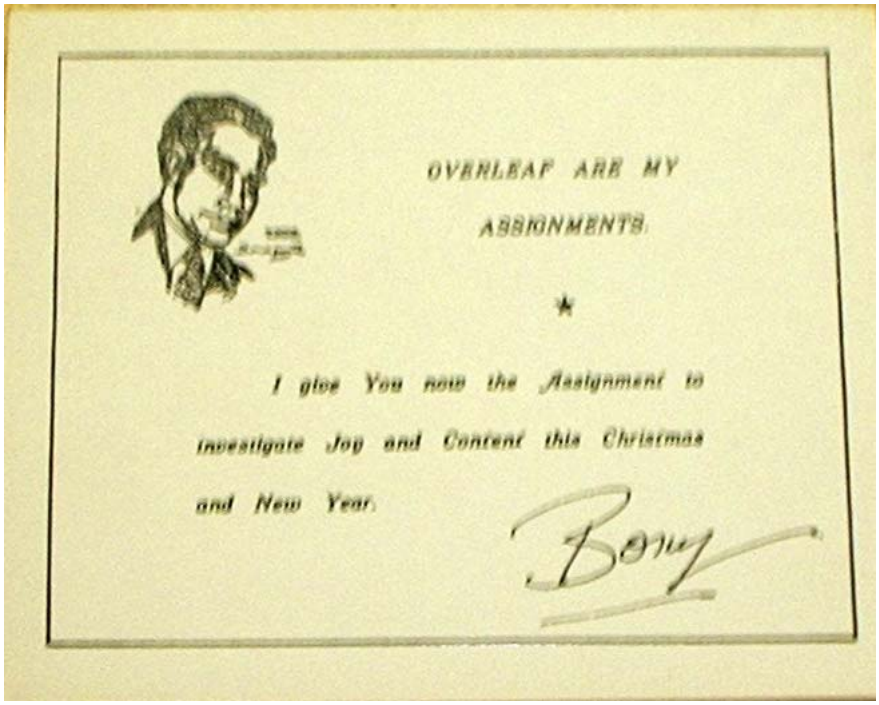

Figure 1. Christmas card. By permission Special Collections, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne.

Figure 2. Bookmark. By permission Special Collections, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne.

There were more than enough aficionados and collectors ready to buy them. From 1981 to 1990 Philip T. Asdell, an American enthusiast, published an occasional newsletter entitled *The Bony Bulletin*. In 1981 the subscription rate was $3.30 for three issues, surface mail world-wide. In all, 33 issues were published. This type of fan publication, while acting as an information exchange for readers and collectors, also attracts contributions ranging from the whimsical to the scholarly, responding to the

material, 'sometimes amateuristically, but usually with a surprising amount of knowledge and skill' (Gelder 6). *The Bony Bulletin*s include several series of articles such as 'Bony Was There' (linking the novels to their physical locations), 'Women in the Bony Novels', 'Australian Words and Expressions', 'Flora and Fauna in the Bony Novels'. There are bibliographic lists of various kinds – first editions, paperback editions, translations and a listing, by novel, of the animals most commonly mentioned. There is textual criticism – an analysis of variations between the 1928 edition of *The Barrakee Mystery* and its American edition, *The Lure of the Bush* (1965). One also finds archival correspondence, reprints of critical articles and interviews, and reproductions of newspaper clippings, photographs and book covers. Contributors include crime professionals such as American Betty Donaldson, Australian Upfield fans and collectors, and Swedish fan Klas Lithner, himself a public prosecutor, who recounts his conversion to Bony 'fandom' when he bought a copy of *Death of a Lake* displayed in the window of a London tobacconist in 1957.

Not long after the demise of *The Bony Bulletin*, another occasional publication appeared, *Marsupial Mutterings* published between 1994 and 2007 by another American, Jan Finder. Finder himself, although a self-deprecating amateur, convinced the 9th AAALS conference in 1994 to include him in their program and he presented a paper on Upfield's disputed date of birth. The *Mutterings* contain an item by anthropologist Dr Lothar Pützstück, who has published on Upfield in German, detailing the German editions of Bony novels, an article by Australian post-graduate Travis Lindsay, on Upfield and academe, contributions from Australian writers Stuart Mayne and Lucy Sussex, and a discussion about the possibility of a Bony cookbook. *Marsupial Mutterings* is not necessarily finished yet but in the meantime internet sites have stepped in to fulfil the role of the printed newsletter. There are several sites, some interactive, devoted to Upfield and the interest shows no sign of abating. They continue to enhance and enrich the reading experience for their fellow enthusiasts.[12]

Since 2007 there have been more comforting signs for Upfield fans. In 2007 Claudia Stone, an exploration geologist from Tucson Arizona, published *The Collected Bony Bulletins* – all 33 issues of *The Bony Bulletin* scanned, bound and with a contents listing, index and introduction. In 2008 Jan Finder, editor of *Marsupial Mutterings*, re-published an extremely rare early non-Bony novel, *Beach of Atonement*. Also in this year Kees de Hoog, who maintains the main Upfield website, published the first collection of Upfield short stories, *Up and Down Australia*, with an informative introduction. He followed this in 2009 with *Up and Down the Real Australia*, a collection of autobiographical articles. In April 2008 filming commenced on a new ABC tele-movie initially titled *Blood on the Sand*, later changed to *Three Acts of Murder*, based on the events surrounding the Murchison Murders of 1932 when Snowy Rowles, an acquaintance of Upfield's, committed a real-life murder, using the method of disposing of a victim's body featured in Upfield's novel *The Sands of Windee*. The film was released in June 2009. A new biography by American academic Andre Milnor was published in mid 2008.

How then do we categorise the Arthur Upfield phenomenon? I submit that in global terms Upfield is, like Carter Brown, essentially significant as an Australian export rather than an exporter of Australia. Of course there were and will be readers interested in the novels solely for their Australian focus; and for many their total knowledge of

Australia stems from these books. But I believe that the reason for their initial success internationally lay overwhelmingly in their very nature as crime fiction. They fitted perfectly into an industry that was well-equipped to deliver them to a ready audience. They were a product eminently suitable for an established market. Ken Gelder in his *Popular Culture* (2004) has described the 'processing' of popular fiction – the 'entire apparatus of production, distribution (including promotion and advertising) and consumption'. The Upfield 'phenomenon' has all the characteristics Gelder identifies as central to 'the logics and practices' of this literary field, including the prime importance of the investigator, the serialisation of this figure through a number of works regularly produced, the 'generic endorsement' of the product by other practitioners in the field, and the generation of 'cultural capital' through the growth of a 'para-academic' apparatus of magazines and sites devoted to the author or genre. The continuing growth of the Upfield phenomenon is a distinguishing feature of the self-perpetuating literary field of popular genre fiction, exemplified in the tribute titled 'Arthur Upfield: The Man Who Started It' made by American mystery writer Tony Hillerman, who read Bony books as a boy in Oklahoma in the 1950s: 'When my own Jim Chee of the Navajo Tribal Police unravels a mystery … when he reads the signs left in the sandy bottom of a reservation arroyo, he is walking in the tracks made by Bony 50 years ago' (vi).

Note: The research for this article was supported through Professor David Carter's 2006 ARC grant 'America Publishes Australia: Australian Books and American Publishers, 1890-2005'.

Notes

[1] Thwaites's romance *The Broken Melody* (1930) was immensely popular and was made into a feature film in 1938. Idriess and Thwaites were both published in England; several of Thwaites's romances (three (possibly four) were translated into French and one (possibly two) into Spanish); Timms's 12 novel series The Great South Land Saga was published in the United States (but only in 1975 after Timms's death).

[2] See letter to Morris West of Australasian Radio Productions 13 June 1952. Arthur Upfield Collection, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne.

[3] See letters from Cousins to Upfield, 21 October 1937, 23 Jan. 1938, 24 Jan. 1938 and 14 April 1939. Angus & Robertson Archive, MLMSS3269, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. Arthur Upfield Folders 1932-1939. Upfield himself on the one hand thanks Cousins for placing the books in America and on the other takes the credit for the idea himself (see Lindsay 156).

[4] IsabelleTaylor to Upfield 22 June 1948. Arthur Upfield Collection, Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne: 'You may be interested to hear that in scheduling MOUNTAINS for August we have in mind a departure from our usual scheduling custom. Heretofore we have endeavoured to spread our books with foreign backgrounds through the whole list but in August we are concentrating them in that one month so that they will be advertised as the Crime Club offer of a vicarious vacation in Brazil, Australia, Paris and New York. Our salesmen seem to be amused by this and think it will stimulate interest in all four books.' The display advertisement appeared on 22 August 1948.

[5] The dust-jackets of the English language hard-back editions of Upfield novels are well-designed, attractive and tasteful. Similarly, the American paperback editions have appealing, discreet, unsensational covers. Perhaps contrary to commonly held views, it is the English paperbacks published by Pan (an imprint of Heinemann) from the 1970s onwards that are

lurid and often quite crudely and misleadingly suggestive. A good selection of cover can be seen on these websites: <http://homepage.mac.com/klock/upfield/widows.html> and <http://www.quaggabooks.co.uk/upfield/>

[6] When Penguin's founder, Sir Allan Lane visited Australia in 1953 he made a special trip to Upfield's home at Airey's Inlet near Geelong. See 'A Visit to Bony', *Argus* 21 Feb. 1953: 8

[7] English language paperback editions include Pan editions published in Australia and the UK; Pacific Books, Arkon, Eden and Hinkler editions in Australia; Scribners and Colliers editions in the USA.

[8] The first Upfield novel to be translated was the early, 'non-Bony' novel *House of Cain* which was published, possibly as a supplement, by the Oslo newspaper *Aftenposten* in 1929, but this appears to have been something of an aberration.

[9] Gisbert Haefs is well known in Germany for a series of non-historical mysteries and several voluminous historical novels. He also writes science fiction and works as a translator (notably of the works of Arthur Conan Doyle) and editor.

[10] In a letter to Upfield 2 September 1955, Wilhelm Goldmann comments that 'My firm makes regular shipments to Australian booksellers. Since many Germans have migrated into Australia, the demand for German books is steadily increasing and thus you will find German editions of your novels, too, in Australian bookshops.' Arthur Upfield Collection. Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne.

[11] I would like to thank Dr Susan Barrett of the University of Bordeaux for sharing information obtained from the translator Michelle Valencia, and for her discussion about French interest in Australian Indigenous culture.

[12] One of the most useful is maintained by Australian enthusiast Kees de Hoog and is archived regularly by the National Library of Australia's PANDORA archive. It has links to a number of other sites http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/48745/20050420/www.collectingbooksandmagazines.com/upfield.html.

Works Cited

Anderson, Isaac. 'Review of *Wings above the Claypan* [*Wings above the Diamantina* in Australia]'. *New York Times* 16 May 1943.

Angus and Robertson Archive, MLMSS3269, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. Arthur Upfield Folders.

Arthur Upfield Collection. Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne.

Baum, Caroline. 'The Case of the Disappearing Detective'. *Good Weekend* 20 Jan. 2007: 26-29.

Browne, Ray B. 'The Ethnic Detective; Arthur W. Upfield, Tony Hillerman, and Beyond'. *Mystery and Suspense Writers: The Literature of Crime, Detection and Espionage*. Ed. Robin W. Winks and Maureen Corrigan. Scribner Writers Series. New York: Scribners, 1998. 1029-46.

Bullock, Elizabeth. 'Review of *Wings above the Claypan* [*Wings above the Diamantina* in Australia]'. *Book Week* 9 May 1943: 8.

Cuppy, Will. 'Review of *Murder Down Under* [*Mr Jelly's Business* in Australia]'. *New York Herald Tribune* 10 Jan. 1943: 13.

Farmer, Philip Jose. '"Upfield's Pre-Osteomantic Novel"'. Arthur Upfield, *House of Cain*. San Francisco: Dennis McMillan, 1983. 1-4.

Finder, Jan, ed. *Marsupial Mutterings*. Albany, NY: No. 1 (Nov. 1994).

Gelder, Ken. *Popular Fiction: The Logics and Practices of a Literary Field*. London ; New York: Routledge, 2004.
Hawke, Jessica. *Follow My Dust*. London, Melbourne: Heinemann, 1957.
Hillerman, Tony. 'Arthur Upfield: The Man Who Started It'. Arthur Upfield, *A Royal Abduction*. San Francisco: Dennis McMillan, 1984. v-vii.
In Search of Bony. Dir. Lisa Matthews. Premiered on SBS Television on 25 January 2007.
Johnson-Woods, Toni. 'The Promiscuous Carter Brown'. *JASAL* Special Issue (2008):168-83.
Knight, Stephen. 'The Case of the Missing Genre: In Search of Australian Crime Fiction'. *Southerly* 48.3 (1988): 235-49.
——. *Continent of Mystery: A Thematic History of Australian Crime Fiction*. Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne UP, 1997.
Lindsey, Travis Barton. 'Arthur William Upfield: A Biography.' Diss. Murdoch U, 2005. Available online: http://wwwlib.murdoch.edu.au/adt/browse/view/adt-MU20051003.113934
Milnor, A.J. *Arthur W. Upfield: The Life and Times of Bony's Man*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.
Pützstück, Lothar. *Das Bild des Fremden im Detektivroman mit völkerkundlichem Inhalt : ein Beitrag zur Diskussion 'Anthropology in Fiction' anhand ozeanischer Beispiele*. Bonn: Holos, 1988. 31-52.
Quick, Dorothy. Newspaper clipping, undated but possibly 1943. Box 1. Arthur Upfield Collection. Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne.
Stone, Claudia, comp. *The Collected Bony Bulletins, Original and Complete*. Tucson, Arizona: Corgi Publishing, 2007.
Upfield, Arthur. *Beach of Atonement*. Morrisville, NC: lulu.com, 2008.
——. *Death of a Swagman*. Sydney: Pacific Books, 1969.
——.*Up and Down Australia*. Sel. ed and intr. Kees de Hoog. Morrisville, NC: lulu.com, 2008.
——.*Up and Down the Real Australia and* The Murchison Murders. Sel. ed and intr. Kees de Hoog. Morrisville, NC :lulu.com, 2009.