Emigrants & Historians

Essays in honour of Eric Richards

Edited by
PHILIP PAYTON

Wakefield Press

Wakefield Press
16 Rose Street
Mile End
South Australia 5031
www.wakefieldpress.com.au

First published 2016

Cover designed by Liz Nicholson, designBITE
Cover illustration: *Strathaird*, a P&O emigrant ship regularly on the UK–Australia run between 1954 and 1961 (Philip Payton collection)
Typeset by Michael Deves, Wakefield Press

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Title: Emigrants and historians: essays in honour of Eric Richards / edited by Philip Payton.
ISBN: 978 1 74305 471 0 (paperback).
Notes: Includes bibliographical references and index.
Subjects: Richards, Eric, 1940– .
Immigrants.
Historians.
Festschriften.
Australia – Emigration and immigration.
Other Creators/Contributors: Payton, Philip J., 1953– , editor.

CORIOLE
McLAREN VALE

Contents

6

'How illuminating it has been' *Matthews and McKenna, and their biographies of Manning Clark*

DOUG MUNRO

The late Manning Clark (1915–91) remains Australia's best-known historian. What may be a little surprising is that he is one of the most studied of *all* historians, apart perhaps from some of the chroniclers of Greek antiquity. He at least rivals his near-contemporary A.J.P. Taylor (1906–90) as one of the most scrutinised of modern historians. Both aspired to write for a wider audience and a biographical industry has built up around them. Clark is the subject of two major biographies, by Brian Matthews and Mark McKenna, plus *A Short History of Manning Clark* (by Stephen Holt), and an earlier historiographic treatment (also by Holt). In addition, Humphrey McQueen's *Suspect Histories* (1997) discusses the public controversies that embroiled Clark as well as assessing his work in the light of these attacks. In a wider context, *Suspect Histories* is a contribution to an understanding of the history wars and the battle for hearts and minds as to what constitutes the 'correct' version of Australia's past. Taylor has also been the recipient of three major biographies as well as an intellectual biography. Both he and Clark have had selections of their correspondence posthumously published, as well as edited collections on their life and work. Both penned their memoirs with Taylor confining himself to a single book and Clark spreading himself over three volumes.[1]

Born in 1915, a son of the vicarage, Charles Manning Hope Clark took out his first degree at the University of Melbourne and from there to postgraduate work at Balliol College, Oxford, in 1938. The

war intervened – or at least he allowed it to – and he returned to Australia with his wife Dymphna (1916–2000) and taught at Geelong Grammar School whilst writing his MA thesis on Tocqueville.[2] Positions in Political Science and then History became fortuitously available at the University of Melbourne, and in 1949 – only five years after leaving school teaching – he moved to Canberra University College as the foundation Professor of History. From that base he brought to fruition the acclaimed two volume *Documents in Australian History* (1950, 1955), another collection of documents (*Sources in Australian History*, 1957) and *A Short History of Australia* (1963 and numerous subsequent editions), which has sold in excess of 250,000 copies. He is best known, however, for his six-volume *A History of Australia*, which was published between 1962 to 1987 to a decidedly mixed reception. From the late-1960s, he became a prominent national figure with his repeated forays into the public domain, becoming increasingly identified with the Labor Party. He became an increasingly divisive figure, lauded by many on the Left and condemned by as many on the conservative side of politics.

He died in 1991 but neither his spirit nor his widow was left in peace. Two-and-a-half years later came the so-called 'Ryan affair', when Clark's publisher and supposed friend at Melbourne University Press, Peter Ryan (1923–2015), launched a vicious, out-of-the-blue attack on both his scholarship and his person – but without showing the relationship between the two.[3] The widespread outcry received extensive media coverage. Then, in 1996, the Brisbane *Courier-Mail* provided even greater media fodder by accusing Clark of being a Soviet spy, or at the very least an agent of Soviet influence. Controversy dogged him throughout his life and beyond the grave. He had a premonition that this would happen, confiding in this diary only three years before he died that 'The attacks on my work and character continue and will probably go on long after I am dead' (quoted in Matthews, p. 391).

His contrariness and larger-than-life qualities are appealing ingredients to biographers-in-waiting. Clark was both perplexing and polarising, leading a fraught and often troubled existence. With

a penchant to shock and be shocking, he was never far from the seat of controversy; who else but Clark could have (jokingly?) suggested an undergraduate course on the history of fellatio? Uplifting to some, he was infuriating to others: 'If we are to cast Manning Clark as pitiable and floundering', observes the freelance writer Peter Cochrane, 'we must not forget that he was also formidable, outrageous, eccentric, inspiring and at times a man of mesmerising appeal'.[4] It is little wonder that a character of such singularity has been the subject of three biographies. The present chapter, then, may be regarded as a modest exercise in metabiography, in two senses of the meaning of the phrase. First, I am not concerned so much with Manning Clark's actual life but, rather, his life after death in the ways that his biographers 'make sense of the life and identify its historical significance'.[5] Second, I attempt to view the two biographies in relation to their authors' disciplinary standpoints.[6]

* * *

The origin myth of the Manning Clark biographies was promulgated by Peter Craven in his by-line literary column on 'Readings' in the *Australian*, in October 1993, where he announced that Clark had wanted Don Watson as his biographer. He understood, however, that Watson 'decided against the job precisely because of possible resistance from the family'.[7]

As always, nothing is straightforward when it comes to Manning Clark. Extraneous and seemingly unrelated factors have a habit of converging and complicating each other. The circumstances surrounding Craven's by-line piece are convoluted and they encapsulate Clark's ability to unsettle, whether he wanted to or not. One contextual matter is that Watson had already written a biography of Clark's contemporary historian, Brian Fitzpatrick (1905–65) and now he was Prime Minister Paul Keating's speechwriter, about which experience he would write another book.[8] A concurrent episode was the Ryan affair, which was only a fortnight old. The tumult and the shouting were in full cry, with each side claiming the high moral

ground. Watson was no idle bystander. Rather, he was one of Ryan's severest critics and he had particular reason to maintain the rage.[9] Not only was Watson close to Clark in the latter's final years, but had been the scriptwriter for the ill-fated 1988 stage production based on Clark's *A History of Australia* (*Manning Clark's History of Australia – The Musical*). The project was beset with difficulties and obstructions and Watson came out the experience the worse for wear. One of those obstructions was Peter Ryan threatening legal action to prevent the sale of the Penguin edition of Clark's *A Short History of Australia* before performances, or else the show would not go on. In his first *Quadrant* article, Ryan poured scorn on *The Musical*, among other things stating that it represented 'the prostitution of scholarship and dignity' and concluding that 'this is what Karl Marx meant by history coming back the second time as a farce'.[10]

The final ingredient in the equation is Craven noting that Brian Matthews was Clark's putative biographer. There were 'rumours of difficulties', said Craven, the same ones that had deterred Watson: 'It is natural that Clark's family should have its own sensitivities about the way in which Clark's story was told, although it is hard to imagine a more humane biographer than Brian Matthews'.

Watson scotched the origin-myth, but not publicly. Writing to Dymphna Clark, he expressed a liking for Craven, whose 'defence of Manning since Ryan's disgusting assault has done him [great] credit'. But he felt obliged to put the record straight on other matters:

> While some people urged me to consider attempting a book about Manning's life, I had no reason to believe that I was the candidate favoured by the Clarks, nor any reason to imagine extraordinary difficulties in the event of my attempting to write it.
>
> In fact I didn't entertain the idea of a book about Manning for more than a day or two – which it how long it too to realise I had not sufficiently recovered from some of the more fanatical vilification and all the distortions of Manning's work and ours which surrounded the Musical. I just didn't have the spirit for the task. It seemed to me better that Manning's biography would be better written by someone less scarred and at a greater distance, and perhaps better still that nothing was done for a few years.

> I think Brian Matthews is very well qualified to do it, but with the *Quadrant* mob, uninformed journalists and bitter old grumps all tearing at Manning, he might be wondering if waiting for the dust to settle is not a bad idea.[11]

In the event, Matthews not only had to wait for the dust to settle (pp. 450–51). An initial impediment, when he was contracted by Random House to write Clark's biography, was being located in London as Director of the Sir Robert Menzies Centre for Australian Studies.[12] In addition there was residual family resistance, because it was too early after Manning's death and feelings were still raw. Neither was Matthews a member of the Clark circle, and although both had written books on Henry Lawson, they had had little personal contact.[13] The ice-breaker was Clark's son Axel; he and Matthews were good friends, having been in the same Honours class at the University of Melbourne and members of the same cricket team (Matthews, pp. 504–05). He arranged a meeting in 1993 between Matthews and Dymphna, who was 'not terribly enthusiastic' but she didn't say 'no'. A year later Dymphna invited Matthews to see her alone. In thanking her, Matthews wrote, 'I realise that you were, and probably are, in a difficult position about potential biographers and biographies. I will certainly try not to do anything that will exacerbate your problems; in the meanwhile I can only repeat my thanks for your generous gesture'.[14] The way ahead was clear and work on the biography proceeded.

Meanwhile, Stephen Holt had brought out his *Short History of Manning Clark* (1999), soon after Humphrey McQueen's *Suspect History*, in which the *Courier-Mail* affair was the centrepiece.[15] Both books gained impetus from the Ryan affair and the *Courier-Mail* episode. Nonetheless, the *Short History* provides a useful counterpoint to *Suspect History*. The latter is described on its back cover as being 'Part memoir and part manifesto, part philippic and part philosophy', and there is an emphasis on the controversies that embroiled Manning Clark. Holt explains his own book in quite different terms:

> [Clark's] career in its entirety, a fascinating Australian historical phenomenon, has not yet been made the subject of dispassionate or sustained historical and political analysis. A man who was essentially an observer has never been examined in a detached and thoughtful enough way. Important aspects of Australia's best-known historian remain unexamined.[16]

A Short History of Manning Clark was not as short as the title might imply. It runs into at least 70,000-words of text and it represents a serious and honest attempt by a former student of Clark, but one not in his thrall, to explain the subject in an even-handed and rounded manner. Holt, however, was handicapped by being unable to access a full range of the Clark Papers, his self-lacerating diaries, for example, only becoming available in 2000. Thus the somewhat benign depiction. Matthews and McKenna, by contrast, had access via the diaries to the tortured soul that was Manning Clark.

McKenna started work on *An Eye for Eternity* in 2004, four years before the appearance of Matthews' *Manning Clark*. He had been influenced by Clark's public pronouncements in his late-teens and early-twenties, and although he never met Manning he had known Dymphna, from 1997 until her death in 2000; he had not at that stage contemplated writing Manning's biography (pp. 698–700). He was encouraged to write the biography of Clark by fellow historian Carl Bridge and also by the Clark's eldest son Sebastian, who, in his capacity as the Clarks' literary executor, had made his entire archive open for consultation and quotation. When reading Manning's diaries and correspondence, McKenna quickly decided: 'This is for me!'[17] After seven years of research and writing, *An Eye for Eternity* saw the light of day. There are just over 700 pages of text and illustrations (and another 100 pages of scholarly apparatus and index); to my knowledge, it is the second longest biography of an historian, after Brian McKillop's study of the Canadian popular historian Pierre Berton (1920–2004).[18] Whereas Matthews (and Holt) dispense with individual referencing in favour of descriptive notes about their sources, McKenna's endnotes (pp. 715–78) are detailed, voluminous and in an uncomfortably small font size.

* * *

There was never any sense of rivalry or competition between Matthews and McKenna[19] and their biographies of Manning Clark have received a just measure of acclaim. As historian Ann Moyal proclaimed, 'How illuminating it has been ... when two very different scholars ... [have] delivered their penetrating views'.[20] Brian Matthews' *Manning Clark* won the 2009 National Biography Award. Mark McKenna's *An Eye for Eternity* missed out on that one, but it won five others, including the 2012 Prime Minister's Prize for Non-Fiction. The same person recognisably emerges from each book but the two biographers approach their task from different disciplinary backgrounds – McKenna a historian and Matthews from English Literature – and have written somewhat different books in terms of approach and content. All this has bearing on the conundrum that biography, no less than the writing of history, entails attempted comprehensiveness of research but compression of actual writing. One has to decide what themes to pursue and, based on such decisions, what detail to present. Biography, then, is not so much a version of events as an *arrangement* of events, and thus as prone to authorial priorities and narrative techniques as other types of history. This leads to the awkward question: 'how closely does the portrait recovered and constructed coincide with the original?'[21]

Such questions of authorial priorities and narrative techniques are epitomised in the opening chapter of each book. Each is an attention-grabber that sets the scene and foreshadows what follows. Both are quite different but effective and equally valid. Matthews' 'Prologue' commences with the character Augie Wren, in the screenplay of the 1995 film *Smoke*, who photographs an intersection in New York each day from the same camera angle. He then notionally transfers the camera to the Canberra suburb of Manuka and observes that the camera would frequently have caught the figure of Manning Clark making his way to the nearby St Christopher's Catholic Cathedral to pray for 'the strength to give up drinking' (p. xiv). The discussion then widens to Clark's repeated failures to beat the grog and his

disgust both at himself and for the effect that drinking had on his family. The narrative then turns to the role of religion in Clark's life, which is another recurring theme in the book. The reader is then invited to think that Augie Wren's 'indefatigable camera' could follow Clark 'into the world and the years beyond' and 'have revealed that this was a man animated by a dream to write'. Matthews also invokes the image of a man behind a mask (p. xvii). This is not a biographer succumbing to cliché; rather, Clark applied the term to himself (p. 278) to mean a strategy and a defence mechanism whereby he hid his emotions. Another manifestation of 'the mask' was what Matthews describes as 'a pattern of behaviour in which calculated eccentricity, oddity, and an impermeable gravity of mien were designed to make a memorable impression on the world while giving little away' (p. 392; also p. 465). There was the increasingly distinctive attire. The Akubra hat and three-piece suit replete with pocket watch and chain, broad belt and boots were part of a carefully contrived persona as the nation's sage. The beard and the walking stick completed the picture and added effect to his image as an Old Testament prophet.[22]

Neither does *An Eye for Eternity* commence with the usual opening chapter on family background and upbringing. Rather, Manning Clark is introduced by way of three opening thematic chapters. The first opens with a discussion of his memorable speaking voice – 'a strange mixture of vulnerability and strength' – whose 'melodious timbre' drew people in. It transpires that Clark's voice had a startling effect on many people. McKenna's initial discussion of the speaking voice leads on to Clark's personal characteristics – his cultivated persona, his contrived demeanour, his disciplined writing routines, his early epilepsy, the nervous behaviourisms, his self-consciousness and self-centredness, his desire to leave his mark as a writer. Against Clark's inner turmoil, which included an extreme sensitivity to criticism, is set his charm, his talent for mimicry and his penchant for 'self-crafting', for 'creating moments' and for dramatising situations, which some found so endearing. There is also Clark's inner turmoil, which McKenna graphically describes:

> Clark constantly walked a tightrope between exaltation and despair. Every moment of his life seemed to be lived at fever-pitch intensity, every emotion cut to the core of his being, and every aspect of his acutely felt existence had to be recorded – in diaries, in correspondence, in fiction and in history. Much of his prose seemed to suggest a cry for help, a search for an audience that might be willing to hear his confession and grant absolution. His moods oscillated wildly, moving from feelings of extreme self-loathing and depression through endearing self-mockery and impish behaviour to moments when all sense of irony vanished and he appeared possessed by a portentous and slightly ridiculous sense of self-importance (p. 27).

It is only on the last page of the opening chapter that Clark is mentioned by name, but by then the reader has a very good idea of who he is and what he was like, largely told through the recollections of those who knew him and had heard the sound of his voice.

The second chapter is just as imaginative and revealing. It is an extended meditation on the Clark archive and McKenna draws the reader into his interactions with his sources. Above all, Clark lived to be remembered and to that end he assembled and manicured a huge archive: he was intent on 'documenting the self, as [much as] documenting Australia's past'.[23] It recalls British Prime Minister Anthony Eden's (1897–1977) obsession with the verdict of history, which was such that he wrote two volumes of memoirs and carefully preserved and organised his private papers, dictated 'notes for my biographer' and selected Sir John Wheeler-Bennett (1902–75), a personal friend, as his biographer-in-waiting.[24] Clark was also given over to such unhealthy impulses. He too tried to direct his future biographer with notes and written instructions, sometimes playfully, to the extent that McKenna often felt that he was 'wrestling' with Clark over the control of the project and to avoid becoming a mere ventriloquist (pp. 41, 703). It remains a mystery that Clark clearly wanted biographers to take his side, and yet he left a mountain of evidence that would have the opposite effect, with the predictable result that both Matthews and McKenna relate episodes that are deeply unflattering to Clark. The result of Clark's preoccupation with

record retention is an archive in the National Library of Australia covering 30.3 metres of shelf space and comprising almost 200 archival boxes, as well as residual material in Manning Clark House in Canberra.[25] Moreover, Clark's literary executor (his eldest son Sebastian) has been the great enabler, whose 'spirit of openness' has permitted his father's biographers to reach into Clark's private life. As McKenna acknowledges:

> How many families in this situation would adopt an open door policy? Most would surely keep the more private and sensitive material under restricted access. In Sebastian's approach, there is a tacit acknowledgment that it was his parents' wish, and much like his mother Dymphna, he has a commitment to truth telling, regardless of the cost to the family. I can only admire his courage … Thank you Sebastian (p. 704).

The third thematic chapter in *An Eye for Eternity* is less an account of Clark's childhood and upbringing and more a disquisition on Clark's own autobiography of childhood (*The Puzzles of Childhood*) and his relationship with his parents, and theirs with each other. Matthews' first chapter also deals with childhood and it too contains experimental features. It too deliberates on *The Puzzles of Childhood*, and elaborates on his parents' difficult marriage – his mother being a high-minded descendant of Samuel Marsden, his father an Anglican clergyman from a working class background – and its effects on their children. We are led on a rapid tour of his schooling, where he says he was bullied. He also mentions a school teacher who made an impression by giving him the freedom to write as he liked. This was not only liberating, but perhaps foreshadows the sort of teacher that Clark would become. The reader is then introduced to Dymphna Lodewyckx (which rhymes with bikes), his future wife. But Matthews' essential point is to foreshadow that Clark, when writing autobiography and history, was endlessly self-referential. At one point he says that 'the sharp edge of his childhood point of view [in *The Puzzles of Childhood*] is blunted by the preoccupations and obsessions of the older man' (p. 21).

There are difficulties in using autobiographies of childhood

as a historical source. Childhood is the time of one's life is where the written record is likely to be at its most sparse (and dispersed), meaning that memory is often the principal source. It puts the biographer in an uncomfortable position, particularly when the autobiographer takes no great pains about factual accuracy, as was Clark's wont – and also A.J.P. Taylor's, for that matter.[26] Matthews is aware that Clark was 'much influenced by his own preoccupations' when writing *The Puzzles of Childhood* (p. 6), yet he tends to take him a face value. Their respective chapters on Clark's childhood reveal a major difference between Matthews and McKenna. As well as ranging more widely over the primary sources (including the material that was retained at Manning House in Canberra), McKenna has been more assiduous in tracking down informants, whose testimony often expands upon, or at least throws Clark's version of events open to question. A notable example is his discovering the whereabouts of Pat Gray. She and Clark had an affair in 1955, from which his marriage never quite recovered (Matthews, pp. 159–65), and her frank testimony greatly enhances McKenna's account of the episode (pp. 321–29, 744n.8). On the other hand, Matthews had occasional misfortune with potential informants. Peter Ryan was angry about Matthews' statements concerning his (Ryan's) attack on Clark in the pages of *Quadrant* and did not reply to Matthews' written request for an interview. (Matthews' comments were not volunteered but in response to an interviewer's questioning.)[27] When Matthews contacted Ryan by telephone the following month, he refused to co-operate, stating only half-jokingly that he had considering suing Matthews.[28]

* * *

That Clark's writings were often more about self than subject is a recurring theme of both biographies. An example apiece from each book will suffice. Clark and his father had fraught marriages, and each had at least one affair, to the great distress of respective spouses. Clark's portrait of his father in *The Puzzles of Childhood*, is

accurate enough but 'compromised by the burdens of his [own] past which Clark cannot help or resist bringing to it' (Matthews, p. 417). Elsewhere, Matthews mentions that Clark projects some of his own hurts on to his father (p. 276, 279, 387).[29] McKenna for his part points out that when Michael Cathcart was abridging the six volumes of the *History* into a single book, he 'struggled to understand Clark's approach to history until he finally saw its personal dimensions: "Once I realised it was about him I had it. All those indirect narrators were just Manning in fancy dress"', said Cathcart. 'And why did Manning hate [Alfred] Deakin so much? Because Deakin reminded him of that side of himself he hated so much ..."' (p. 459). When interviewing McKenna, Michael Cathcart asked, 'To what extent is this a history of Australia, and to what extent is it an exploration of his own struggles, his own quest ultimately for immortality – his own quest to beat death, really, which as I read your book is one of the prime drivers in him?' Cathcart went on to say that the interaction of the three great forces – Protestantism, Catholicism and the Enlightenment – which shaped the first four volumes of the *History* are the same forces 'working in Manning Clark'. McKenna agreed, saying that the *History* represents Clark's 'own inner conflicts writ large'.[30]

It is a commonplace that Clark's literary paragon and exemplar was Fyodor Dostoyevsky, whom he endlessly read for inspiration; McKenna describes him as 'a well of creative inspiration and spiritual nourishment', and 'the one constant in Clark's life' (p. 423). Both Matthews and McKenna recognise that Clark wanted to be a writer first and an historian second. A.J.P. Taylor could have been writing about Clark as well as himself in saying, 'I discovered that in writing history I was more interested in writing than in history. In other words I suppose I am more an artist than a scholar, though I happen to be a good scholar as well'.[31]

As Matthews puts it, 'Clark aspired to throw off the conventions and restraints of academic writing and burst into the wide and exciting terrain of "the writer" ... By the mid fifties, Clark had behind him fifteen years of jockeying with this idea of writing – of

writing history, certainly, but also of writing story and writing it on a grand scale' (p. 210). Before Clark started work on his multi-volume *A History of Australia* in 1956, he was to outward appearances a very conventional historian, although with a fine turn of phrase, as evidenced by his single academic journal article on the origins of convicts to eastern Australia.[32] But there were early signs that he wanted to break free and go his own way. As McKenna puts it, he was self-consciously looking for an audience and for its adulation:

> 'The confession must be made,' [Clark admitted in the early-1940s]: 'my motive is to impress, vulgarly, to play to the gallery. It will satisfy my ego to produce a work which will bring publicity to me.' If he could achieve little more than being 'the low comedian in the republic of letters', this was infinitely preferable to being invisible; the latter was the fate of the detached scholar, and he wanted much more – notoriety, public acknowledgment and sales (p. 221).

Earlier, in 1938, Clark announced his ambitions to Dymphna: 'I feel certain that I can write something some day on Australian history' and that he could approach the task with insight and originality. He went on to say 'I believe quite passionately that Australia is a "weird" country and that its weirdness has never been portrayed before except in landscape painting. Australia is virgin soil in this respect & I feel something can be done about it' (pp. 145–46).

His vision was write grand narrative history and he modelled himself the literary tradition of Thomas Carlyle, Thomas Babington Macaulay and Edward Gibbon, as well Charles Dickens. The set pieces, for which Clark is justly acclaimed, such as the deaths of Burke and Wills in 1861, were inspired by Trevelyan.[33] This involved Clark visiting the scenes of important past occurrences to imbibe a sense of place and atmosphere, and to enable him to project his imagination into an historical person's thoughts and actions – or 'to absorb the psychic atmosphere'.[34] The idea that Australia had a 'weird melancholy' was taken from Marcus Clarke and D.H. Lawrence.[35] Other Australian novelists and artists to whom he turned for inspiration were his almost exact contemporaries, Patrick White

(1912–90) and Sidney Nolan (1917–92). As well as being a writer, Clark wanted to be an artist, except that his tools of trade were a fountain pen and paper rather than a brush and canvas. Thus, *A History of Australia* was a narrative-driven epic that harked back to a time when history was painted with broad-brush strokes and regarded as a branch of literature. There is an uncanny resemblance between Clark and the non-academic historians of the United States of the previous generation:

> [T]hey were ... serious professional writers who sought to reach a very broad audience. They wanted to tell a story that would be comprehensive and interesting to the nonspecialist reader; doing so required them to make compromises that most of us customarily do not worry about. They considered themselves artists or authors first, and as historians second. They were determined to incorporate drama and develop tension.[36]

Clark's emphases on individual drama and on personalities and their interplay at the comparative neglect of wider contexts are common enough among historians who direct their work at a popular audience.[37]

McKenna is a historian and Matthews comes from a literary background. Their approaches to discussing Clark's writings reflect their respective disciplines. McKenna assesses the influences on Clark and his *oeuvre* as would an historian: the merits, weaknesses and peculiarities, what Clark was trying to achieve, the extent that he does so, and where he falls down. Of particular note is McKenna's description of Clark at work in his attic study. Few biographies of historians deal to any extent with the nuts and bolts of the subject's work patterns and writing techniques and thought processes, and how these affected the final product. As McKenna explains:

> Sitting in his study with photocopies of his primary sources laid out on his desk in front of him – newspaper articles, colonial dispatches, letters and diaries – Clark transcribed passages straight into his narrative. He used historical documents in the same way as a musician uses a musical score. The original documents were a form of notation upon which he would improvise, providing a

> magnificent libretto. Like a Handel oratorio, voices rose up to take their designated role in the score, given an added touch of Clarkian drama here, an extra bit of Clarkian pathos there. His work was polyvocal; it teemed with voices, and the voices within Clark's text mirrored those within his mind: he often referred to himself as a polyphon, a man of many voices (pp. 461–62).[38]

Improvising from a score: such an approach was bound to cause difficulties, especially in the hands of Clark; but it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Clark's techniques only served to magnify the existing underlying problems. Above all, there is the self-referential nature of his work with Clark's own emotions being written into the people and the situations he is writing about. Then there are the technical problems. His polyvocality is undisciplined to the extent that one of his editors at Melbourne University Press complained that his consolidated footnoting made it 'virtually impossible to tell which note belonged to each statement'. Actual quotes do not always receive the benefit of quotation marks and, as McKenna says, there are passages in his work 'that seemed to bear no relation to the sources in the notes' (p. 461). McKenna also aspires to write literary history but doesn't see himself 'as following [Clark's particular style of history'.[39] Then there is the frequency of Clark's factual inaccuracies. As Geoffrey Bolton (1931–2015) lamented, 'I can't be the only university teacher who has marked down an essay because of factual inaccuracy only to have the student complain: "If it's all right for Manning Clark to get facts wrong, why can't I?"'[40] Clark's grand vision of writing an epic history of Australia of a type that had never previously been attempted was compromised by elementary failings, not to mention his habit of intruding and imposing himself upon the past and its characters.

Matthews' assessment of *A History of Australia* proceeds along different lines. When it became known that he was embarking on a biography of Clark, the question was asked whether a non-historian had the equipment. He was not unduly bothered, saying that there were advantages and disadvantages coming from a literary background:

> The fact that I am not an historian means I've got to keep talking to historians to bone up on it all, whereas a historian would know all that, you see. / On the other hand being a writer and trained in literature means there is a very important chord in Clark that I feel more than capable of describing and understanding. Clark was a distinctive writer. A storyteller. And he had that imaginative emotional side that maybe identifies more with a writer than a social scientist. Now I reckon I can cope well with that and maybe bring it out and deal with it more than a historian/biographer. / And when you weigh it all up, I'd rather be that than the other because I think it's possible for me to learn about the historian and the state of history, whereas I think it's much harder for someone who isn't a writer and isn't involved in literature and perhaps doesn't want to really get hold of that that side of Clark.[41]

In that same interview, Matthews conceded that '[Clark's] punch gets a bit lighter and he loses a bit of his form as the volumes [of his *History*] mount up'. Indeed, Matthews' assessment is the *History* concentrates on volumes 1 & 2, and to a lesser extent volume 3, which takes the story to 1851. It is very much a discussion of the texts in and of themselves. His discussion does full justice to Clark's 'imaginative emotional side', and he juxtaposes apposite diary entries with telling effect. There is also extensive commentary on the content of the diaries throughout his book. But there is little attempt to assess historiographic significance or to check Clark's text against the sources used. As a reviewer pointed out, 'Matthews' lack of familiarity with history leaves his life of the historian incomplete. This is not a biography that encompasses its subject's working life or explores the historiographical dimensions of the subject ... Rather, it is a perceptive and absorbing account of the personal and public demons that haunted this singular artist'.[42]

Matthews is adept at reading between lines and extracting meaning from Clark's often obscure and coded language in ways that would elude many historians, and he really comes into his own when discussing Clark's autobiographies and short stories. It is an original interpretation and the treatment of Clark as a 'writer' is impressive. But on one occasion he reads too much into his material,

asserting that Clark's letters to one of his research assistants, Lyndall Ryan (no relation of Peter Ryan), are 'increasingly and frankly the letters of a *lover*' (p. 306, my emphasis), prompting the response from Ryan, 'Let me set the record straight. I did not have an affair with Manning Clark'.[43] My own reading of Ryan's letters to Clark and the published selection of the correspondence in the other direction does not support Matthews' assertion, although there is every likelihood that Clark would have had an affair had Ryan been willing.[44] It might have been better for Matthews to have described Manning's letters to Lyndall as love letters.

* * *

Another theme that threads through both biographies is Clark's extreme sensitivity and his intolerance of criticism. Such phrases as 'hair-trigger sensitive at the best of times' (p. 248), his 'extremely sensitive perception of how others viewed ... him' (p. 122), an 'extraordinary sensitivity to slight and possible or imagined offence' (p. 155) 'his natural tendency to feel threatened' (p. 170), and the '"degree of paranoia" ... which caused him to "fall out" with almost all his friends at one time or another' (p. 151) abound in Matthews. Similar statements are in abundance in McKenna. Both biographers discuss the implications, not least the way in which Clark reacted in the wake of some bruising reviews of volume one of the *History*. Instead of taking it on the chin and getting on with life, Clark's attitude was that 'Whoso attacks my [work] is undermining my deepest self', and he meant it (McKenna, p. 444). Counter-attack was his form of defence and it was largely successful in silencing, or at least muting, his academic critics. Matthews recounts the occasion when Clark was sent a pre-publication copy of a review (destined for the Sydney periodical *Nation*) by John McManners, who was a professor at the University of Sydney as well as being a clergyman. McManners' sin was his allegation that Clark was more favourable towards Catholicism than to Protestantism. An offended Clark declared that their friendship was over, which McManners greatly regretted whilst

sticking to his guns, at least initially (p. 234). McKenna takes the story further. Clark not only terminated their friendship but made strenuous attempts to have the review spiked. When the editor of *Nation* (who was also a friend of Clark's) refused to buckle, Clark then sought to enlist senior historians to apply further pressure. In the event, the review went ahead but a browbeaten McManners published an addendum – in effect an apology – in the same issue. In McKenna's view, 'This was surely one of the least edifying episodes in Clark's career' (p. 447).[45]

This is the only occasion where McKenna overtly criticises Clark. McKenna takes the view that 'Biography's purpose is not to put someone on trial [or] to court martial or judge. Biography's purpose is to lay things out ... and to do so in a way which is always fair and sympathetic to the person as can be possible'.[46] This non-judgemental stance is clearly Matthews' *modus operandi* as well, although he makes no statement to this effect. Neither biographer builds Clark up nor pulls him down but tells an unadorned tale, superbly written in each case. In a matter-of-fact manner, both biographers discuss Clark's negative traits (as well as his virtues) – the neediness, the craving for reassurance and recognition, the ego and self-absorption, the petulance and posturing, the hypochondria. The same matter-of-factness applies to McKenna's account of Clark's appalling behaviour surrounding his trip to Rome in 1956 whilst on study leave and with the family in tow. He suddenly decided to make an unscheduled trip to Rome, leaving Dymphna to proceed to England as pre-arranged. McKenna describes what happened next: 'Dymphna, who was then five months pregnant, set off in the prewar Austin, chugging along at 35 miles and hour. She was alone with the four children, including Rowland, who was not yet one, as she drove through Germany to Holland, then on to Oostende, across the Channel, north to London, and finally to Oxford' (p. 374). There is no need for denunciation when the facts speak loudly and clearly for themselves.

McKenna also brings out Clark's penchant to have things both ways. Clark's professional life revolved around 'a nagging contradiction': he enjoyed academic status and craved due recognition

from his peers, yet he was wont to disparage the academy while at the same time drawing his salary *and* authority from his senior university position (p. 499).[47] He wanted to be loved and respected, despite his diaries being full of self-loathing, but he was not always loving and respectful toward others in return. His disparagement of numerous other historians amounted to denigration, as instanced by pronouncements in the mid-1950s when he denounced the radical, pro-labour historiography enunciated by Brian Fitzpatrick, among others. With a nice touch of irony, Fitzpatrick's daughter Sheila (a foremost exponent of 20th century Russian history) counters: 'It was time for "someone who has pondered deeply over problems of life and death" to step in and discover the real meaning of Australian history – for Manning himself to step in, for who but Manning could appreciate its true spiritual meaning?'[48] In other ways, too, he could be provocative and slighting. Clark liked to think that he 'discovered' and 'uncovered' Australian history and that the 'historical map of Australia was almost a blank' before he came along, but McKenna is having none of that (p. 250).[49] Furthermore, Clark enjoyed being a celebrity for its own sake and even his friends became disturbed that one motivation for his becoming a public figure was to play to the gallery and to rub shoulders with the great and gifted.[50] There was, unsurprisingly, the definite feeling that Clark, as a prominent republican, had sold out by accepting a Companion of the Order of Australia from the Queen at an investiture at Government House – that he was a shameless self-promoter who wanted to be seen in the presence of the high and mighty – just as prime ministers want to be photographed, cheek by jowl, with the captains of winning sporting teams (e.g. Bob Hawke and John Key). McKenna comments that this was another case of Clark having two bob each way – the 'longing for recognition from the very Tory establishment he derided' (p. 611).

The list could go on. At the same time, he could be uplifting and inspirational. Both biographers present numerous examples, which by no means exhaust the list. When fellow historian Brian Fitzpatrick died unexpectedly in 1965, his son David stayed with the Clarks and was helped through a difficult time. Clark had a knack of

finding the right way to raise someone's fallen spirits, in David's case getting him to do something he couldn't do himself, and that was to play Schumann's *Dichterlieber* on the piano.[51] On another occasion, during a visit to New Zealand in 1980, Clark befriended a young civil servant, Tim Armstrong, who acknowledged that conversing with Clark 'changed my life forever. We got on like a house on fire, talked about Nietzsche, Thomas Mann, NZ and Australia, his life; and it helped me pursue a life of study rather than stay in [the Ministry of] Foreign Affairs'.[52] At another level, Clark's broad historical sweep and vision were inspirational to students who were fed unpalatable servings of political/colonial history and left yearning for a sense of engagement with their subject matter: 'I agreed with him passionately', recalls Jill Ker Conway, when Clark gave a series of lectures at the University of Sydney'.[53]

* * *

Where does 'the actor posture-maker' end and 'the actual man underneath' begin?[54] In their quest for the latter, both Matthews and McKenna make extensive use of Clark's dairies, which extend over 50 years. But they view the dairies' contents in different ways and, again, the differences reflect their disciplinary backgrounds. Matthews takes his cue from Anthony Beever, who asserts that 'official records are full of rubbish and official lies, while a diary is more historically valid. It is contemporary and written with no reason to lie' (p. xi, epigram). According to Matthews, the diaries 'may be taken as the utterance of the man behind the mask' (p. 455). They are 'unvarnished and unguarded', containing 'not the slightest suggestion of ... refining' (p. 456) – statements which are at variance with the use he makes of them in other parts of his text. The fact is, and remains, that diaries are neither neutral nor uncontrived. Crucially, the reasons for keeping diaries are essential to their interpretation; for example, the Irish historian J.C. Beckett's (1912–96) diaries are 'primarily a spiritual account book' and have to be seen in that light.[55]

McKenna is sceptical about the literal truth of Clark's diaries.

The penny dropped in 2007 when two women from Ireland, who had known Manning and Dymphna during the early 1980s, arrived at the National Library to consult the relevant diaries. Upon departing one of them said to McKenna, 'the Manning I knew is not the Manning I see in the diaries' (p. 37). She was referring to contrast between the misery expressed in the dairies and her pleasant encounters with Manning; and McKenna himself notes 'the chasm between the dark despairing and often self-pitying man found in his diaries and the mischievous, affectionate, witty theatrical stirrer that so many recall' (p. 37). The same applies to many of his letters, as when Dymphna berated Manning sending weepy letters from London when a friend and one of their sons, who also happened to be in England, were telling her 'that you are well, vigorous and happy' (p. 40). McKenna also came to realise that, 'From the 1960s on, Clark's diaries were written increasingly for a public audience ... For any biographer, there is the danger in relying on diaries that are so clearly written for future publication' (pp. 37, 39).

It transpires that Clark, a year before his death, did consider publishing excerpts of this diaries. John Iremonger, the Director of Melbourne University Press, was keen to proceed on a sight-unseen basis.[56] Little did Iremonger realise what would have happened had Clark included the more personal and combustible material in the diaries, which are steeped in self-indulgent woe and maudlin misery, even more so than his letters, and diatribes against others. There is the chronic self-pity, the incessant whining, and the endless expressions of self-disgust as he struggles with alcohol abuse, as well as a craving for forgiveness, persecution anxieties and lack of self-esteem (see Matthews, pp. 442–46, for excerpts). The self-absorption is endless. Above all, the diaries are, as McKenna puts in, 'a midden of his dissatisfactions with [Dymphna]' (p. 159), who was grieved and aggrieved when she read the diaries shortly after Manning's death. Not only did Dymphna eventually decide to honour Manning's wish that the diaries be placed in the National Library of Australia and that they be available to readers in the year 2000. She also decided that her own correspondence with Manning, stretching over a half

century, be preserved (McKenna, pp. 34–35, 684–86).[57] Although a private person and publicly undemonstrative, Dymphna took steps to ensure that her side of proceedings would not be shouted down by default. Her voice would be heard through her own letters – a duet, if a discordant one, rather than Manning in full solo flight. Her act of courage and honesty bequeathed biographers an extraordinary access to the private life of the couple, and into the private lives of each (McKenna, pp. 113–14).[58] We are fortunate to be living in something of an age of disclosure which, in turn, encourages the availability of personal papers and biographical frankness.[59]

In this way, Matthews' and McKenna's biographies are, to a large extent, portraits of a marriage, in which Dymphna emerges as definitely the better half. Dymphna had sacrificed (willingly enough) an academic career of great promise. She had an old fashioned view of marriage and the role of the wife (McKenna, p. 702). The troubles in their marriage started when Manning had the brief affair with Pat Gray. Horrified at the time, Dymphna never fully recovered from her sense of betrayal. Manning, meanwhile, felt that he was being punished all the time and his diaries contain such statements as 'my wife hates me and therefore hates my work'. Capable and resourceful, Dymphna held the household of six children together as well as being Manning's proof-reader and editor, cleaning up the excesses of his extravagant prose and trying her best to save him from himself. She left him twice over low-grade infidelities and had a packed suitcase at the ready.

A blame-game would be unhelpful but Manning, for all his protestations that he was the injured party, was not above publicly putting her down and flirting in her presence. Manning's frequent letters to Dymphna during his absences, either to rebuild or to reaffirm their relationship, were drawn out pleadings, to which Dymphna eventually replied, 'About acceptance, I think we ought to accept a future in which you live according to your instinctive set of priorities and I react according to mine. Assurances, written or oral, are to be avoided – the ensuing disappointments are unhelpful' (quoted in Matthews, pp. 314–15; McKenna, p. 550).

Matthews suggests that she didn't leave him for good because of the children (p. 464). McKenna offers another dimension, namely her commitment to Clark's great project, his *History of Australia*, and he doubts whether Clark could have done it without her assistance and restraining hand.[60] In many ways they were a mismatch. Emotionally, she could not match his intensity (McKenna, pp. 345, 372). Intellectually, Dymphna had a different understanding of history: 'She valued traditional scholarly principles – fidelity to documentary evidence, factual accuracy and the necessary limitations of historical truth – above and beyond artistic expression' (McKenna, p. 465). Although she constantly saved Manning from himself, editorially speaking, he greatly resented her interventions and poured his petulant feelings into his diary.

Despite their difficulties, they were 'a team, but with two very different approaches' (McKenna, p. 464). So successful were they in projecting (and protecting) the public image of Professor and Mrs Manning Clark (Matthews, p. 464) that Stephen Holt, who lacked access to Manning's diaries, was unaware of the tensions within their marriage when working on his *Short History of Manning Clark*.[61]

* * *

There is no such thing as a definitive biography and we no longer take seriously such statements as: 'Future generations of scholars will place him, as we cannot, in his ultimate niche'.[62] The last word will never be said about a given individual. Nonetheless, successive biographers will want their work to represent added-value to the efforts of their predecessors, without necessarily wanting to displace earlier attempts. The added-value may be a greater degree of psychological penetration, or demythologising, or it may provide new insights and different perspectives. The New Zealand biographer and historian Michael King has suggested that: 'the task of later writers [is] to colonise the narrative and analytical spaces left vacant by the primary biographer'.[63] This is one way that helped McKenna resolve the challenge of how to go beyond Clark's previous biographers.[64] The

first biographer to come along can plunder the choice quotations, subject to the availability of sources. Earlier biographers also have the advantage of interviewing people who have passed on by the time a subsequent biographer enters the picture. So there are choices to be made by the newcomer. Presumably, McKenna barely discusses Clark's relationship with Brian Fitzpatrick because the ground has largely been covered elsewhere.[65] Equally, he could hardly pursue the imagery of 'the mask', given its prominence as an explanatory device in Matthews' narrative. A new biographer has to head off on a different tack.

Holt and Matthews were helpful in that they did leave several vacant spaces for McKenna to colonise, although arguably McKenna could have plugged a gap by being more systematic in dealing with Clark's religious life, perceptive though his discussion is (e.g. pp. 376–77, 388–92, 660–61).[66] The gaps in any biographer's narrative brings to mind historian Keith Sinclair's observation about autobiographies, and which applies equally to biographies. He writes that: 'The author of an autobiography ... rapidly learns that he or she cannot put everything in, yet leaving things out alters the shape of the reality being recorded. It is not that autobiographies are false, but they must be untrue to the dimensions of life left out'.[67] One dimension overlooked by Matthews concerns Clark's university-related activities in Canberra. Both he and McKenna recognise that Clark was an inspiring teacher of both schoolboys and undergraduates. But his role as a head of department is not within Matthews's purview, and this is where McKenna takes over. In those days of the god-professor, Clark had a gift for appointing good teachers, and some of these choices were daring (Humphrey McQueen, John Molony and W.F. Mandle).[68] In looking for good teachers, Clark was not interested in disciples, which is a telling departure from his customary self-absorption. Instead, he purposefully created a department populated by people of diverse political and religious persuasion – 'teachers who could participate in a great debate about the past'.[69] McKenna elaborates: 'He wanted to expose his students and staff to different belief systems and different approaches to the study of history ...

Clark's eye for the ability of fellow mavericks to communicate with students was part of his department's success' (pp. 504–05, 506).

As McKenna also reveals, other aspects of his headship were less meritorious. He was a lazy administrator who could not have survived in the role without competent and indulgent secretaries, as well as colleagues such as Don Baker (1922–2007), among others, prepared to act as his backstop. His interest in the departmental budget extended little further than ensuring that he had the wherewithal to employ research assistants for his *History* – invariably female students within the department. He could be an indifferent PhD supervisor in not providing detailed comments on thesis chapter drafts. It is incorrect, however, to say that Clark was routinely negligent in providing adequate referee's reports or that he skimped on writing proper examiner's reports, as McKenna claims (pp. 507–08). This did happen from time to time, seemingly toward the end of the teaching career, but it was not a habitual failing.[70]

Matthews notes that the frequency of Clark's public appearances 'increased in the 1980s, so much so that [his] ubiquity became legendary' (p. 380). It was a punishing schedule, involving keynote speeches to schools and museum events through to public lectures, book launches and addresses to organisations such as the Wilderness Society. Seldom did he turn down an invitation (pp. 389, 408–11). What Matthews largely glosses over is the extent and frequency of Clark's forays extending into the political sphere, whereas McKenna, by contrast, gives Clark's role as a public figure extended treatment. By the late-60s he had begun to speak out on matters of national identity and the country's future. He strongly supported Gough Whitlam and became too closely identified with the Labor Party for his own good. He spoke at political gatherings and wrote for newspapers on progressive causes, such as republicanism and Aboriginal rights (in the latter case making amends for largely leaving Aboriginals out of his *History*). McKenna attributes much significance to Clark's role as a national sage – and yet, as Frank Bongiorno points out, 'there remains something odd about it all. How was it that in a country seen as secular-minded, egalitarian,

democratic, informal and even anti-intellectual, Manning Clark – with his searching spirituality, his well-honed biblical language and his cryptic allusions to the writings of Dostoyevsky and Lawrence – came to achieve this strange celebrity status?'[71] Bongiorno goes on to suggest:

> My own feeling is that the national stereotype itself is flawed; that many Australians of the 1970s and 1980s possessed a remarkably old-fashioned hunger for a dignified symbolism of nationhood that could be taken seriously by 'old' countries. How convenient to have found a man of such bearing and eloquence. Clark looked and sounded like many people's idea of an Old Testament prophet and yet under a famous hat that seemed glued to the bald dome of his head, he also cultivated the unlikely image of a simple boy from the Australian bush. Here was evidence that after the British Empire, Australia had a conscience and a soul. And his books showed it had a history.

The extent to which an individual sways public opinion is always difficult to gauge. Clark is not mentioned, or barely mentioned, in many studies on Australian nationalism – the very works where one might expect his appearance; this may be a weakness in those studies themselves.[72] Perhaps the intermittent attention he receives in Curran and Ward's *The Unknown Nation* is about the right balance.[73] What is certain is that Clark's identification with the ALP meant that he became 'a lightning rod for political and cultural division', as McKenna puts it (p. 593). Yet in the early-1960s, Clark was seen as the great white hope of an enlightened Australian conservatism, and Peter Coleman recruited him to the editorial board of *Quadrant* (McKenna, pp. 440–41, 779 n. 25), the same journal that repeatedly attempted in later years to destroy his reputation. At that time, moreover, Clark was generally seen as more a religious commentator than a political figure (McKenna, pp. 387–91).[74]

One manifestation of antagonism from the political Right was the Ryan affair of 1993–94, which was ignited by Clark's former publisher and supposed friend writing an unexpected and scorching attack on Clark's work and character, in the pages of *Quadrant* no less.[75] Both Matthews (pp. 472–74) and McKenna (pp. 686–91)

are adamant that Peter Ryan behaved badly. An obvious question is: if Ryan, as the Director of a university press, felt that Clark's work was slap-dash, then why were such concerns not raised the time rather than being saved up for an assault on the dead, with dollops of *ad hominem* thrown in for good measure? Matthews was interviewed about the Ryan affair in 1994 and he astutely suggested that Ryan's motivation to attack Clark stemmed from a combination of professional insecurities and political antagonisms – a point which does not surface in his biography of Clark.[76] McKenna, moreover, reveals that Ryan was underhand, as Clark's publisher, in attempting to arrange a hostile commentary of volume 5 of the *History* in the Melbourne *Age* (pp. 596–97) – an act of outright disloyalty to both his author and his employer.

Then there is the *Kristallnacht* affair. It is now well known that Clark was not in Bonn to witness the carnage the morning after *Kristallnacht* in late-1938, although he always said that he was.[77] Rather, he was safely tucked away in Oxford when Nazi storm troopers went on their state-sanctioned rampage of destruction against Jewish person and property, culminating in mass arrests and broken glass littering the pavements. Clark actually arrived in Bonn a fortnight after, but in later years he appropriated the account of Dymphna, who had written to him from Bonn, and made it his own. The discovery of the *Kristallnacht* fabrication was McKenna's, who made it the subject of a celebrated article in *The Monthly*, in 2007: it was, he explained to an interviewer, 'the most powerful thing for me at the early stages of the project'. The publication of the article also let people know about his activities and resulted in considerable feedback.[78] Being witness to the aftermath of *Kristallnacht* certainly had a profound effect on Clark, as his diary entry for the day he did actually arrive in Bonn attests (quoted in McKenna, p. 640). Being there during the aftermath of *Kristallnacht* was an epiphany which demonstrated to Clark the human capacity for evil. It was, he said, the 'beginning of an awakening ... the moment when the author realised that he would have to start thinking again about the whole human situation' (quoted in McKenna, p. 636).

It makes for a gripping yarn and McKenna builds up an argument in which he concluded:

> Far from being out of place or shocking, Clark's misrepresentation of his presence in Bonn on 10 November 1938 is entirely in keeping with the spirit of the intent of his life and work. Rather than diminishing Clark, it reveals him. He fictionalised his life, just as he played with primary sources in writing his histories. He lived out the life of his greatest character, himself, the historian whose potential greatness was constantly undermined by his fatal flaws. Both his *History of Australia* and his autobiographical writings are unreliable as historical sources. But this should come as no surprise: where Manning Clark's life is concerned, the last person we should trust is Clark himself. He created himself as a myth, cultivating a theatrical persona of the people's priest and sage, telling history as a parable. And as the Kristallnacht epiphany reveals, the moral of the parable always mattered more than the facts.[79]

Such a construal had the predictable effect of providing Clark's detractors with ammunition for another attack on the value of his life's work. In *An Eye for Eternity*, McKenna softened his stance (p. 640) and provides additional evidence that makes clear that being in Bonn the morning after *Kristallnacht* was no innocent error but a deliberate fraud; it was also one of many instances, often involving an epiphany, where Clark said he was at a notable event when in fact he was somewhere else.[80] Not only was his false claim about the timing of his arrival in Bonn a last minute (handwritten) insertion into the final manuscript of *The Quest for Grace*. It was also carried out behind Dymphna's back, after she had completed her editorial work on *The Quest for Grace*. Moreover, McKenna later discovered a recorded interview in which Dymphna categorically stated that Manning was not in Bonn when he *repeatedly* said he was. And Dymphna, observes McKenna, 'was not one to play with the facts', and neither would she publicly contradict Manning, such was her loyalty to him (pp. 120, 638–39). Clark's fabrication was most definitely 'out of place and shocking', the 'moral of the parable' notwithstanding. He knew he was lying and incidents like this diminish his credibility as an

historian. When interviewing McKenna shortly after the publication of *An Eye for Eternity*, Michael Cathcart remarked that Clark broke the historian's contract with his audience to tell the truth, and I would agree: 'Truth about one's own life seems especially important in a discipline that depends upon truthful depictions of other lives'.[81] It is little wonder, having dealt with Clark's memoirs, that McKenna has a low view of autobiography (pp. 644–45).

* * *

Matthews and McKenna are at one that much of Manning Clark's writing was self-referential. To some extent, the same can be said of their separate biographies of Clark. McKenna, for example, was attracted to Clark because of his previous work on republicanism and Aboriginal rights. As one reviewer so aptly remarked, 'McKenna tacitly accepts the current scholarly consensus that [Clark] did not come within cooee of greatness as a writer of history'[82] – with the qualification that McKenna more than hints that Clark was engaged in producing something that was neither quite history nor fiction nor autobiography but something that combined elements of these three various genres in an individual and idiosyncratic way, as well as aspiring to literature greatness. That said, Clark's real appeal to McKenna lies in his work as a public figure espousing worthy causes.[83] Matthews for his part was a good friend of Clark's son Axel and he writes about Clark from the standpoint of his own discipline. The author of a book on Henry Lawson himself, he devotes a whole chapter to Clark's *In Search of Henry Lawson*, as against a paragraph by McKenna. The historian in McKenna comes out in his more extended treatment of Clark's visit to Russia and the book that resulted, *Meeting Soviet Man*, which he treats as a historiographic rather than a literary artefact.[84] Mundane but nonetheless telling, Matthews and McKenna give some prominence to other of their respective interests – cricket in Matthews' case, classical music in McKenna's. This is no occasion for surprise or puzzlement, given the extent to which all history is 'concealed autobiography'.[85] A.G.L.

Shaw (1916–2012), whom Clark ostracised for critically reviewing volume 1 of the *History*, quoted from Oscar Wilde in his own book *Convicts and the Colonies* to the effect that every artist dips his pen into his heart and paints a portrait of himself.[86]

Appendix – Publications on Clark and Taylor

Journal articles and book chapters have been omitted.*

	Manning Clark	A.J.P. Taylor
Biographies	Stephen Holt, *A Short History of Manning Clark* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1999). Brian Matthews, *Manning Clark: a biography* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2008). Mark McKenna, *An Eye for Eternity: the life of Manning Clark* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press of Melbourne University Publishing, 2011).	Adam Sisman, *A.J.P. Taylor: a biography* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994). Kathleen Burk, *Troublemaker: the life and history of A.J.P. Taylor* (New Haven/ London: Yale University Press, 2000). Chris Wrigley, *A.J.P. Taylor: radical historian of Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).

* Many of the shorter discussions by and about Clark and Taylor are itemised in Matthews, *Manning Clark*, pp. 512–16, and Burk, *Troublemaker*, pp. 472–78, respectively.

Assessments, broadly interpreted	Stephen Holt, *Manning Clark and Australian History, 1915–1963* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1982). *History 1888* (special issue: 'Manning Clark and Australian Historiography'), 3 (1979). 'Symposium: Defending Manning Clark', *Evatt Papers*, 1:2 (1993), 12–24. Carl Bridge (ed.), *Manning Clark: essays on his place in history* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994). Patrick O'Brien, *Manning Clark: the ideology man* (Sydney: APSA Paper, 1996). Humphrey McQueen, *Suspect History: Manning Clark and the future of Australia's past* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1997). Stuart Macintyre and Sheila Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Against the Grain: Brian Fitzpatrick and Manning Clark in Australian history and politics* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2007).	William Roger Louis, *The Origins of the Second World War: A.J.P. Taylor and his critics* (New York: Wiley, 1972). *Journal of Modern History* (section on A.J.P. Taylor), 49:1 (1977), 1–72. Gordon Martel (ed.), *The Origins of the Second World War Reconsidered: the A.J.P. Taylor debate after twenty-five years* (Boston/London: Allen & Unwin, 1986). Robert Cole, *A.J.P. Taylor: the traitor within the gates* (Houndsmill: Macmillan Press, 1993). Gordon Martel (ed.), *The Origins of the Second World War Reconsidered: A.J.P. Taylor and the historians* (London: Routledge, 1999).

Letters/diaries	Susan Davies (ed.), *Dear Kathleen, Dear Manning: the correspondence of Manning Clark and Kathleen Fitzpatrick, 1949–1990* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996). Roslyn Russell (ed.), *Ever, Manning: selected letters of Manning Clark, 1938–1991* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2008).	A.J.P. Taylor, *An Old Man's Diary* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1984). Éva Haraszti-Taylor (ed.), *A Life with Alan: the diary of A.J.P. Taylor's wife Éva from 1978 to 1985* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987). Éva Haraszti-Taylor (ed.), *Letters to Éva, 1969–83* (London: Century, 1991).
Bibliography	No comprehensive bibliography has been published but see 'A Select Bibliography: published works of Manning Clark', in Mark McKenna, *An Eye for Eternity*, 711–14.	Margaret Baker, *Alan John Percival Taylor, English Historian and Journalist: a bibliography of his works and selected criticism of Taylor's writings* (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, Department of Bibliography, Librarianship and Typography, 1970). Chris Wrigley (ed., *A.J.P. Taylor: a complete bibliography and guide to his historical and other writings* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980).

***Festschriften*/ appreciations**	Bruce Wearne, *Manning Clark: an appreciation*. Working Papers 92/9 (Melbourne: Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Monash University, 1992). *Manning Clark, by some of his students* (Canberra: Manning Clark House, 2002).	Martin Gilbert (ed.), *A Century of Conflict, 1850–1950: essays for A.J.P. Taylor* (New York: Atheneum, 1967). Alan Sked and Chris Cook (eds), *Crisis and Controversy: essays in honour of A.J.P. Taylor* (London: Macmillan Press, 1976). Chris Wrigley (ed.), *Warfare, Diplomacy and Politics: essays in honour of A.J.P. Taylor* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986). Éva Haraszti-Taylor, *Remembering Alan: a love story* (Privately printed, 1987).

Acknowledgement

Some passages in the present chapter have been taken from my review essay (of *An Eye for Eternity*), in *Reviews in History*, review no. 1253, 17 May 2012. Comments on the penultimate draft were gratefully received from Frank Bongiorno and Graeme Davison, not to mention the benefit of discussions with James Cotton.

27 W. Dawbarn, *Blackstone and His Commentaries: A Lecture* (London and Liverpool, 1871), 1; for Dawbarn see W.F. Yeo, 'William Dawbarn: A Victorian Life', MA thesis, University of Victoria, British Columbia, 2011.
28 A.V. Dicey, 'Blackstone's Commentaries', *Cambridge Law Journal* 4 (1932; first published 1909), 294.
29 Used by the late Paul Langford to entitle his 1989 volume covering the period 1727–83 in the 'New Oxford History of England', this phrase occurs in the second paragraph of ch. 27, Book III of the *Commentaries*, 'Of the Several Species of Trial'.
30 However, it seems doubtful that Blackstone's judicial status sufficiently explains the enormous influence of his work: cf. S. Vogenauer, *Die Vogelang Auslegung von Gesetzen in England und auf dem Kontinent: eine vergleichende Untersuchung der Rechtsprechung und ihrer historischen Grundlagen*, 2 vols (Tubingen, 2001), I. 669. I am most grateful to Lee Kersten for translating portions of this text.
31 [W. Blackstone], *In Michaelmas Term next will begin A Course of Lectures on the Laws of England* (Oxford, 1753); W. Blackstone, *An Analysis of the Laws of England* (Oxford, 1753), p. iv [italics added].
32 W. Blackstone, *A Discourse on the Study of the Law* (Oxford, 1756), 2 [italics added].
33 M. Raeff, 'The Empress and the Vinerian Professor: Catherine II's Projects of Government Reforms and Blackstone's *Commentaries*', *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, 7 n.s. (1974), 18.
34 I. de Madariaga, *Catherine the Great: A Short History* (London, 1990), 207.
35 Raeff, 'Empress and Vinerian Professor', 19; [W. Blackstone], *Istolkovaniia Angliiskikh Zabanov*, tr. S. Desnitskii and A. Briantsev, 3 vols (Moscow, 1780–2).
36 C.A. Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire* (Cambridge, 2011), 51–2, 75.
37 Ibid., 135–7, 185–7, 329–3.
38 C. Blacker, *The Japanese Enlightenment: A Study of the Writings of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge, 1964), xi.
39 Relying on an abridged version compiled by the barrister and judge Robert Malcolm Kerr, first published as *The Student's Blackstone* in 1865, which makes no reference to the original publication dates, Fukuzawa possibly believed Blackstone's century-old text was a contemporary work: A.M. Craig, 'Of the Absolute Rights of Individuals. Fukuzawa on Blackstone', *Bulletin of Modern Japanese Studies*, 26 (2009), 230–50. Kerr's previous edition of the *Commentaries*, 'Adapted to the Present State of the Law', had four reissues from 1857 to 1876, while there were at least 11 editions of the abridgment between 1865–96: Laeuchli, *Bibliographical Catalog*, 68–72, 93–9. Another English edition of *The Student's Blackstone*, not recorded by Laeuchli, was published in Tokyo in 1886; I owe this information, and much else, to the great kindness of Prof. Fukao Yuzo.
40 Blacker, *Japanese Enlightenment*, 103–6. A. Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi* (Cambridge MA, 2009), 30–1, 68, 138, 146. J. Tucker's 'Confucianism and Human Rights in Mejii Japan' (1996) however maintains that many of the concepts Fukuzawa used in translating Blackstone derived from Confucian and neo-Confucian sources; I am grateful to Stephen C. Angle for supplying a copy of this

unpublished paper. See also D.R. Howland, *Translating the West: Language and Political Reason in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Honolulu, 2002), 124–9.
41 Digitised versions of Hoshi's translations are available on the website of the National Diet Library of Japan: http://kindai.ndl.go.jp./search/searchResult?ID=kindai&searchWord=Blackstone. The 1873 text cited below is at http://kindai.da.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/785749/1–66.
42 I am exceedingly grateful to Prof. Fukao, who initially drew my attention to Hoshi's work, and has generously continued to supply much additional information relating to the reception of Blackstone in Japan, including scans of the preface to Hoshi's first (1873) translation. A brief memoir of Hoshi will be found at http://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/datas/190.html. For further on his politico-legal career, see K. Ohtsubo, *Hundred Years of the Japanese Bar* (Asian Legal Research Institute, Kochi City, 1984), 19, 21–2, 25–6, 39.
43 This translation was prepared by Gail and Umehara Munetaka; my grateful thanks go also to Prof. Kawamura Yasushi (who kindly translated the kanbun into Japanese), Gerry Groot and Purnendra Jain, who facilitated the process in other ways. In helping me to a better understanding of Hoshi's project, Michael Watson and my former Adelaide colleague Stephen Large have been particularly generous with expert advice and assistance.
44 J. McLaren, 'The Uses of the Rule of Law in British Colonial Societies in the Nineteenth Century', in *Law and Politics in British Colonial Thought: Transpositions of Empire* (New York, 2010), 74.
45 H.T. Manning, *The Revolt of French Canada 1800–1835* (London, 1962), 73–4.
46 B. Field, *An Analysis of Blackstone's Commentaries on the* Laws of England, *in a Series of Questions, to which the Student is to Frame his Own Answers, by Reading that Work* (London, 1811, 1817, 1821), viii; it later became common practice to append Field's *Analysis* to full-scale editions of the *Commentaries*: see references in Laeuchli, *Bibliographical Catalog*, 523.
47 Ibid., 69–71.
48 Ibid., 125–6, 80–94; see also S. Warren, *Select Extracts from Blackstone's Commentaries, Carefully Adapted to the Use of Schools and Young Persons* (London, 1837).
49 *Lyttleton Times*, 28 June 1862, page 4: accessed via http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.
50 W. Blackstone, *Yingguo Fa Shi Yi* (Shanghai, 2006). This first translation of Blackstone into modern simplified Chinese was published under the auspices of the East China University of Political Science and Law School, by the Shanghai People's Publishing House, in 2006; it consists of Book I of the *Commentaries* (my thanks to Claire Roberts for these details).

How illuminating it has been': Matthews and McKenna, and their biographies of Manning Clark

1 For comparative details, see the appendix to this essay. The more prominent of the nineteenth century American historians have also received extended biographical attention: see David Levin, 'Bibliography of Scholarship on the Romantic Historians (1958–1994)', http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/LEVIN/levbib2.html. The most studied of all the modern historians, both biographically and historiographically, is Clark and Taylor's younger

contemporary E.P. Thompson (1924–93), partly because the fiftieth anniversary of *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) has prompted so much reflection and reappraisal.

2 Published posthumously as *The Ideal of Alexis de Tocqueville*, ed. Dymphna Clark, David Headon and John Williams (Melbourne, 2000).

3 Ryan's attack was spread over three issues of the conservative journal *Quadrant* (September 1993; October 1993; October 1994) and was republished in Peter Ryan, *Lines of Fire: Manning Clark & other writings* (Binalong, NSW, 1997), 177–234. A contemporary assessment is Peter Craven, 'The Ryan Affair', in Carl Bridge (ed.), *Manning Clark: Essays on his Place in History* (Melbourne, 1994), pp. 165–87.

4 Peter Cochrane, review (of Matthews, *Manning Clark*), in *Age* (Melbourne), 15 November 2008, http://www.theage.com.au/articles/2008/11/13/1226318823886.html

5 Steven Shapin, 'Lives after Death', *Nature*, 441 (18 May 2006), p. 286.

6 A counter-productive feature in the study of auto/biography is the multiple and often conflicting meanings of recently-invented operative terms, metabiography being one such example. See Edward Saunders, 'Defining Metabiography in Historical Perspective: between biomyths and documentary', *Biography*, 38:3 (2015), 325–42.

7 Peter Craven, 'A Suitable Book for Literary Consideration', *Australian Higher Education Supplement*, 13 October 1993.

8 Don Watson, *Brian Fitzpatrick: A Radical Life* (Sydney, 1979); Don Watson, *Reflections of a Bleeding Heart: A Portrait of Paul Keating, PM* (Sydney, 2002).

9 'Quiet Delight over Clark Row', *Canberra Times*, 28 August 1993.

10 Ryan, *Lines of Fire*, 203–04; Matthews (pp. 398, 403). Contemporary assessments of *The Musical* include: John Rickard, '"A Fine Song and Dance!": Manning Clark's History – The Musical', *Victorian Historical Journal*, 59:3–4 (1988), 3–20; Peter Fitzpatrick, '"History – The Musical": a review and a retrospect', *Australian Historical Studies*, 23:91 (1988), pp. 171–79.

11 Don Watson to Dymphna Clark, 26 October 1993, Papers of Dymphna Clark, National Library of Australia (hereafter NLA), MS 9873, Series 10, Box 35, Folder 2. I am grateful to Sebastian Clark for allowing access to his mother's papers.

12 Helen Trinca, 'A Cultural Arrow in Old Dart', *Weekend Australian*, 27–28 November 1993.

13 Brian Matthews, *The Receding Wave: Henry Lawson's prose* (Melbourne, 1972); Manning Clark, *In Search of Henry Lawson* (Melbourne, 1978, and subsequent editions).

14 Brian Matthews to Dymphna Clark, 15 April 1994, Dymphna Clark Papers, NLA, MS 9873, Series 1, Box 7, Folder 58.

15 Stephen Holt, *A Short History of Manning Clark* (Sydney, 1999); Humphrey McQueen, *Suspect History: Manning Clark and the future of Australia's past* (Adelaide, 1997).

16 Holt, *A Short History of Manning Clark*, xii.

17 McKenna, e-mail to author, 23 September 2015. McKenna's first publication on Clark is: '"I wonder whether I belong": Manning Clark and Australian politics, 1970–2000', *Australian Historical Studies*, 34, no. 122 (2003), pp. 364–83.

18 A.B. McKillop, *Pierre Berton: A Biography* (Toronto, 2008).

19 Brian Matthews, e-mail to author, 28 July 2016. McKenna (p. 705) urges his readers to also read Matthews' biography of Manning Clark.

20 Ann Moyal, *A Woman of Influence: Science, Men & History* (Perth, 2014), p. 62.

21 Ronald T. Ridley, *Jessie Webb: A Memoir* (Melbourne, 1994), p. xvii.

22 Carl Bridge, 'Manning Clark and the Ratbag Tradition', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 21, nos. 54–55 (1997), pp. 91–95.

23 Mark McKenna, *Notes from the Underground: Writing the Biography of Manning Clark* (Melbourne, 2008), p. 26; see also McKenna (p. 704).

24 David Dutton, *Anthony Eden: A Life and Reputation* (London, 1999), pp. 15–16.

25 Papers of Manning Clark, NLA, MS 7550. At least the Clark archive is in the one city whereas the biographer of fellow-historian W.K. Hancock (1898–1988) was involved in research spread across 36 archival repositories in four countries, not to mention papers in private possession. See Jim Davidson, *A Three-Cornered Life: The Historian WK Hancock* (Sydney, 2009), pp. 578–83.

26 Kathleen Burk, *Troublemaker: The Life of A.J.P. Taylor* (New Haven/London, 2000), pp. 364–65.

27 Fiona Capp, 'London Calling', *Age*, 2 July 1994.

28 Matthews to Ryan, 4 August 1994, and Ryan's annotations on the letter, 12 September 1994, Papers of Peter Ryan, NLA, MS 9897, Series 6, Box 10, Folder 5; Matthews, e-mail to author, 19 July 2015. Ryan got a measure of revenge by unfavourably reviewing Matthews' biography, the thrust of which is encapsulated in the title of the review: 'Hollow Man of Yesterday', *Quadrant*, January-February 2009: 126–28. Ryan was approached by the English publisher Andre Deutsch to write a biography of Clark. He wisely declined. Ryan to Tom Rosenthal, 3 November 1993, Ryan Papers, NLA, MS 9897, Series 6, Box 10, Folder 4.

29 Peter Ryan maintained that Clark's brother, 'the Reverend Russell Clark, said that the picture Manning gave of their family life was an absolute travesty. He said that Manning shouldn't have done it. Neither their mother nor their father was anything like the way Manning portrayed them. Their family life was quite different'. Peter Ryan, interviewed by John Farquarson, 10–11 October 2000, NLA, TRC-4631 (page 37 of typescript); see also Matthews (p. 13).

30 'Making History: Mark McKenna on Manning Clark' (interviewed by Michael Cathcart), Wheeler Centre, Melbourne, 6 June 2007 (starting at 29.19 minutes), http://www.wheelercentre.com/broadcasts/making-history-mark-mckenna-on-manning-clark/

31 Quoted in Burk, *Troublemaker*, 310.

32 M. Clark, 'The Origins of Convicts Transported to Eastern Australia, 1787–1852', *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, Part 1, 7, no. 26 (1956), 121–35; Part 2, 7, no. 27 (1956), pp. 314–27.

33 Manning Clark, *An Historian's Apprenticeship* (Melbourne, 1992), p. 34. Regarding the Burke and Wills saga, see Matthews (pp. 336–46); McKenna (pp. 477–88).

34 John Atchison, 'A Sense of Place', in Bridge, *Manning Clark*, p. 95.

35 In 1926, and taking his cue from Lawrence, W.K. Hancock described Australia as 'an old tired, weird continent' (quoted in Davidson, *A Three-Cornered Life*, p. 105).
36 Michael Kammen, *In The Past Lane: Historical Perspectives on American Culture* (New York, 1997), pp. 59–60.
37 McKillop, *Pierre Berton*, pp. 558–59, 561–62; see also Bill Brown (interviewer), 'An Eye for Eternity, Mark McKenna – biography of Manning Clark', ABC South East NSW radio programme, 23 September 2012 (Part 5, starting at 1.07 minutes), http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2011/08/08/3288537.htm.
38 A somewhat similar point, although expressed in quite different terms, was made by Alan Atkinson, 'A Great Historian?', in Bridge, *Manning Clark*, pp. 129–30.
39 'Phillip Adams interviewing Mark McKenna' (starting at 3.07 minutes).
40 Geoffrey Bolton, 'The History Man' (review of Matthews, *Manning Clark*), *Australian*, 15 November 2008. Bolton repeated this stricture at the Workshop on Historians' Biographies and Autobiographies, National Centre for Biography, Australian National University, 5 July 2015; see also McKenna (p. 599). Bolton applauded the vision and grandeur of Clark's enterprise but regretted the lapses and the extravagances.
41 Quoted in David O'Reilly, 'Ready to Step into the Cauldron', *Canberra Times*, 3 December 1995; see also Matthews (p. 210).
42 Stuart Macintyre, 'Behind the Mask', *Australian Book Review*, 306 (November 2008), p. 17.
43 Lyndall Ryan, 'Affectionate Intensity', *Overland*, 194 (2009), pp. 84–86.
44 A selection of Clark's letters to Ryan are in Roslyn Russell (ed.), *Ever, Manning: Selected Letters of Manning Clark, 1938–1991* (Sydney, 2008), p. 267ff. Ryan's letters to Clark are in the Manning Clark Papers, NLA, MS 7550, Series 1, Box 24, Folders 201 & 202. See also McKenna (pp. 525–30 & 766n.22).
45 A reviewer of *An Eye for Eternity* also thought Clark's behaviour deplorable and gave the episode prominence: Michael McKernan, *Journal of Historical Biography*, 14 (2013), pp. 156–60, http://www.ufv.ca/jhb/Volume_14/Volume_14_Mckernan.pdf.
46 *Local Conversations with Richard Fidler*, ABC Local Radio broadcast, 20 June 2011 (at 22.55 minutes), http://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2011/06/20/3248206.htm. Hancock's biographer is of the same view, saying that his task did not involve 'advocacy so much as striving for fairness' (Davidson, *A Three-Cornered Life*, p. xi).
47 McKenna elaborates in 'Phillip Adams interviewing Mark McKenna' (starting at 9.48 minutes).
48 Sheila Fitzpatrick, *My Father's Daughter: memories of an Australian childhood* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2010), p. 168; see also Don Watson, *Brian Fitzpatrick*, pp. 269–70.
49 Clark was perfectly aware that he was making false claims. As he said himself, Ernest Scott at the University of Melbourne introduced 'a full course in Australian History [in 1927], using the following as textbooks: Wood, *The Discovery of Australia*; Scott, *Short History of Australia*; Mills, *The Colonization of Australia*; Price, *The Foundation and Settlement of South Australia*; Turner, *History of the Colony of Victoria*; Battye, *Western Australia: A History*; Roberts, *History of Australian Land Settlement*; Sweetman, *Australian Constitutional Development*; Willard, *White Australia Policy*'. See Clark, review (of *Australia: A Social and Political History*, ed. Gordon Greenwood), in *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, 7, no. 25 (1955), p. 95.
50 He resented any suggestion of being snubbed – as in 1980, on an overseas visit: 'To-night I dine in state – yes with the New Zealand high & mightys but the high & mightys of our [Australian] high commission refused to come. Am saddened & sickened by that' (Russell, *Ever, Manning*, p. 407).
51 David Fitzpatrick, discussion with author, Adelaide, 12 June 2015 (see also McKenna, p. 19). Clark learnt to play the piano when he was in his forties (McKenna, p. 509).
52 Quoted in Russell, *Ever, Manning*, p. 508 n.9.
53 Jill Ker Conway, *The Road to Coorain: An Australian Memoir* (London, 1990), p. 186; Conway, e-mail to author, 5 May 2015; McKenna (p. 493).
54 The phrases come from A.W. Martin, 'Henry Parkes: in search of the "actual man underneath"', *Historical Studies*, 16, no. 63 (1974), p. 217.
55 Alvin Jackson, 'J.C. Beckett: politics, faith, scholarship', *Irish Historical Studies*, 38, no. 130 (2002), 129–150; see also Frank Bongiorno, review (of Matthews, *Manning Clark*), in *Journal of Australian Studies*, 34:1 (2010), pp. 110–12. McKenna elaborates in 'Phillip Adams interviewing Mark McKenna' (starting at 15.32 minutes).
56 Iremonger to Clark, 15 June 1990, Manning Clark Papers, MS 9873, Series 18, Box 160, Folder 41.
57 See also McKenna, *Notes from the Underworld*, pp. 24–25.
58 See also 'Making History: Mark McKenna on Manning Clark' (starting at 22.00 minutes).
59 E.g. Trev Lynn Broughton, 'Impotence, Biography and the Froude-Carlyle Controversy: "revelations on ticklish topics"', *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 7:4 (1997), pp. 502–36.
60 'Making History: Mark McKenna on Manning Clark' (starting at 47.00 minutes).
61 Stephen Holt, telephone discussion with author, 23 March 2009.
62 Leonard W. Labaree, 'Charles McLean Andrews', *William & Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 1:1 (1944), p. 14.
63 Michael King, 'Biography and Compassionate Truth: writing a life of Janet Frame', *Australian Humanities Review*, 24 (December 2001) http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/archive/Issue-December-2001/king2.html.
64 Mark McKenna, '"National Awakening", Autobiography, and the Invention of Manning Clark', *Life Writing*, 13:2 (2016), p. 209.
65 Stuart Macintyre, 'The Radical and the Mystic: Brian Fitzpatrick, Manning Clark and Australian history', in Stuart Macintyre and Sheila Fitzpatrick (eds), *Against the Grain: Brian Fitzpatrick and Manning Clark in Australian History and Politics* (Melbourne, 2007), pp. 12–36.
66 See also Anne O'Brien, 'Rethinking Blasphemy: religious ideas in the writings of W.K. Hancock, Manning Clark and Russel Ward', *Australian Historical Studies*, 38, no. 130 (2007), pp. 228–43; Jill Roe, 'Manning Clark and the Church', in Macintyre and Fitzpatrick, *Against the Grain*, pp. 232–39.

67 Keith Sinclair, *Halfway Round the Harbour: An Autobiography* (Auckland, 1993), p. 51.
68 McQueen relates the circumstances of his appointment and some of his subsequent experiences of Clark in *Suspect History*, ch. 8.
69 Manning Clark, *The Quest for Grace* (Ringwood, 1991), p. 213.
70 This comment is based on my reading of the Manning Clark Papers, NLA, MS 7550, Series 1, which contains numerous referee's and examiner's reports by Clark.
71 Frank Bongiorno, review (of *An Eye for Eternity*), in *Britain and the World*, 6:2 (2013), 292.
72 Kosmas Tsokhas, *Making a Nation State: Cultural Identity, Economic Nationalism and Sexuality in Australia* (Melbourne, 2001); Donald Horne, *Ideas for a Nation* (Sydney, 1989); Stephen Alomes, *A Nation at Last? The Changing character of Australian Nationalism* (Sydney, 1988), p. 22 (this does not concern a contemporary matter; rather, Alomes quotes from volume 5 of Clark's *History* regarding the deference toward Britain at the 1888 centennial of white Australian settlement).
73 James Curran and Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia after Empire* (Melbourne, 2010), chs 2 & 5. He also gets a chapter in Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars*, 2nd edn (Melbourne, 2004), ch. 4 ('The Historian Under Fire: Manning Clark').
74 C.M.H. Clark, 'Faith', in Peter Coleman (ed.), *Australian Civilization: A Symposium* (Melbourne, 1962), pp. 78–88.
75 Ryan, *Lines of Fire*, 177–234. I am preparing for publication a paper entitled 'Peter Ryan and Manning Clark Revisited', which was presented to seminar groups at Flinders University (31 July 2015) and the University of Melbourne (20 April 2016).
76 Fiona Capp, 'London Calling', *Age*, 2 July 1994.
77 Clark relates the *Kristallnacht* story in his second autobiography, *The Question for Grace*, pp. 68–69, as well as in interviews and radio broadcasts, starting publicly by at least 1978. He refers to *Kristallnacht* in volume six of *A History of Australia*, 457, 470, but does not place himself at the scene.
78 *Making History: Mark McKenna on Manning Clark*, Wheeler Centre, Melbourne, 6 June 2007 (starting at 29.19 minutes); McKenna, 'Being There: The Strange History of Manning Clark', *The Monthly* (Adelaide), 21 (March 2007), pp. 22–37, https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2007/march/1240976297/mark-mckenna/being-there?page=0%2C6; republished, with endnotes, as 'Once More with Feeling: The Personal Voice of Manning Clark', in Macintyre and Fitzpatrick, *Against the Grain*, pp. 191–222.
79 McKenna, 'Being There', p. 37; McKenna, "Once More with Feeling', pp. 218.
80 Mark McKenna, 'After Manning Clark: A Biographer's Postscript', *Meanjin*, 42:2 (2013), p. 85.
81 'Making History: Mark McKenna on Manning Clark' (starting at 42.07 minutes); Geoffrey Gray, Doug Munro and Christine Winter, 'Editors' Introduction: telling academic lives', special issue of *Journal of Historical Biography*, 14 (2014), p. 19, http://www.ufv.ca/jhb/Volume_16/Volume_16_Editors'_Introduction.pdf.

82 Norman Etherington, 'The Spectre of Manning Clark', *Australian Book Review*, December 2011–January 2012: 12.
83 'Philip Adams interviewing Mark McKenna' (starting at 3.24 minutes).
84 See also Peter Howell, 'In Khruschev's Russia', in Bridge, *Manning Clark*, 55–60; Katerina Clark, 'Manning Clark and Russia: a memoir', in Macintyre and Fitzpatrick, *Against the Grain*, pp. 258–70.
85 K.S. Inglis, assisted by Jan Brazier, *This is the ABC: the Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1932–1983* (Melbourne, 1983), p. 1.
86 A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies: Study of Penal Transportation from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia and other parts of the British Empire* (London, 1966), p. 11 (epigraph); Shaw, 'Clark's History of Australia', *Meanjin Quarterly*, 22:1 (1963), pp. 117–19.

Emigrants and Historians

1 This paper was delivered to an International Seminar at Flinders University in June 2015 and bears the marks of that occasion. Some of it is based on personal recollection and impressions, neither of them satisfactory except as subjective sources for sceptical consideration. I wish to thank most warmly all the participants on that occasion, most particularly Andrekos Varnava, and the organising triumvirate of Melanie Oppenheimer, Margrette Kleinig, and Philip Payton. I have benefited from conversations with Doug Munro, Tamson Pietsch and Sybil Jack and from the assistance of Robert Fitzsimons.
2 See for instance, Eric Richards, 'Restless and Unsettled', in *On the Wing: Mobility Before and After Emigration to Australia*, edited by Margrette Kleinig and Eric Richards (Spit Junction, New South Wales, 2012).
3 Adam McKeown, 'Global Migrations, 1846–1940', *Journal of World History* 15 (2004), pp. 155–89; Leo Lucassen, 'Migration and World History: Reaching a New Frontier', in *International Review of Social History* (2007), pp. 89–96; Jan Lucassen, Leo Lucassen and Patrick Manning, (eds), 'Migration History: Multidisciplinary Approaches', *Migration History in World History* (Leiden, 2010).
4 The international study of such documentation now encompasses correspondence from the great Chinese diaspora, opening up new possibilities of cross-cultural comparisons. See, for example, Ding Lixing and Zheng Zongwei, (eds), *Chinese Qiaopi and Memory of the World* (Wuyi University, 2014), especially Gregor Benton, "Documenting the Lives of Emigrants through their Letters: The Overseas Chinese Case", pp. 484–507.
5 Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (London, 1972), p. 6.
6 David A. Gerber, *Authors of their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 2006), pp. 5, 64–76, 261–62.
7 Alistair Thomson et al., *Moving Stories: An Intimate History of Four Women across Two Countries* (Manchester, 2011).
8 These were agents recruiting for Mexico and Texas in the 1820s. See Graham Davis, *In Search of the Better Life* (Stroud, 2011), p. 207.
9 Kate Jennings, *Trouble: The Evolution of a Radical: Selected Essays, 1970–2010* (Melbourne, 2010), p. 95.

'A Voice from Below: Benjamin Boyce in South Australia, 1839–1846'. *Labour History*, 27 (November 1974): 61–72.
'The Industrial Face of a Great Estate: Trentham and Lilleshall, 1780–1860'. *Economic History Review*. 2nd series. 27 (August 1974): 414–30.
'The Leviathan of Wealth in West Midland Agriculture 1800–1850'. *Agricultural History Review* 22 (August 1974): 136–52.

1973
The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 340.
'Structural Change in a Regional Economy: Sutherland and the Industrial Revolution, 1780–1830'. *Economic History Review*. 2nd series, 26. no. 1 (1973): 63–76.
'Problems on the Cromartie Estate'. *Scottish Historical Review* 52, no. 154 (1973): 149–64.
'How Tame were the Highlanders during the Clearances?'. *Scottish Studies* 17 (1973): 35–50.

1972
'The Finances of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway Again', *Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 25 (May 1972): 284–92.

1971
'The Mind of Patrick Sellar 1780–1852'. *Scottish Studies* 15 (1971): 1–20.

1970
'The Prospect of Economic Growth in Sutherland at the Time of the Clearances'. *Scottish Historical Review* 99, no. 148 (October 1970): 154–57.

Notes on Contributors

David Fitzpatrick was Professor of Modern History at Trinity College Dublin, where he continues to teach as Fellow Emeritus. His works include *Politics and Irish Life: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (1977), *Irish Emigration, 1801–1921* (1984), four chapters on Irish emigration and the Irish in Britain in *A New History of Ireland*, vols V, VI (1989, 1996), *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Colonial Australia* (1994), *The Two Irelands, 1912–1939* (1998), *Harry Boland's Irish Revolution* (2003), *'Solitary and Wild': Frederick MacNeice and the Salvation of Ireland* (2012), and *Descendancy: Irish Protestant Histories Since 1795* (2014).

A. James Hammerton is Emeritus Scholar in History at La Trobe University, which he joined in 1969. Since then his research interests and publications have ranged across nineteenth-century British female emigration, marriage and marital conflict in Victorian Britain, the British lower middle-class and post-war British emigration. His most recent book, co-authored with Alistair Thomson, was *Ten Pound Poms: Australia's Invisible Migrants* (Manchester University Press, 2005). In 2002, he co-edited, with Eric Richards, *Speaking to Immigrants: Oral Testimony and the History of Australian Migration* in the *Visible Immigrants* series. His forthcoming book on the modern British diaspora, *Migrants of the British Diaspora since the 1960s: Stories from Modern Nomads*, will be published by Manchester University Press in 2017.

Marjory Harper is Professor of History at the University of Aberdeen and Visiting Professor at the Centre for History, University of the Highlands and Islands. She has published mainly in the field of emigration, particularly from Scotland, and her two most recent books have each won international prizes. She co-authored *Migration and Empire* (2010) with Stephen Constantine, and in 2016 she edited a book on *Migration and Mental Health: Past and Present*, published by Palgrave Macmillan. She is currently working on two further monographs: *Testimonies of Transition* (a study of Scottish emigration based on oral testimony) and a book on Scots in Australia and New Zealand, both for Luath Press, Edinburgh.

Doug Munro is Adjunct Professor of History at the University of Queensland. A graduate of Flinders University, he started as an historian of the Pacific Islands with a specialism in labour migration and unfree labour systems generally. More recently his interests have turned to historians' auto/biographies, and to writing about individual historians as varied as George Rudé and G.R. Elton. His books are *Crisis: The Collapse of the National Bank of Fiji* (co-authored), *The Accidental Missionary: Tales of Elekana* (co-authored), *The Ivory Tower and Beyond: Participant Historians of the Pacific*, and *J.C. Beaglehole: Public Intellectual, Critical Conscience*. He has taught in universities in Queensland and Fiji, and was a Visiting Research Fellow at Flinders University on two occasions.

Philip Payton is an emigrant and historian. He first arrived in Australia in 1958 aged 4½ (his parents were 'Ten Pound Poms') and stayed until November 1962. In the mid-1970s he was a postgraduate student at the University of Adelaide, and thereafter he has been a frequent visitor to Australia, settling permanently in 2015. He is Professor of History at Flinders University, as well as Adjunct Professor in the National Centre for Australian Studies at Monash University and Emeritus Professor of Cornish & Australian Studies at the University of Exeter. He also served in the Royal Navy for thirty years, twelve as a Regular and the rest as a Reservist, and was *inter alia* Senior Lecturer in the Department of History and

International Affairs at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. Recent publications include: *The Maritime History of Cornwall* (edited with Alston Kennerley and Helen Doe) (University of Exeter Press, 2014), *Australia in the Great War* (Robert Hale, London, 2015), and *One and All: Labor and the Radical Tradition in South Australia* (Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2016).

Wilfrid Prest was brought up in Melbourne, and came to the University of Adelaide half a century ago as a lecturer in Hugh Stretton's Department of History, fresh from an Oxford DPhil and six months as a publishing trainee in London. He has remained in Adelaide ever since, apart from two years as Assistant Professor at Johns Hopkins University, and occasional visiting posts elsewhere in North America and the United Kingdom. His main scholarly interest has been in early modern English social and legal history, but he has also dabbled in South Australian history, most recently as editor of and contributor to *Pasts Present: History at Australia's Third University*, published by Wakefield Press in 2014. As Professor Emeritus of History and Law at the University of Adelaide, he is General Editor of the new Oxford edition of William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, and is currently working with two co-authors on a history of English law, 1689–1760.

Eric Richards is Emeritus Professor of History at Flinders University in Adelaide, and in 2014 was Carnegie Trust Centenary Professor at the University of the Highlands and Islands, based at Dornoch and Inverness. His publications include: *Britannia's Children. Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600*, (Bloomsbury 2012); *Destination Australia: Migration to Australia since 1900* (Manchester University Press 2009); *The Highland Clearances; People, Landlords and Rural Turmoil* (Edinburgh, Birlinn, 2016). He is now working on the origins of mass international migration.

In this innovative and ambitious collection of chapters, Philip Payton brings together a distinguished team of international specialists to explore the entwined themes of *Emigrants and Historians*.

Published in honour of Eric Richards, Emeritus Professor of History at Flinders University, the book includes case studies of Ireland and Scotland, an examination of late twentieth-century British emigration, discussion of the impact of Blackstone's *Commentaries* on legal and constitutional thought in the Anglophone world, and a critical comparison of two major biographies of the controversial Australian historian, Manning Clark.

There is also an appreciation of Eric Richards's life and work by Philip Payton, together with Eric Richards's own contribution, where he weaves elements of autobiographical insight into a broader debate on emigration history and the 'mobile academic', especially British historians in Australia.

Contributors

David Fitzpatrick, Trinity College Dublin
A. James Hammerton, La Trobe University
Marjory Harper, University of Aberdeen
Doug Munro, University of Queensland
Philip Payton, Flinders University
Wilfrid Prest, University of Adelaide
Eric Richards, Flinders University

ISBN 978-1-74305-471-0
9 781743 054710

Wakefield Press:
www.wakefieldpress.com.au
Cover design: Liz Nicholson, designBITE
Cover illustration: *Strathaird*, a P&O emigrant ship regularly on the UK–Australia run between 1954 and 1961 (Philip Payton collection)

Emigrants & Historians

Edited by PHILIP PAYTON

Wakefield Press

Emigrants & Historians

Essays in honour of Eric Richards

Edited by
PHILIP PAYTON