A Cosmopolitan Jindyworobak: Flexmore Hudson, Nationalism and World-Mindedness

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In 1948 Julian Huxley delivered his outgoing speech as the retiring Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). He emphasised that 'UNESCO fills a vital need in the present circumstances of our planet . . . the world has become ripe for the emergence of an international organization dealing with things of the mind and spirit' (Huxley 6). Huxley advocated a 'One World' mindset, believed governments should not just think of 'national problems' but 'a single world problem,' and thought that particularly gifted individuals could transcend national boundaries as 'citizens of the world' (9–10). In that world-minded moment during the immediate post-war years, South Australian poet, editor, and school teacher Flexmore Hudson echoed Huxley's sentiment when he explained his desire for world peace and the ideal of a 'world state.' Also writing in 1948, Hudson hoped that Australians might be 'unified by a concept of world-citizenship' rather than a strengthening sense of nationality ('Prophet' 85). Interestingly, Hudson's comments appeared in the *Jindyworobak Review 1938–1948*, a collection of reflections on the first ten years of the nationalist Jindyworobak poetry movement. Hudson's outlook, which I will characterise as world-minded, was often at odds with the literary nationalism at the heart of Jindyworobak, yet it is his long-time association with Rex Ingamells's poetry movement for which he is best remembered. This article will introduce some of Hudson's little-studied literary output as an example of world-mindedness in the Australian context, and interrogate how Hudson negotiated his internationalist outlook as part of a literary community preoccupied with nationalism.

Flexmore Hudson

Flexmore Hudson was born Wilfred Frank Flexmore Hudson in 1913 at Charters Towers, Queensland, to Baptist missionary Wilfred Flexmore Hudson and his wife Irene Maud Hudson. As a child Hudson was well-travelled within Australia and New Zealand as his father's career moved the family frequently; he attended at least thirteen primary schools before the family settled permanently in Adelaide in 1924 (Hudson, Interview). When interviewed by Hazel de Berg in 1969 Hudson recalled that his 'was a colourful, good kind of childhood for a poet, because it enriched the senses.' Moreover, as a student of Mr W.R. Tynan of Thornleigh Public School in Sydney, Hudson was encouraged in his poetic pursuits, and particularly to take the Australian bush as a subject (Hudson, Interview).[1] Despite this early interest in poetry, when he finished his secondary education at Adelaide High School Hudson wanted to join the army but was persuaded by his disapproving father to become a teacher instead (Hudson, Interview). Hudson trained at Adelaide Teachers' College and attended Adelaide University for a short time, but did not finish his arts degree. Between 1936 and 1945 Hudson taught in a handful of small primary schools in rural South Australia.[2] It was from here that he launched his literary career.

In 1937, when his first collection of poetry *Ashes and Sparks* was published at his own expense, Hudson entered a literary landscape preoccupied with the various political crises of the 1930s: Depression, the rise of fascism, and the threat of another major world conflict. As

David Carter points out, these crises were not seen as external to Australia but considered 'symptomatic of a deep crisis in its national culture' (Carter 25). Since the end of World War One, many writers felt stifled by *Bulletin*-dominated literary conservatism and a politically disinterested suburban population (Walker 148), but were fired by the atmosphere of crisis to politicise their writing and emphasise the social role of the writer (Carter 25). For Drusilla Modjeska part of what characterised the work of many Australian writers in the 1930s was a 'pattern of moving towards a self-conscious exploration of the social situation of the writer and of the social function of literature' (98). Hudson's development as a writer reflects this pattern of politicisation.

Between 1937 and 1944 Hudson published five collections of his own poetry; over this time love and nature poems were increasingly replaced by musings on war, politics, and 'social philosophy' (Hudson, Interview). Hudson's little magazine, *Poetry*, which he produced and edited between 1941 and 1947, increasingly bore the stamp of his political interest in world-mindedness, as did 'Discovery,' his didactic comic for children published across 1947 and 1948. The climate of crisis and the politicisation of writing made the period between 1937 and 1947 particularly productive for Hudson. In late 1947 the financial failure of *Poetry* interrupted Hudson's literary output; he did not publish another collection of his own work until *Pools of the Cinnabar Range* in 1959. Despite the impressive variety of Hudson's literary output across the prolific decade between 1937 and 1947, critical engagement with his work is limited.

Paul Depasquale's twenty-four page *Flexmore Hudson*, part of a series of brief books in the series 'South Australian Writers and Their Work,' includes both biographical material and some literary criticism of his poetry. The only other piece of writing dedicated to Hudson is an *Australian Dictionary of Biography* entry (Dally, 'Flexmore Hudson'). Otherwise Hudson is considered, generally briefly, in a range of other work, particularly in relation to Jindyworobak (Bray; Dally, *Jindyworobak Movement*; Elliot). It is as a Jindyworobak that Hudson is best remembered and though his uneasy relationship with the movement is always acknowledged it is usually explained simply in terms of his socialism or his aversion to the Jindyworobak emphasis on Aboriginal culture. I believe this tension was more complicated, and hope, by applying the concept of world-mindedness to some of Hudson's less-studied literary offerings, to elucidate how Hudson reconciled (or didn't) his world-minded outlook with Jindyworobak nationalism.

World-mindedness

Patrick Buckridge and Eleanor Morecroft argue that the concept of world-mindedness 'as a moral and intellectual virtue gained considerable currency in Australia and overseas through the 1930s' (51). World-minded thinkers sought, particularly through an emphasis on wide reading, to promote a greater understanding of other cultures, people, and humanity as a whole. They set themselves in opposition to racism, war, limited reading habits, and narrow nationalism. According to Buckridge and Morecroft, world-mindedness was an attempt to 'hold back the tides of hatred, prejudice and ignorance that seemed . . . to be engulfing Europe and threatening Britain and the Empire' (49). World-mindedness grew out of, and was a reaction against, the social and political upheavals of the first half of the twentieth century, and was particularly appealing in the wake of World War Two and the devastating results of Nazi nationalism and racism.

In 1948 a journalist in the Melbourne *Argus* made a direct connection between World War Two and world-minded thinking, arguing that since 'we have fought a war against Hitler and his principle of racial superiority . . . there has been a tremendous increase in world-mindedness' and 'a proportionate decrease in the practice of racial discrimination' ('Changed World' 2). UNESCO, established in November 1946 with the intention of defending peace by advocating the 'intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind' (UNESCO), is perhaps the most striking example of what Glenda Sluga describes as the 'curiously utopian moment' between 1945 and 1950, when views of the future were dominated by internationalism and cosmopolitanism (393–94). Australian interest in world-mindedness reached a peak in March 1949 when UNESCO, in conjunction with the Australian government, held UNESCO Week. UNESCO Week aimed to promote 'world-mindedness instead of narrow racialism, educational reconstruction in the war-shattered countries and the struggle against illiteracy' ('UNESCO Work' 6). In 1947 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported on UNESCO's plan to 'purge' school books of 'hatred' and 'distortions' in order to 'assist world-mindedness' ('Fighting Poison' 9), and in 1949 Mr Beard, headmaster of Newcastle Boys' High School and UNESCO Week attendee, was enthusiastic about the possibility of education to banish 'ignorance and prejudice among the great nations' ('Shrinking World' 2). The education of children was seen as crucial to the successful propagation of world-minded thinking.

Australian education historian Julie McLeod argues that in the interwar years two main themes recur in debates around civics and schooling in Australia. The first was the need to cultivate a 'cosmopolitan or worldly outlook' in students and the second was an emphasis on teaching clear, independent thinking. McLeod calls this combination 'clear-mindedness and world-mindedness' (342). Certainly Hudson's own educational philosophy reflected such a combination. He believed that it was the role of the teacher to cultivate:

> children of free personalities, not necessarily richly endowed with facts, but eager to reason, criticise, and create, familiar with much fine music, poetry, painting and sculpture, and bearing goodwill to all peoples, regardless of their colour, race or religion. We must produce self-conscious world citizens if we are to achieve world peace. (Hudson, 'New Australian Voices')

Hudson also advocated the abolition of religious instruction, the introduction of sex education, and the replacement of national and racial histories with the teaching of world history. Though Hudson never used the term world-minded, his teaching philosophy certainly demonstrates sympathy with the emerging concept. Moreover, Hudson's world-minded stance was not only crucial in his role as an educator, but was evident in a range of his work including his comics and approach to editing *Poetry* magazine.

Highbrow to 'Hack-work'

In 1939 a war-time ban on all non-essential imports, including comic books, led to the sudden emergence of an Australian comic book industry (Foster 165). One contribution to this new industry, though somewhat unusual given that it was 'produced outside the Sydney/Melbourne nexus,' was *Pacific Pictorial Comics* published by Lush Studies, an Adelaide-based commercial art and signwriting business (Whiting). *Pacific Pictorial Comics*, which included several serialised short comics, claimed to produce a range of comics to 'satisfy the need for reading matter that will provide children with the excitement of the common comic without introducing slangy stories inculcating wrong attitudes to crime, war, and people of other races' ('Dear Parents' n.p.). This was an attempt to distance the

publication from attracting labels such as 'degenerate and socially dangerous,' characterisations commonly applied to literature considered lowbrow (Cultural Defence Committee 4). The overall goal of *Pacific Pictorial Comics*, to promote peaceful social relationships through reading, was in accord with world-mindedness. 'Discovery' was serialised in the pages of *Pacific Pictorial Comics*, an educational comic for children written by Hudson and illustrated by various artists including Lyall Lush, Douglas Maxted and E. Whitehouse.

'Discovery' was particularly concerned with educating Australian and New Zealand school children about the human history of the Pacific Ocean, and, according to Hudson, aimed to 'cover the story of the Pacific and Australia, beginning with the Polynesian voyages and concluding with the achievements of contemporary Australians' ('Forward' n.p.). When the first four instalments of 'Discovery' were republished in a collection titled 'Discovery: The Adventures of the Polynesians', Lush Studios described the book as an 'experiment' in the presentation of history to school children ('Introduction' n.p.) and as 'a reliable *text book* for students & teachers' (original emphasis, Hudson, 'Forward' n.p.). The comic had covered Indian migration, Polynesian exploration, Easter Island history and some Spanish exploration of South America when the final instalment written by Hudson appeared in issue six of *Pacific Pictorial Comics*. Within both the text and illustrations of 'Discovery' there is a concerted effort to displace Europe as the primary context of Australian history. The maps and images used to introduce the region all focus on the Pacific; Europe does not appear on any (Hudson, 'Discovery' 1–2). Australian history is told around a geographic feature, the Pacific Ocean, rather than emphasising European explorers. In fact, European explorers do not appear in 'Discovery' until the third instalment. Though the project was never completed Hudson did make an attempt to produce a world history, or at least a regional history, for school children that presented Australia as a Pacific nation rather than a European one.

In his attempted retelling of Australian history Hudson was not alone, but rather part of the changing nature of Australian historical studies in the 1930s and 1940s. Strikingly similar to Hudson's purpose in 'Discovery' is the rubric of Ernest Scott's 1926 Australasian History course at the University of Melbourne, the aim of which was to cover 'the history of the discovery of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific' (quoted in Macintyre, *History for a Nation* 103). Additionally, M. Barnard Eldershaw's 1939 history *My Australia* stands out as having a geographic focus similar to Hudson's 'Discovery.' 'Part One' of *My Australia* is a typical, chronological history of white settlement while 'Part Two' tells Australian history around a range of geographical and environmental features across (not necessarily linear) time. In sympathy with Hudson's specifically Pacific focus, Frank Clune's 1945 book *Pacific Parade*, a series of short sketches based on his travels in the Pacific rather than a history, argued that 'the biggest war in history made us "Pacific-minded"' (1). Clune predicted that this new focus on the Pacific region would result in an expansion of Pacific literature that would be 'as wide as that ocean itself, as diversified as its people' (3). Despite the Pacific-minded nature of the comic, like many traditional Euro-centric Australian histories of the period, very little of the action in 'Discovery' takes place on Australian soil.

In the only two pages set on the Australian mainland Hudson represents the Aboriginal population as technologically backward people who 'like shadows . . . crouched silently among the bush' (Hudson, 'Discovery' 5–6). This sort of characterisation was not unusual for Australian comics of the period (Shiell 64). Hudson's representation of the Aboriginal population is a theme to which I will return. Overall, the regional and multiethnic focus of Hudson's 'text book' 'Discovery' demonstrates his world-mindedness and his pedagogical

preference for world history over racial and national histories. Despite the high-minded purpose of the comic, later in life Hudson was ambivalent about the worth of his work on 'Discovery.' He once called the comics 'serious things' (Interview) but in another instance described them as the 'hackwork' he undertook to keep *Poetry,* his high-brow poetry magazine, financially afloat (Hudson, *Flexmore Hudson Papers*).[3]

John Tregenza argues that an increase in the production of Australian little magazines in the 1930s and 1940s was a response to the culminating world crises that politicised many writers (27–28). Part of this glut, Hudson's *Poetry* magazine, produced primarily from rural South Australia with the help of his wife Myrle Desmond, ran for twenty five numbers between 1941 and 1947. Originally subtitled *A Quarterly of Australian and New Zealand Verse*, *Poetry* was established partly due to the guilt Hudson felt when illness prevented him from joining the Australian army during World War Two. According to Hudson, the magazine enabled him to fulfil his patriotic duty by establishing what he called a 'firstrate' place for the publication of Australian poetry (Interview). Up until number sixteen all poetic contributions to the magazine came from Australia and New Zealand, though Hudson developed more international ambitions as the magazine achieved greater success. From number seventeen the magazine underwent a change of subtitle, becoming *Poetry: The Australian International Quarterly of Verse.* In number twenty of the magazine it was advertised that *Poetry* would accept English translations of contemporary poems originally written in any language (Hudson, 'For Readers' 35). Hudson actively pursued international contributions; his personal papers indicate that he initiated contact with poets from the USA, India, England, Wales, Denmark, Israel, Ireland and Scotland (Hudson, *Flexmore Hudson Papers*). *Poetry* number twenty five, published in December 1947, was prefaced by American writer William Carlos Williams and included an extensive collection of Indonesian poetry translated into English. Additionally there were contributions from three Irish, two English, and one Israeli poet. It was with this issue, in which Hudson had achieved an impressive balance of Australian and international content, that *Poetry* ceased publication due to financial difficulties.

'Discovery' and *Poetry* are clearly quite different, and Hudson certainly valued them differently. 'Discovery' was 'hackwork,' *Poetry* was 'firstrate.' However, all Hudson's work, from the lowbrow to the highbrow, and from his own poetry to his work as an educator, was connected by his interest in world-mindedness. Hudson was even able to articulate his world-minded stance as a part of the overtly nationalist literary community of Jindyworobak poets.

Jindyworobak

Hudson met Rex Ingamells during his short stint at Adelaide University in 1931 and the two became, and remained, close friends (Hudson, Interview). In 1938, assisted by poets Ian Tilbrook and Max Harris along with Hudson, Ingamells established the poetry-focused Jindyworobak Club in Adelaide and published the movement's manifesto *Conditional Culture*. Ingamells had come upon the word 'jindy-worobak' in the glossary of James Devaney's *The Vanished Tribes* where it was attributed with the meaning 'to annex, to join,' and decided that this word described a particular Australian quality in literature that he wanted to endorse (Ingamells, *Conditional Culture* 4). The Jindyworobaks claimed their aim was 'a more effective fusion between our inherited Western culture on the one hand and, on the other, the primitive culture and place values of the continent which we have made our own ('The Jindyworobak Club' 7–8). Ingamells argued that continued cultural dependence on Britain threatened the development of a 'genuine' Australian literature. He advocated the use of 'appropriate' language to describe the unique 'environmental values' of the Australian

scene, and promoted literary engagement with the spiritual and environmental legacy of Aboriginal Australia. While critic and poet A.D. Hope called Australia a land 'without songs, architecture, history,' the Jindyworobaks attempted to appropriate an Aboriginal sense of place in order to claim continuity with a deeper Australian history (Hope, 'Australia' 42). For Graeme Davison, nationalists of this period either celebrated Australia's 'newness' as an opportunity for cultural revitalisation away from Europe or 'yearned for a deep or primordial connection to their land' (436). The Jindyworobaks did both.

Hudson broadly agreed with most Jindyworobak aims. However, like many contemporary critics of the group, he took issue with both the narrow nationalism of the Jindyworobak program and with the emphasis it placed on Aboriginal Australia. (For contemporary criticism see Hope, 'Culture Corroboree' 28–31; Harris, 'Dance Little Wombat' 33–35.) I will interrogate Hudson's objection to the group's appropriation of Aboriginal culture shortly, but first want to consider his concerns about Jindyworobak nationalism, particularly in response to the group's close association with W.J. Miles and P.R. Stephensen's Australia First movement.

Australia First, established in 1941, was a Sydney-based political pressure group that advocated extreme nationalism as well as anti-democratic ideas. Through Australia First's associated magazine the *Publicist*, Miles and Stephensen declared themselves 'For "White" Australia; against heterogeneity,' 'For Aryanism; against Semitism' and 'For national socialism; against international communism' ('The *Publicist's* Fifty Points' 16). The magazine was repetitive, propagandist, and overtly sympathetic to anti-democratic ideas; only wartime censorship curbed anti-Semitism and admiration for the Japanese and German governments. From 1937 prominent Jindyworobak Ian Mudie regularly contributed poetry to the magazine; to no avail, Hudson, a socialist, tried to warn him off 'the cheap alien Fascism of the *Publicist*' (Hudson to Mudie, 1940). Mudie's enthusiasm for the movement contributed to Ingamells's decision to apply for membership in December 1941, drawing the Jindyworobaks closer to Australia First (Bird, 296). Despite his reservations, in 1943 Hudson said that 'until Jindyworobak shows itself xenophobically nationalistic . . . I shall support it and persuade others to support it' ('Editor's Note' 3). Hudson contributed to all but three of the Jindyworobak annual anthologies which ran between 1938 and 1953 and guest-edited the 1943 anthology. He even wrote a letter of protest to Senator Joe Collings when Stephensen and fifteen other members and associates of the Australia First movement were interned and held without trial, accused of treason and ties to the Japanese government (Hudson to Collings, 1942). How and why did Hudson continue to associate himself, though sometimes uncomfortably, with the Jindyworobaks, some of whom were increasingly drawn to right-wing politics? In part, the answer lies in the necessary pragmatism involved in negotiating a literary career in this period.

Like Ingamells, Hudson believed that there was little appreciation of Australian poetry, and was therefore glad to support a group whose objective was to publish, circulate and support Australian writing (Hudson to Ingamells, 1941). Moreover, Kevin Pearson and Christine Churches argue that 'Jindyworobak ideology was important not just as a set of rules but as a common meeting ground for discussion' (xvi). Ian Mudie explained that, particularly as a resident of Adelaide, relationships with other Jindyworobaks provided him with a network of friends and peers to stave off a sense of literary isolation (Mudie, Interview). Even Max Harris, who, though a founding member of Jindyworobak, went on to attack the movement and establish the avant-garde *Angry Penguins* journal, emphasised the important role Jindyworobak played in his early literary networking:

> The early days of Jindyworobak were to me, a process of establishing contact, contact with poetic outlooks . . . This interchange of viewpoints, to which Ingamells's controversial theory gave rise, caused a feeling of coherence between various individuals. (Harris, 'Importance' 74–75)

This sense of coherence was important to many Australian writers who felt ignored by the Australian public and under attack from the academy. When Mudie edited the Jindyworobak Anthology in 1946 he decided to include one of Hudson's poems even though he didn't think it particularly good. Mudie told Hudson that he didn't want to be seen as anti-leftist by excluding Hudson from the anthology and argued that 'there are too many knockers around trying to make bad blood between poets for me to give them even an imaginary triumph' (Mudie to Hudson, 1946). Jindyworobak provided opportunities for contact, conversation, support, and friendship, which was probably more important than the political differences Hudson had with many members. Though the pragmatic advantages of a relationship with Jindyworobak are clear, Hudson remained doubtful about the Jindyworobak emphasis on Aboriginal culture.

Brian Elliot argues that 'passionately as he was attached, strongly as he felt the peculiar uniqueness of being Australian, Hudson believed that to be committed too deeply to the Dreamtime was to accept too narrow a philosophy' (xliv). Yet, Hudson's aversion to the Jindyworobak aim of drawing on Aboriginal Australia for inspiration seemed to stem from a more ordinary, pervasive racism. In the same 1948 article that Hudson encouraged Australians to be 'unified by a concept of world-citizenship' he admitted that 'I cannot believe that our poets are going to learn much of technique from a backward people who are without written language' ('Prophet' 86). For Hudson, Aboriginal culture had no place in modern Australian literature; he told Ingamells that 'a cultured scientific twentieth century outlook' was more appropriate (Hudson to Ingamells, 1941). To modern sensibilities Hudson's attitude toward Aboriginal Australia seems at odds with his call for 'goodwill to all peoples, regardless of their colour, race or religion.' Yet, I believe that Hudson's continued support of both world-mindedness and Jindyworobak nationalism complicates any sense of an ideological dichotomy between them.

Glenda Sluga points out that 'late nineteenth-century conceptions of race and empire remained uneasily at the heart of cosmopolitanism and internationalism' (395). Imperialism and eugenics were central to Julian Huxley's plans to reduce 'psychological distances between peoples and nations' (Huxley 6; Phillips 628–29; Sluga 396–418). Nationalism was not incompatible either; Huxley specifically called on nations to preserve their cultural heritage and encourage 'the creative artist, whether in painting or music, in literature or drama, to express the spirit of his country' (8). World-mindedness did not preclude racism, imperialism, or nationalism. Such ideological fluidity can also be observed in regard to nationalism. For example, there was more room for Aboriginal Australians within the 'savage nationalism' of Stephensen, than in Hudson's world-minded outlook (Macintyre, *Oxford History* 315). Stephensen provided financial backing for the *Abo Call* newspaper and the Aborigines Progressive Association, and was involved with both the Aboriginal Citizenship Committee and organising the Day of Mourning protest held on Australia Day 1938 (Bird 70–71). Aboriginal Australia was an essential element of Stephensen's nationalist program. Further, Peter Kirkpatrick urges that Jindyworobak be seen outside the 'limiting context of a parochial nationalism' (Kirkpatrick 108). According to Kirkpatrick, the Jindyworobak appropriation of Aboriginal culture places the group within transnational modernist movements such as primitivism and the European avant-garde, despite this being the very

antithesis of Jindyworobak's stated aims. In straddling, and perhaps experimenting with, a variety of political and literary positions Hudson demonstrates the ideological fluidity of the period.

The series of cataclysmic events from the 1920s to 1940s provoked a sense of crisis in 'every aspect of civilisation,' which, despite physical remoteness from Europe, was deeply felt within Australian literary culture (Carter xiii). Modjeska points out that 'by 1933 nationalism had been called into question with the triumph of Mussolini and Hitler. The relationship between fascism and nationalism had become clear . . . Writers were compelled by the political events of the thirties to question the nature and function of literature and the implications of a national culture' (165). Hudson shared these anxieties about Australian nationalism, though he had certainly not condemned it entirely. After all it was wartime patriotism that had prompted him to establish *Poetry*. In many ways this was a balancing act; neither world-mindedness nor Jindyworobak nationalism were static or inflexible, yet tension remained as a result of Hudson's double allegiance. However, in writing about the South Australian environment Hudson found a point of ideological overlap which helped him to paper over, though never completely eliminate, this tension. Hudson's overtly 'placed' poetry resonated with the Jindyworobak call for literary attention to environmental values *and* gave him a curious advantage as an adherent of world-mindedness.

The Secret

In the 1940 poem 'The Secret,' Hudson celebrated that he was 'only a poet living in a mallee township / where the people never read my poems.' Between 1936 and 1947 Hudson taught in a handful of small primary schools in rural South Australia which bordered on the Mallee. This period of rural teaching roughly coincides with the most productive period of Hudson's literary career; he published five collections of his own poetry, produced most of *Poetry*, and probably wrote some of 'Discovery.' Much of his poetry deals with the details of living and teaching in rural South Australia, as well as the environment. Like fellow Jindyworobak Ian Mudie, Hudson wrote a great deal of 'Mallee' poetry. Both poets used Mallee imagery to suggest strength and versatility in hostile conditions. Mudie's poetry tended to emphasise national character and bordered on a '*volkisch* sensibility of blood and soil' (Bird 282), while Hudson was more inclined to see the resilient landscape as personal or spiritual inspiration. In 'Mallee Courage' Hudson anthropomorphises the 'mallee plain'; he hopes to absorb the 'silent courage' of the place that 'still bears brittle leaves' in times of drought. Despite his personal rather than national emphasis, as a Mallee poet Hudson satisfied the Jindyworobak call for attention to 'environmental values.'

In *Conditional Culture* Ingamells defined 'environmental values,' rather vaguely, as 'the distinctive qualities of an environment which cannot be satisfactorily expressed in the conventional terms that suit other environments' (11). Ingamells argued that imitativeness, 'pseudo-Europeanism' and the 'incongruous use of metaphors, similes, and adjectives' hampered the ability of Australian writers to meaningfully engage with the Australian landscape (5–6). Appropriate use of language and the development of a distinctively Australian idiom would, according to Ingamells, enable writers to better capture what both D.H. Lawrence and P.R. Stephensen had described as the 'Spirit of the Place' (Lawrence 19; Stephensen 11). Hudson saw worth in Ingamells's call for close attention to the Australian environment. He supported what he called the 'regionalism and localism of Jindyworobak' and believed that there was value in depicting specific localities in great detail, and the 'exact

and intimate observation of nature' (Hudson, 'Prophet' 84–85). Hudson's time spent in rural South Australia seemed to provide him with the opportunity for such intimate observation.

In a letter in June 1941, when Hudson was living at the Flinders Ranges town of Hammond, Ingamells expressed his envy that Hudson was able to 'rub shoulders with the elemental stupidity and perversity of a Flinders township rather than with the suave hypocritical self-deceit of city people' (Ingamells to Hudson, 1941). Ingamells articulates the common sentiment, particularly in this period of European war, that the city was a detrimental force that had the potential to cause degeneration amongst its inhabitants. Yet, surprisingly, Ingamells's characterisation of rural Australia is ambiguous; the aesthetic heartland of Jindyworobak seems to both repel and attract him. Perhaps Ingamells imagined that the primitive, elemental Australian environment, with its apparent power of regression, posed as much danger to white civilisation as decadent European modernity. Though Ingamells thought it a desirable poet subject, the 'Spirit of the Place' was not benign; John Tregenza explains that 'the conception of the Australian Place Spirit as a kind of terrible deity waiting his time to destroy white civilization' was characteristic of writers like D.H. Lawrence and the Jindyworobaks (51–52). In Ingamells's Jindyworobak efforts to 'annex' and 'join' he was attempting to balance two dangerous and undesirable extremes inherent in Australian culture. Hudson, to Ingamells's envy, was immersed in the more authentic of the two extremes, boosting his credentials as a Jindyworobak. Hudson's own assessment of his time spent in rural South Australia was remarkably different.

Rather than a confrontation with any primitive force or Australian place-spirit, Hudson emphasised that his removal from the distractions of city life enabled him to read more widely, deeply and internationally than his cosmopolitan friends. Hudson's life

> in tiny, insignificant, little primary schools in the bush gave me something that is most precious to writers, it gave me leisure. It enabled me to do an enormous amount of reading and study, a variety of subjects, philosophy, psychology, anthropology, history, languages, linguistics, and I used to feel very inferior living up in tiny little places and thinking what wonderful opportunities my friends had down in the city, and to my astonishment, when I came down I found most of them hadn't read the books I had read. (Hudson, Interview)

In the bush Ingamells saw an opportunity for immersion in the Australian spirit of place, while Hudson saw a chance to broaden his world-minded thinking. Physical removal from the cosmopolitan literary circles of Sydney, Melbourne and even Adelaide for the most prolific period of his career gave Hudson the time and space to develop intellectual connections with the rest of the world. This, however, was not just a matter of time and space; Hudson's environmental experience and 'placed' poetry enabled him to develop a (probably unwitting) intellectual sympathy with emerging ecological ideas.

Hudson's sense of environmental connectivity is best demonstrated in an excerpt from his 1943 poem 'With the First Soft Rain':

> That strutting magpie joins us, that shadow, ants on the wall,
>   the saltbush, trees, the wire-weed, and the larvae of the
>   borer-beetle sapping the life of the gum.
> So long as I can know the earth, I shall never feel alone;
> for there, I know, not only is my spirit

but *all* men's spirits;
and they are in mine, and I am in theirs . . .
Here on a saltbush plain I lie in the sun:
Nearly seven million other Australians are warmed by that sun
  —They squint in its glare, love it, find it beautiful; so do
  Papuans, Thibetans, Javanese, Chinese, Germans, Rus-
  sians, Eskimoes—they shout and wave harpoons as it
  rises over the ice; fruit-pickers of the Amazon and the
  Congo, emerging from the dark gloom, are glad of its
  light and warmth.
. . .

The sun, and the stars that will chill this plain to-night,
the moon that will climb the black hills,
are links with all humanity. (17–18)

Here Hudson evokes the South Australian rural landscape with which he is so familiar, yet demonstrates that placed poetry does not have to be limiting or nationalistic. Hudson's technique of listing environmental features, animals, and various groups of people has a levelling effect; all seem to have an equal right to the earth. Though there is an emphasis on spiritual connections between distant people, probably explained by Hudson's interest in Theravada Buddhism (Depasquale 14), there is also a sense of tangible environmental connection in the poem. The physical environment, the sun, earth, and even the life on a South Australian saltbush plain, seem to offer both spiritual and ecological connections between people the world over. Moreover, the poem resonates with the work of American biologist and ornithologist William Vogt. In his 1948 bestseller *Road to Survival* Vogt argued that 'if we are to escape the crash we must abandon all thought of living unto ourselves. We form an earth-company, and the lot of the Indiana farmer can no longer be isolated from that of the Bantu.' Vogt meant this 'in a direct, physical sense,' not a mystical sense (285).

During the post-war years, world-mindedness and advances in ecology combined to create a 'moment of change' in environmental thinking, epitomised in 1948 by Vogt's *Road to Survival* and fellow American Fairfield Osborn's *Our Plundered Planet* (Robin, Sorlin and Warde 157). Environmental historian Donald Worster presents these two publications as leading examples of an emerging 'planetary perspective on man's growing effect on his surroundings' (352). Both Vogt and Osborn warned about an approaching crisis of human civilisation in a world of limited, exploited resources and a rapidly increasing human population. According to Worster, it was during this period that the word 'environment' began to imply 'a set of interactive relationships between humans and the rest of nature' on a global scale (352). Libby Robin, Sverker Sorlin and Paul Warde point out that 'the idea of "the environment," and the prediction of a whole global system falling into degradation, emerged together: co-determined, or bound in a kind of double helix' (158). Here, in the 1940s, is the origin of our contemporary, popular understanding of the term environment, which often implies an environmental crisis with global ramifications, brought on by poor human management of the earth. It is no coincidence that world-mindedness and this new ecological perspective emerged simultaneously.

Both concepts were a reaction against war and the other crises of the early and mid-twentieth century, though world-mindedness emphasised the human cost of war while the new ecological perspective emphasised the environmental cost, actual and potential, particularly in

the wake of the atomic bomb. Both were future-oriented: world-minded thinkers sought to secure lasting world peace; new environmental thinkers attempted to avert or postpone an anticipated environmental cataclysm. Gary Clark has explored the influence the developing field of ecology had on mid-twentieth century Australian literature (429–43), but I would like to emphasise that ecology was also influenced by the cultural movement for world-mindedness; in fact, a global ecological perspective was necessarily world-minded. Vogt used terms such as 'earth company' and 'world community' in an ecological sense, but such phrases also resonate with Hudson's call to educate children as 'world citizens' to ensure peace. In encouraging countries and states to 'pool their resources,' Vogt suggested that a culturally world-minded approach was essential to averting ecological disaster (268–69). Though there is no evidence to suggest that Hudson had read either Vogt or Osborn's books, in bringing together Jindyworobak environmental values and a world-minded outlook Hudson's poetry demonstrates a sympathy with this new world-minded ecology.

In 1940, when he mused on 'the faultless design of the simplest living creature / of the perfect symmetry of animals, of the serenity of trees, and of / the insatiate will of man,' Hudson captured poetically much of what disturbed Osborn and Vogt ('The Problem'). In 'To A Cuttlefish Found on Christie's Beach,' which first appeared in *Poetry* number 21 in 1946, the speaker, having come upon a cuttlefish stranded on the beach, considers the evolutionary relationship between humans and this rather strange creature:

> long ago, in the hot Azoic shallows
> we had the same nativity, you and I;
> and though our looks have changed, the same desires
> tentacle all my depths of tortured mind:
> so you shall be saved from the gulls and the lethal air.
>
> Perhaps . . .
> a billion years from now some storm will strand
> a peculiar descendant of mine, and one of yours
> will carry him back to his home in the crimson sea.

The poem gives a sense of humanity's close, ecological relationship with and dependence on the natural world, and perhaps even gestures toward crisis with the prediction that some imagined future storm might strand humanity's descendants. In this embellished, but ultimately very simple, scene on an Adelaide beach, Hudson demonstrates that he could adhere to the Jindyworobak call for attention to environmental values without restricting his ability to engage with emerging international ideas. In fact, environmental localism and the Jindyworobak emphasis on environmental values were crucial to Hudson's version of world-mindedness. Moreover, the Australian literary community, despite a reputation for parochial nationalism, was in constant dialogue with, and even preoccupied by, compounding global crises.

Jindyworobak nationalism and world-mindedness were not mutually exclusive, though Hudson's allegiance to both certainly yielded tension. In his careful poetic evocation of various South Australian environments Hudson found 'the secret' to navigating, though not necessarily resolving, this tension. He took advantage of the ideological intersection that saw the environment become crucial to both nationalism and new world-minded thinking. Hudson was a nationalist Jindyworobak and a world-minded thinker—and we might even identify in his work an embryonic ecological sensibility such as underpinned the environmental movement of the late twentieth century.

NOTES

[1] A fictionalised portrait of Mr W.R. Tynan appears in Hudson's 1953 short story 'Mr Heine.'

[2] In 1985 Hudson published *Tales from Corytella: The Collected Stories of Flexmore Hudson*. Many of the short stories collected are clearly influenced by Hudson's time spent teaching in rural South Australia, though it appears that the stories were written in the decades after Hudson left the region. I am concerned with the special, changing nature of the 1930s and 1940s, so have chosen to limit my analysis to work produced in that period.

[3] Hudson described 'Discovery' as 'hackwork' on the cover of the folder that the comics are held in within the *Flexmore Hudson Papers*. Access to the *Flexmore Hudson Papers* has been kindly granted to me by Mr Rory Hudson. I am appreciative of this access and also grateful for Mr Hudson's thoughtful interest and feedback on my research.

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