Illustrating Mobility: Networks of Visual Print Culture and the Periodical Contexts of Modern Australian Writing

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The history of periodical illustration offers a rich example of the dynamic web of exchange in which local and globally distributed agents operated in partnership and competition. These relationships form the sort of print network Paul Eggert has characterised as being shaped by everyday exigencies and 'practical workaday' strategies to secure readerships and markets (19). In focussing on the history of periodical illustration in Australia, this essay seeks to show the operation of these localised and international links with reference to four case studies from the early twentieth century, to argue that illustrations offer significant but overlooked contexts for understanding the production and consumption of Australian texts.[1]

The illustration of works published in Australia occurred within a busy print culture that connected local readers to modern innovations and technology through transnational networks of literary and artistic mobility in the years also defined by the rise of cultural nationalism. The nationalist *Bulletin* (1880–1984) benefited from a newly restricted copyright scene, while also relying on imported technology and overseas talent. Despite attempts to extend the illustrated material of the *Bulletin*, the *Lone Hand* (1907–1921) could not keep pace with technologically superior productions arriving from overseas. The most graphically impressive modern Australian magazines, the *Home* (1920–1942) and the *BP Magazine* (1928–1942), invested significant energy and capital into placing illustrated Australian stories alongside commercial material and travel content in ways that complicate our understanding of the interwar period.

One of the workaday practicalities of the global book trade which most influenced local Australian producers and consumers prior to the twentieth century was the lack of protection for international copyright. This was also a principal factor accounting for the belated development of graphic arts in the Australian scene. As Geoffrey Caban has observed, infrastructure for the illustration and production of books, newspapers, and magazines required not only expensive machinery and expertise but also a network of engravers, lithographers, printers, advertisers, and commercial artists. In England, these arts flourished in what Victorianists call the 'golden age of illustration' (Cooke 17) that overlapped with the late period of Dickens—that is, from the 1860s to the middle of the 1870s. But these illustrations made their way into print culture outside Britain in sometimes nefarious ways. Prior to the Berne Convention of 1886, the American *Chace Act* of 1891, and complementary British legislation which extended copyright throughout the Empire and Commonwealth, copyright law was either non-existent or poorly enforced. Consequently, piracy or plagiarism was rampant, and the illustrated serial market in the colonies was 'flooded' by cheap colonial editions of British and American originals (Leighton and Surridge, 'Transatlantic' 208). Using Katherine Bode's technique of searching the key words 'to be continued' for serial fiction in Trove's digitised collection of historical Australian newspapers produces examples which show that, however the images were procured, the presence of illustrated stories originating from Britain is in ample evidence in mid-nineteenth century colonial print culture.

A Soldier of Fortune, A Tale of War by England's popular novelist John Frederick Smith, originally published in *Cassell's Family Paper*, appears to have been reprinted without credit to the illustrator in Launceston's *Cornwall Chronicle* on February 12, 1870 (see Figure 1.).
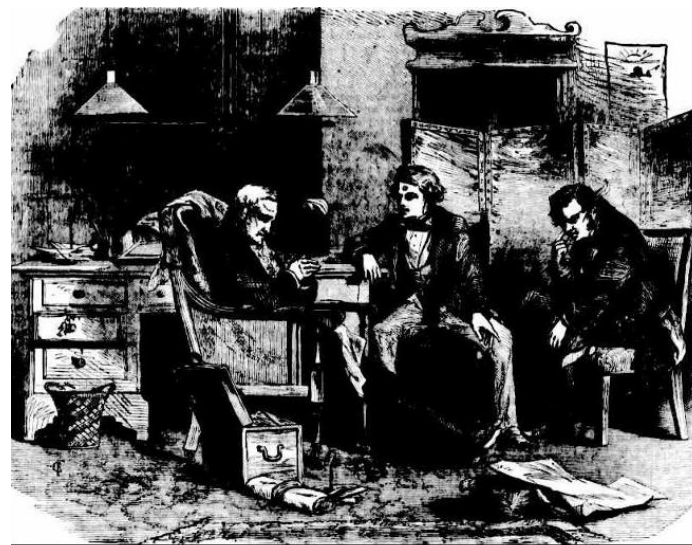
Figure 1. Uncredited illustration for John Frederick Smith's *A Soldier of Fortune*.
***Cornwall Chronicle* (Launceston, Tasmania, 1835–1880),**
Saturday 12 February 1870, p. 1. National Library of Australia.

Wolfenburg, the popular illustrated serial by Glaswegian novelist William Black—who actively campaigned for international copyright because his work was extensively reprinted without permission throughout the colonies (Reid 32–33)—appeared in the *Sydney Mail* in 1892. These are just two of many easily locatable examples. Whilst some colonial fiction was illustrated, more often it was text only; Australian stories were only occasionally decorated with small column pictures (see Figure 2,).

Figure 2. Uncredited column illustration for F.S. Wilson's
'Edged with Gold! An Australian Christmas Story.'
***Illustrated Sydney News* (NSW: 1853–1872),**
Saturday 15 December 1866, p. 9.

More elaborate pictures, typically accompanying poems, appeared in special issues. One example can be seen in the work of *Bulletin* illustrator Percy Spence, who lent his talent to the spectacular illustration of Toowoomba poet George Essex Evan's 'The Western Squatter' on the front page of the Christmas number of the *Illustrated Sydney News* in December 1891.
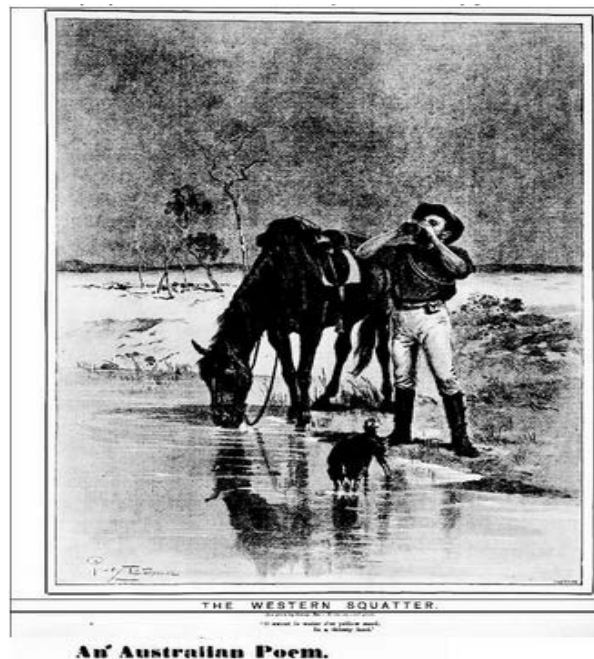

Figure 3. Percy Spence illustration for George Essex Evan's 'The Western Squatter.'
***Illustrated Sydney News* (NSW: 1881–1894),**
Saturday 19 December 1891, p. 3. National Library of Australia.

Whilst illustrated stories arrived in abundance from overseas, the *Illustrated News*, which Peter Dowling has examined extensively, set the scene for Australian graphic production due to its need for local content.

Illustrations in the *News* provided what imported content could not: documentation of 'material culture,' including buildings, streetscapes, and urban panoramas; evidence of 'civic culture' through portraits and sketches of parliamentary occasions; and pictures of 'frontier culture,' including country life, Indigenous people, and natural disasters, as well as vistas of travel, notably to Australia's Asian and South Pacific peripheries (Dowling, '1861' 26). Further, the illustrations in the *Melbourne Punch* fed a ready market for local political satire that could not be met by overseas production. When the *Bulletin* was launched in the 1880s, it extended this existing trade model for local illustrated print matter: political satire complemented by illustrations of material culture, civic and frontier culture, and localised landscapes or travel scenes.

To this already successful formula, the *Bulletin* was able to add illustrated Australian stories and poems. Illustrations were key to its success and tightly connected to its literary content: 'The aim of the proprietors' the newspaper announced in its inaugural editorial, 'is to establish a journal which cannot be beaten—excellent in the illustrations which embellish its pages and unsurpassed in the vigor [sic], freshness and geniality of its literary contributions' (31 January 1880, 1). It may well be the case that the introduction of international copyright law created a market in which investment in expensive technical equipment and artists' salaries could finally be matched by the revenue from local demand, which had been

stimulated not only by a growing sense of populist nationalism, as has usually been supposed, but also by an urgent desire for locally illustrated fiction. The *Bulletin* appears to have flourished in the newly restricted milieu that arrived in the aftermath of the Berne Convention, which regulated and severely constrained the cheap duplication of illustrated stories in colonial publications.

The local development of visual art in advertising, cartoons, and illustration thus relied for a very long time in Australia upon both imported material and (at least at first) on the importation of talent. It involved, to borrow Bruno Latour's nomenclature, the mobility of actors in a network, suggesting firstly that Australian newspapers had required duplication of material and technology from overseas; secondly, that Australian publishing remained connected to the world because of the influx of foreign talent; and thirdly, that literary and artistic Bohemias came to develop around particular figures and industries in Melbourne and Sydney, which emerged as hubs for roving correspondents. For example, Charles Troedel, known as the father of Australian lithography, was brought to Melbourne by a printer who was visiting Europe in the late 1850s to recruit staff for his business (Caban 22). Nicholas Chevalier, the force behind the technical innovations in illustration at *Melbourne Punch,* studied under Louis Gruner in London, before his recruitment to Melbourne in 1855 (Caban 16). And in the aftermath of new copyright restrictions preventing the cheap duplication of higher quality American and British images, W.H. Traill, the editor and manager of Sydney's *Bulletin,* travelled to America in 1882 to engage a first-rate cartoonist to help establish Australia's foremost, nationalist periodical. He recruited Livingston Hopkins, soon to be recognised and beloved by the Australian reading public through his signature, 'Hop.'

As a freelancer for *Scribner's*, *Harper's*, and the *New York Daily Graphic*, Hop had established a reputation as an important figure in American life (Caban 31). Faced with the limitations of crude technology on his arrival in Sydney, Hopkins managed to convince J.F. Archibald to import engraving equipment. Eventually, 'exasperated with the earnest yet futile attempts' of the publisher to cope with the technicalities, he also induced Traill to import a process-engraver (Caban 32). In 1885, another artist was added to the ranks, as Traill travelled to England to recruit Phil May to join Hopkins as a key illustrator (Heseltine, n.p.). The influence of this talent quickly spread: Hopkins offered lessons on the weekend to a number of leading artists in Sydney, including B.E. Minns, Arthur Streeton, and Julian Ashton, who drew for the *Illustrated Australasian News*. Whereas the local capital city illustrated newspapers had once held a monopoly on state news, the nationally-distributed *Bulletin* began employing roving contributors, such as New Zealander David Low, whose job was 'to travel the length and breadth of Australia' in pursuit of 'caricature portraits of local notables' (Caban 35).

The technical and business innovations throughout the 1880s and 1890s at the *Bulletin* both fed and stimulated a new market for local illustration, whilst nurturing a coterie of illustrators and graphic artists. The development of this group, prominent members of artistic and literary networks in Sydney by the turn of the century, has been chronicled by Norman Lindsay in *Bohemians of the Bulletin.* In David Carter's words: in 'the absence of an established book publishing industry' in Australia, periodicals played a 'key role' not only in publishing local content but also in 'mediating for local readers the social and cultural transformations of modernity' ('Literary Celebrity' 171). Yet as Ken Gelder and Rachel Weavers have noted in their research on Australia's colonial periodical scene, despite their formative 'role in the making of Australian literature . . . the colonial journals were also *unmaking* it' as they were committed to the ephemeral, the latest, and the new (17). Thus, whilst the *Bulletin* was on the

one hand committed to building up the national culture, on the other hand, it was simultaneously both product and casualty of that transnational 'market modernity' (Carter, 'Literary Celebrity' 177) which accelerated with the increasing pace of technology and trade.

As technical innovations continued to bring greater numbers of imported magazines of increasing quality to Australia, the cheap, high circulation weekly established in the 1880s had to be reinvented. Lindsay and Frank Fox persuaded Archibald of the potential value of 'a high class magazine,' 'An Illustrated Monthly' that would match the format of the London *Strand* (Taylor 16) and provide a 'wider scope for their talents than the *Bulletin*' (Taylor 51). Producing such a publication required such a significant investment in technology that delays in procuring machinery from overseas not only set back the launch of this new magazine, the *Lone Hand* (1907-1921), but also contributed to Archibald's 'severe mental breakdown' before the publication ever went to market (Taylor 15).

Nonetheless, once in production, the high quality illustrated magazine revealed in its first flush an enormous local demand. The *Lone Hand* repeatedly sold out of its monthly print run of 50,000 copies within days (Taylor 16). There is no doubt that a large factor in this early success was the commitment to illustration. The first issue of 182 pages was 'profusely illustrated by local artists' (Taylor 16). In issues to follow, a black-and-white Hop illustration of a story on an Australian theme by Henry Lawson might typically be found amongst more spectacularly illustrated genre fiction by writers such as Louis Esson or Ambrose Pratt.
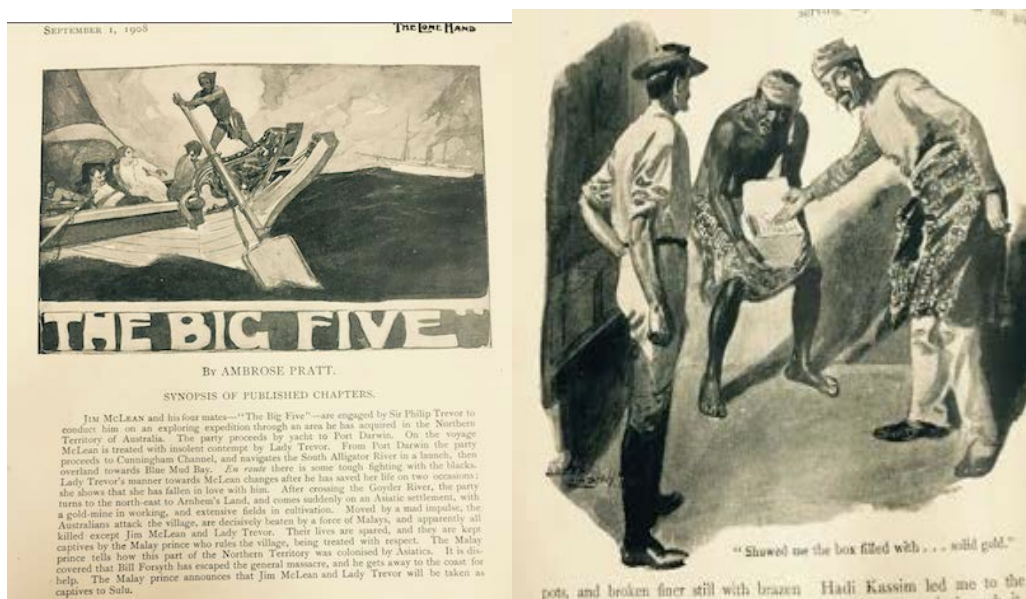

Figure 3. Lionel Lindsay illustration for Ambrose Pratt's 'The Big Five.'
***Lone Hand* (1907–1921), September 1908, pp. 559–60.**

In the decades that have been called a 'critical hinge period for modern print and other cultural forms' (Carter, *Always Almost* 47), which saw the arrival of improved photography, as well as the new technologies of film and radio, and new modes of fashion, consumption, and entertainment, the *Lone Hand* was a key transitional mechanism, bridging the old and the new in both its subjects and its form. Illustrated stories paid tribute to both world and Australian 'classics' by older, known authors, while also including the work of a class of younger writers who were in the process of becoming key agents in what Carter has described as an emerging transnational market for magazine fiction. This market demanded genre fiction and favoured mobile authors and 'texts that travelled' (Carter 'Beyond' 366). As Kit

Taylor has noted in his study of the *Lone Hand*, 'there was a full expectation of the emergence of new, outstanding writers' who were called upon to keep the magazine fresh (19). Yet the emerging writing scene was hardly recognisable by the editors as 'good writing' because it challenged the old paradigms of populist nationalism. Many of the writers had by now 'migrated to England and America to successful careers' (Taylor 20). They were also less inclined toward romance or bush yarns, and more inclined toward mysteries, thrillers, detective fiction, and crime stories that portrayed a busy world in motion.

Just as illustrated stories canvassed older and newer tastes for fiction, the staffing models for the *Lone Hand* also signalled generational change: the emergence of a new hub of emerging younger illustrators connected by principal actors to an older influential coterie. The magazine's second issue featured a lengthy article on the development of etching arts in Australia, naming its own illustrators as major players, whilst honouring Hop as 'an old identity' (June 1907, 157). Amongst its illustrators it counted (in order of contribution) both young and old: Norman Lindsay (b. 1879), Lionel Lindsay (b. 1874), David Low (b. 1891), D.H. Souter (b. 1862), Alek Sass (b. 1870), Sydney Ure Smith (b. 1887), B.E. Minns (b. 1863), Walter Jardine (b. 1884), Livingston Hopkins (b. 1846), Will Dyson (b.1880), Harry Julius (b. 1885), Percy Lindsay (b. 1870), Phil May (b. 1864), Julian Ashton (b. 1851), and Percy Spence (b. 1868). Julian Ashton, who ran Sydney's leading art school, connected Hopkins, Souter, and Spence to the members of the younger generation. Nancy Underhill has described this set of connections as 'the Ashton-*Bulletin* axis' (30), a 'a focal point' for artists and writers (Underhill 28). Yet despite the innovations from younger writers and artists, and the associations between them, the *Lone Hand* was a hidebound format constrained by older business models, notwithstanding various unsuccessful attempts under different editors and owners to renew it.

The growing visual appeal of advertisements during the early twentieth century and the marked increase in the ratio of picture to print in mainstream magazines imported from the United States, in particular, meant that even 'texts themselves took on an artistic appearance [with] more blank space, larger type, and varied fonts' (Ohmann 180) in ways that required intensive capital investment. This layout aimed to draw the reader's eye from the text to the advertisements; meanwhile, editors increasingly prioritised their audiences' identities as potential consumers rather than as mere readers. This shift was accompanied by changes in funding models, from subscription and cover-price to advertising and branding (Ohmann 8). Under Archibald's direction, the *Lone Hand* trudged forward on the subscription model, which meant that advertisements remained in the front or back matter rather than being interspersed with articles and stories, as advertisers were now beginning to demand. Readers were also beginning to prefer the new designs they saw in imported magazines: in the impressive new magazines from overseas, as Ohmann observes, 'the advertisements themselves were a spectacle, a cornucopia, a gallery of modern art' (13).

The highest quality magazines from Britain were now more affordable than ever before, as subscription rates were 'cut to lower than home prices' for the first time in Australia (Taylor 31). Titles from America such as *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue* also flooded into the country, hailing the arrival of modern consumer culture. After 1910, magazines entered Australia literally packed with products, as 'thousands of back-dated magazines that were used as packing' inside imported crates of furniture or pianos, for instance, 'emerged in new condition' and duty-free, whence they were 'auctioned and spilt onto the market at less than half the regular price' (Taylor 31).

As Jill Julius Matthews notes, despite the longstanding connection to the imperial 'Home,' 'Australia was always part of a vaster network of international communication. Its cities were all coastal ports open to the ships of the world conveying goods, ideas and people' (8). As magazines began to flood into Australia's coastal ports by the interwar years, they brought cinematic images of the modern world in full colour, awash in style, sophistication, and the enticements of new leisure culture. With the 'introduction of four-colour printing in 1916' in Australia, Holden remarks, 'the stage was set for sophisticated local products which could emulate, in both quality art work and reproduction [overseas] magazines like *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*' (19). The *Lone Hand* was unable to match either their technical innovation or their cosmopolitan sophistication and stylishness, while its association with the populist nationalism of the *Bulletin* was also unlikely to help its case in being seen as a 'cosmopolitan' modern magazine.[2] But Sydney Ure Smith's new magazine the *Home* (1920–1942) did rise to the challenge.

Smith was networked into high-class commercial culture in three important ways: through his connections to high-paying travel advertisers; via his role in the Australian art world; and with his position as co-proprietor of Sydney's classiest advertising agency, Smith and Julius. John Smith, Sydney's father, had served as a steward with the P&O Shipping Line (Underhill 24) before becoming manager at Sydney's prestigious Hotel Australia (Caban 54). There, the younger Smith had begun his first magazine as a teenager, interviewing eminent guests such as an Indian Maharajah, hand-drawing illustrations, and generating copy on the hotel's cyclostyle machine before selling the magazine, the *Kat*, back to hotel guests (Caban 54). The *Home*, launched in 1920, after Smith had established his advertising agency with Harry Julius (whom he had met at Ashton's art school), retained much of the business model and content of that youthful magazine. It attracted high-paying travel advertisers, including Smith's father's Hotel Australia, and targeted an upmarket readership who were or wished to become sophisticated and highly mobile worldly moderns.
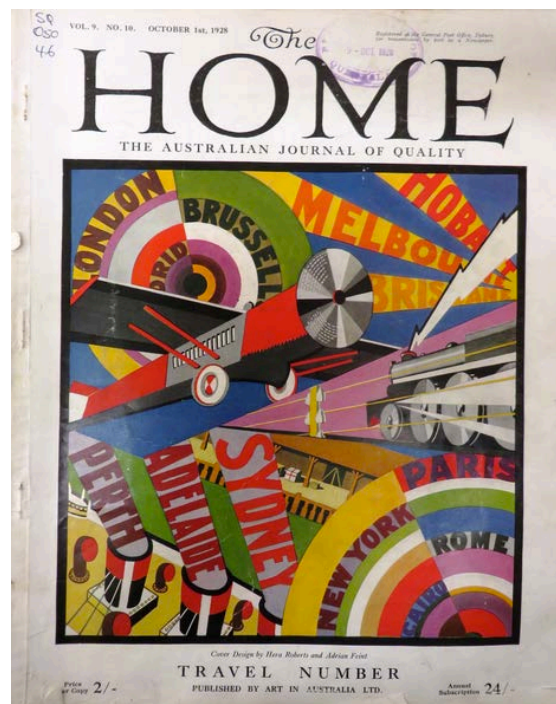

**Figure 4. Cover design by Hera Roberts and Adrian Feint for
Home Travel Number, October 1928.**

As a statement of the magazine's modernity, *Home* was alive with colour and replete with highly stylised commercial art made-to-order for high-paying clientele of luxury goods and national brands. Easily surpassing the look and feel of the two-tone publications of the past, the *Home* was the first periodical in Australia to fully embrace what Ann Ardis has identified (in the American context) as the 'hyper-visual, multi-media formats' that marked the modern magazine (1). *Home* was soon joined at the newsstands by Burns Philp's *BP Magazine* (1928–1942), a publication dedicated to modern travel, edited by Dora Payter.

The new sorts of magazines that arrived from overseas and the Australian titles that were able to match them in production quality were products of what Matthews has called 'the great international movement of things, people and ideas that was at the heart of the newly modern world' (2). The point is not simply that local editors, publishers, and contributors adapted styles via newly developed international networks of transport and commerce, but that they were themselves networked into consumer culture and transnational modernity. As such, they played a role in transporting Australian readers to new cosmopolitan horizons and in helping them navigate the modern scene. Through publications like *Home* and *BP Magazine*, travel became an emblem of the new kinds of cultural, geographical, and economic mobility conferred by modernity onto those stylish few able to grasp what was on offer. They also celebrated the glamour of city life.

The design of these magazines, the fiction they privileged, and their influence on Australian culture complicates critical orthodoxies that emphasise the rise of the novel during the interwar period and its role as 'the vehicle for the expression of national culture' (Nile, 'Politics' 132), or which focus on the emergence at this point in Australian life of the 'common nationalist privileging of the reality of the rural' (Strauss 127). As Lyons and Taksa note, during the era of peak literacy in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the average reader spent most of their time reading newspapers and magazines rather than novels (56). Newspapers and magazines 'carried advertisements for brand-name commodities,' Matthews notes (16), and through them delivered seductive images of modern urban lifestyles into the remotest reaches of the nation. They were also, undoubtedly, symptomatic of the new 'commercial synergy' that, as Matthews puts it, 'alerted a wide range of local elites to the dangers of modernity' and the need for 'restraint' (16).

Among these so-called elites were some middle-class cultural nationalist writers, for whom 'market-place failure' came to be regarded as evidence of their 'commitment to national ideals' (Nile 143). As Richard Nile explains, these were the writers who took on 'the responsibility of preserving culture against the false consciousness of the masses' (Nile 137). Yet the content and style of the magazines under discussion here demonstrate that the marketplace was not merely the site of mass culture or lowbrow vulgarity, but also a site of modern cosmopolitanism, where even some American influences could be enjoyed as new forms of sophistication. Rather than oppositional to cultural nationalism, this form of cosmopolitanism was positioned alongside it, and shared with it a commitment to instructing aspirational Australians on the finer points of taste and style. In interwar Australia, as Carter explains, '*Home* and *BP Magazine* are not just new magazines but new *kinds* of magazines, invested in a new relationship between distinction and style, stylishness and modernity' and in instructing readers on 'style, fashion, *and* artistic distinction' ('Conditions of Fame' 180).

Travel advertisements, in particular, exuded sophistication, cosmopolitanism, and prestige, linking geographical and social mobility with modernity. Stylish advertisements by signature Australian commercial artists whose own careers were marked by mobility and who operated

with ease in the new transnational economy distinguished these magazines from mere commercial rags and were part of their newness and appeal. In *Home*, the signatures of Frank Hinder, Adrian Feint, and Walter Jardine splashed across spectacular full-page colour advertisements for the passenger lines P&O, Orient, and Burns Philp. Apprenticed by Rayner Hoff, Hinder had toured Europe, and later studied art in Chicago and New York. Feint had also trained overseas, during three months in Paris on special leave from war service, as a supplement to his more extensive training at Julian Ashton's School of Art, where he built long-term associations with Smith and Julius (Judd 45–66). Initially trained in black-and-white art at Australian newspapers, Jardine had taken international training in the US, England, and Europe before returning to Australia to launch an advertising agency.

Attracted by the high prices commercial artists could command in the United States, Jardine had only just returned from New York in 1925 where he had been given charge of lucrative accounts for General Motors and Packard, and contributed to *Cosmopolitan* and *Good Housekeeping*. The national accounts of Tooths and of Tooheys beer, as well as Arnott's biscuits, that were secured in *Home* also appear to have been part of Jardine's portfolio (Gaudry n.p.). In these magazines, then, national brands were directly influenced by international advertising practices, the skills and aesthetics developed by artists who had lived and worked overseas, and the branding of products taken to be iconically 'national' was achieved through their placement in proximity to images emblematic of movement and cosmopolitanism, such as international travel.

Because of the way modern periodicals emerged as hybrid assemblages of visual and textual print culture, products of editorial teams rather than the artistic production of single authors or illustrators, periodical scholars have suggested the models of the network or the collage as ways to approach not only their production, authorship, and design, but also their semiotic analysis. Sean Latham has proposed that links from periodicals forward or backward in time to other issues, as well as outward to other content, might be conceived as print media parallels to networked 'hyperlinks' (n.p). And as Faye Hammill and Michelle Smith have shown in their study of travel and Canadian middlebrow magazines, 'reading the magazine as a multi-authored, multi-genre collage foregrounds the ways in which different types of material (visual and textual, commercial and editorial) compete for readers' attention and work together to generate meaning' and 'this means that they can literally transmit "mixed messages," in ideological terms as well as in terms of cultural level' (4).

As a mode that offered readers familiarity with high culture and embraced consumerism, whilst sharing high culture's aversion to the vulgarities of cheap mass culture, the middlebrow was emblazoned with 'mixed messages'; high quality magazines occupied this space. Highly visual, branded advertisements in upmarket publications, Ohmann notes of the American scene, 'consistently addressed readers as belonging to one of the two highest social classes, or as aspiring to be like such people' (206), 'constitut[ing] their audience as one that valued prestige' (208). The associations of travel with luxury and aspiration fed directly into the 'middlebrow project' of these magazines, as Hammill and Smith point out, highlighting the ways their 'presentation of travel—whether actual or vicarious' signified and functioned as 'a pleasurable form of self-improvement' in 'interactions between text and image, commercial and editorial content' (65).

It is generally supposed that *Home*'s commitment was to art rather than literature, and while this is at least partially true, it is not quite as Nancy Underhill has put it, that '*Home* also supported Australian literature but in a more random fashion' (80). With Smith at the helm of

a tight ship run in accordance with the most up-to-date and sophisticated design principles, it is hard to believe that anything was left to 'random fashion' or chance. Further, according to the principles of network or assemblage, the experience of reading across the page meant that stylised advertisements became part of the magazines' own brand, lending meaning to the literature it profiled. While tasteful, full-colour liner advertisements set the tone for the magazines on the front and back pages, in the back matter, smaller travel ads were found alongside the continuation of stories, and these associations with travel were therefore transcribed onto the experience of the fiction texts.
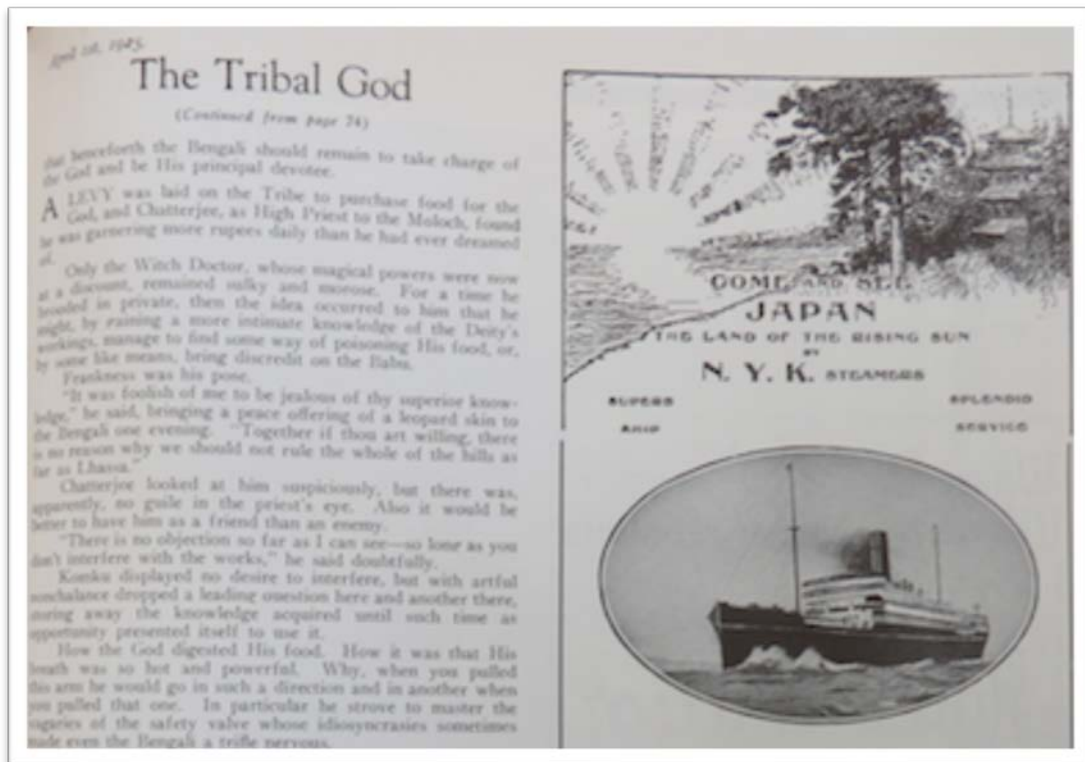

**Figure 5. Richard Goddard, Nippon Yusen Kaisha advertisement,
'The Tribal God.' *Home*, March 1925, p. 77.**

In an advertisement headed 'Why You Should be a Permanent Subscriber to *The Home*' in May 1928, the magazine boasted that 'It is Australian without being Orstrilyan'; 'Its editorial staff takes pride in presenting to you the exclusive things in life in an exclusive way'; 'It abhors stodge' and 'The beautiful illustrations' and 'high standard of the text' bear 'witness to the fact that the Island Continent is forging ahead . . . *Home* is like a cross between *Vogue* and the *Saturday Evening* Post, but with an individuality of its own' (12a). Notably, while the *Saturday Evening Post* was known for publishing leading writers of its time, *Vogue* aimed instead for fashion and society articles and instruction in tasteful style. The use of illustration in *Home* appeared as one way that the magazine balanced these aims. It lent cosmopolitan style to identifiably Australian fiction, and also enhanced the profile of Australian writers of light fiction whose work was seen as the antithesis of 'stodge.' When classically Australian stories appeared, such as Katharine Susannah Prichard's memoir of childhood in Tasmania, *The Wild Oats of Han* (1908)—serialised in *Home* between October 1926 and May 1927—modern illustration and font design signalled a sophisticated and knowing deployment of nationalist and pastoral tropes. In this case, Raymond McGrath's combination of modern fonts and stylised illustrations gestured to the influence of Margaret Preston's modernist woodcuts and landscapes.
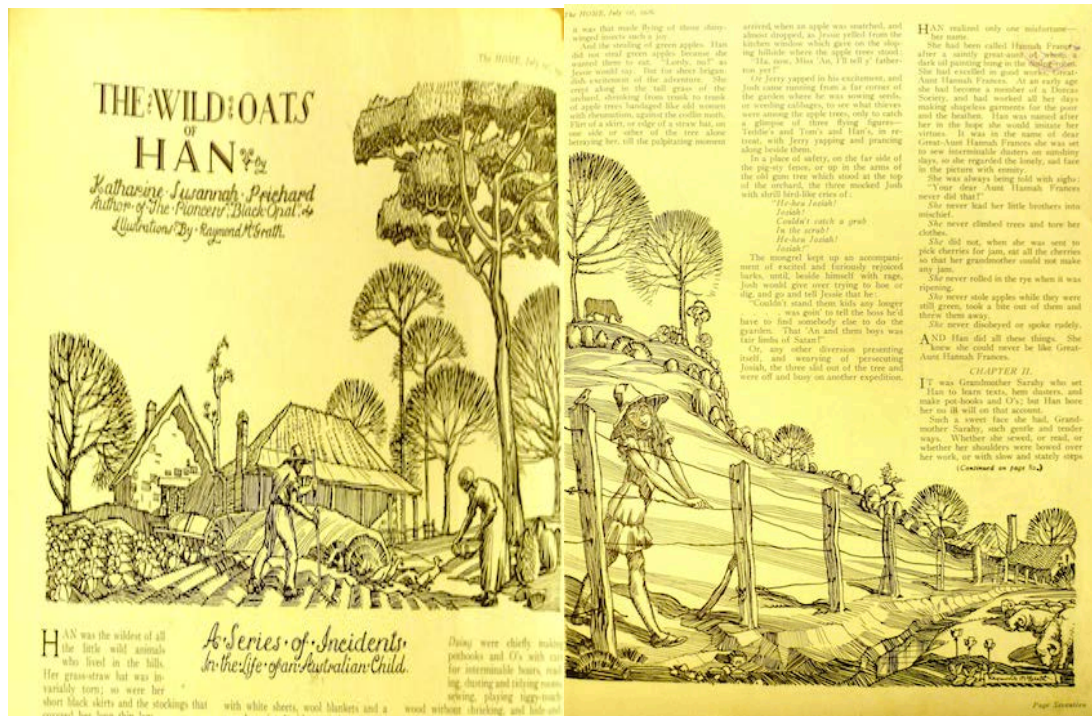
**Figure 6. Raymond McGrath illustrations
for Katherine Susannah Prichard's 'The Wild Oats of Han.'
Home, July 1926, pp. 16–17.**

Other writers featured by *Home* and *BP Magazine* were marked with the same signs of cosmopolitanism, travel, and modernity as the commercial artists who illustrated their work: Jessie Urquhart, Hilary Lofting, Myra Morris, Henrietta Drake Brockman, E.J. Brady, Jean Devanny, Alison McDougall, and Vance Palmer, to name only a few. Jessie Urquhart had just returned to Australia from England after extended time abroad as a journalist and correspondent to Sydney papers (*Argus* 'Travellers Return,' 2 July 1935, 11). Hilary Lofting, brother of Hugh Lofting of *Doctor Doolittle* fame, had travelled widely in his career as an engineer, mostly in South America (AustLit). Henrietta Drake Brockman's travels to Java and throughout the pearling fields off Broome also lent her profile a quality of modern sophistication. Myra Morris, perhaps one of the youngest and most regular contributors of fiction to *Home,* embodied the modern girl, and this included her independent travel to England during this period. Jean Devanny's exotic scenes came from her travels through tropical Queensland, while Alison McDougall spent considerable time in Europe and Spain before the outbreak of war. E.J. Brady's brief education in America, and his role as timekeeper for Dalgety and Co. Shipping had led to his travels through Australia and South East Asia, which informed his use of the settings Singapore and Java in his work (Webb n. p.). And Vance Palmer—so often associated, along with his wife Nettie, with the project of cultural nationalism in Australia—was also a prolific traveller. Palmer's experiences of liner travel and the overseas milieus of England, Spain, Finland, Russia and Japan, along with the Pacific destinations of Hawaii, Mexico and North America lent him a cosmopolitan cachet, which these magazines both drew on and contributed to.
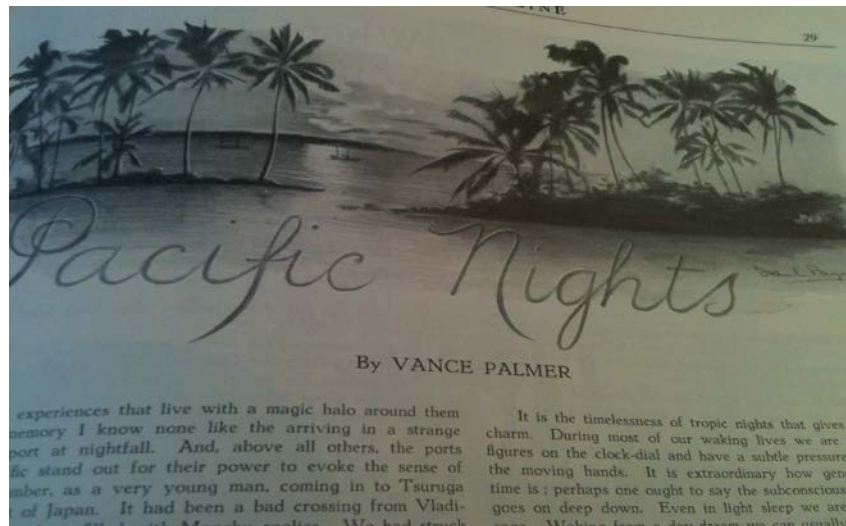
Figure 7. Frank (Frances) Payne illustration for Vance Palmer's 'Pacific Nights.'
***BP Magazine*, June 1931, p. 29.**

Whereas the *Bulletin* had provided a platform for the development of a certain kind of Australian writing that had been associated with the land and pioneering, such as the iconic bush ballads and sketches of Henry Lawson and Edward Dyson, these writers were no less Australian, but demonstrated to modern readers a new kind of light-footed, peripatetic lifestyle. Their smart fiction—attractive and bright—established the expectation that Australians, and fellow Australian writers and artists, could confidently expect to take part in the world's stylish modern marketplace as residents of an 'Island Continent' connected to the world.

In many cases, these authors' travel stories or tales set in exotic foreign settings were the ones most spectacularly illustrated. Feint's illustrations in *Home* fiction often decorated exotic travel stories or fiction with foreign settings, such as May Macfarlane's 'Babes in the Jungle' (January 1933), where Australians meet in Florence; 'Pas de Seul,' set in Vienna (May 1933); or 'Craig's Shadow' (December 1936), a romance set in Papua.

Figure 8. Adrian Feint illustration for M.H. (May) MacFarlane's 'Babes in the Jungle.'
***Home*, January 1933.**

For *BP*, Walter Jardine illustrated stories set in Australia's emerging work and pleasure periphery, such as Henrietta Drake Brockman's 'Ancestors' set in a pearling port (March 1936), or Kurt Offenburg's 'Tiger: An Episode in Malaya' (March 1936). Island stories such as Alison McDougall's 'Island of Spices' illustrated by Jardine (*BP* June 1936) or shipboard sketches such as Vance Palmer's 'Pacific Nights' (June 1931) illustrated by Frank (Frances) Payne—rumoured to have been among Australia's highest paid women (Philp, n.p.)—were not uncommon. By the interwar years, many of the new magazines were paying enormous salaries to attract the best graphic artists (Caban 37), and spectacular new displays of commercial art and illustration were drawing advertisers and readers as well as attracting attention overseas. Dahl Collings, for instance, who illustrated early covers of *Home* had begun to work on fashion illustrations for *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* (Caban 71) in London, where she was taken in by Laszlo Moholy-Nagy of the Bauhaus movement (Caban 62).

As H.M. Green has observed of the Australian periodical scene, although some weeklies such as the *Bulletin* 'stood near the borderline,' by the interwar period, 'the boundaries between the magazine and the newspaper had become established and definite' (n.p.). Whereas newspapers were known as being admixtures of miscellany, the new sorts of modern magazines were made more visually coherent by editors who worked to conduct their readers through a tour of visual and literary delights (Ohmann 65). This was especially true of the magazines produced on high-gloss art paper with the most sophisticated production values which emerged in Australia in the 1920s and '30s, the 'quality magazines,' of *Home* and *BP*. In them, advertisements set the tone for the literary and artistic content, and illustrated matter became a key with which to unlock the reading experience (Beetham 24). These magazines' deployment of fiction and illustration adapted the international to the local, and linked professional artists and writers into the global economy of commercial popular culture whilst also familiarising Australian readers with a range of modern fashions and styles.

Yet, perhaps because of its connection with the marketplace, the once spectacularly visible, yet ephemeral illustrated periodical has become remarkably invisible to Australian literary history. Restoring illustration to the story of Australian literature has the potential to transport the history of Australian letters into unfamiliar domains, and to shift some established perceptions and critical orthodoxies. The local and transnational networks of artists, authors, editors, printers, publishers, and advertisers involved in the production of illustrated periodical stories formed important yet overlooked contexts of literary sociability. These contexts were firmly embedded within practical and contingent circumstances of production and consumption. The ever-shifting terrain of image-production required constant innovation and agile publishing practices to attract the reader's eye. These practices suggest that readers were drawn to the image, in the past as in now. A history of Australian literature that takes into account the reader's perspective reveals the way in which images and stories of the nation often drew on international networks of mobility and also delivered up sophisticated images of travel or cosmopolitan style.

NOTES

[1] In the last few decades, the visual turn in Victorian studies has foregrounded the importance of illustration to book and periodical print culture. A group of Anglo-American literary scholars led by Lorraine Janzen Kooistra and Stuart Sillars, and which includes Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa Surridge, Simon Cooke, and Julia Thomas, has highlighted the interdependence of text and illustration, and drawn attention to complex transnational chains of production and exchange in the compilation of books and periodicals. Literary scholars in Australia have been slow to develop an interest in these fields—the study of visual design in print culture being

largely confined to art history to this point, in the work of Geoffrey Caban, Liz Conor, Robert Holden, Vane Lindesay, and Nancy Underhill. This essay hopes to stimulate further research on the role of illustration in the historical production of Australian texts.

[2] As Carter notes of this period, 'cosmopolitan' was one of the 'preferred terms of praise' (*Always Almost* 19).

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