

Literature, Politics and Activism: “The Rich and the Poor” (1971) – A Rediscovered Essay by James K Baxter

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In late September this year I came across a manuscript which I had not seen for some four decades. It was a short hand-written essay by James K Baxter, “The Rich and the Poor.” This article traces how the manuscript came into being, and a facsimile is attached as an appendix.

In the winter of 1971 a group of people in or generally associated with the Marxist Labour Group (MLG) resolved to produce a magazine. The MLG had split from the Socialist Action League (SAL) that March, after a significant rift had developed inside the League over various differences on the appropriate ways of applying Trotskyist theory, policy and practice in New Zealand.¹ The resignees shared a perception that the League’s leadership was stymying the internal democracy needed to address and resolve those differences, and so there was no choice but to withdraw.² The MLG milieu felt that the League’s “bureaucratic centrism” had, among other things, permeated and stultified its journal, *Socialist Action*, making the League incapable of bringing a socialist message to a broad audience.³

After a period of regrouping after the walkouts from the Socialist Action League, then, the MLG agreed to prioritise the production of an accessible and wide-ranging journal which, implicitly or explicitly, explored the interconnections between politics, literature, society, culture and the economy. It would aim to appeal to as broad a readership as possible, something which had been attempted from time to time in the past by various left-wing circles in New Zealand: *Tomorrow* in the mid-1930s, for example, and in the 1960s by veteran Trotskyist Owen Gager with *Dispute*, which had run to 19 issues.⁴ More recently, a journal initiated by the Victoria University of Wellington Socialist Club, *Red Spark*, had performed this role, appealing to “alienated sectors of society and pos[ing] Marxist solutions in a low key but pervasive manner”. The Socialist Action League had emerged out of some of the currents involved in the Socialist Club, and *Red Spark* became SAL’s public face. But a process of “bureaucratic ossification” in the League had led, in MLG eyes, to this once “attractive” journal becoming “boring, banal and reportative.” The SAL had, in any case, wound up the magazine in May 1970 in order to focus on *Socialist Action*, the first issue of which had been published in September 1969.⁵

The MLG magazine would at first be quarterly, given the group’s small resources. A prototypical issue called *Partisan* was hastily put together in early Spring 1971 as an indicator of the type of material sought for a magazine that would analyse “contemporary trends” from a Marxian standpoint and avoid the clichéd “sermonising that afflicts most self proclaimed Marxist writing” in New Zealand. In this foundational issue, contributions were penned by members of the MLG circle and their acquaintances. Gary R Langford and Rhys Pasley, for example, contributed poetry, and there were articles relevant to debates on racism and women’s liberation, on cinema and capitalism. It is unclear how far this experimental issue was distributed outside MLG circles, although it did have a 25c price on its cover.⁶

Not long after it was printed, at a time of internal MLG discussions on how best to develop the magazine, James K Baxter called by the legal office of his friend Hector MacNeill. Generally regarded as the first bona fide Trotskyist in New Zealand and certainly the longest serving

Trotskyist in the country at that time, MacNeill knew virtually everyone on the left in Wellington (as well as having extensive national and overseas contacts). Along with a handful of other left-wing lawyers such as Shirley Smith, he spent a great deal of his time defending both protesters and the poor and marginalised.

Baxter asked MacNeill for a favour which flowed from his current preoccupations, which intermingled literary production and socio-political activism.⁷ After considerable local opposition to the commune Baxter had established at Jerusalem/Hiruharama, during August and September 1971 its ethos and community had essentially transferred to Wellington. When Baxter turned up in the city he initiated a “crusade on behalf of the homeless young,” calling upon the City Council to “allow communes to occupy old houses in the city centre” at low rents, and campaigning for the repeal of legislation which allowed the police to harass young people without means.⁸

At first Baxter ran his campaign from the family home in Ngaio, to which he had returned in late September, but he had soon felt that he “need[ed] a house that will hold thirty people.”⁹ At that time a disused dwelling at 26 MacDonald Crescent (between The Terrace and Willis Street) had been commandeered by Vincent Burke to take in former residents of Jerusalem and others “who would have gone to Jerusalem if Jerusalem had been there.” One of a network of experimental transfers of the ideals of Jerusalem into urban spaces, the commune became an intermittent home for Baxter.¹⁰ More of a crash pad rather than a “Baxter community,” it lasted only a few weeks until the City Council evicted the squatters on the ostensible ground that the venue was “unfit for human habitation.”¹¹ During his stay there (in W H Oliver’s words) the “major tactic in his campaign was Gandhian,” a long fast “living on coffee and lemon juice.”¹²

It was towards the end of that fast that Baxter came to MacNeill’s office to ask his favour. He wanted MacNeill to advocate for a teenager who had been convicted of car conversion. Baxter was worried that the young man would not be able to fulfil the terms of his probation, and would therefore be gaoled. MacNeill readily agreed to do what he could. This work would bring him no income, which was not uncommon in his legal practice (a handful of wealthy clients in effect subsidised those with little or no means of payment), and in this instance the lawyer asked for something in return: a contribution to *Partisan*. Baxter at once agreed, and returned the next day with a handwritten manuscript, “The Rich and the Poor.”¹³

MacNeill later noted that Baxter referred to the piece on that occasion as “Dives and Lazarus,” the title he had originally intended, a reference to the name often given to a Biblical parable in the Gospel of Luke. Lazarus, a “beggar ... full of sores,” had lain at the gate of a “rich man ... clothed in purple and fine linen” who feasted “sumptuously every day.” The poor man “desir[ed] in vain] to be fed with the crumbs from the rich man’s table.” When they both died, the rich man – often called Dives in the retellings of the parable – found himself in Hell. Seeing Abraham “afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom,” he asked the prophet to “have mercy on me and send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame.” Abraham replied that it was not possible as “between us and you there is a great gulf fixed”: “remember that thou in thy lifetime receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things: but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.” Nor would Abraham warn the rich man’s five brothers what fate would befall them if they continued to live their lives in the fashion of Dives.¹⁴

The parable was at the forefront of Baxter’s mind at the time, the focus of his meditation during the fast. MacNeill speculated that the title Baxter had actually placed on the essay, “The Rich

and the Poor,” paid deference to the class-based political thrust of the magazine, with which he was in some sympathy during his stay in Wellington. As he later noted when writing from Jerusalem, in the city his “thoughts [were] Marxist.” When he reverted to “Gandhijian” thoughts in 1972, he recalled that “[a]t times even in this country a Marxist approach has seemed to me the only one that possesses the necessary cutting edge.”¹⁵

But his engagement with Marxist-based theory and practice lacked depth. It was more of a fleeting encounter that was fuelled by anger and despair at the treatment of the poor by the powerful rather than by any analytical understanding. “Under the cold high stars here at Jerusalem,” he later wrote, “it is not easy to recall the mood of rage and rock-bottom frustration that led me, in the town, to think for several months that I was becoming a Marxist.”¹⁶ The reference to rich and poor in the title of his essay, rather than to class (let alone revolutionary) struggle, was as far as Baxter would go towards organised socialism. Those of us who were putting together the copy for the second *Partisan* – what was to be its first full launch – always called his piece “Dives and Lazarus” because of the heavily religious nature of its analysis and manifesto.

The parable of Dives and Lazarus was a motif in Baxter’s work over a long period of time.¹⁷ John Weir, for example, selects a passage on “the pain and peace of Lazarus” and “the agony of Dives” for his *Essential Baxter* compilation.¹⁸ In Baxter’s 1972 prose work “The House of Lazarus,” a young man is picked up by the police for “being out of work and being Maori.”¹⁹ He embodies Lazarus – essentially, all people who are dispossessed and marginalised. Dives is indicted for his lack of concern for, and disinclination to share his riches with, Lazarus. “The house of Lazarus is more beautiful than the house of Dives [because] Lazarus shares” his meagre possessions. Thus “God has blessed Lazarus and withheld his blessing from Dives” – that is, until the rich change their ways.²⁰

In “The Rich and the Poor” Baxter writes of the circumstance which had led to the essay, an incident which prefigures that related in “The House of Lazarus.” A 16 year old Maori “friend” was being punished (in the poet’s words to the lawyer, echoed in the essay) for “merely borrowing an iron chariot,” an innocent action that would no doubt lead to dire consequences for the youth.²¹ Baxter begins “The Rich and the Poor” by noting that he was writing in the 25th day of his fast, which was to be of 30 days’ duration. Oliver refers to the fast as a 25 day one, so either he made a mistake or Baxter gave up what was intended to be a 30 day fast later on the day the essay was handed over to MacNeill. Whatever the case, the lawyer later recalled that when Baxter came to drop off the manuscript he was in a highly weakened state.

At that time I was handling the literary material for the journal project, perhaps partly because I had co-majored in English (although I had already begun what turned out to be a career focused on history). I was also friendly with Tim Dyce, a fellow member of the History Department at Victoria University who shared Baxter’s views on the benefits of communal living, and MacNeill suggested that this connection might be useful for tracking down the elusive Baxter if we needed to discuss any aspect of “The Rich and the Poor” with him – or, for that matter, if we were to seek further copy for *Partisan*. While their relationship was sometimes stormy, Baxter and Dyce were friends who worked closely together to foster alternative communities in Wellington.²²

After I took possession of the manuscript, the *Partisan* project floundered for various reasons. These were partly financial, but also connected with there being many political issues to work on in the dying days of the National Government – especially efforts to secure policy advances

within the Labour Party in advance of the 1972 election. While the MLG participated fully in “united front” activities within the broad left, moreover, there were also many intra-left struggles in Wellington over both ideology and strategy. The MLG and its circle were intimately involved in these, putting forward a raft of alternative perspectives to those which prevailed in the mainstream socialist left (which was dominated by Stalinist parties aligned with China or the Soviet Union) and in other Trotskyist groupings.²³

I departed for the United Kingdom in August 1972, and left the material which I had collected for *Partisan* with the MLG, in case the group were to revive the idea of producing the same or another politico-cultural magazine.²⁴ With Labour winning the election of 25 November 1972, for the next three years the MLG and its circle focussed on two things. Firstly, working on political and moral issues which had a better chance of making progress under a Labour than a National administration: such matters as improved wages and working conditions, addressing women’s oppression, promoting peace and anti-nuclear issues, advocating for Maori self-determination and anti-racism, examining issues of class struggle, publicising repression in Ulster, fighting for legalised abortion and supporting the campaign for homosexual law reform. Secondly, promoting socialist ideals and activities within a society increasingly aware of “progressive” causes and the interconnections between them. In the course of this work, much time and energy, again, was spent on combatting prevalent ideas within the left – not just those of the Stalinists and rival Trotskyist groups, but also others such as Christian Socialist groupings.²⁵

When I returned to New Zealand in August 1975, then, no new issue of *Partisan* or any equivalent had appeared, and events once more overtook the idea. On 12 December that year the Labour Government, now headed by Bill Rowling after Norman Kirk’s death, was replaced by Robert Muldoon’s National administration. There was now even more reason to concentrate on political struggle to the exclusion of much else. The MLG circle continued to meet through to the late 1970s, its publishing efforts focussed on socialist tracts and pamphlets advocating a variety of causes.²⁶ All the same, there was always a vague intention that a *Partisan*-style publication might be revived, and shortly after my return from the United Kingdom some copy was handed over to me, including (once again) the short piece still informally referred to as “Dives and Lazarus.” I do not recall who had held the essay during the 1972-5 period, but when the text came to me it had acquired a handful of annotations: red under-linings of six words, perhaps because they were difficult to read and would need to be printed out before being typed up. One sentence has been altered in the text, but this appears to be in Baxter’s hand and may have been done before the text was delivered to MacNeill.

Most of the MLG and its circle joined the Labour Party in the years after 1975, working in both official party institutions (mostly at branch and electorate level, but also in regional organisations – such as the Wellington Regional Labour Party’s Peace and Justice Forum – and sometimes at national level) and unofficial groupings (such as the Labour Left organisation, established in 1980). As well as work inside the Labour Party, they also continued to spend a great deal of time and energy on united front work on single issues, as well as engaging in intra-left struggles.²⁷

The idea behind *Partisan* faded away, and “The Rich and the Poor” languished in one of many boxes of material accumulated from various political and social campaigns. Not very long after John Weir’s monumental four-volume *James K Baxter: Complete Prose* was published, I rediscovered the manuscript in the course of searching out material for the Labour 100 Project, a collaboration between the Labour History Project and the New Zealand Labour Party which

seeks to uncover grassroots archival and other material to mark the centenary of the Labour Party. I was at once struck by contemporary political resonances in “The Rich and the Poor.”

Oliver writes that at the time of Baxter’s fast “he was violently angry, and not only with [his perennial target] the bureaucrats.” The essay indicates, among other things, his despair at those who only gave lip service to their religious beliefs, as well as at the wealthy who refused to share their good fortunes with the poor and the dispossessed.²⁸ But by early 1972 he had admitted defeat in his campaign to provide for the marginalised by such means as securing “the offer of old houses at a low rental to succour the young,” and he had abandoned most of his socio-political activism (albeit clinging to some of his former aspirations, such as “changing [the] direction” of the “youth revolution”).²⁹

When the revival of the Jerusalem community failed Baxter went to Auckland where, weakened by malnutrition, he died of a coronary thrombosis in Auckland on 22 October 1972.³⁰ One can only speculate as to the extent to which the 25 days of fasting influenced the tone or content of the text of “The Rich and the Poor”. While the themes of the essay resonate with other writings of his “late period,” Baxter also writes in the piece of an altered state of mind – waking from a dream on the day of its composition and being unable “to remember who I am or where I am... One feels that one might die.”³¹ One thing does seem certain: “The Rich and the Poor” affirms John Newton’s assessment that “Baxter’s literary legacy and his social legacy were shoots of the same vine.”³²

①

The Rich and the Poor

I write these notes on the 25th day of a 30-day fast undertaken, among other reasons, to meditate in an appropriate manner, on the parable of Dives and Lazarus. In Latin, 'dives' simply means rich; and this country is the country of Dives because an Asian family could contrive a living by use of the food and material any one of us throws out the door. Yet the poor man Lazarus is present with us. I meet him every day in the streets of Wellington. He bears the marks of heavy handling by the officials of Dives — the cops, the bureaucrats, the managers of factories who require men to lick their asses before they can get or hold a job. It is Lazarus whom I love, because he loves me and so obviously carries the peace of God about with him. But it is my job to love my neighbour Dives as well. If necessary I will chop down the door of his burning house with an axe. Christ said the rich man who have no mercy on the poor will land in Hell. If my words are sharp and vigorous, you may be able to detect behind them the rhythmic blow of an axe wielded on behalf of my neighbour Dives, even if not with his full approval or consent.

2

Today I lie on the floor of an office, with my head on a coat, and sleep. In a dream I am commenting to the New Zealand poet Allen Curney that one of his poems has a line with such and such a meaning. Still in the dream, I can't remember the line. I see Allen Curney's face very clearly. I wake and cannot remember who I am or where I am. This is an effect of having been for more than three weeks without food. One feels that one might die. A large minority of people in the world are feeling the same. It is a state with which Dives is rarely personally familiar. It is a frequent state in the kingdom of Lazarus.

3

Alongside the steps that go up to St Mary's church in Doncaster St smeltering has created iron railings, painted green, with sharp points like javelins. This depresses me. The area of concrete thus fenced off has been used by the metho boys for many purposes. It is in fact the bedroom and lavatory of Lazarus, and on occasion his couch of unofficial marriage. But Dives, who has his own bed and lavatory inside the presbytery, has chosen to deprive Lazarus of the communal facilities provided for him by the Lord God. This is a sign of great spiritual enfeeblement and poverty of insight in the church where Dives is too much respected.

(2)

If one of the mad drinkers, climbing clumsily over the railings, should fall and pierce his stomach or testicles, Dives will be to blame for it. He has an inherent tendency to regard as his own inalienable property the earth that the Lord God provided for the use of all. This tendency is peculiarly hideous when it is displayed in immediate proximity to the house of God.

I go in to Mass, and hear Christ telling the Pharisees, whom we so closely resemble, about the judgement of God and the wrath of the poor. He tells them also that not one stone of their magnificent Temple will be left standing.

All that Dives needs is a hole and a water tap and a broom and a washing day to clean up the bedroom and lavatory of the poor. He could take out a cup of tea in the morning to Lazarus, who may be suffering from the dry patches. If he stays and sits beside him, brother with brother, the peace of Lazarus will begin to pour into his soul.

4

It is not the agony of Lazarus that shakes the world apart. That agony is real enough. But it is in the main a physical agony terminated by death by starvation, or a mental nausea generated when he is forced to lick the ass of Dives to keep himself and his family alive. The agony of Dives is a spiritual agony of belittlement, degradation and asphyxiation, on account of his allowing attachment to material possessions to strangle love for neighbour, God, and even his family as well. The flame of this agony is dense, piercing and terrible. It consumes the marrow of the bones.

When Dives wakes up from a bad dream about the Hell for which he is preparing himself, a million people have to die for it. 'They want my property,' he thinks. 'They want to kill me.' And indeed the wrath of the poor will one day swallow up his world of power and money. Yet he would sacrifice his down simply enough, by distributing what he did not himself need among his fellows who are needy. He cannot do this because he regards his surplus property as security. And he hates Lazarus because he fears him, as his terrible living, as the image of his own starved and amputated soul.

The agony of Dives is shared by his wife and son and daughter. His wife licks envelopes for the Bishop or looks for love at the kind of party where no love can be found. His son curses him or inherits his business without thanks. His daughter comes like a waif from the rich home with three garages and swallows pills night and day or gets pregnant to one of the sons of Lazarus. Madness is one of the ailments of his family.

(3)

It is like the madness of a dog driven crazy by being despoiled by a thousand fleas. The cure for it is the acquisition of a spirit of poverty.

But I find the peace of Dives more terrible than his agony. It is the false peace that comes to a man who dreams that because his belly is full his house can be in no danger. It is the peace of the graveyard. The cure for it is comfort.

5

In the police courts I observe the legal sheep dip in operation. One by one the lions and draughtsmen of Lagunas pass through this ritual bath, receiving fines, imprisonment, probation and moral admonitions. The oppression of the poor by the rich is endless. It began when time began. It will end when time ends.

My friend R-, aged 16, a Maori, receives probation for car conversion. Dives does not share his iron chair with Lagunas. He locks it and leaves it at the roadside. Led by an infallible instinct, Lagunas finds the abandoned car, opens it, and shares it with his friends, abandoning it on Mount Victoria where the cops, the agents of Dives, can discover it and return it to him.

R- will very likely be put in a job where he had to ~~beat~~ lick the boss's arse. When he eventually explodes, he will go to jail for breach of probation.

I tell me like R-, 'Don't imitate the rich. You're like a millionaire asking to get his second million. Be content with his car and clothes and shelter and the company of your friends. Needs can be satisfied. Wants can never be satisfied.'

Yet, if they do this, they will still be oppressed by Dives. They will be picked up by the boys in blue or the boys in grey for being poor, for not having a job, for having long hair, maybe for being Maori. The charges will be laid under the I. and O. clauses of the Police Offences Act. I haunt the police stations like a bad smell, telling the police that it is wrong for them to oppress the poor. This prison also is an arse to me.

6

May Lagunas receive his brother Dives into paradise! That is what I want to see. But Dives will have to give him at least a few stable comrade biscuits to make it possible.

James K. Purdie

¹ The Marxist Labour Group's name hinted at the overseas grouping to which it was closest, the United Kingdom's International Marxist Group (whose most prominent member was Tariq Ali), and at the group's intention to forge a relationship with the New Zealand Labour Party.

² The Socialist Action League had been established in August 1969. A fifth of the SAL membership had left on or around the formation of the MLG, according to one estimate: see Ted Crawford, "Review of Robert J Alexander, *International Trotskyism 1929-1985: A Documented Analysis of the Movement* Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1991," *Revolutionary History* 4, no. 4 (Spring 1993): 180.

³ The "degeneration" within SAL was seen to have occurred from August 1970: "Application for Formal Recognition by the Fourth International of the Marxist Labour Group of New Zealand," January 1974, 1. This and other documents and pamphlets cited in this article are from my private collection held at Victoria University of Wellington, unless otherwise specified.

⁴ For *Tomorrow*, see Rachel Barrowman, *A Popular Vision: The Arts and the Left in New Zealand, 1930-1950* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1991), 27-60; for *Dispute*, see Dougal McNeill, "Notes on *Dispute* as a Journal of Poetics," *Ka Mate Ka Ora: A New Zealand Journal of Poetry and Poetics* 12 (2013): 52-67, and Lydia Wevers, "The Short Story," in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, ed. Terry Sturm, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991), 225.

⁵ "Application for Formal Recognition," 1; personal communications, Dougal McNeill, 11 and 23 November 2016.

⁶ *Partisan*, (Spring 1971), 2 and *passim*.

⁷ For this period, see John Newton, *The Double Rainbow: James K. Baxter, Ngati Hau and the Jerusalem Commune* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2009); for further discussion, see Dougal McNeill, "A Game of Torn Halves: Baxter, Burns, and Biculturalism," *Journal of New Zealand Literature* 30 (2012): 115-31.

⁸ Newton, *Double Rainbow*, 79-81; W. H. Oliver, *James K. Baxter: A Portrait* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1983), 141-42. By 7 September there were only four of the permanent commune members left in Jerusalem: Frank McKay, *The Life of James K Baxter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 1992 ed., 270.

⁹ McKay, 271-72; see too Oliver, 145.

¹⁰ Newton, 153-54; McKay, 271-72.

¹¹ Newton, 153-54, 208; Baxter saw a continuum between crash pad, communal home and community: *James K Baxter: Complete Prose*, III, ed. John Weir (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2016), 455.

¹² Oliver, 143. Baxter moved on to another community in McFarlane Street before returning to Jerusalem in February 1972: McKay, 272.

¹³ See the Appendix for a slightly reduced reproduction, published with the kind permission of the James K. Baxter Trust.

¹⁴ Luke 16: 19-31, *The Holy Bible* (King James Version, 1611).

¹⁵ *Complete Prose*, III, 417, 419.

¹⁶ *Complete Prose*, III, 471.

¹⁷ See for example the 1953 poem "Lazarus," in *Collected Poems: James K Baxter*, ed. J. E. Weir (Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1979), 93. See too, for example, "Songs of the Desert, 1," in James K Baxter *et al.*, *The Night Shift: Poems on Aspects of Love* (Wellington: Capricorn Press, 1957), 9.

¹⁸ John Weir, ed., *The Essential Baxter* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1994), 136.

¹⁹ *Complete Prose*, III, 454. See too James K Baxter, *Autumn Testament* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1972), 9: "My friend Tom is picked up by the police on an Auckland street for the double crime of being out of work and being Maori."

²⁰ Baxter, "The House of Lazarus," in *Complete Prose*, III, 462.

²¹ James K Baxter, "The Rich and the Poor," 3.

²² Oliver, 144.

²³ "Application for Formal Recognition," 2.

²⁴ Plans for "a rebirth of the conception behind the magazine," for example, were afoot in early 1974: "Application for Formal Recognition," 2.

²⁵ Documents, pamphlets, etc., in my own collection cover a huge range of interests, activities and causes, nationally and internationally, within the left in Wellington and elsewhere in the country.

²⁶ When the MLG lost out to the SAL in its bid to be the New Zealand section of the Fourth International (United Secretariat), its influence among other left groupings diminished (Crawford, "Review," 19). It vigorously took issue with both Stalinist parties and the SAL on foreign policy issues; see, for example, *An Enquiry into Aggression in Angola: Soviet & Cuban or U.S. & South African* (May 1977) and *Socialist Action League Issues Debate Challenge But Runs for Cover When It Is Accepted* (July 1977). The MLG worked, however, in united fronts with groups ranging from Bill Logan's and Adaire Hannah's Spartacist League (a Trotskyist group which had split from Owen Gager in 1972) through to activist Christian groupings of various types.

²⁷ Peace and Justice Forum, Labour Left and other papers, Richard Hill collection, Victoria University.

²⁸ Baxter was a fierce critic of his own Catholic Church on a number of issues: see, for example, James K Baxter, "Poet writes to Priest," in *James K Baxter 1926-1972: A Memorial Volume* (Wellington: Alister Taylor, 1972), 86-91. See too James K Baxter, in "A Handbook for the Christian Militant": "The Church has married herself to Dives our capitalist Pharaoh" (*Complete Prose*, III, 490). In 1968 Baxter wrote in his "Letter to Sam Hunt" poem about his daily attempts "[t]o help the Catholic bourgeoisie/To bear their own insanity": *James K. Baxter: New Selected Poems*, ed. Paul Millar (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2001), 241.

²⁹ Oliver, pp. 144-45.

³⁰ Oliver, 152.

³¹ Baxter, "The Rich and the Poor," 1.

³² Newton, 169.