

Finding Voice: Emily Coungeau and 'Australia's National Hymn of Progress'

Belinda McKay

In late nineteenth and early twentieth century Brisbane, writing became a profession that was increasingly open to women. This phenomenon developed partly in response to a rapidly expanding urban female audience, but in turn it helped to form the tastes, reading habits and social attitudes of new generations of female readers. The prolific and popular poet Emily Coungeau exemplifies a new, self-consciously cosmopolitan type of woman writer who emerged in Brisbane in the early twentieth century.

The English-born Coungeau's life story is of interest on several different levels. Her remaking of herself in Queensland from lady's companion and parlour maid into successful businesswoman, poet and patron of the arts demonstrates the transformative possibilities for women of migration to the colonies. Her involvement in commerce and culture over many decades also sheds light on Brisbane life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Finally, Coungeau is of interest because her articulation of an urban, cosmopolitan, female aesthetic in her writing relies heavily on notions of race and culture that are discredited today.

The Early Years

Emily Coungeau was born Emily Howard in Essex, England on 3 May 1860.¹ She was the youngest of 12 children of William Howard, head gardener at St Osyth's Priory, and Ann née Hester. St Osyth's Priory, then owned by the Nassaus of Orange, was a mediaeval monastery with Tudor and later additions. Coungeau, whose family lived in the ancient buildings, recalled the Priory as a place that stirred her childhood imagination, and perhaps determined her literary aspirations:

We lived in the Monastery portion ... This was the Gate House — a rambling old place breathing of the past in every chamber and stair

from cell to turrets. My young brother and I haunted the Abbot's Tower, which looked over the water to Mersea Island, where then lived Baring-Gould, the author of *Mehalah*.²

The reference here is to the Reverend Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924), author of 'Onward Christian Soldiers', a 16-volume *Lives of the Saints*, and various novels — including the haunting *Mehalah: A Story of the Salt Marshes*, which was compared by Swinburne to *Wuthering Heights*. Curiously, Cungeau's own later work had something of Baring-Gould's combination of the conventional and the fantastical. Cungeau wrote about St Osyth's Priory in poems such as 'The Legend of Osyth's Wood' and 'A Roman Road'.³

The young Emily Howard was educated at a village school in Essex, and at home she was encouraged to read historical works aloud.⁴ Her mother died when she was 12, and subsequently she was sent to live with relatives in London. While still in her early teens she entered the service of the Princess de Lusignan, whose husband was a descendant of the family that ruled Cyprus between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. As a lady's companion to the Princess, Emily Howard travelled extensively in the Mediterranean and became fluent in five languages.⁵ She later described this experience as like a 'fairy-tale':

The Princess was then visiting the Near East, and there I saw the multi-colored [sic] cosmopolitan crowds, the minarets and domes of Smyrna, the lost beauty of Ephesus, the gleaming islands of Mytilene and Leucadia (where I visited Sappho's Leap) and numerous islands in the Cyclades.

Cungeau met her future husband, an Albanian named Naoum Kongos⁶ (who was known in Australia as Naoum or Norman Cungeau), while cruising the Cyclades with the Princess de Lusignan.⁷ Some sources specify that the meeting occurred at Mitylene on the island of Lesbos, Sappho's home. In a letter written in 1982, Drury Clarke, Senior Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland, recalled the Cungeaus, whom he had known as a child:

At the completion of her schooling she accompanied a titled English lady to the Southern Mediterranean for her marriage to an Armenian Prince. She lived in the Princess' household at Mitylene and it was there that she met Naoum Cungeau. He had travelled extensively in Germany, Russia, Turkey, Albania and Greece. He was in the suite of a German General when he made the acquaintance of the Princess and her companion Miss Howard whom he subsequently married.⁸

Few details of this period survive, but the eclectic landscapes and mythologies of Emily Cungeau's poetry clearly draw on her youthful travels.



Figure 1: Emily Coungeau

Migration and Marriage

In 1887, Emily Howard 'came to relatives in Australia', as she put it in a letter to fellow poet, E.M. England.⁹ Three of her brothers had migrated to Australia: nurseryman Amos William Howard, headmaster Canon Walter Henry Howard, and music teacher Albert Edward Howard all became prominent citizens of South Australia.¹⁰ Amos William Howard became well known in agricultural and scientific circles for his discovery of the efficacy of subterranean clover for improving pastures.

Although Emily Coungeau claimed that she did not begin to write poetry until middle age, an unpublished poem written by her aboard the SS *Delcomyn* in 1887 (probably on her journey to Australia) survives in the family papers. The romantic subject-matter and archaic poetic language are the hallmarks of her later style. The poem is untitled and may be a fragment:

Remember, when Aurora's rosy fingers
Unlock her palace gates, tipping the hills with gold,
When neath the veil of night thou lov'st to linger
And all her secrets doth to thee unfold.
List in the night so lovely
A voice that whispers only,
Remember.

Remember, when the destinies
Hath it decreed that we should part
When disappointment and the years,
Hath broken this despairing heart,
Remember my sad love, and think
Of all my chagrins, all my woes & tears,
Long as this heart shall beat
A voice thine ear shall greet
Remember.

Remember when beneath the chilly tomb
My broken heart, shall sleep for ever
Its long last slumber, in the gloom
My soul unescorted then shall hover,
O'er thee, like to a Sister well-beloved
While o'er my grave shall bloom the fragrant flower,
List in the night so lovely
A voice that whispers, only
Remember.

Emily Howard 18/4/87
S.S. *Delcomyn*¹¹

If parting from Naoum Coungeau inspired the poem, a reunion was soon achieved: the couple was married in Melbourne on 21 February 1889.¹² On the marriage certificate, Emily gave her occupation as 'parlourmaid' and her address as East Melbourne. The bridegroom, also of East Melbourne, described himself as a restaurant keeper, so it appears likely that Emily was working in the restaurant owned by her husband-to-be. Naoum's age is given as 31, Emily's as 26 (she apparently lowered her age by three years).

Commerce

The newly wed couple moved immediately to Brisbane, where from 1889 until 1919 they ran a wine saloon in Petrie Bight opposite the Customs House, at 420 Queen Street, on the corner of Wharf Street, where Trustee House now stands. After operating on a more modest scale for nine years, in 1898 the Coungeaus renovated their business and reopened it as the Olympian Cafe. Here they served light wines, a continental-style luncheon with fruit and confectionery, and a renowned *café au lait* made to Emily's special recipe.¹³ In October 1898, the *Brisbane Courier* reported:

The Cafe presents some attractive architectural features and possesses the summer desiderata of lofty, airy, and cheery apartments, with lavatories, mirrors, and other contributories to comfort. A bright, cool, and artistically-arranged room is set apart for ladies, another for ladies and gentlemen, and a third for gentlemen only, so that a congenial selection may be made by any party of visitors. The choicest imported and colonial wines are on sale, and amongst the Australian products are some excellent old wines from the Fairfield vineyards in Victoria and from the Wairuma Vintage. Iced claret cup and various other seasonal drinks are procurable, and already the cafe has become very popular as a summer resort.¹⁴

'Iced claret cup' — chilled claret mixed with soda water, fruit juices, brandy, and syrup — was a drink favoured in warm weather by the leisured classes in Victorian England. Through its congenial surroundings and the provision of fine wines, stylish drinks and imported confectionery, the Olympian Cafe sought a discerning and affluent clientele. Indeed, the sophistication and popularity of this long-running establishment indicate that late nineteenth and early twentieth century Brisbane was far from the social or gastronomic desert some commentators have suggested.

The *Australian Woman's Mirror* journalist Bernice May visited the saloon in 1916 and later wrote of it as 'a picturesque place which was crowded with soldiers, the walls decorated with grapes and Bacchantes in purple and gold and red and wine shades'. May was the guest of a visiting music examiner, Professor Schilsky, who informed her that, although 'here you get the best [wine] in Australia served

in a truly Continental way', he had in fact invited her to the saloon 'to drink poetical coffee — the finest coffee ever made in the world; true *café au lait* [sic] ...' Here is Emily Coungeau's recipe for the drink too often erroneously said to have been introduced to Australia in the 1950s:

Required — a small enamel saucepan and a very fine wire coffee-strainer, obtainable at all ironmongers. Place in the saucepan one cup of milk, or, at the most, two cups, watch carefully until near boiling point, and, just as the milk is rising, add one teaspoon of good coffee, stirring quickly every grain. Then strain into cup. With a little practice perfect skill can be obtained. The art lies in its very simplicity. The fatty matter in the milk retains the aroma so much desired.¹⁵

The Olympian Café was highly successful, and the business eventually occupied two city buildings.¹⁶ Increasing prosperity allowed Emily Coungeau time to pursue cultural interests, as she told Bernice May:

Business ... prevented me from writing for many years, as there was no time to mingle poetry and pounds, shillings and pence. I began to write in an amateurish way in 1913, and my dreams are still rose-tinted.¹⁷

From 1913 — when she was over 50 — she began to publish poems in the *Brisbane Courier*, the *Sydney Bulletin* and the *Australian Woman's Mirror*. Her poems were collected into four books — '*Stella Australis*' (1914), which went through two editions, *Rustling Leaves* (1920), *Palm Fronds* (1927) and *Fern Leaves* (1934) — and she also published a 'romantic poetical drama' entitled *Princess Mona* (1916).

Patronage of the Arts

The Coungeaus' commercial success also enabled them to become significant patrons of the arts and donors to other worthy causes in Brisbane. Emily Coungeau was a strong supporter of women and women's associations. She was, for interest, a member and benefactor of the branch of the Lyceum Club established in Brisbane in 1919 to allow women to develop their interests in the arts and sciences. After Emily Coungeau's death, 'a friend' observed: 'No public appeal was left unanswered by Mr. and Mrs. Coungeau, one of their most noted gestures for their adopted country being the gift of the first aeroplane to the "Courier".'¹⁸

Other benefactions include the donation of 5 to the building fund for the Women's College of the University of Queensland, and two stops to the St John's Cathedral organ, but much of the Coungeaus' philanthropy was not made public.

Emily Coungeau was also a friend and patron of Brisbane artist Vida Lahey (1882–1968), to whom she dedicated her first volume of poetry, '*Stella Australis*', in 1914. In 1912, Coungeau donated a painting by Lahey to the Queensland

National Art Gallery, through the Queensland Art Society. 'Monday Morning', which depicts two women washing clothes at the Lahey home in Indooroopilly, was the work that launched Lahey's career, and it remains today a favourite of gallery patrons.¹⁹ In her biography of the Lahey family, Shirley Lahey recounts that on 7 March 1912, a fire in the Fitzroy Buildings destroyed Vida Lahey's studio and the rooms of the Queensland Art Society, of which Vida Lahey was Vice-President. The first version of 'Monday Morning' was lost or damaged in the fire, but Lahey showed a second version at the October 1912 exhibition of the Queensland Art Society, where it was bought by Coungeau (for the substantial sum of 70 guineas, according to one report).²⁰

In 1914, Emily Coungeau donated a second work to the Queensland National Art Gallery: 'Jewish Quarter, Morocco' by the Victorian artist, W.B. McInnes (1889–1939).²¹ McInnes holds a significant place in Australian art history because he won the first Archibald Prize in 1921, and went on to win again in 1922, 1924, 1926, 1930 and 1936. I have not established the existence of a personal connection with McInnes, but the subject-matter of the work is consistent with Emily Coungeau's interest in Mediterranean cultures.

Shortly before their deaths in 1936, the Coungeaus gave their Bribie Island home as a deed of gift to the Anglican Church for use as a rest home for the clergy: when it had failed to sell, 'Naoum said sooner than wait he would at least do some good'.²² Naoum Coungeau's will, based on an agreement with his wife before her death, left legacies of 200 and 400 respectively to Charles Herbert Briggs of the *Courier-Mail*, and his daughter Alvie Lorraine, with the remainder of the estate to be split between the Boy Scouts' Association (Queensland Branch), the Red Cross (Queensland Branch), the Queensland Ambulance Transport Brigade Brisbane, and the Corporation of the Synod of the Diocese of Brisbane.

The Later Years

In 1919, after 30 years in Brisbane, the Coungeaus retired to a home at Bongaree on Bribie Island. Their gracious Queenslander, which they built in 1915, was renowned for its fruit and flower garden: 'Every visitor to the little town, has seen the lazy windmills near a handsome house close to the bay beach. They pump the water for the fine garden, which is really a wonderful sight.'²³ Naoum Coungeau built up the garden with 600 dray-loads of soil obtained from the lagoon area of the island, and planted palms, flower beds and tropical fruits such as papaws and custard apples.²⁴ In describing her friend Emily Coungeau's home, fellow poet E.M. England noted that 'it is comforting to know, in this period of wholesale slaughter of harmless wildlife in Queensland, that her home is a sanctuary for birds'.²⁵ In these tranquil surroundings, Emily Coungeau devoted herself to writing, always using an Underwood typewriter, until Naoum's failing eyesight meant that much of her writing time was spent reading to him.²⁶ Bribie Island was accessible only by boat at that time, and Emily enjoyed the unexpected visits from friends when the steamer *Koopa* from Brisbane docked for two hours, four days a week during

the summer. Despite the quiet and relative isolation of Bribie, Emily Cungeau predicted that: 'In about 50 years it will be another "Long Island" like New York.'²⁷ Today, *Cungeau House* at 36 Banya Street, Bongaree is run by the community organisation Toc H as a holiday home for disabled and needy people.²⁸

In 1935, Emily Cungeau was one of only six Australians to be awarded a Silver Jubilee Medal by King George V and Queen Mary. An Essex newspaper seized upon the opportunity to highlight the 'romantic story of the rise to fame of the children of the late Mr. William Howard' in Australia. While focusing largely on Emily Cungeau's literary success, the article also points out that Emily's brother Amos 'ranks as one of the greatest benefactors to Australia' for his discovery of the importance of subterranean clover in the improvement of pasture.²⁹ Also in 1935, Emily Cungeau was elected to life membership of the newly formed Society of British Authors, Composers and Arrangers.

At the end of June 1936, the Cungeaus were ready to embark on a world trip when Emily Cungeau was taken ill in Brisbane. She died of heart problems in St Martin's Hospital, next to St John's Cathedral on Ann Street, on 26 July 1936. After a funeral service at St John's, she was cremated at Mt Thompson Crematorium. Naoum Cungeau died five weeks later.

Public Poet

Emily Cungeau's poetry addresses an eclectic range of subject-matter, including world events, war and peace, womanhood and mythology. Some of her poems draw on European or Mediterranean history and culture, while others engage with Australian places, events and contemporary issues. Although H.A. Kellow claims that 'with Mrs Cungeau there is the beginning of regionalism in Queensland verse',³⁰ most of Cungeau's poems of place (including 'Cleveland', 'Mount Tambourine' [sic], and 'Evening at Bribie Island') make little reference to distinctive features of these sites. A rather fine exception is the 'The City of the Purple Hills', a poem in which Cungeau, from her 'dim, verdurous retreat' on Bribie Island, recalls with nostalgia her life in Brisbane, where nature and culture have converged to produce a 'thing most beautiful', a '[f]air city, set amid the purple hills'. In the 'dazzling' sunset, '[t]he river runs a glittering serpentine / White's Hill, Mount Coot-tha, float in violet blue', while the Minster, School and Gardens signify the emergence of a new civilisation which is the 'symbol of the free'.³¹

Cungeau's preoccupation with contributing to 'Australia's national hymn of progress'³² — particularly in her earlier work — suggests that her main reason for beginning to write in middle age was to give public voice to strongly held views about her adopted country and its place in the world. In the Preface to her first volume, *Stella Australis*, she writes:

The *raison d'être* of this small volume was suggested to me at the time of the lamented death of King Edward of happy memory [6 May 1910]. I essayed to mark the date of his decease by writing a

few lines in commemoration of the event, and from that time forward I have felt a desire to express my thoughts in verse, with the hope that Queenslanders, no less than others, may see beauty in everything God has made. I am conscious there are many defects, and ask the leniency of my readers.³³

Kellow characterised her type of patriotism 'as of the Imperial order; she combines patriotic fervour for Australia with the same feeling for the Old Country. There is a good deal of the fighting spirit and a touch of jingoism'.³⁴ Coungeau's explicitly racial agenda is couched in the language of family. Australia, the 'younger child' of the 'Empire Mother', is populated by the 'lineal sons of Norsemen' and the need to 'fill Australia with our kin' is made urgent by the danger that 'through portals wide the alien hordes may pour'.³⁵ The articulation of such views on race is the common thread that links Queensland women writers of the time, including Lala Fisher, Carina Thorne, Lydia M.D. O'Neill and Mabel Forrest, even when their attitudes to other issues are quite diverse or even diametrically opposed. Lala Fisher, for example — in contrast to Coungeau — vehemently opposed Australia's involvement in World War I, but believed that a 'sacred colour law' must keep races separate.

World War I provided a particularly conducive environment for Emily Coungeau's emergence as a public poet. In a series of poems about Gallipoli and other campaigns, sacrifice, remembrance and the return of the heroic veterans, she elaborates her views on patriotism and racial lineage in hyperbolic language. She frequently draws on classical analogies to heighten the sense of heroism, and there is a clear sense that her familiarity with the Mediterranean gives her special insight into the Middle Eastern theatre of war. In 'The Story of Anzac', the Australians are 'the new Argonauts from Auster's shore',³⁶ and in the 'The Price of Conquest', the Anzac campaign eclipses even the legendary battles of classical times:

O, shades of Tiryns and Mycenae,
Had ye the breath of life again,
The throes that shook thy dynasty
Were naught compared with this campaign.³⁷

In 'Austral's Heroes', Australia is characterised as 'this reincarnated Greece of Southern seas'.³⁸

Elsewhere, Coungeau places World War I in the context of centuries of Islamic expansion in the Mediterranean. In 'Byzantium' she relives the fall of the Byzantine Empire to the Ottomans:

Alas! the Christian Church is careless grown,
And Moslem eyes are ever to it turned ...

The Crucifix is seized and trampled down,
The chalices which hold the sacred wine:

The wounded Emperor stands without a crown
While Islam's wrath profaneth things Divine.³⁹

The final stanza foreshadows that 'Christian Byzantium once again will reign ...' This poem was first published in the *Brisbane Courier* on 31 March 1915, during the unsuccessful British naval assaults on the Dardanelles Straits, and just weeks before the Anzac landings at Gallipoli. This is indeed public poetry, of a very immediate kind and with the clear aim of shaping opinion.

Coungéau's patriotism, and sense of her role as a public poet, also led her to write occasional poems, as she makes clear in the preface to *'Stella Australis'*. That volume begins with 'Le Roi Est Mort' and includes poems commemorating other public or heroic figures: 'In Memoriam: Captain Scott and his Comrades who perished in Antarctica' and 'In Memoriam: Bishop Webber'.⁴⁰ The second edition (1916) included 'Cavell — Martyr 1915'.⁴¹ In her verse obituaries and poems about tragic events, such as 'Loss of the *Yongala*' and 'The Loss of the *Titanic*', Coungéau interpreted and idealised public grief.⁴² The civic dimension of her work is itself memorialised today in the lines on the plaque beneath the statue of T.J. Ryan, Labor Premier of Queensland from 1915 to 1919, Catholic and anti-conscriptionist. Coungéau set aside political and religious differences to acknowledge the untimely death of a great statesman:

The life that ceased in mid-career,
The light of other men shall be,
With purpose high and conscience clear,
Who'll seek to serve the State as he.

Significant occasional poems written later in Coungéau's career include 'Commemoration', which won the 1924 Centenary Prize to mark the anniversary of the founding of Brisbane in 1824. Coungéau's poem celebrates the discovery of the Brisbane River by John Oxley in 1823. Although the opening of the poem refers to the reception of Pamphlett, Finnegan and Parsons by 'kindly savages', the territory to which the ticket-of-leave men are introduced is Oxley, seen as a void waiting to be colonised:

Over barbaric beauty, Silence hung,
Save for some startled woodland denizen,
Or beat of splendid wings, far mounting, when
Round graceful curves the Pioneer barques swung,
Freighted with Celtic and Saxon kin to dwell,
Where Dawn wakes blushing 'neath a silken dome ...
Who felled the forest Monarchs for a 'Home,'
And laid the stones of our fair Citadel ...

The poem celebrates the 'Civic Dignity' of the colonial city, which it describes as 'A secret jewel emerald, enwreathed, / Which gift we ever hold inviolate'.⁴³

In a similar vein is Coungeau's tribute to the Commonwealth Parliament in Canberra, which she wrote on the day the new building was officially opened: 9 May 1927. Coungeau invokes the 'Lord God Omnipotent' to invest the project 'with benisons Divine', but Helios and 'the mystic Nine' (the muses) also watch over 'this sublime, reincarnated Greece'.⁴⁴

Princess Mona

Coungeau's *Princess Mona: A Romantic Poetical Drama* (1916) is a fantastical contribution to the Anzac legend, emphasising the Viking ancestry and heroism of Australian soldiers. Written in 1916, it represents an early literary representation of the idea that Gallipoli was a coming of age for Australia. In the play, a beautiful girl, Princess Mona, is the sole possessor and ruler of the natives of a land called the Island of Dreams 'on account of its barbaric loveliness'. Coungeau identifies the land as Felix Australis. Princess Mona's origins are obscure, but she is not a native: as a baby, she was found floating like 'a pale Sea Lily' near a coral atoll and rescued by the earth sprite, Gnomus. Growing up, she survives the raids of Indonesian marauders and rules the natives, whom she rarely sees, in 'a lovable and dignified manner'. Eventually Mona marries a northern explorer, Prince Boris, with whom she has five sons. When war breaks out far away in the 'Boreal Seas', Prince Boris's duty to his land of origin is clear:

Alas, 'tis true, the clarion calls
Without mine old ancestral halls,
And echoes through these rocky walls.

The Furies, now convulsed with hate,
Have opened wide Bellona's Gate,
And we must rally ere too late.
Three of the young princes respond with alacrity to the ancestral
call:
We are ready for the foemen
For of Viking stock are we,
And we know what our forefathers
Did to gain the victory.

They depart for the northern wars, where all three are killed. The capital city of the realm is named 'Anzac' in their honour, and Mona — now Queen Auster — appears at the ceremony wearing a gift from her dead sons, a 'coronet of magnificent scintillating diamonds' forming the letters 'ANZAC'.⁴⁵

In an interview published in the Sydney *Sun*, Coungeau interpreted her allegory as a poetic representation of actual Australian history:

'Mona means lonely or alone,' she explains, 'and through countless centuries Australia lay unawakened and alone. I have, for stage purposes, made her a girl of eighteen, who from her infancy has been cradled in a Nautilus shell, the elves and the water sprites caring for her, decking her with moon-flowers and water-lilies and hybiscus [sic] blossoms, while a gnome whispers to her the secret of the lover that will come from the boreal seas to make her his own. That lover is England. But first there are marauders from Indonesia, who steal the girdle of pearls from her waist — the shore is her waist — and Cleopatra's famous pearl, given her by her mother, the ocean, was rifted from her side.'

...

Mrs. Coungeau carries her allegory in historical form to the jaws of Gallipoli and, while her princess mourns the loss of her sons, 'fair youths and bronzed men, right royal cubs from out a royal den,' in the very heart of our much-ridiculed Federal capital. When she takes her place among the nations she receives a casket from her dead sons, containing a coronet of scintillating diamonds, forming the word 'Anzac.' The final words of the play come from the mouth of the Princess: 'I pronounce our city "Anzac".'

'I wrote the play in three weeks, though I had steeped myself in history all my life.'⁴⁶

Coungeau's extravagant allegory on the one hand affirms that the superiority of the Nordic races justifies their possession of a population of inferior natives, and on the other transmutes the Gallipoli defeat into the founding myth of a new nation. While *Princess Mona* seems bizarre today, both in form and content, it enjoyed great success in its day. Pageants were popular at the time — Coungeau's friend Vida Lahey, for example, held a 'spectacular pageant' to raise funds for the Queensland Art Society in 1911 — and audiences were accustomed to ostentatious presentations of allegorical messages.⁴⁷ The message of the drama also struck a chord, and not just among women struggling to find a higher meaning in the sacrifice of their sons in World War I. Alfred Hill, who was one of the leading Australian composers of the day, used Coungeau's text as the libretto for an opera entitled *Auster* (the name by which Princess Mona is known when she becomes Queen). Coungeau and Hill corresponded over a number of years, sharing their interests in Maori and Aboriginal mythology as well as music, and it was at Coungeau's urging that Hill set Coungeau's piece to music.

Auster was first presented in a concert performance at the Sydney Town Hall on 31 August 1922. It was conducted by the composer, and performed by the State Orchestra, the Conservatorium Select Choir and the Royal Sydney Apollo Club with Madame Goossens, Viceroy in the title role. The audience responded enthusiastically, and reviews too were generally positive, although there was some criticism of the libretto. The *Sydney Morning Herald* critic wrote:

There were many graceful lines in the legendary story invented by the Queensland poetess, but the literary scheme is not sufficiently dramatic for the lyric stage, and, although Mr. Hill's setting is marked by colour and contrast, there can be little doubt that its true place is the concert-hall, and that the libretto adapts the work peculiarly well to presentation as a cantata. In that form it was acclaimed with genuine enthusiasm last night.⁴⁸

Ladislav de Noskowski in *The Sydney Mail* also remarked on 'the unsuitability of the libretto ... to the requirements of the stage'.⁴⁹ Critics concurred that the weaknesses were the extravagantly allegorical nature of the libretto and its relatively weak dramatic structure. Emily Cungeau was present at the first performance, attracting the slightly patronising attention of the *Bulletin* reviewer: 'The librettist, Mrs. Cungeau, reminiscent of a small, smooth bird, thrilled and smiled over a bouquet of violets and lilies of the valley, diminutive like herself ...'⁵⁰ Conductor-composer Alfred Hill was the man of the moment, but in a speech at the Macquarie Café after the performance he acknowledged that 'the opera owed its existence to the perseverance of Mrs. Cungeau in getting him to compose the music, which took four years to complete'.⁵¹

Auster was revived in 1935 in two fully staged performances, on 25 and 29 March, by Sir Benjamin Fuller's Grand Opera Company at His Majesty's Theatre in Melbourne. It was billed as 'the first Australian opera ever performed by a professional company'.⁵² Although it was used as a curtain raiser ('to fill out the evening', as Hill put it) to Bizet's *The Pearl Fishers*, with the great Florence Austral singing the part of Leila, *Auster* attracted all the critical attention.⁵³ Alfred Hill again conducted his opera, with his daughter Isolde Hill in the title role. The set design by Maxwell Parrish consisted of 'gigantic cliffs rising out of the bluest of blue Pacifics'.⁵⁴ Hill sought Cungeau's advice about various aspects of the staging of the opera, including the costumes and ballets.

In the *Australian Women's Weekly*, George Matthews wrote that *Auster* was 'interpreted by first rate artists in settings of magnificence', but that its symbolism was more suited to the cantata form. Insufficient rehearsal jeopardised the first performance, and 'twice the opera appeared in danger of collapse'. Nonetheless the audience showed its appreciation of 'a good local effort', and: 'In response, Alfred Hill struck the right note by saying: "All I hope is that I have opened the door a little wider for the Australian composers who follow me."' ⁵⁵ The influential Melbourne music critic Thorold Waters went further in *The Australian Musical News*, proclaiming *Auster* to be 'an effort more promising for the development of a real Australian opera than anything that has yet been done'. He predicted that it 'will go down to Australian history as the initiator of a definite line of operas bearing more and more positively on subject matter from our own continent, and creating for themselves an increasingly distinctive idiom'.⁵⁶ Only the *Bulletin* reviewer noted that: 'The aboriginal population of the continent is left out of the picture.'⁵⁷

Esoteric Influences: Thinking About Race

Emily Coungeau regularly attended Anglican services, and she and Naoum made a number of generous gifts to the Anglican Church. At the same time, however, Coungeau held other, less orthodox, beliefs. As Kellow perceptively observed: 'Mrs Coungeau, unlike most of the poets of the time, does not suffer any loss of faith as a consequence of the evolutionary theory to which she is attracted.'⁵⁸ In fact, the central intellectual issue confronted by Coungeau is precisely her attempt to reconcile Christianity with science through esoteric knowledge. The literary results of this struggle are not particularly successful — Kellow characterised them as 'versified concentrations of reading rather than convictions'⁵⁹ — but Coungeau's literary mission cannot be understood without some analysis of her esoteric influences. Such interests, moreover, were shared in varying degrees by other women writers of the era, including Rosa Praed, Mabel Forrest, Lala Fisher and Zora Cross. Moreover — as I have argued elsewhere about the related use of 'faerie' themes from Celtic mythology — esoteric beliefs helped women to escape the restraints of bush poetry and develop a more cosmopolitan agenda.⁶⁰

In a letter to her brother Bertie (Albert Edward Howard), dated 3 June 1922, Coungeau provides an insight into her influences:

You will note one of my pieces is entitled 'Reincarnation'. I have, and I suppose many others have had, a vague feeling of a pre-Existance [sic], indefinable, but still there, coming and going in flashes of thought. And indeed, who may say we have not, and why not yet live newer lives until we are purified enough to enter the Perfect Life.

Our Lord expressly says 'In my Father's house (I like the Greek 'kingdom') are many mansions (again I like the Greek rendering) 'states' i.e. spiritual states —

We weave our own lives, and often inadvertently drop a thread, and if not picked up, it later spoils the fabric of our lives, marring the fine beauty of our handiwork. If God is Perfect Love, we must live on and on until we are verily worthy of being in His likeness.

Where we are made in His likeness, is simply that we are given an Immortal Soul at birth. Then we get back down the corridors of Time to the Adamic man, which I think means a 'Group', not one person, as the five groups, white, brown, black, red, and yellow races. If Adam means a 'Group' it would solve many of the metaphors of Ancient Writ. The sons of God (Adamic men) took the daughters of men (the pre-Adamite men, who escaped the Ice-Ages) and of them they became Adamic creatures —

In 'Wiradjuri' [sic] I make the prehistoric man tell his 'Iliad of woe' — he who had not the gift of speech — He may have been a purely animal man with no soul — If we still persist in going back no further than 6,000 years, we come up against a blank wall.

I hope I am not boring you, but I read like this, very broadly.⁶¹

It is evident from this letter, and from Coungeau's poetry, that reading in polygenism, theosophy and anthroposophy shaped her thinking about evolution and race. Polygenism originated out of attempts to explain inconsistencies in the Biblical account of the creation of humans, such as the number of generations from Adam to the present and the existence of different races. Although some elements of this belief can be traced to the early church, Giordano Bruno and others, it was Isaac La Peyrère who first argued that humans existed before the creation of Adam in *Præ-Adamitæ* (published in Latin in 1655 and translated into English in 1656 as *Men Before Adam*). In the nineteenth century, La Peyrère's controversial work was revived to demonstrate that non-white races descended from pre-Adamite men, who were mentally inferior to the descendants of Adam. Darwin's theory of evolution proposed the (monogenic) single-origin hypothesis that all humans descend from a common ancestor, and is therefore potentially reconcilable in a non-literal way with Adam and Eve being the progenitors of all humans. However, nineteenth century proponents of polygenism tended to accept some aspects of evolutionary theory, such as the extreme age of the planet, which was denied by many orthodox Christians.

Coungeau found certain parts at least of evolutionary theory compatible with her Christianity, as her poem 'Evolution' makes clear:

From the steps of the past to the future I climb,
For from Heaven I am sent with a message sublime:
On the rocks — nature's book — my traces I leave,
That in me — Evolution — you all may believe.⁶²

The particular emphasis on earth's antiquity in many of Coungeau's works also suggests that she may have been influenced by Mrs George J.C. Duncan's *Pre-Adamite Man: Or the Story of Our Old Planet and Its Inhabitants Told by Scripture and Science* (1862), which read the days of creation as ages, and argued that Cain's wife came from the pre-Adamite races which coexisted with Adam but were not of his line.⁶³ Other writers claimed that pre-Adamite men were ruled by Satan, and the idea that Cain's mark was blackness became popular in nineteenth century America. Polygenic or pre-Adamite thinking influenced some of the main American proponents of scientific racism, such as Samuel G. Morton and Josiah C. Nott.

Coungeau's use of polygenic theories is tempered by a theology of love, and this overcomes one of the main orthodox Christian objections to pre-Adamism and polygenism, viz the sidelining of redemption. The pre-Adamites who were created in an earlier age are in Coungeau's eyes capable of redemption, if only through their association with the line of Adam: 'The sons of God (Adamic men) took the daughters of men (the pre-Adamite men, who escaped the Ice-Ages) and of them they became Adamic creatures.' However, this argument presumably still leaves some of the descendants of pre-Adamite men — those who did not marry the sons of Adam, but who survived the flood (some argue as 'creatures' taken on board the ark) — unredeemed but not unredeemable. The question becomes important in

relation to Coungeau's treatment of Indigenous Australians, a topic on which she is surprisingly reticent. They are 'kindly savages' in the Centenary Prize poem, but in 'Australia: Enchantress' she suggests that with their 'skins of amber bronze and blue-black hair' they may be descended from ancient Egyptians.

In this latter notion, Coungeau seems to be toying with the idea explored by Mme Blavatsky in *The Secret Doctrine* that hybrid races from the lost continents of Lemuria and Atlantis settled in various parts of the world, including Australia. Coungeau's work shows the same kind of ambivalent attitude to race as Blavatsky's, where assertions of the universal brotherhood of humanity seem contradicted by passages attributing regressive spiritual qualities to the hybrid races and spiritual perfection to the Aryan race, which she defines as the last and most highly evolved of the Five Root Races that correspond to epochs in the history of the earth. Blavatsky includes the Tasmanian Aborigines as direct descendants of the semi-animal Lemurian race, and the bulk of the mainland Aboriginal population as hybrids of Lemurians and Atlanteans (the Third and Fourth Root Races respectively):

Of such semi-animal creatures, the sole remnants known to Ethnology were the Tasmanians, a *portion* of the Australians and a mountain tribe in China, the men and women of which are entirely covered with hair. They were the last descendants in a *direct* line of the semi-animal latter-day Lemurians referred to. There are, however, considerable numbers of the mixed Lemuro-Atlantean peoples produced by various crossings with such semi-human stocks — *e.g.*, the wild men of Borneo, the Veddhas of Ceylon, classed by Prof. Flower among Aryans (!), most of the remaining Australians, Bushmen, Negritos, Andaman Islanders, etc.⁶⁴

In 'The Sentinels' and 'Wirajuri', Coungeau applies her esoteric reading to Australian Aborigines or their ancestors. In 'The Sentinels', the spirit presences speak to the present from a past era when 'Baime ruled, and round us Nooghies danced / With Noonuckles the great corroboree ...' Although the people of Quandamooka were very much a living presence that Coungeau cannot fail to have observed around her, the poem speaks as if the Nooghies and Noonuckles are long dead:

Those warriors sleep, and little now remains
Of dusky tribes from out the antique past —
Some bones are bleaching on the sandy plains,
And bound to trees some found their rest at last.

Although the old gods are dead, however, the sentinel spirits — 'stern janitors of old Gebellum's gate' — will continue to keep watch over Queensland — mindful, it seems, of the threat of invasion that might displace its European colonisers:

Chain fair Electra to our rugged head,
And watch and ward o'er Queensland's belt of seas,
A zone of brilliant searchlights we will shed.⁶⁵

'Wirajuri' also evokes an ancient voice — ironically, that of a Neanderthal man who came from an era before humans had acquired the power of speech. The poet enters a cave, and sees a recumbent form that speaks to her in 'deathless tones' as 'the spirit of the past'. The message from antiquity is, however, one of commonality with modern humans: sin is shared, but so is a striving for spiritual improvement:

Bone of thy bone, Wirajuri,
I speak to thee alone;
And dost thou know how deep the sin
For which man must atone?

...
Myself, unlike ambitious man,
Had not his glorious speech,
Yet I, the spirit of the past,
Could him a lesson teach.
As ye still strive, so I have striven,
As Neanderthal man,
To press the road that leads to Heaven
A simple caravan.

Wirajuri reproaches modern humans for their spiritual blindness, telling the poet that his people 'called on the Daramulun' (the eagle, a symbol of the Great Spirit) and had 'faith and hope':

Self-righteous ye, and girdled by
A universe unseen;
Thy scorn for others makes thee blind
To what thou should have been.

Finally, the prehistoric man refers to the 'Iliad' of the continent's history, perhaps suggesting continuity between a past filled with warfare and the recently ended Great War:

And when I lived a man as thou
Brute passions held their sway;
They prehistoric brother says
Thou art the same today.⁶⁶

What Coungeau appears to be suggesting here is that the prehistoric man, like Adamic man, may have made in the image of God in the sense of having been 'given an Immortal Soul at birth'. (Elsewhere, however — as in 'What is Man?' — she clearly designates speech as an essential part of man's 'half divine' nature.)⁶⁷ She is certainly suggesting in 'Wirajuri' that modern man often betrays the imperative of spiritual improvement, *viz* that 'if God is Perfect Love, we must live on and on until we are verily worthy of being in His likeness'. Although she admits that there is no way of knowing the spiritual state of prehistoric man ('He

may have been a purely animal man with no soul — If we still persist in going back no further than 6,000 years, we come up against a blank wall.’), Cungeau suggests that all humans (pre-Adamic or Adamic) possess an immortal soul and the desire for spiritual improvement: in theosophical terms, she shows the ancient, speechless man evolving towards consciousness, and finds evidence in this unlikely place of the principle of universal brotherhood.

It seems ironic today that Cungeau could assert universal brotherhood with an imagined prehistoric man, but fail to see — let alone engage with — the living Nooghies and Noonuckles of Quandamooka (Moreton Bay). Cungeau’s interest in race, however, derives not from engagement with Aboriginal people or concern for their dispossession, but rather from an inner imperative, shared with many women of her generation, to find new spiritual beliefs which incorporated some elements of their Christian formation with ideas drawn from other world religions as well as natural science, psychology, and so on. The esoteric foundations of Australian women’s writing leave a mixed legacy to later generations, as beliefs that empowered women in the public arena are so often inextricably linked to discredited ideas about race.

Conclusion

Although Emily Cungeau will not be remembered for the greatness of her poetry, and her passionate convictions on empire and race are long discredited, the study of her life and work provides historical insights into Brisbane life in the early twentieth century as well as the development of a female, cosmopolitan aesthetic in Australian women’s writing. Moreover, as Alfred Hill’s use of *Princess Mona* as the libretto for his opera, *Auster*, indicates, Cungeau’s voice reached beyond a local and female audience: *Auster* represents a significant moment in Australian musical history. In her personal life, Cungeau was able to several transformations of the self — from provincial to cosmopolitan, from lady’s companion and parlour maid to successful businesswoman, and from businesswoman to poet and patron of the arts. Through her poetry, too, she offered her readers transformative possibilities — ways of sublimating private or communal loss, keys to finding beauty in the world around us, windows on to historical or exotic cultures, and new understandings of spiritual questions. To know the work of writers like Emily Cungeau is to know better the well-springs of Australia’s contemporary culture.

Notes

- ¹ Despite extensive searches, I have failed to find any official record of Emily Howard’s birth.
- ² Bernice May, ‘E. Cungeau’, *The Australian Woman’s Mirror*, 3 April 1928, p. 11.
- ³ Emily Cungeau, ‘The Legend of Osyth’s Wood’, *Stella Australis: Poems, Verses and Fragments*, 1st edn, Brisbane: Gordon and Gotch, 1914, pp. 87–89; Emily Cungeau, ‘A Roman Road’, *Fern Leaves: Poems and Verse*, Brisbane: W.R. Smith and Paterson, 1934, pp. 31–33.
- ⁴ May, ‘E. Cungeau’, p. 11.

- ⁵ May, 'E. Coungeau', pp. 11, 35.
- ⁶ The surname 'Coungeau' is a Gallicized version of Kongos. See Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks, Volume 1: The Early Years*, Sydney: Halstead Press, 1992, p. 233. Naoum was often Anglicised as Norman.
- ⁷ May, 'E. Coungeau', p. 11.
- ⁸ Drury Clarke, letter to Russell Hemingway dated 31 May 1982, JOL Coungeau B106.
- ⁹ Emily Coungeau, letter to Mrs Bertie [the poet E.M. England], 1 Dec. 1927, Fryer Library F1291a.
- ¹⁰ Information from Mrs Elisabeth Gobolos, the great-niece of Emily Coungeau. See entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* for Amos William Howard (1848–1930), who migrated to Australia in 1876.
- ¹¹ Poem signed Emily Howard, S.S. [Delcomyn], 14/4/87, in the papers of Mrs Elisabeth Gobolos.
- ¹² See Hugh Gilchrist, *Australians and Greeks: Volume 1: The Early Years*, p. 233. Gilchrist claims that Naoum Kongos arrived in Australia in 1889.
- ¹³ Drury Clarke, letter to Russell Hemingway, 31 May 1982, John Oxley Library, Coungeau B106. I have been unable to establish conclusively that the earlier business was located on the same premises, but it appears very likely.
- ¹⁴ 'The Olympia [sic] Cafe', *Brisbane Courier*, 29 October, 1898, p. 4. Advertisements in the same newspaper show that the correct name was the Olympian Cafe.
- ¹⁵ May, 'E. Coungeau', pp. 11, 35.
- ¹⁶ 'Emily Coungeau Passes On', *Sunday Mail*, 2 August 1936, p. 23. Drury Clarke, letter to Russell Hemingway dated 31 May 1982, John Oxley Library, Coungeau B106. The Coungeaus appear to have lived on the premises.
- ¹⁷ May, 'E. Coungeau', p. 11.
- ¹⁸ H.Y., 'Emily Coungeau Passes On, By a Friend', *The Sunday Mail*, 2 August, 1936, p. 2. *The Courier-Mail* acquired two aeroplanes in December 1927, becoming the first daily newspaper in Australia to found its own air delivery service. The publicity contains no reference to a donation from the Coungeaus, but such a gift would be consistent with their enthusiasm for both culture and commercial development, and their friendship with Charles Herbert Briggs of *The Courier-Mail*.
- ¹⁹ Vida Lahey, 'Monday Morning' (1912), oil on canvas, Queensland Art Gallery, Acc. 1:0122 (gift of Madame Emily Coungeau through the Queensland Art Society, 1912).
- ²⁰ Shirley Lahey, *The Laheys: Pioneer Settlers and Sawmillers*, Taringa, Qld: Shirley Lahey, 2003), pp. 237–38.
- ²¹ W.B. McInnes, 'Jewish Quarter, Morocco' (c. 1909–12), oil on canvas board, Queensland Art Gallery, Acc. 1:0052, gift of Madame Emily Coungeau, 1914.
- ²² Emily Coungeau, letter to Walter and Ettie Howard, 1 July 1936, in the papers of Mrs Elisabeth Gobolos. 'Death of Mr N. Coungeau: "Coungeau House" Will Perpetuate Name', *The Courier-Mail*, 8 September 1936, p. 17.
- ²³ 'Noted Authoress: Her Delightful Home', *The Brisbane Courier*, 23 November 1926, p. 18.
- ²⁴ Thos. J. M'Mahon, 'Bribie Island: Cypress Pine Possibilities', *The Brisbane Courier*, 21 June 1930, p. 13.
- ²⁵ E.M. England, 'Emily Coungeau and Her Verse', *The Brisbane Courier*, 28 January 1928, p. 20.
- ²⁶ Fryer Library, F1291b, letter from Emily Coungeau to Mrs Bertie (the poet E.M. England), 4 December 1928.
- ²⁷ Emily Coungeau, letter to Ettie Howard, 29 January 1936, in the papers of Mrs Elisabeth Gobolos. See also letter from Drury Clarke to Russell Hemingway, 31 May 1982, John Oxley Library B106.
- ²⁸ A short history of Coungeau House is available at www.toch.org.au/coungeau_house.htm

- (accessed 9/10/06). In a telephone conversation on 9 October 2006, Ray Geise, Chairman of Toc H Australia, informed me that the house had been raised in the 1970s, but that otherwise it remains in its original condition. Painter Ian Fairweather's hut now stands in the grounds, after being condemned and relocated from its original site on Bribie Island.
- ²⁹ 'St Osyth's "Cloistered Loveliness": Rise to Fame of One of Her Daughters', *Essex Times and Gazette*, 10 August 1935.
- ³⁰ H.A. Kellow, *Queensland Poets* (London: George Harrap, 1930), p. 244. Kellow mistakenly refers to the poet as 'Ethel' Coungeau.
- ³¹ Emily Coungeau, 'The City of the Purple Hills', *Rustling Leaves: Selected Poems*, Sydney: William Brooks, 1920, pp. 151–52.
- ³² Emily Coungeau, 'Queensland Pioneers' in *Stella Australis*, 1st edn, p. 10.
- ³³ Coungeau, *Stella Australis*, 1st ed., n.p.
- ³⁴ Kellow, *Queensland Poets*, p. 243.
- ³⁵ Emily Coungeau, 'Australia to the Empire Mother' and 'Australia's Destiny', *Stella Australis*, 1st edn, pp. 61–63, 32–33.
- ³⁶ Emily Coungeau, 'The Story of Anzac', *Rustling Leaves*, pp. 121–23.
- ³⁷ Emily Coungeau, 'The Price of Conquest', *Rustling Leaves*, p. 97. *Rustling Leaves* contains a number of poems in this style, including 'In Memoriam — Gallipoli', pp. 101–02; 'Cavell — Martyr — 1915', pp. 108–09; 'Lest We Forget — Gallipoli', p. 119; 'The Return, 1919–20', pp. 133–34; 'The Deathless Dead, 1919', pp. 145–46.
- ³⁸ Coungeau, 'Austral's Heroes', *Stella Australis*, 1st edn, p. 39.
- ³⁹ Emily Coungeau, 'Byzantium', *Rustling Leaves*, pp. 105–06. This poem first appeared in the *Brisbane Courier*, 31 March 1915, p. 9.
- ⁴⁰ Coungeau, *Stella Australis*, 1st ed., pp. 1, 37, 49.
- ⁴¹ Emily Coungeau, *Stella Australis: Poems and Verses*, 2nd edn (Brisbane: Gordon and Gotch, 1916). Bishop William Thomas Thornhill Webber (1837–1903) laid the foundation stone of Brisbane's neo-Gothic St John's Cathedral in 1901.
- ⁴² Coungeau, *Stella Australis*, 1st ed., pp. 13, 27.
- ⁴³ Emily Coungeau, 'Centenary Prize Poem, 1924: Discovery of the Brisbane River: Commemoration', *Palm Fronds: Poems and Verse* (Brisbane: Smith and Paterson, 1927), pp. 9–11.
- ⁴⁴ Coungeau, 'Opening of the Commonwealth Parliament: 9th of May, 1927: Commemoration: Invocation', *Palm Fronds*, pp. 83–85.
- ⁴⁵ Emily Coungeau, *Princess Mona: A Romantic Poetical Drama* (Brisbane: William Brooks [1916]), pp. 18, [51], 52, 61.
- ⁴⁶ 'Woman Librettist: Awakening of Australia: Island of Pearls', *Sun*, 3 September 1922, p. 9.
- ⁴⁷ Lahey, *The Laheys*, p. 237.
- ⁴⁸ "'Auster": Hill's Idyllic Music Pleases Vast Audience', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 September 1922, p. 10.
- ⁴⁹ L. de N. [Ladislas de Noskowski], 'Auster', *The Sydney Mail*, 6 September 1922, p. 33.
- ⁵⁰ 'Woman's Letter', *The Bulletin*, 7 September 1922, p. 42.
- ⁵¹ L. de N. [Ladislas de Noskowski], 'Auster', p. 34.
- ⁵² 'First Australian Opera: Libretto by Queensland Poetess', *The Courier-Mail*, 28 February 1935, p. 13.
- ⁵³ Alfred Hill, letter to Emily Coungeau, 28 February [1935], JOL OM79.
- ⁵⁴ 'Some First Nights' in 'Shows', *The Bulletin*, 3 April 1935, p. 16.
- ⁵⁵ George Matthews, 'Alfred Hill's Opera Has a Grand Presentation', *The Australian Women's Weekly*, 6 April 1935.
- ⁵⁶ Thorold Waters, 'Auster: Premier of Alfred Hill's Opera', *The Australian Musical News*, 1 April 1935, p. 4. Emily Coungeau transcribed this review into an exercise book, which also contained

other reviews and some of her published and unpublished works (John Oxley Library, Emily Coungeau papers, OM79 — 17/7.)

⁵⁷ 'Some First Nights', *The Bulletin*, p. 16.

⁵⁸ Kellow, *Queensland Poets*, p. 243.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 243.

⁶⁰ Belinda McKay, "'The One Jarring Note': Race and Gender in Queensland Women's Writing to 1939", *Queensland Review* 8(1) (2001), pp. 31–54.

⁶¹ Extract from letter from Emily Coungeau to her brother Bertie (Albert Edward Howard), 3 June 1922, in the papers of Mrs Elisabeth Gobolos. Coungeau's poem 'Wirajuri' was published in Emily Coungeau, *Rustling Leaves*, p. 116. 'Reincarnation' appears in *Palm Fronds*, pp. 19–20.

⁶² Coungeau, 'Evolution', *Rustling Leaves*, p. 28. A similar sense of geological formations as evidence of God's creation is found in 'The Glasshouse Mountains, Q.' (*Rustling Leaves*, p. 31), where these volcanic plugs are 'Mighty Monoliths of Nature's Mould' and the 'watch towers of the plain'.

⁶³ Mrs George J. C. Duncan, *Pre-Adamite Man: Or the Story of Our Old Planet and Its Inhabitants Told by Scripture and Science*, London: Nisbet and Co., 1862.

⁶⁴ H.P. Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine: The Synthesis of Science, Religion, and Philosophy*, Vol. II, London: Theosophical Publishing Co., note, pp. 195–96.

⁶⁵ 'The Sentinels', *Rustling Leaves*, p. 115.

⁶⁶ Coungeau, 'Wirajuri', *Rustling Leaves*, pp. 116–17.

⁶⁷ Coungeau, 'What is Man?' *Rustling Leaves*, pp. 42–43.