USE OF THESES

This copy is supplied for purposes of private study and research only. Passages from the thesis may not be copied or closely paraphrased without the written consent of the author.
PORTRAITURE IN EARLY VICTORIA
1834-1861

A STUDY OF ART AND PATRONAGE IN COLONIAL SOCIETY

Elisabeth Ann Findlay

September 1994

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University
I declare that this thesis is entirely my own original work.

[Signature]

Elisabeth Findlay
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I want to thank the members of the Department of Art History at The Australian National University for their support, including my advisers Dr Paul Duro and Dr Erika Esau and the other staff members, including Mr Stephen Bourne, Mrs Margaret Brown, Dr Rico Franses, Professor Michael Greenhalgh and Dr Ann Moffat. They have all contributed to the production of this thesis, from providing administrative support to constructive criticism. Within the Department my greatest debt is to my supervisor Dr Sasha Grishin. It has been a privilege to work with such an enthusiastic and demanding supervisor. He has read endless drafts, given frank advice and has always set exemplary standards. I will always be grateful to him for his guidance and dedication.

I also must acknowledge the assistance I have received in various libraries and galleries. In particular I want to thank the staff in the pictorial, newspaper and manuscript sections of the La Trobe Library. At a time when the La Trobe's collection was being relocated and staff were working under difficult conditions, I appreciated their help with my often obscure and difficult inquiries. The staff at the National Library of Australia have also been very helpful in providing easy access to a wide range of resources. For assistance from other institutions, I am grateful to Richard Neville at the State Library of New South Wales; John McPhee at the National Gallery of Victoria; Peter Perry and Lauretta Zilles at Castlemaine Art Gallery; Cathy Peter at Melbourne Town Hall; Bruce Davidson at the Parliament House of Victoria. I also want to thank Paul Paffen at Melbourne University, who is working on a thesis on Tasmanian colonial portraiture, for his comments and for sharing an enthusiasm for the subject.

On a personal note, I would like to express my deep appreciation to all my family and friends for their patience and good humour. In particular I must thank Rosemary and Peter and Andrew and Jane who gave me a place to stay during my research trips to Melbourne. My parents, Margaret and Kevin, have been a constant support and I whole-heartedly thank them for maintaining the renowned 'Hollis Resource Centre'. My greatest debt of gratitude goes to my husband Adam, who has sacrificed much himself to see this thesis written and who has never wavered in his understanding and encouragement.
ABSTRACT

In this thesis the history of portraiture in the British-ruled Australian colony of Victoria is examined, focusing on the period 1834 to 1861. Portraits from early colonial Victoria are analysed in their artistic and social context, with the emphasis placed on the role of patronage. Arguments are advanced on the relationship of portraiture to class and gender struggles, examining the portrait in terms of the political, social and cultural values of the various groups within early Victoria. Issues uniquely pertinent to colonial society and the mid-nineteenth century are also raised, including the influence of Britain and the rise of photography and other means of mechanical reproduction.

The thesis is divided into three volumes. The first is the text; the second the appendices on the portraitists and the subjects/sitters; and the third is the 'Catalogue of Portraits'. This catalogue forms the empirical base of the thesis and represents the significant portion of the primary research. Most of the portraits listed in the catalogue have not been examined elsewhere.

In the 'Introduction' the aims and parameters are outlined, with a discussion of the scope of the thesis and the theoretical foundations. The first chapter presents a survey of art and society in Victoria during the years 1834 to 1861 and provides a background against which the portraits can be discussed. In the succeeding five chapters major issues and types of portraiture are focused upon: 'Chapter 2' is concerned with portraits of heroes and nineteenth century notions of hero-worship; 'Chapter 3' with family portraiture and the gentry; 'Chapter 4' with the impact of caricature and the political portrait print; and 'Chapter 5' with the portraits of the middle classes as well as the role of the portraitists. The final chapter discusses portraiture as entertainment. In the 'Conclusions' the major themes are summarised, recounting the most important findings on the history of portraiture in early Victoria.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments  iii  
Abstract  iv  
List of Figures  vii  
Abbreviations  viii  

Introduction 1  
Scope and Parameters 4  
Theoretical Foundations 8  

Chapter 1 - Art in Early Victoria: Its Social and Artistic Background 14  
Early Years of Settlement - 1834 to 1850 15  
The Gold Rushes - 1851 to 1855 24  
Consolidation and Responsible Government - 1856 to 1861 31  

Chapter 2 - Portraiture, the Hero and Hero-Worship 37  
The Portraits of John Pascoe Fawkner 43  
Portraiture and the Opening of the Houses of Parliament 54  
Men of Victoria 66  

Chapter 3 - The 'Old Gentry' and the Family Portrait 77  
Woolner's Portrait Medallions and the Cole Family 81  
Robert Dowling's Portraits of Squatter Families 89  
Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and Her Children 100  

Chapter 4 - Caricature, Politics and the Printed Portrait 110  
Melbourne Punch and John O'Shanasssy 115  
Portraiture and Sir Henry Barkly 128  
George Thomas's Caricatures 136
# Table of Contents

Chapter 5 - Portraits of the Middle Classes  147  
Photography and Silhouette  150  
Portrait Engraving and the Memento  165  
The Role of Women Portraitists  173  

Chapter 6 - Portraiture as Entertainment  185  
Portraiture and the Female Entertainer  186  
Portraits of the First Eleven  197  
Madame Sohier’s *Chamber of Horrors*  202  

Conclusions  210  

Select Bibliography  218  

Appendices  247  
Appendix A - Portraitists in Early Victoria  247  
Appendix B - List of Subjects/Sitters  460  

Catalogue of Portraits  471  
Paintings  472  
Photographs  496  
Prints  511  
Sculpture  536  
Works on Paper  551  
*Melbourne Punch* Illustrations  577

Thomas Lawrence, *1st Duke of Wellington*, 1815, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 71.1, Victoria and Albert Museum


Franz Xaver Winterhalter, *Queen Victoria and her Family*, 1846, oil on canvas, 240.0 x 216.0

*Royal Pictures at St. James's Palace*, woodcut, published in the *Illustrated London News*, 8 May 1847

*The Best Test*, woodcut, published in *Melbourne Punch*, 12 May 1859

Conway Hart, *Sir Richard Dry*, 1855, oil on canvas, 105.0 x 69.0, Parliament House of Tasmania

Cover, *Illustrated London News*, woodcut, 14 October 1854

*Our Once Facetious Contemporary is by no Means Funny this Week*, woodcut, published in *Punch or London Charivari*, 5 February 1859

*Frozen-out Tea Gardeners*, woodcut, published in *Punch or London Charivari*, 21 March 1857

*A Lesson to John Chinaman*, woodcut, published in *Punch or London Charivari*, 9 May 1857

Nicholas Chevalier, *Self Portrait*, 1857, oil on canvas, 35.0 x 25.5, Art Gallery of New South Wales

Advertisement for Batchelder & O'Neill's, in *Tanner's Directory*, 1859

Advertisement for Campbell & Fergusson, in the *Melbourne Commercial Directory*, 1855

G. H. Phillips, after an oil painting by William Drummond and Charles J. Basebe, *The Cricket Match Between Sussex and Kent, Played at Brighton (1849)*, engraving, 73.0 x 100.0
ABBREVIATIONS

ADB  Australian Dictionary of Biography
NLA  National Library of Australia, Canberra
attr. attributed
cat. no. catalogue number
DAA  Dictionary of Australian Artists
LT   La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne
MCC  Melbourne Cricket Club
ML   Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
NGA  National Gallery of Australia, Canberra
NGV  National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
NPG  National Portrait Gallery, London
NSW  New South Wales

(fig. ) Refers to the illustrations which are included in the main text.
(cat. no. ) Refers to the catalogue number of the portrait listed in the 'Catalogue of Portraits'.
*  Indicates that the portrait is illustrated in the 'Catalogue of Portraits'.

For all other abbreviations see MHRA Style Book, which has been used as the guideline for footnote and bibliographic references.
Addendum to Introduction

The following discusses in greater detail the reasons why self-portraiture has been excluded from this thesis and expands on the comments made on p. 5. As stated in the 'Introduction' self-portraits have very different associations, meanings and histories to other forms of portraiture. The following paragraphs explain these differences in more detail.

The most obvious difference between self-portraits and other portraits is that in self-portraits the subject and the artist are one, with the artist creating a self-image. A self-portrait does not involve a third party looking at a subject but instead becomes an exercise is self-analysis. Of course all portraits to some degree involve issues of self-analysis but in other portraits this creation of a self-identity must be mediated by the artist. One of the major concerns in this thesis is the deciphering of the relationship between the artist, subject and the patron and how the backgrounds and interests of all parties influence the creation of the portrait. Much of the thesis is centred on the connections and agreements between such artists and patrons as John Fawkner and William Strutt, the Western District squatters and Robert Dowling and the Melbourne elite and Thomas Woolner. The lack of the artist/subject/patron relationship, involving different people, within self-portraiture makes it quite a distinct art form and sets it apart from other portraits, justifying why it was not included in this study.

Without this relationship between different people in producing a portrait, other issues become more important when looking at self-portraits. How the artist sees him or herself and the processes that are involved in the creation of a self-image come to the fore. With self-portraiture the artist's input dominates and I would argue that the artist's personality takes on major significance. A comprehensive study of self-portraits should involve discussion of the individual and this I believe inevitably leads to a discussion of the psychic life of the artist and into the application of psychoanalytical theories. While other non self-portraits are open to this type of analysis, the emphasis in this thesis has been on a sociological approach and to studying portraiture in terms of social struggle and class differences and conflicts. Of course self-portraits can also be analysed in terms of social struggle and the artist's position in society but this needs to balanced by psychoanalytical theories and concepts of the construction of identity. To delve into such ideas would have moved away too much from the theoretical foundations of the thesis.

In conclusion then self-portraits are only mentioned in passing when they add to other arguments but they are not analysed in depth. While there are overlapping issues between self-portraits and other portraits, the mechanisms for the creation of each are quite different, especially when it comes to the artist/subject/patron relationship, and varying issues dominate the discussion of each. The issues raised by self-portraits fall outside of the scope of the thesis, with its emphasis on the sociological implications of a portrait.
Portraits toured Australia.³ In a review of the exhibition, Ron Radford remarked that this was a significant exhibition because it succeeded in exposing 'new truths for our future histories and art histories'.⁴ Radford noted that the exhibition highlighted the neglect of portraiture in Australian art history:

It has not been acknowledged that 'Australian Colonial Portraits' is one of the most important Australian art exhibitions ever staged. As the first exhibition of the subject, it throws light on this neglected genre and many underestimated or previously unknown artists. The histories of Australian art, at the very most, treat the subject in no more than a few cursory paragraphs, yet the exhibition helps demonstrate that portraiture was the most prolific and significant preoccupation in Australia. [...] The neglect of portraiture and portrait painters is a striking example of art history being viewed and written with the taste and all the prejudices of a later period. The truth is that the history of our visual arts has been written through the romantic haze of the nationalism of the late 1880s and 1890s, when scenes of rural labourers and sunny landscapes came to regarded as 'typically Australian'.⁵

As Radford indicates, the historians of Australian art have tended to have a myopic view of what was and was not important. Within the discourse, the analysis of the landscape has been favoured, with the popularity of the landscape painters and paintings of the late nineteenth century strongly influencing scholarly writing. The portrait has not attracted the same interest because it has not, as Radford implies, provoked the same nationalistic fervour or conjured up the same romantic vision. This bias has marginalised the study of portraiture. The emphasis on the history of the landscape has resulted in the dismissal of whole sections of artistic production in colonial Australia, including portraiture. The portrait played a significant role in colonial society and is worthy of much more attention.

The historian Eve Buscombe pioneered the study of colonial portraiture and was the first to redress its neglect. She was the curator of the exhibition mentioned above,


⁴Ron Radford, 'Australian Colonial Portraits Exhibition', Art and Australia, 18.1 (Spring 1980), 15-18 (p. 15).

⁵Radford, p. 15.
*Australian Colonial Portraits*, and compiled the accompanying catalogue. Buscombe's work on portraiture began with her masters thesis, which was completed in 1971 and was published in 1978 in the form of a reference book called *Artists in Early Australia and Their Portraits: a Guide to the Portrait Painters of Early Australia*. The focus of Buscombe's work is on the biography of portraitists, especially those working in NSW and Tasmania during the period 1820 to 1850. Her approach primarily reflects an historian's rather than an art historian's background, with a greater concern for the artists rather than the portraits as art objects. Buscombe lays some foundations for the identification and attribution of a wide range of Australia's early portraits.

The next major publication which considered colonial portraiture and its role in Australian society did not appear until 1992. This was the catalogue to the exhibition *Faces of Australia: Image, Reality and the Portrait*, held at the Mitchell Library. Richard Neville, the curator and author, documents the lives of the sitters and analyses the meaning and ideology of a range of portraits in various mediums and of different people. Neville provides the most inquiring study of Australian portraiture to date, examining layers of intention and the social significance of the portrait. Beyond his and Buscombe's work the literature on Australian colonial portraiture is sparse. Therefore in order to create a context and theoretical base for discussion, it has often been necessary throughout the thesis to use and refer to the studies on portraiture of other countries.

---


Scope and Parameters

As the material dealt with in this thesis has not been previously examined, the scope and potential for discussion and research was vast. My aims, however, have been streamlined into two primary objectives. The first is simply to identify and document the relevant portraits and to recover the empirical data on the development of portraiture in Victoria during the years 1834 to 1861. The second aim is to offer and interpretation of this data and to analyse the significance of early colonial portraiture. This objective is discussed in more depth in the succeeding section on the theoretical foundations.

Initial research was carried out in the La Trobe (LT) collection of the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne and in the Mitchell Library (ML) collection in the State Library of NSW in Sydney. The card catalogues of these two libraries, and other institutions such as the Royal Historical Library of Victoria and the Australian National Library (NLA), were scanned for any extant works. This search was supplemented by a survey of regional galleries but very few of these had portraits dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. The National Portrait Galleries in London, Edinburgh and Washington were also visited, primarily for comparing developments in the colony with trends in nineteenth century portraiture in Britain and America, but also in a search for any portraits from Victoria. Unfortunately, some portraits may have been missed in this search. Portrait catalogue entries in many institutions are often meagre, without dates or information on the artist or the sitter, and in many cases there was nothing to indicate whether a particular portrait was relevant or not to my field of inquiry. Another major problem in completing the research was that a large number of the portraits, especially photographs, are hidden in private collections or are no longer extant. Because of this the accompanying catalogue, presented separately as the third volume 'Catalogue of Portraits', may not be a comprehensive listing of all the portraits produced in early Victoria. This catalogue does, however, include a sufficient quantity and range of portraits to enable the assessment of the major trends in the growth and production of portraiture in the colony. Newspaper reports and advertisements, and references in exhibition catalogues, have all complemented the material discovered in the various art collections and have helped to fill in some of the gaps and losses of history. This information has also been integrated into the biographies on the portraitists, which can be found in 'Appendix
A'. Details of the lives of all the portraitists mentioned throughout the thesis are included in this appendix.

The portrait is defined as a 'likeness of a person'. The focus is on white European settlers and visitors to the colony of Victoria and only portraits of colonists which were produced in the colony are included. Portrait 'types', such as S. T. Gill's diggers, have not been classified as portraits and I deal solely with likenesses which were meant to represent a particular person, even if that person's identity cannot be readily established today. Portraits of animals and possessions, along with self-portraits, have also been excluded. Such images have very different associations, meanings and histories and are beyond the scope of the thesis. Another one of the most notable, but unavoidable, exclusions is that of portraits of Aborigines. There were many likenesses of Aborigines produced in this period, not only ethnographic images, which were exhibited and published both in Australia and England. While forming a significant body of work, these portraits are not dealt with in detail because again they are significantly different. Images of Aborigines, and indeed all native peoples, have a long and varied history and involve discussion of concepts such as the noble savage, the exotic and racial difference. As Richard Neville states, the questions of European representation of Aborigines needs further research, but the issues involved in these questions deserve more attention than they could be given in a thesis which is essentially devoted to likenesses of Europeans produced by Europeans. For similar reasons the images of the Chinese are only mentioned in passing.

The mid-nineteenth century has not been regarded as one of the great ages of portraiture and indeed has often been referred to as period when quality was at a low

---

9 This is the definition in the Oxford English Dictionary. In the Encyclopedia of World Art (London: McGraw-Hill, 1966), XI, p. 470, entry by Tullio de Mauro, Luigi Grassi and Eugenio, it is stated that 'Portraiture in its broadest sense is the representation of an individual, living or dead, real or imagined, in drawing, painting, or sculpture, by a rendering of his physical or moral traits, or both'. See also F. David Martin, 'On Portraiture: Some Distinctions', Journal of Aesthetics, 20 (1961-1962), 61-72. For a discussion of the definition of portraiture James D. Breckenridge, 'Portraiture and Cult of the Skulls', Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 63 series 6 (1964), 275-287 and Breckenridge, Likeness.

10 The artist William Strutt in particular produced many portraits of Aborigines. His sketches can be found in Victoria the Golden, which is held in the Parliament House of Victoria. His drawings of Aborigines were also published in illustrated magazines such as the Illustrated Australian Magazine.

11 Neville, pp. 60-61.
ebb, particularly in Britain. With the death of Sir Thomas Lawrence in 1830 a vacuum was created and the golden era of British portraiture, dominated by Reynolds and Gainsborough, was over. Franz Xaver Winterhalter, Daniel Macilise and George Frederick Watts can be considered the foremost academic portrait painters of the mid-nineteenth century, alongside Francis Grant, John Partridge, Henry William Pickersgill and George Richmond. If the period lacked quality, it certainly did not lack variety and quantity, especially with the emergence and flourishing of the popular portrait. Richard Ormond in his Early Victorian Portraits, notes that one of the hall-marks of the age was that 'the conventional studio portrait and the commissioned bust' were 'supplemented by the informal sketch, the caricature, the popular woodcut, the death mask and the photograph'. During the period examined and discussed in this thesis, there were many interesting and significant developments in portraiture, including the advent of photography. To appreciate the complexities of portraiture in early colonial Victoria, portraits in all mediums must be considered, including watercolours, daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, wax models, mezzotints, lithographs and woodcuts.

Caricature, which is usually excluded from studies on portraiture and is dealt with as a separate entity, is also examined. Caricature has its own peculiar qualities which sets it apart from other forms of portraiture, but there are still significant reasons why caricature should be included and not dismissed as a unrelated branch of the genre.

12David Piper writes that in the mid-nineteenth century, as far as quality goes, the situation with portraitists was not good and that the situation in the ranks of the orthodox Academy did not improve for a long time (David Piper, The English Face, ed. by Malcolm Rogers, rev. edn. (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1992), p. 199). Roy Strong argues that 'iconographically the period from 1830 to 1914 is sterile, reworking the inherited retory of the previous century' (Roy Strong, The British Portraits 1660-1960 (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991) p. 26). These comments are directed very much to the academic tradition and do not take account of the Pre-Raphaelites' efforts in portraiture. As Andrea Rose notes the nature of Pre-Raphaelite portraiture was quite different to the mainstream (Andrea Rose, Pre-Raphaelite Portraits (Sparkford: Oxford Illustrated Press, 1981), p. 12). John Walker also observes that France, not Britain, was the centre of nineteenth century portraiture and that the work taking place there was far superior to anywhere else (Walker, p. 205).

13Jeremy Maas writes that the death of Sir Thomas Lawrence 'marked the end of the great age of portraiture' (Jeremy Maas, Victorian Painters (London: Barrie & Rockliff and the Cresset Press, 1969), p. 210). Richard Ormond argues that there was no portraitist to replace the last famous Georgian portraitist, Sir Thomas Lawrence (Richard Ormond, Early Victorian Portraits, 2 vols (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1973), p. vii). This was a view also held in the nineteenth century with a review of the Academy Exhibition of 1838 published in Athenæum observing that the place of Sir Thomas Lawrence was as far from being filled as ever (in Piper, The English Face, p. 199).

14Ormond, Early Victorian Portraits , p. vii.
Firstly, the understanding of the traditional formal portrait is enhanced when viewed as part of a whole range of images of an individual and as a possible counteraction to the comic and ridiculing cartoon. There are many instances cited where individuals commissioned portraits in order to nullify the caricaturist's work. Secondly, the caricature becomes more meaningful when compared to other portraits in oil painting, prints, photographs in sculpture. It is only then, as Gombrich and Kris note, that caricature reveals its true sense and that the witty play of 'like in unlike' can be appreciated.\textsuperscript{15} When all these portraits are compared, the social role of portraiture, and the nature of the different mediums, emerges. To exclude caricature, or any other popular form of portraiture, would have led to an inadequate and limited explanation of the development of the genre and ignored the significant parallels and contrasts between the various portraits.

Because all forms of portraiture are discussed, it has been necessary to impose limitations on the time frame and the geographical area under consideration. In the mid-nineteenth century there were significant developments taking place in all the Australian colonies, particularly NSW and Tasmania, which deserve greater attention. Unfortunately, it simply would not have been possible to attempt an Australia-wide survey and at the same time retain the desired depth of analysis. Each of the colonies had its own peculiar settlement patterns, which affected the development of art and portraiture, and as such it is difficult to make generalisations. While the colonies were not discrete units, the peculiarities of each cannot be dismissed. By the mid-nineteenth century, Victoria was the most prominent and active of the Australian colonies, with the gold rushes catapulting it to world attention. As such Victoria was chosen as the area to be focused on. Also, Eve Buscombe has not looked at portraiture in Victoria to the same degree as NSW and Tasmania. Occasionally portraits from other colonies are mentioned, but only as comparative material in which the portraits can illuminate and contribute to a better understanding of what was happening in Victoria.

The narrow chronological boundaries were imposed to restrict the material to a workable level. Edward Henty established the first permanent white settlement in

Victoria in 1834, which served as a logical starting date. The end date 1861 was not determined so easily but there were a whole range of reasons why the study was restricted to this year. These include the closing of the second Parliament; the death of Prince Albert; and 1861 has been viewed as the end of the gold rushes. These events coincided with major portraitists, such as William Strutt and Ludwig Becker, ceasing their work in the colony and with the caricaturist Nicholas Chevalier leaving Melbourne Punch. However, there were two major and decisive developments in 1861 which changed the course of portraiture. Firstly, the carte-de-visite, a very cheap and easily reproducible form of photography, was introduced into the colony. The impact of the carte-de-visite on the portrait market was immense, making for a thesis topic in itself. Secondly, the ill-fated 1860/61 Burke and Wills expedition to central Australia had a lasting effect on Victorian society and portraiture. This tragic chapter in the exploration of Australia, changed the course of the development of portraiture, as images of the deceased explorers sold in vast quantities and commemorative statues were commissioned. For all these reasons, 1861 emerged as a reasonable point to conclude the discussion of the early stages of the history of portraiture in Victoria.

Theoretical Foundations

Assembling a related group of images, dating them, identifying artists and subjects, is not the sole objective of this thesis. The other major aim is to unravel the significance and meaning of the portraits. Questions are posed which yield a better understanding of the development of portraiture in the colony. The questions, however, which are asked reflect a particular theoretical stance. It is necessary here to declare what this stance is - not in order to give a critique of art historical


17 See 'Chapter 1' for the arguments on when the carte-de-visite was introduced into the colony.

18 Sorting through all the variations of the portraits of Burke and Wills and the meanings and ramifications of these images is again a study in its own right, which has largely been addressed by Tim Bonyhady in his Burke and Wills: from Melbourne to Myth (Sydney: David Ell Press, 1991).
methodologies - but simply to elucidate the theories which have been influential.

The portraits are discussed from a sociological perspective, examining the complex relationship between the portraits and their social background. Richard Brilliant, in his book simply entitled *Portraiture*, writes that 'portraits exist at the interface between art and social life' and that the 'artist and subject are enmeshed in the value system of their society'. Recent studies on portraiture, particularly on eighteenth century portraiture, have rigorously pursued these connections and the relationship between portraiture and society. For example, Marcia Pointon in *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* and Desmond Shawe-Taylor in *The Georgians: Eighteenth Century Portraiture & Society* work from a sociological perspective, looking at portraiture against a background of economic, political and social development. The orientation of such works has influenced the writing of this thesis, as have the art historians who have worked on the theory of the sociology of art.

The sociological theories applied in this thesis have their origins in the work of art historians such as Frederick Antal and Arnold Hauser. Antal's and Hauser's contention is that there are connections between art and society and that art should be approached as belonging to a broad social framework. Inherent in the thesis are their claims that artistic production is related to economics and material factors. Beyond their pioneering efforts, other art historians who have refined and developed the sociological method of art history have also been important. Janet Wolff's *The Social Production of Art* is often cited. In her book, Wolff examines issues such as the role of the artist, the importance of medium and style, class and gender relations, structuralism and deconstructionism. Her observations and arguments on how art is related to the ideas and values of a society are often referred to and I work from a premise which is reiterated throughout her book:

Works of art [...] are not closed, self contained and transcendent

---

19 Brilliant, p. 11.

entities, but are the product of specific historical practices on the part of identifiable social groups in given conditions, and therefore bear the imprint of the ideas, values and conditions of existence of those groups, and their representatives in particular artists.21

The work of several feminist art historians, especially Linda Nochlin and Griselda Pollock, have also had a considerable impact on the approach that has been adopted. This is not only in connection with questions traditionally dealt with by feminists, such as the representation of women and the role of women as artists, but also in examining how art functions in all sections of society, from politics to class relationships. As Nochlin writes, the 'woman question' can be a catalyst, an intellectual instrument, providing a paradigm for other kinds of questioning.22

Feminist art historians have championed the argument that art is not simply a product, or reflection, of society but rather is part of it and has an active role in determining the nature of that society. As Pollock states not only do we have to grasp that art is a part of social production, but we also have to realise that it is itself productive, that is, it actively produces meanings.23 Such arguments can be found in the writing of Michel Foucault. Many of Foucault's theories on the operation of power are relevant to the concerns of this thesis. Apart from his argument that power is positive, in that it produces cultural forms, Foucault also stipulates that it involves struggle, with a multiplicity of forces operating in a society. As will be demonstrated in this thesis, portraiture was part of the system of power struggles within colonial Victoria. Foucault maintains that power permeates all of society and that all of its members are vehicles of power:

Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always


in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising power. In other words, individuals are the vehicles of power, not its point of application.\textsuperscript{24}

In an analysis of the sociological aspects of portraiture, the patron has an important function. While analysing portraiture in early Victoria, the issue of patronage continually surfaced. An understanding of the portraits is enhanced through an understanding of patronage, hence the sub-title - 'A Case Study of Art and Patronage in Colonial Society'. As a rule, with portraits, whether privately or publicly commissioned, patronage assumes greater importance than in other forms of artistic production. As Pointon argues in \textit{Hanging the Head}, portrait painting is controlled by the relationship between the artist and the patron.\textsuperscript{25} The patron here is defined as the person who paid for the portrait. The patron can often also be the audience, referring not only to individuals who commissioned oil portraits but also to the masses who bought popular prints. The views, ideals and social status of the patron were vital components in production of the portrait. It is argued that the patron's ideology, expectations and requirements strongly influenced the imagery and form of the portraits. There is a close examination of who was commissioning portraits and why. Many historians have noted that the gold rushes in Victoria were a catalyst for increased patronage, but there has been little work done on exactly how they effected change. It has generally been thought that the increased population and the arrivals of the fortune hunters expanded the patronage base. Joan Kerr in the \textit{Dictionary of Australian Artists (DAA)} expresses a commonly held view that the newcomers who found success in Victoria 'were more likely to patronise local painters in all artistic genres than the old rich had been'.\textsuperscript{26} Such theories are questioned and analysed.

An examination of 'colonial' portraiture, with an emphasis on the sociological aspects, must necessarily be enveloped in a discussion of influence. The development of portraiture, and class and gender struggles, must be seen in the


\textsuperscript{26}\textit{DAA}, p. viii.
context of a colonial society living in the shadow of the colonising power, Britain. The transplantation of British artistic conventions has been an important factor in Australian art history and in the discussion of colonial landscapes. This issue needs to be addressed in relationship to portraiture. Influence is a complex issue and the British example was often manifested, or in some cases neglected or dismissed, in unexpected but, nevertheless, significant ways. Moreover, Britain was not the sole influence on local artistic production and the impact of America needs to be assessed.

Innovation in colonial portraiture is also considered. In an exhibition of American colonial portraiture, called *Old and New England*, E. P. Richardson asked 'whether American painting in those days was merely provincial British painting or whether it possessed an independent American character that distinguished it from that of the mother country'. The same question is asked of Victorian portraiture. The possible beginnings of a peculiarly 'colonial' form of portraiture are traced. As Tim Bonyhady writes in *Images in Opposition*, repeatedly stressing indebtedness to Europe often holds less interest than emphasising the Australian background and response. Or as Bernard Smith argues, 'although colonial art is in its beginnings always a reflection of the art of country from which it sprang, its peculiar nature merits far greater consideration from art historians than it has hitherto received'. In this study the distinct features of colonial portraiture are stressed and there is an examination of the forces and conditions which led to change and innovation.

As a final point in this 'Introduction', some comment and explanation needs to be made on the structure of the thesis. With some portraits a substantial amount of

---


documentation has survived while in other cases there is only scant reference, with the portrait itself lost. Given this situation, each chapter is planned so that specific examples are focused on, using portraits and commissions where there is a greater amount of surviving material. For instance, in 'Chapter 2', in which portraits of heroes are discussed, the likenesses of John Pascoe Fawkner, whose life and work are well documented, are analysed and discussed as exemplary of a particular pattern of patronage and type of portraiture. Sometimes the artists themselves are dealt with in detail, such as with George Thomas and his caricatures, or Thomas Woolner and his portrait medallions. Such specific examples are used to illustrate wider trends and through this process of selection it is possible to become intimately acquainted with various portraits, patrons, sitters and artists. Each chapter begins with a general discussion of the type of portrait being dealt with and then proceeds to the examples which are indicative of wider trends. Portraits are analysed under headings or categories which relate to their function and nature. These categories are not rigid separate units, but are fluid, with many of the portraits having relevance to more than a single chapter. I do not contend that each portrait can be categorised as a portrait of a hero, or as a family portrait or a political portrait. Such boundaries and categories did not exist then, nor can they be imposed now. The object of the divisions and headings is simply to flag the issues which are to be discussed and which emerged as the most significant in the development of portraiture in early colonial Victoria.
CHAPTER 1

ART IN EARLY VICTORIA: ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Art is the plant of slow growth in a young country, where the majority of the population is engaged in making money, and the satisfaction of natural wants absorbs so much the time and attention of the people as to leave little for elegant enjoyments and the cultivation of refined tastes. [...] Industry and enterprise create and accumulate wealth; the possession of wealth exempts its owner from the prosecution of laborious pursuits, and actuates him by a desire to surround himself with some of the more tangible evidences of wealth, - a commodious dwelling, picturesque pleasure grounds, sumptuous furniture, books, pictures and statuary; and thus arises a demand for the productions of the sculptor, the painter and the author.\footnote{Argus, 17 November 1860.}

The author of these words, writing for the *Argus* back in 1860, reveals that even in early Victoria there was an awareness that the economic state of the colony greatly affected the development of art. The major aim of this chapter is to explore the connection between the colony's history and economic welfare and the emergence of the visual arts. Developments in local artistic production are plotted against a background of political and economic change, to create a perspective from which portraiture in the colony can be meaningfully examined.\footnote{There have been numerous histories and accounts published on Victoria which have been crucial to the writing of the thesis and in compiling this chapter on the artistic, social and political environment in Victoria during the years 1834 to 1861. Amongst the general histories that deal with the entire period are Henry Gyles Turner's *A History of the Colony of Victoria from its Discovery to Absorption into the Commonwealth of Australia*, 2 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1904) and Don Garden's *Victoria A History* (Melbourne: Nelson, 1984). There are other more narrowly focused texts which concentrate on the period under discussion, including Paul de Serville's *Port Philip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne Before the Gold Rushes* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980), which examines the emergence of class structures within colonial society; and as a sequel to this *Pounds and Pedigrees: the Upper Class in Victoria 1850-1880* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1991), which looks at Victorian society after the gold rushes; Margaret Kiddle's *Men of Yesterday: a Social History of the Western District of Victoria, 1834-1890* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press), is the most comprehensive account yet published on rural Victorian society; Geoffrey Serle's *The Golden Age: a History of the Colony of Victoria 1851-1861*, 2nd edn (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1977), deals mainly with the gold rushes; and Penny Russell's *A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentry and Femininity* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1994), looks at the role of women in colonial society.} In this survey chapter it has been necessary to make some generalisations in order to establish the building
blocks for more exact and rigorous commentary. Pollock warns that it is often dangerous to 'wheel on' history as a background to artistic production.\(^3\) She states that care should be taken with crude Marxist formulations in which cultural practices are described as dependent upon and reducible to economic practices.\(^4\) While it is true that such formulations oversimplify the relationship between art and society, they can be a worthwhile starting point and are necessary in creating a context for discussion.

**Early Years of Settlement - 1834 to 1850**

The first permanent white settlement of Victoria took place in 1834. There had been many other earlier attempts to occupy the region, which was then known as Port Phillip (named after Captain Arthur Phillip). Motivated by favourable exploration reports, as well as a fear that the French coveted the land themselves, in 1803 a convict ship under the control of Lieutenant Colonel David Collins was sent to Sorrento. A site was chosen and a few huts were erected but as water could not be found, along with the added difficulties of poor soil and a scarcity of timber, the convicts were reloaded on the ship and moved on to Tasmania. For two more decades Port Phillip Bay remained the domain of the Aborigines, although in European eyes it was simply an outpost of the colony of NSW. It was not until 1824 that the British ventured into the area again, with Hume and Hovell in their overland expedition reporting favourably on conditions at what they thought was Western Port but was in fact Corio Bay. At this time, with the French interest also rekindled, another party was despatched in 1826 but fresh water yet again proved to be a problem and in 1827 the settlement was withdrawn.

Despite the failure of these first official attempts to occupy the Port Phillip region, the potential of the area did not go unnoticed and the pioneers of Tasmania and NSW, who were in search of new pastoral lands, had their sights set on the vast grazing tracts. Ironically, however, by the late 1820s the British authorities had reversed

---

\(^3\) Pollock, p. 28.

\(^4\) Pollock, p. 4.
their policies on Port Phillip, with the new priority in London placed on enforcing a more systematic style of colonisation and distribution of land. The French were no longer a threat and settlement was prohibited and denied. Still, these objections did not stop various groups scheming and planning their expeditions to Port Phillip. Undaunted by questions of illegality, in 1834 the Henty family from Tasmania established Port Phillip's first permanent white settlement, setting a precedent which many more would follow.

From 1834 onwards it became apparent that the migration to Port Phillip could not be halted. In increasing numbers, Tasmanians made the journey across Bass Strait and the 'overlanders' from NSW moved south. The majority did not settle at Portland but established themselves along the Yarra river and around what was to be the future capital, Melbourne. In 1836, bowing to pressure from the settlers, the British government sanctioned migration to the area which was known then as the 'Port Phillip District'. During the early years of settlement, most Port Phillipians were preoccupied with simply establishing themselves and making a living through either running sheep or operating commercial businesses. It was a rudimentary existence and there is no evidence of interest in the development of the visual arts. The economic and social climate of the District was simply not conducive or able to accommodate local artists. In a community which was steadily acquiring wealth, having several boom years from 1838, but which was still almost entirely devoted to the labour involved in the acquisition of this wealth, a professional portraitist could not be supported.\(^5\) Not surprisingly therefore, the first display of local artistic talent came from amateurs. The earliest known extant portraits of Victorians, produced in Victoria by Victorians, are all sketches by amateurs of their families and friends. Major Anthony Beale's amateur sketches in his diary of 1839 are the earliest known extant likenesses of Port Phillipians (cat. no. 313*). These are very crude drawings and mark an inauspicious beginning for the genre of portraiture in colonial Victoria.\(^6\) His portrait of Adam, for example, is a very simple ink drawing using quick and

\(^5\) A professional is simply defined as portraitist who earned an income from portraiture. It is not used as a term to imply a qualitative difference between the professional and the amateur.

\(^6\) The other amateur was Sarah Bunbury, who had arrived in 1841. She also did various sketches of her home. See DAA, p. 110.
careless broken lines and which demonstrates that Beale was not an accomplished draughtsman.

Mary Holyoake, in her article *Melbourne Art Scene from 1839 to 1859*, states that by the 1840s more highly trained and competent artists had arrived in the colony, most notably Georgiana McCrae. McCrae's work is discussed in some detail in 'Chapter 5', but here it should be mentioned that as a skilled miniaturist she could claim to be the first portrait painter to be working in the colony. McCrae was not working as a professional but she was soon followed by artists such as George Alexander Gilbert and George Henry Haydon who tried to earn an income, in part, from portraiture. But they found that portrait painting was not economically lucrative in the Melbourne of the early 1840s. The depression of 1841, when wool prices plummeted, had engulfed both pastoralists and businessmen, and destroyed many settlers. The economic devastation of the early 1840s was a major setback in the development of the visual arts.

Economic hardships explain to a large degree the paucity of colonial portraits in early Victoria, but demand was also suppressed by the pioneers' enthusiasm for the work of European artists rather than colonial artists. The prevailing Anglo-centric attitude was a burden for colonial artists throughout the mid-nineteenth century, with the colonists referring to England as 'home' and with everything British and European automatically seen as superior. In 1839 the *Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser* reported that an exhibition was to be held in Melbourne at the Book and Stationery Warehouse in Collins Street with, it appears, only overseas art on

---

7Mary Holyoake, 'Melbourne Art Scene from 1839 to 1859', *Art and Australia*, 15.3 (Autumn 1978), 289-296 (p. 290).

8See 'Appendix A' for entries on Gilbert and Haydon.

9In one instance, the depression had a positive effect on the development of portraiture, when a failed businessman, Wilbraham Evelyn Liardet, who was also a competent sketcher was forced into portrait painting. In September 1841 he advertised that he proposed 'to paint miniatures or half-length portraits of a small size in oil, watercolours or crayons', with the sketches to cost no more that two guineas, while miniatures and portraits no more than five - see the *Port Phillip Gazette*, 10 September 1841. Holyoake, 1978, p. 292, writes that he was still advertising in the *Port Phillip Gazette* in 1842. Liardet's problem, however, was finding buyers for his portraits and as Candice Bruce in the *DAA*, p. 470, deduces he could not have had many orders for he was looking for other work only three weeks later. This lack of success can easily be attributed to the harsh economic environment.
display. Continual deference to developments taking place at the centre of the empire persistently thwarted the efforts of artists working in such remote settlements as Port Phillip. Copies of old masters were shipped out to Australia, and were sold either as originals or openly as copies, and saturated what little market there was for the fine arts. An article in the *Argus*, published before an exhibition in 1856, revealed that the colonial market had long been swamped with poor copies and prints from Europe:

If it can be shown, as we believe it will be shown, that we have painters and sculptors amongst us, whose productions are capable of competing, in point of merit, with those of European artists of acknowledged reputation, the wealthier classes of Victorian society will no longer have an excuse for disfiguring the walls of their rooms by hanging them with the wretched daubs which are known in England as "pawnbroker's pictures," and which have been consigned by the gross to this market; or with the gaudy and meretricious oval landscape and half-length beauties, prepared for exportation by the nimble brushes of Parisian colorists.¹¹

Australia was not the only country where local art struggled to survive. America serves as a useful parallel.¹² An example of lack of support for local production in America can be seen in the publication of Francis D'Avignon's and Matthew Brady's *Gallery of Illustrious Americans*. Although this was an artistic success, as Stapp argues, it was a financial disaster.¹³ The demise of such projects was blamed on the cheap British prints which were flooding the market. Marshall Gordon in his paper *The Golden Age of Illustrated Biographies* discusses the impact of the competition from the English book-export industry, for which America was considered a captive

---

¹⁰ Discussed in Mary Holyoake, 'Melbourne Art Scene from 1839 to 1859', *Art and Australia*, 15.3 (Autumn 1978), 289-296 (p. 289).

¹¹ *Argus*, 5 November 1856.


American publishers and printers, particularly those of literature and 'art books', complained bitterly of cheap British editions flooding the market and undercutting their domestic productions. Gordon writes that they possessed limited American content but they were nonetheless cheaper and more widely available than many superior domestic productions. While Victoria's artists were not as vocal in their objections to the import of art, there are several references that indicate that the situation in the colony was not dissimilar to that in America. A Mr. P. Just, writing in 1856, claimed:

The art works in the market consist of the rubbish of picture-dealer's shops, landscapes of the most inferior description, painted in England for the Colonial market by the daubers who gain a livelihood by the manufacture of such trash.  

Art Unions were an instrument for the import of many of these images and, while no doubt some of these Unions were reputable, others were clearly exploiting a vulnerable art market. An article in the English Art Journal of 1858, with the title 'Picture Jobbery in Australia', carries reports of an auction and an 'Art Union' where pictures were greatly over-priced. A J. G. Medland of Williamstown wrote that 'the few artists we have among us':

 [...] must have been sorely disgusted to see such prices affixed to vile works, while their own meritorious productions are passed by for the supposed picture of some famous name at home.  

The News Letter of Australasia made similar disparaging comments on the inability of the colonial market to discriminate when it came to matters of art and taste:

The instinct of admiration for the beautiful has led to the introduction of all the inferior and spurious works that are

---


16Art Journal, October 1858, p. 307.
manufactured for the especial behoof of communities possessing more gold than taste, more desire for ornament that judgement in ornamentation. The facades of our houses, their walls within and without, and the plenishment of our drawing-rooms, alike bear testimony to slight knowledge of art possessed even by those who desire to honor and enjoy it. The paintings most readily sold here are the daubs of Threadneedle Street and St Martin's Lane, with the refuse of the French market; while the engravings purchased by more enlightened people, on the strength of the artists' names, and of recognition of once familiar subjects, are but the impressions of plates long since worn out.\textsuperscript{17}

Despite the overwhelming competition, the local artist did have some leverage and advantage over the European painter. An all too obvious, but nevertheless significant, point made by Tim Bonyhady in \textit{Images in Opposition} is that with portraits and landscape scenes the patron to a certain degree had to rely on local artists.\textsuperscript{18} Some of the wealthy colonists could of course return to Britain to have their portraits taken but for most people this was not a viable solution and it was much more practical to use local talent and expertise. Similarly to gain an image of the local landscape it was necessary to use a local artist. The genres of portraiture and landscape offered the local artist a means to earn an income. The Anglo-centric attitude which was formed in the early years of settlement persisted through to 1861, with the local artist rarely entrusted with historical or religious paintings.

One of the most important and common functions of portraiture is to stress status and express publicly the subject's social position. The demand for portraiture relies on the patron's need to 'advertise' and to assert a social position. In the colony this need grew stronger as Port Phillip society grew more complex and, importantly also more fractured, with various colonists wanting to enhance their social standing. Portraiture was a means to do this. The population of the colony had steadily increased and during the boom years in the late 1830s, when wool sales were high, various social classes and divisions emerged. Several elitist organisations, such as the Melbourne Club and the Melbourne Cricket Club, both established in 1838, and the Masonic Lodge of Australia Felix and the Port Phillip Turf Club, established in

\textsuperscript{17}\textit{News Letter of Australasia}, December 1856.

\textsuperscript{18}Bonyhady, \textit{Images in Opposition}, p. 4.
1840, began to play an important and often divisive role in Victorian society. Men and women with the same interests and backgrounds began to form closed social groupings and by the early 1840s there were entrenched social divisions based on class, religion and gender.

It took several years for Port Phillip to recover from the depression of the 1840s and the slump in wool prices. By the mid 1840s economic growth was steady and material well-being, merged with the demands and requirements of patrons from the newly formed social classes, created an environment conducive to the development of portraiture and the support of local portraitists. In 1844 a Miss Rowe, who had worked successfully in Sydney as a miniaturist, was attracted to Port Phillip and two years later was still practising her art there. In 1845 Edward Opie, who had been a scene painter in Tasmania, set himself up as a portrait painter in Melbourne and, according to Holyoake, had a number of commissions to paint portraits of local dignitaries. G. Bland, who had a studio in the Western Port Hotel, specialised in painting oil portraits in one sitting for a guinea each and in 1848 a Mr Lockwood was also employed in taking likenesses. In the year 1849 many more portrait painters appear on the historical record (although they may well have arrived earlier) and were listed in the *Squatters' Directory* of 1849. They include William Charles Duke, Conway Hart, David Masson and Samuel Taylor, the latter two being the first to be listed as 'portrait painter' in the Port Phillip directories.

All of these artists described themselves as experienced portrait painters. While they may not have been highly skilled academic artists, they had been practising artists before they arrived in the colony and they had a knowledge of European conventions. They could not be described as 'naive' painters who had no contact with the influences of the main schools of art. There is no evidence of any naive portraitists working in the colony, unless Anthony Beale's sketches can be classified as naive. In Beale's sketches there is certainly no evidence of any artistic training. Australia actually harboured very few naive portraitists, with the possible exception of William Buelow Gould working in Tasmania. By the mid-nineteenth century

---

19 Holyoake, 'Melbourne Art Scene from 1839 to 1859', p. 295.

20 Holyoake, 'Melbourne Art Scene from 1839 to 1859', p. 296.
there were many professional artists working in NSW, Tasmania and South Australia. Accomplished portraitists now lived in the Australian colonies and they included Mary Morton Allport, George French Angas, Thomas Bock, Augustus Earle, William Nicholas, Richard Noble, Richard Read (senior), Richard Read (junior), Charles Rodius and Thomas Griffiths Wainwright. It was in this environment that Victorian portraiture emerged, with Port Phillip surrounded and influenced by, and even competing with, communities which already possessed professional portraitists.

In Victoria, engravers arrived some years after the first painters and sketchers. The first known portrait to have been printed in Victoria was the woodcut of Judge Therry, which was published in the Herald in 1845 (cat. no. 181*). This was a novel inclusion for the newspaper and one that it did not repeat. It was not until the late 1840s that printed illustrations appeared in significant numbers. Thomas Darragh, who has written an early history of engraving in Victoria entitled The Establishment and Development of Engraving and Lithography in Melbourne to the time of the Gold Rush, writes that although there were a number of engravers and lithographers working in the colony, Thomas Ham dominated the market.21 Herbert Woodhouse, in a lecture of 1889, claimed that Ham constructed a wooden press from gum trees, forming the humble beginnings of the illustrative print.22 Ham in his early years was preoccupied with printing calling cards, invitations, stamps, seals and maps but in 1850 he started publishing his own illustrated magazine, the Illustrated Australian Magazine. The magazine was successful up until 1851, when the gold rushes caused its demise and Ham's employees, not to mention his readership, dashed for the goldfields. The Illustrated Australian Magazine, however, was important because it set the precedent as the colony's first illustrated magazine.

The work of the engraver in the colony during the period 1834 to 1861 was to be inextricably tied to the work of the photographer. During the 1830s and 1840s the

---


22 Herbert Woodhouse in a newspaper report of lecture given by him entitled Victorian Pioneers of Lithography and Engraving, 1842 to 1889. In the ML (reference ML DOC 1147), a carbon typescript copy from the Evening Herald.
practice and techniques of photography spread throughout the world and by the mid-1840s Port Phillip saw the arrival of its first daguerreotype artist. On 7 August 1845 the Port Phillip Herald declared that a Mr G. B. Goodman was working in Melbourne and 'as his stay is limited and his terms moderate we would advise those parties who wish to gaze upon their second selves to lose no time in patronising Mr Goodman'.

Goodman's presence aroused considerable excitement and curiosity, with his daguerreotypes, complete with a handsome gilt and morocco case and costing a guinea, attracting considerable patronage. Goodman was a travelling photographer who had worked in Sydney and Tasmania and who travelled from place to place, exhausting each market. He stayed in Melbourne for several months and, as he announced on 25 September, 'the 30th October will positively be the last day of operation'.

He was still in the District at the end of November. Later he declared that his stay had been extended due to the 'great influx of business' and that he had decided to stay until the end of December. When he left it was reported that Goodman had earned £870 in the four months he had been in the colony. Based on very crude calculations, this figure implies that he took as many as eight hundred and thirty daguerreotypes, assuming that he sold them at one guinea each.

Very shortly after Goodman began working in Melbourne the resident artist, George Alexander Gilbert, as if inspired by Goodman's success and ample patronage, took up photography. Between November 1845 and February 1846 Gilbert advertised his services but he does not seem to have met with the same enthusiastic patronage as Goodman.

The market had probably not recovered since Goodman's visit, with the young colony able to offer enough customers to support an itinerant photographer but unable to provide sufficient patronage for a resident photographer. Following Goodman and Gilbert, the next daguerreotypist to arrive in the colony

---

23 Port Phillip Herald, 7 August 1845.

24 Port Phillip Herald, 25 September 1845.

25 Port Phillip Herald, 6 and 27 November 1845. By 18 December 1845 the Port Phillip Herald was reporting that Goodman had unexpectedly left for South Australia.

26 See 'Appendix A' on Gilbert.
was Douglass Kilburn, who, in 1847, started advertising that he would be 'happy to take Likenesses by the Daguerreotype process'.

The slow but steady development of portraiture within Port Phillip, with the introduction of photography and other means of mechanical reproduction and the arrival of amateurs and professionals alike, was abruptly interrupted in 1851 when gold was discovered. The gold rushes of the early 1850s profoundly changed the Port Phillip District. Discussion of this change has often overshadowed the efforts of the pioneering generation in Victoria but, as has been seen here, the foundations for the development of the visual arts had been laid before 1851. It is true that there were no portrait sculptors working in the area, which can be largely attributed to the difficulties involved in obtaining materials, a problem that continued to plague many sculptors who came out in later years, but in all other mediums portraiture in Victoria had taken its first tentative steps.

The Gold Rushes - 1851 to 1855

Many historians and writers have used colourful language to marvel at the transformation that took place when gold was found in Victoria and the impact the discovery had on all aspects of colonial life. On 2 July 1851 a shepherd in Ballarat struck gold and, as Geoffrey Serle writes in his *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria 1851-1861*, this had an immediate and dramatic effect on the young community.

Victorian society was thrown into complete disarray as the population ballooned with the influx of fortune hunters and as those already residing in Port Phillip, including labourers, servants and clerks, left their jobs and dashed to the fields in search of easy riches. Victoria all of sudden found itself centre stage, with a seemingly endless supply of gold, and with a reputation as a land of opportunity and incredible wealth. The colony gained a high profile and, ironically, where artists had once struggled for local support, they found that there was now a growing demand from overseas for their work. For example, British curiosity was

---

27 *Argus*, 20 August 1847.

28 Serle, p. 8.
greatly aroused and led to a demand for images of places and people of Victoria, which were published in magazines such as the *Illustrated London News.*

1851 was not only a momentous year because of the discovery of gold. It was also the year in which Port Phillip separated from NSW and became a colony in its own right. This ended a long struggle by many Port Phillip residents who had been fighting for independence from NSW but who had faced resistance from Sydney. The British authorities declared Victoria a colony on 1 July 1851, one day before the discovery of gold was announced. There were great celebrations in the colony to mark Separation, and with the opening of Princes Bridge mementoes were printed and distributed, which included portraits of Queen Victoria and Albert. In what proved to be a momentous week, the most prominent, and arguably the most skilled portraitist to work in the colony during the period 1834 to 1861, also arrived. Only a number of days after Separation and the discovery of gold, William Strutt sailed into Port Phillip Bay, arriving on the *Culloden* on 5 July 1851.

Strutt had not been lured to Victoria by gold, but rather by the excitement of a new land and for health reasons. Most of those who followed him, however, were attracted by the stories of abundant wealth in the golden land. Artists worked as diggers on the fields, while others foreseeing the growing demand for portraiture, set about capturing the increased patronage. In the early 1850s the number of portrait painters working in colony swelled, including James Anderson, John Botterill, Nicholas Brennan, Oswald Rose Campbell, Edwin Dalton, Letitia Davidson, Thomas Flintoff, Henry Albert Frith, John Gilfillan, Mr Henderson, Henry Holmes, Francis Frederick Hutton, Andrew MacCormac, E. Sothern, George Stephen, Elizabeth Testar and Julie Vieuxseux.

With such a large number of portraitists, as well as other artists, the colony became a major provincial artistic centre. Exhibitions were staged and art societies were

---

29 See the *Illustrated London News*, 3 July 1852, for a pair of portraits by Marshall Claxton of government officials from the goldfields.

formed, consisting of artists and eminent citizens who were dedicated to the promotion of the fine arts in the colony. The first of these societies was established in 1853 when George Stephen requested a meeting of artists with the hope that:

[...] by the formation of a Society and the founding of an Exhibition in this city, the interests of the various artists now resident here would be directly promoted and society itself benefited by the addition of a taste for the Fine Arts.31

This meeting was well attended and from it the Victorian Fine Arts Society was formed.32 A decision was taken to hold an annual exhibition, the first of which included a significant local contribution.33 Trevor Fawcett in his work on English provincial art centres in the early part of the nineteenth centuries, writes that local fine arts exhibitions served important, and at times contradictory, functions.34 He writes that the gentlemen involved in supporting and helping to organise the exhibitions often had very different intentions and goals than the artists.35 One of the major reasons why gentlemen patrons wanted to stage fine art exhibitions was to educate the public, employing the visual arts for didactic purposes. They saw provincial exhibitions as tools for civilising the masses and raising the cultural standards of the community. Such ideas on the role of art are discussed in the next chapter, but one of the repercussions of this utilitarian attitude was the preference given in the exhibitions to copies of old masters. The work of old masters was regarded as being the most uplifting and as such having the greatest didactic potential. The non-artist

31Argus, 26 April 1853.

32From the account published in the Argus on 26 April 1853 this meeting was a success. Amongst the apologies of those who could not attend the meeting but who were interested in the society there were several portraitists; Mr Davidson, miniature painter; Mr F. Frith, portrait painter; Mr Wm Strutt, portrait painter; Mr S Anderson, portrait painter; Mrs Gilks, artist in wax; Mr Conway Hart, portrait painter; and Mr Oswell Campbell, portrait painter. Interest in the society and exhibition was not strong enough for the society to survive. Despite its demise, the records of its existence significantly enhance our knowledge of who was commissioning portraits and what type of work the artists were producing. In addition to the portraitists already mentioned, others who contributed to the exhibition included Mr Dalton, Mr Botterill (a miniature painter), Mr F. Hitchins, Mr Brennan, Mr E. Southern, Mr Lingham, and the sculptors Mr Murray and Mr Woolner.


35Fawcett, p. 9.
gentlemen organiser of a provincial exhibition consequently tended to favour old masters above the local artist. The local artists on the other hand naturally wanted to use the exhibitions to either sell their work or to at least advertise it. In this context, the rule made by the Victorian Society of Fine Art that their annual exhibition should consist solely of the production of artists residing in Australasia and being members of the society\textsuperscript{36} is more important than may first be thought. It was a statement uniting local artists against the preference given to the work of old masters and was part of their bid to foster Victorian art by Victorian artists. One point that both the artist and non-artist could agree on was the inclusion of portraits in local exhibitions. The gentleman organiser could use portraiture to promote himself and the artist could use portraiture to display talent. This partly explains the domination of portraiture in colonial exhibitions.

The reviews of local exhibitions reveal a sense of exasperation at the prevalence of the genre of portraiture. Exhibitions were correspondingly praised or denounced according to the scarcity or abundance of portraits, a common sentiment in the commentary on provincial exhibitions of the mid-nineteenth. The Argus critic's sentiments were typical:

\begin{quote}
There is one great merit in the collection, and in this respect it forms an agreeable exception to almost all public pictorial exhibitions, viz., the comparatively small number of portraits which it presents; and those which it contains are for the most part very good, some of them indeed being most felicitous specimens of this branch of art.\textsuperscript{37}
\end{quote}

The critic for the Journal of Australasia expressed a fear before the opening of the 1856 exhibition that there would 'be a good many tea-tray portraits of gentlemen, painted in the Sam Slick style, being made recognisable by the exaggeration of some characteristic, but otherwise bearing no analogy to any existing specimen of the human race'.\textsuperscript{38} Punch became frustrated with the colonial exhibitions, sarcastically reviewing the 1860 exhibition:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{36}Rules of the Victorian Society of Fine Art, 1856, Rule VI, p. 7.

\textsuperscript{37}Argus, 30 August 1853.

\textsuperscript{38}Journal of Literature and Art, Journal of Australasia, 1856, p. 281.
The Perennial Exhibition of the portraits of old masters and young mistresses, which was closed on Saturday last, re-opened on Monday morning, and was visited at an early hour by the flaneurs and gamins of this city. [...] On a moderate calculation, the exhibition for the week includes not less than ten thousand portraits, all of them exceedingly life-like, many of them brilliant in color, and not a few eccentric in costume.39

With the 1853 exhibition a catalogue was published, the Catalogue of the Victorian Fine Arts Society's Exhibition, which is a valuable source of information, listing which artists were in the colony and the type of work they were doing. It is also provides the first evidence of portrait sculptors operating in the colony. These included John Scurry, Charles Summers, Margaret Thomas and Thomas Woolner, who had all arrived in the colony in 1852, no doubt hoping that gold would mean opportunity.40 But even with the rushes, sculptors found it difficult to survive in the colony and many had to supplement their income with architectural work. The lucrative commissions for large memorial statues, which sustained many of the sculptors in Britain, were simply not forthcoming in Victoria.

There was an immense increase in the population of Victoria during the gold rushes,41 with a corresponding increase in popular imagery and mass produced prints. One of the most significant developments in the production of popular imagery of the period was the publication of Melbourne Punch. The first issue of Melbourne Punch appeared on the 2 August 1855, with satirical illustrations dealing with a variety of subjects, from fashions foibles to scientific discoveries. Most of the illustrations focused on politics and politicians. The magazine provides a

39Melbourne Punch, 8 November 1860.

40Woolner's Australian experience is discussed in some detail in 'Chapter 3'. Scurry and Summers, although the most prolific portrait sculptors of the group, were forced like many others to rely on architectural sculpture for an income. John Mackennal, who was primarily an architectural sculptor who had arrived in Australia in 1854, also depended on his work for the new Parliament House and not statues. There is only one record of a portrait by him (cat. no. 306) - see Graeme Sturgeon, The Development of Australian Sculpture 1788-1975 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p. 25. Apart from these four major portrait sculptors, there were a number of other minor sculptors known to have worked in the colony. John Hutchinson, who had arrived in 1852, was working in bas-relief in Bendigo. 1854 saw the emergence of the partnership Apperly and Renoden, although there is no evidence that they did portrait sculptures. William Lorando Jones also arrived in Victoria in 1854 and in 1857 Thomas Thomas was working as a sculptor [this may have been Margaret Thomas].

41See introduction to 'Chapter 5' for statistics.
valuable insight into the major issues of the day, and who was who in politics. Dyson goes as far as to suggest that the illustrations in *Melbourne Punch* reflect so much the immediate concerns and issues of the colonists that a political history of Victoria could be written from them.\(^{42}\) Marguerite Mahood, who has written the authoritative study on *Melbourne Punch*, outlines its creation and development.\(^{43}\) During the years 1855 to 1861, Nicholas Chevalier was the major illustrator, having taken over from John Gill after the publication of the first issue and remained in the job until 1861, when Eugene Montagu Scott succeeded him.

The 1850s also saw a boom in photography and amongst the portraitists that were attracted to the colony there were many photographers.\(^ {44}\) A large number of these were involved in taking daguerreotypes of scenery and views, but as Gael Newton observes, the boost to photography in Victoria came from commercial portraiture.\(^ {45}\) New processes were introduced, amateurs began to experiment with the medium, studios were established and professional photographers began to diversify their activities.\(^ {46}\) The most important photographic technique introduced into Victoria in the fifties was the collodion negative and its related processes. The collodion process had been invented in 1851 but was not used in the colony until 1854, as the *Argus* reported:

Mr J. S. Scarlett announces in an advertisement that he intends commencing to take portraits by the collodion process. We infer that Mr. Scarlett alludes to the talbotype which certainly is a great improvement on the invention of Mons. Daguerre. As some of


\(^{45}\)Newton, p. 4.

\(^{46}\)Cato, p. 11.
our readers may not be aware of the distinction between talbotype and daguerreotype, we may mention that pictures taken by the former process are on paper, and, unlike the daguerreotype, may be seen to advantage in any variation of light, and are equally faithful.\footnote{Argus, 27 September, 1854.}

This report, while heralding the arrival of the collodion process, reveals the confusion that existed over photographic techniques and it is apparent that it was not only the readers who did not know the distinction between a talbotype and daguerreotype. The principles of the daguerreotype process were simple enough to understand, with one of its most important features being that it was a 'direct' process.\footnote{A copper plate coated with highly polished silver was placed in the camera, the picture was taken and then the plate was placed in a developing box, with heated mercury producing a positive image. The image was then fixed, using sea salt in the early days, and dried. This was a 'direct' process with the one copper plate undergoing a number of treatments.}

This meant that the image was unique and could not be produced in multiple copies. This limited the potential of the daguerreotype, for the future of photography belonged to the negative/positive processes in which several prints could be taken from one negative. The collodion process was one of these negative/positive processes, with a glass negative used to make paper prints.\footnote{Collodion, a transparent varnish-type substance, was used to make a negative from which a positive print could then be made on various types of paper, whether this was salted, carbon or albumenised paper. As a negative this was all that the collodion had in common with the 'talbotype' mentioned in the Argus article. The talbotype, which was first patented as the calotype, was a means of making a paper, not a glass, negative from which positive prints on paper could be made. The talbotype prints while revolutionary in that they initiated the negative/positive era, were criticised for their lack of sharpness, which resulted from the texture of the paper used in the negative.}

It is interesting and important to note that in the colony it was not actually the collodion print that proved to be popular, but rather it was the ambrotype or the collodion negative that appealed to the colonists.\footnote{An ambrotype was essentially a collodion negative, a glass plate, which was not printed into positive form but was instead left under-exposed and then placed on a dark background. This had the effect of making the negative image appear positive. The use of the ambrotype is discussed in more detail in 'Chapter 5'.}

Generally the years from 1851 to 1855 formed a vital and energetic period in the development of the visual arts and portraiture. It was, however, far from a trouble free period for the colony. While the increase in population had created a larger
market for portaitists, it had also resulted in increasing pressure on the government to cater to the needs of the immigrants. By October of 1851, the government had established an administrative system for the goldfields, with licences introduced where the diggers had to pay one pound ten shillings per month. The diggers were hostile to this system and, prompted also by a variety of other grievances, rioted at Ballarat in December 1854 in what is now known as the infamous Eureka uprising. In this uprising, twenty five diggers and three troopers were killed, sending tremendous shock waves through Victorian society. Eureka came to symbolise, as well as bring to an end, many of the tensions and upheavals of the gold rushes.

Consolidation and Responsible Government - 1856-1861

By 1856 a greater sense of order was established in the colony. The diggers' campaign for political equality had taken on a more peaceful tone, with the founding of the reform association in 1856, whose members pledged themselves to work for manhood suffrage. There were still noisy demonstrations but the Eureka episode was not repeated and by 1855 the government had removed the license system and alleviated many of the miners' grievances. Victoria was also granted Responsible Government in November 1855, with the first elected Parliament meeting a year later.\textsuperscript{51} Victoria entered a relatively peaceful period, in contrast to the height of the gold rushes. The fate of artists fluctuated during these years, along with the colony's economy, but generally after 1856 the arts in the colony received more attention and became a subject for public discussion. Community leaders were more concerned with the development of the fine arts and the commentaries in newspapers and pamphlets reflected this interest and awareness. As one writer for the \textit{News Letter of Australasia} claimed, the arts were 'asserting their position amongst a community all too material in its pursuits'.\textsuperscript{52} Quoting Mr Just once again:

The period, we conceive, has now arrived in the history of this wealthy and flourishing colony when it is reasonable to suppose that some attention may be directed to the liberal arts - the usual

\textsuperscript{51}Wright, p. xiv.

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{News Letter of Australasia}, July 1856.
attendants on successful commerce - hitherto, and necessarily, so much neglected in its early settlement, the race for wealth, and the whirl and excitement of speculation.53

The Age critic wrote in 1860 when complimenting the efforts of local sculptors:

Indeed, we are strongly of opinion that as it is now proved that we have amongst us sculptors competent to grapple with the very highest requirements of art, we cannot expend Victorian gold to better purpose than in rewarding Victorian enterprise and resident ability.54

There was a strong call for the establishment of cultural and educational institutions, with many, in particular Redmond Barry, who was at what Ann Galbally has called the 'cultural barricades', envisaging institutions with a more ambitious program than the Mechanics Institute.55 In July 1854 the foundation stone of the University of Melbourne was laid and plans were made for the government supported Free Public Library of Melbourne. Plans were also made for a Public Art Gallery which was opened in 1861. The illustrated magazine, My Note Book, took heart in seeing such developments, hoping that sooner or later the possession of wealth would create the wish for 'art as in minister in a thousand different ways to our enjoyment'.56 A writer for the Journal of Australasia noted by the mid 1850s that the colony was changing and that all these institutions were adding to its cultural growth:

Even those who formerly found their highest pleasure in humanising recreations and mental culture, too often become world-hardened in the battle of life; and pursuits that do not seem immediately productive of this world's good are disregarded. With the enjoyment of our Museum, Library, and our Botanical Garden, with the influence of the University, and other educational institutions, and with the tone given to society by the introduction, within the last two or three years, of a class of

53Just, pp. 5-6.

54Age, 21 November 1860.


56My Note Book, 13 December 1856.
colonists of higher intellectual caste, a new state of things is arising amongst us.\footnote{Journal of Australasia, 1856, p. 143.}

Along with the establishment of various institutions, local artists and cultural leaders continued to organise a range of exhibitions. The *Victorian Fine Arts Society* which had formed in 1853 had had a short life and it was not until 1856 that the next major fine arts exhibition was held. This was organised by Frank Newton and consisted of objects borrowed from various colonial gentlemen.\footnote{Age, 20 December 1856.} The *Journal of Australasia* reported that with this exhibition the 'Fine Arts' were formally recognised in Victoria.\footnote{Journal of Australasia, 1856, p. 281.} Nevertheless the numbers attending the exhibition, as in 1853, remained low.\footnote{See the Age, 20 December 1856, for reports that the attendances were low.} The local artists, however, were encouraged by the exhibition and in November 1856 the *Victorian Society of Fine Arts* was formed. The society staged only one exhibition in 1857 before being disbanded. After the 1857 exhibition, the next fine arts exhibitions were not held until 1860 and 1861. Beyond these exhibitions, the only means for artists to display their work was in the *Victorian Industrial Society* exhibitions, which included displays of fine arts, manufactured goods and natural produce.

Colonial exhibitions increasingly included photographs. In the 1854 *Melbourne Exhibition* there were only two photographic portraits on display (cat. nos. 103 and 104) but in the following years whole collections of photographs were exhibited.\footnote{In the 1856 *Victorian Exhibition of Art* catalogue several collections of photographs are listed, including those by the photographers G. W. Perry, Johnstone & Wyvil, T. A. Hill and Williams. In the 1857 *Victorian Society of Fine Arts* catalogue Batchelder & O'Neill (cat. no. 106) are listed as contributing a number of photographic portraits.} Both the daguerreotype and the ambrotype continued to be popular in the mid 1850s but those in the profession now describe themselves as 'photographic artists' and not 'daguerreotypists'. One of the most important collections of photographs featured in the exhibitions was the set of views and portraits published by Antoine Fauchery, a French photographer, and Richard Daintree (cat. nos 108*-114*). This series of photographs were part of the *Melbourne Exhibition*. The photographers' names are recorded as 'Fauchery \\
\[\text{and}\] \\
Daintree' on the cat. nos 108*-114*. This series of photographs were part of the *Melbourne Exhibition*. The photographers' names are recorded as 'Fauchery \[\text{and}\] Daintree' on the cat. nos 108*-114*. This series of photographs were part of the *Melbourne Exhibition*. The photographers' names are recorded as 'Fauchery \[\text{and}\] Daintree' on the cat. nos 108*-114*.
photographs was published under the title *Sun Pictures of Victoria* in 1858 and contained at least ten portraits. It was the first colonial example of the mass production and distribution of photographic likenesses. In Reilly and Carew’s monograph on the series, Fauchery is quoted as writing of the *Sun Pictures*:

If this work has merit, it is solely that of coming from afar and of having been carried out in often difficult circumstances. I would have been able to do more, to have chosen my subject better, but still, such as they are, these papers will tell you something of that country. There are some great men, some of towns, some of the mines, some of savages. There is a little of everything.

There has been some speculation amongst historians of Australian photography that the carte-de-visite was introduced into the colony between the years 1855 to 1861. The carte-de-visite was a small photograph that was produced by using a camera with four or six lenses, which allowed four or six portraits to be captured on one plate. The most important feature of this new form of photography was the time saved in the printing stage, where four or six portraits could be printed in the time that it would normally take to produce one print. Once printed, the portraits were cut out and pasted on cardboard. The carte-de-visite was considerably cheaper than either the daguerreotype or collodion photography and while invented in 1854 it did not become popular in France until 1858 and in England until 1860. Lenore Frost in

---


63 On 13 August 1858 the *Argus* reviewed the first album of series with the claim that there were to be fifty photographs issued in ten parts. Four sets of the photographs are extant with slightly different combinations and numbers of images. There are two albums in the John Oxley Library in Brisbane, one volume in the La Trobe and another album, not mentioned by Reilly and Carew, in the Royal Historical Society of Victoria.

The photographs in the series are albumen prints taken from collodion negatives. Often travelling photographers used calotype negatives, which had practical advantages when working outdoors because they could be prepared ahead of time. They did not have to be developed immediately and were not as fragile as the glass collodion negative. It is evident from the photographs themselves, however, that Fauchery and Daintree did not use calotype as they do not have the grainy texture resulting from the paper negative. A surviving photograph of Fauchery’s wagon of equipment would also indicate that he was preparing and developing the glass plates as he went. The photographs are printed on albumen paper, rather than on salted paper. This is evident from the gloss associated with albumen paper, which is treated with egg-white, rather than the matt associated with salted paper. The albumen paper gives the image a sharp definition which is basically printed on a layer of egg-white. The egg-white prevents the chemical sinking into the paper’s surface, unlike the salted print where the image is actually in the paper and thus takes on the texture of the paper.

64 Reilly and Carew, p. 23.
Dating Family Photos, argues that the carte-de-visite was introduced into the colony of Victoria as early as 1857. She uses two photographs of Lady Barkly, which are reproduced in Cato's The Story of the Camera in Australia, to arrive at this extremely early date. Lady Barkly, who was the wife of the Governor Sir Henry Barkly, died while she was in the colony in 1857. Frost argues therefore that any carte-de-visite of her must pre-date 1857 and that, as she was residing in the colony for several years before she died, the photographs of her must have been taken in Victoria. This argument at first seems convincing. It is, however, flawed because there was a second Lady Barkly, who was married to Sir Henry in 1860, and the extant cartes-de-visite of 'Lady Barkly' are of the second wife and were more than likely taken in the early 1860s. There is no evidence that the carte-de-visite was introduced into Victoria before 1860. There was a report in the Argus in 1860 on 'Daguerreotype Visiting Cards' in Paris, which while once again revealing confusion over techniques, demonstrates that there was some knowledge of the invention, but that it had not reached Australia.65 It is important to establish the date of the introduction of the carte-de-visite - the early 1860s - as it marked a revolution in photography, with its cheapness and ease allowing for an unprecedented boom in photography.

From 1856 onwards the history of photography became further entwined with the print industry. Newhall, remarks that it is surprising that today art historians, with their delight in probing into the prototypes of every artist's work, should so generally fail to recognise that photography has ever since 1839 been to a host of artists both a source and an influence.66 Most of the prints discussed in this thesis were based on photographs, with a group of photographers, including John Cameron Alexander, Perez Mann Batchelder, Thomas Adams Hill and George William Perry being the major suppliers for the engraver. Examples discussed in this thesis illustrate how the print is an often overlooked source for analysing the development of photography and for revealing the formulas being used by photographers.

65 Argus, 20 September 1860.

Towards the end of the 1850s there was a great increase in the number of portrait prints published, with most of the prints listed in the 'Catalogue of Portraits' dated after 1857. As the population settled and as people turned their attention to issues such as manhood suffrage and the squatter's right to the land, 'propaganda' portraits became an increasing common feature of the visual arts in Victoria. Woodcuts, lithographs and mezzotints, were published in greater numbers in runs of single prints, in series, and in illustrated magazines.

By 1861 the colony of Victoria supported a considerable number of portrait painters, sculptors, photographers and engravers. Initially the local artists had had to struggle for survival. Economic downfalls, social immaturity, political upheaval and artistic and cultural prejudice worked against the development of portraiture. Colonists at first showed little interest in supporting local artists, believing them to be inferior to their European counterparts. It was not until the late 1850s, after the turmoil of the pioneering days and the gold rushes, that attitudes and conditions began to change and to favour the local portraitists. The emerging complexities of colonial society and its political and class divisions, the ambitions and egos of the colonial patrons, the increase in the stable population, the example set in other colonies, and the faith in the civilising effects of the visual arts, all worked in favour of the development of portraiture. The following chapters are devoted to a closer examination of these issues and to a discussion of who was commissioning portraits and why, as well as an analysis of the interaction between patron, portraitist and the portrait.
CHAPTER 2

PORTRATURE, THE HERO AND HERO-WORSHIP

In the mid-nineteenth century, when the cult of hero-worship was popular, portraits of heroes held a seemingly endless fascination for the British public. The hero was a man who distinguished himself through valour, intellect and dedication to his country. He had earned his place in history. The status of hero was confined almost exclusively to men and only occasionally were heroines recognised, most notably Florence Nightingale. Heroes such as Nelson, Wellington and Napoleon received a vast amount of attention and through art and literature their exploits were described and lauded. Hero-worship was encouraged and widespread, with the number of biographies published during the mid 1800s testifying to almost insatiable curiosity about the lives of eminent men.\(^1\) As Gordon Marshall remarks, the reading public turned from the romantic novel of the late eighteenth century to the true-to-life adventure of biography.\(^2\) This obsession with heroes had implications for the development of portraiture, with the public relishing likenesses of their heroes.

When the words portraiture and the hero are mentioned together, they tend to conjure up images from the age of Romanticism, such as West's *Death of General Wolfe* or Gros's *Napoleon at Arcole*. These are dramatic narrative portraits, full of portent. Such paintings evoke intense emotional responses by showing the subject at the pinnacle of his achievements, whether this was at a moment of military victory or while suffering a martyr's death.\(^3\) The hero is portrayed at a moment of high drama.

---

\(^1\) See Richard Wendorf, *Elements of Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), for a discussion of the connections between portraiture and biography. Wendorf deals with the eighteenth century but the arguments he puts forward on the links between literature and the visual arts can also be applied to the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century theories of hero-worship, which governed the style and purposes of biographies, also dominated portraiture.


\(^3\) In the eighteenth century, notions of the heroic were crystallised with theorists and painters such as Jonathan Richardson suggesting that the role of the portrait painter was to pass on to posterity the virtues of the great (in B. Allen, *The Age of Hogarth 1720-1760*, in Roy Strong, *The British Portrait 1660-1960* (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991), p. 132). For a discussion of heroic portraiture in the eighteenth century see Edgar Wind, *Hume and the Heroic Portrait: Studies in Eighteenth-Century Imagery*, ed. by Jaynie Anderson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). Wind identifies key features of the heroic, or
While echoes of such drama can be seen in some portraiture of the mid-nineteenth century there was a definite change in the portrait of the hero, with the emphasis taken away from the heroic and dramatic narrative, to the sober and respectable.\footnote{Roy Strong has argued that nineteenth century concepts of the hero represented a fusion of seventeenth and eighteenth century ideals and notions of the heroic (Roy Strong, 'The British Obsession: An Introduction to the British portrait', in Roy Strong, The British Portrait 1660-1960 (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991), pp. 21-23). Strong writes that in the seventeenth century the emphasis in portraiture was on the occupation of the sitter, whether he was a soldier, gentleman or cleric, and there was little concern with inner personality; hence the similarity of features from one sitter to the next and the preoccupation with dress and symbols of social position. In the eighteenth century the emphasis shifted away from the actions of the subject to the psychological motives of the individual and with this came more dramatic imagery and a much closer examination of individual traits and appearances. Strong argues that the nineteenth century hero and his portrait combined these two trends, with the deeds and occupations of the subject regaining importance but with the character continuing to be of vital interest.} Rather than being aloof and having an indefinable genius, the hero of the mid-nineteenth century was a product of his society and a man whose greatness was not innate, or a mystery, but had been achieved through effort and diligence. This hero possessed the traits of decency and conformity, rather than genius and inner greatness, and importantly was someone whose actions could be emulated.

The portrait of the hero had an important political function. In the nineteenth century many philosophers, politicians and social leaders regarded the visual arts as crucial for elevating the 'masses'. In an age reeling from the revolutionary spirit that had swept Europe, hero-worship and portraiture had a role to play in the maintenance of social order. Portraiture was useful in creating stability and was viewed as a vital weapon in the battle against anarchy. It was argued that contemplation of the lives of eminent men could, almost through a kind of osmosis, make the common man virtuous, inspire heroic actions and at the same time foster a respect for authority. Edwin Paxton Hood, when writing about the nature of biography in Uses of Biography: Romantic, Philosophical and Didactic, published in London in 1852, succinctly expressed the theory that the study of the heroic was enlightening and that the character of the hero was almost contagious:

One inestimable value of all true and great biography is that it possesses the power of transfusing character into the reader.
Some lives are inoculative; rising from the perusal we feel the ardour of the hero of those pages firing us.\(^5\)

The most ardent exponent of the hero and hero-worship was the philosopher Thomas Carlyle. In a series of lectures delivered in 1840, published under the title *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, he expressed how deeply he believed in the necessity of heroes. For Carlyle, hero-worship was the solution to the problems of the age and was the key to motivating the common man.\(^6\) He was convinced that the study of great men could only have an advantageous effect:

Great Men, taken up in any way, are profitable company. We cannot look, however imperfectly, upon a great man without gaining something by him. He is the living light - fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near. The light which enlightens, which has enlightened the darkness of the world; and this not as a kindled lamp only, but rather as a natural luminary shining by the gift of Heaven.\(^7\)

For Carlyle one of the best ways for people to familiarise themselves with their heroes was through portraiture. Not surprisingly, he was amongst the most enthusiastic supporters of a proposal to establish a National Portrait Gallery (NPG), which would enable the masses to contemplate the lives and deeds of the great men of history.\(^8\) The proposal for the NPG, was first put before Parliament on 4 March 1856, in an environment where the support of free public institutions was gaining strength. As Marcia Pointon laconically remarks, public galleries were being created 'for the benefit of working-men living in squalid urban spaces' who 'might prefer to slip into a gallery rather than organize a riot'.\(^9\) After the success of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the fact that so many people had converged on the Crystal Palace without incident or a feared riot, the viability of public institutions was

---


\(^7\)Carlyle's *Lectures*, p. 9.

\(^8\)For history of the foundation of the NPG see Pointon, pp. 227-245.

\(^9\)Pointon, p. 188.
reinforced and their ability to provide a stabilising influence affirmed. Support for a
NPG came from men as influential as Lord Palmerston, who in a speech to
Parliament expressed his belief in the power of the portrait and hero-worship. The
very formation of an NPG at this time testified to the changing attitudes towards
portraiture and the broad educational role it was now assuming:

Portraiture is an element of information highly conducive to our
historical knowledge. It helps us to form that judgement of the
former actors on the stage of human life which our natural
instincts derive from the physiognomy and demeanour of our
contemporaries and companions: to make personal acquaintance,
as it were, with the heroes of other days.\textsuperscript{10}

In an environment in which the portrait was regarded to have a beneficial effect on
society, commissioning a likeness could be manipulated to be an act of philanthropy,
rather than an exercise in self-glorification. Heroic and immortalising portraiture had
always been wide open to allegations of unabashed self-interest and over the
centuries various strategies and theories disguised the element of egotism. Blatant
vanity was obscured and hidden behind nobler ideals, whether this was done within
the portraits themselves or in the rhetoric that surrounded their creation. In early
donor portraits, the subjects placed themselves among the saints and in a state of
perpetual prayer, offering an example in piety rather than self-glorification. Another
marked example of disguising the less complimentary motives for commissioning a
portrait is present in Dutch sixteenth century portraits where 'vanitas' symbols were
included. Vanitas symbols served as a check on the sitters vanity and the inclusion
of a skull for instance acted as a reminder of the subject's mortality. The portrait
thus became a moral lesson in the transience of human existence.\textsuperscript{11} In nineteenth
century Britain this idea persisted that the portrait must be more than a egotistical
power statement. As Andrew Wilton writes in the \textit{Swagger Portrait}, the English
were embarrassed by show for its own sake.\textsuperscript{12} Wilton argues that art in Britain had
to serve a social purpose and that English pragmatism required that the sitter should


\textsuperscript{11} In the \textit{Encyclopedia of World Art}, XI, p. 493, entry by Eugenio Battisti, it is argued that in the
Renaissance a fashion developed for portraits that alluded through symbols to death and transience of life
'almost as if to belie the accusations of vanity'.

\textsuperscript{12} Wilton, pp. 11-14.
appear to be worthy, upright and reliable. Portraits of heroes and the notions of the hero were thus anchored in a utilitarian ethos.

The faith in the worth and nature of the hero, hero-worship and portraits of heroes was echoed by the colonists of Victoria. British rhetoric was repeated in, for example, the Journal of Australasia of 1856, which quoted Carlyle's theories that hero-worship 'is to this hour, and at all hours, the vivifying influence in man's life' and that 'no nobler feeling than this of admiration for one higher than himself dwells in the breast of man'.13 In the same article, dealing with the decoration of Victoria's new Houses of Parliament, there are familiar arguments about the value of portraits of the 'really great' and the effect they could exert even on politicians:

We hold that portraits or statues of the really great, and representations of incidents worthy to be had in perpetual remembrance, would be a standing protest against littleness of mind and littleness of conduct [...]. It seems to us that, as honorable members rose in their places to debate, a glance at those pictured walls would often suffice to rebuke the factious, to reproach the selfish, shame the corrupt, confirm the hesitating, and silence the ignorant; that they would inspire the eloquent and stimulate the patriotic.14

It was held that individual actions greatly altered society and that the study of individual action was important. Rev Frederick Barton, in a lecture delivered in 1856, claimed that it was the individual actions of men that mattered in improving the whole of society and that this was particularly so in the colony of Victoria:

'The noblest study of mankind is Man -'
Nowhere, happily, is that more true than here; and in fact it is practically true everywhere, that - everything general resolves itself ultimately into the particular - everything national (or Colonial) becomes when traced to its origin, individual.15

13Journal of Australasia, 1856, p. 146.
14Journal of Australasia, 1856, p. 147.
15Rev Frederick George Barton, Men for the Colony - A Lecture Delivered to the Members of the Kyneton Mechanics Institute (Melbourne: G. J. Sands for the Mechanics Institute, 1856), in the 'Preface'. 
As in Britain, such hopes and faith in the power of the hero and the portrait stemmed from a broader trust in all forms of art as important assets in refining colonial society and building a better community. These sentiments were instrumental in the formation of institutions such as the Museum and Public Library and the Art Gallery, which were designed to educate and enlighten. As Galbally writes, it was no longer accepted that knowledge was the exclusive prerogative of the wealthy and the ruling classes.\textsuperscript{16} In an article on 'Art in Victoria', published in 1858 in the \textit{Illustrated Journal of Australasia}, the author reveals that Victorian attitudes towards the didactic advantages of art were very similar to those in Britain, commenting that 'pictures do exert a remarkable influence over the character, and the cultivation of art is a direct index of civilization'.\textsuperscript{17} The article continues:

\begin{quote}
Has not the presence of pictures a refining and moralising effect? Which of us can stand before a fine painting without feeling its emollient influence over the asperities of his nature? […] pictures do exert a remarkable influence over the character, and the cultivation of art is a direct index of civilization. Even the propensity for buying auction-room daubs and cheap 'duffer' engravings, or images, is a faint glimmering of the new light about to break in upon society.\textsuperscript{18}
\end{quote}

Along with theories on art, heroes and hero-worship, the genre and conventions used in portraits of heroes were adopted in Victoria. In Victoria, several men emerged as the champions of hero-worship and in most cases obligingly sought hero status for themselves. They turned to local artists who could win them the esteem of fellow colonists and the consideration and praise of future generations - one of the most notable of these patrons was John Pascoe Fawkner.

\textsuperscript{16}Galbally, p. 8. Learning was meant to stress human commonality which would in turn act as a social adhesive, with the public institutions thus fulfilling both a practical and spiritual role.

\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Illustrated Journal of Australasia}, 4 (1858), p. 34.

\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Illustrated Journal of Australasia}, 4 (1858), p. 34.
The Portraits of John Pascoe Fawkner

John Pascoe Fawkner was an intriguing and prominent figure in early Victorian society who craved hero status and who used portraiture in a campaign to establish himself as the colony's most important pioneering hero. Fortunately, Fawkner's life has attracted much scholarly attention and in recent years two published biographies have been devoted to him, Hugh Anderson's *Out of the Shadows* and C. P. Billot's *The Life and Times of John Pascoe Fawkner*. Both of these biographies describe a complex and outspoken man, who saw himself as a rebel, a champion of the oppressed. Fawkner, through most of his life, had a reputation as a radical who defied authority, hated the privilege of the élite and was a 'truculent, fiery little man whose influence dominated the early days of Melbourne's history'.\(^{19}\) This influence and dominance extended to his patronage of the arts. He was involved in the formation of art societies and the staging of various exhibitions. Fawkner provided the local portraitists with numerous commissions and as such he was one of the most important patrons in the colony.

Fawkner came out to Australia with his mother when he was a boy of eight, following his father who had been transported for possessing stolen goods. Fawkner spent much of his youth in Tasmania in the midst of convicts and their families and it was here that the first signs of his revolutionary spirit appeared. He apparently decided at an early age that, although he may be innocent of any wrongdoing, the authorities by association would condemn him and that the privileged élite would close ranks against those whose only crime was to be a son of a convict. As Fawkner developed into a young man his declarations of hostility against authority grew louder, with his rebellious nature reaching a climax when he tried to help some convicts escape from Tasmania. His involvement in this episode led to a prison term in Sydney, leaving him to live with the label of 'ex-convict' for the rest of his life and further fuelling his resentment.\(^{20}\)

---


\(^{20}\) Billot, p. 69.
After his imprisonment Fawkner returned to Tasmania but he was soon attracted by the potential of the Port Phillip District. In 1835 he sailed for the area now known as Melbourne. Fawkner claimed he was the first to settle in the Melbourne area, with his followers giving him the title of the 'Founder of Melbourne'. Even today it is a contentious issue as to whether Fawkner or John Batman, his major challenger, deserves this title. Over the years the conservatives have tended to support Batman and the radicals Fawkner.\textsuperscript{21} For the purposes of this thesis, the arguments for either side are of little relevance, but what is of importance is that Fawkner had an obsession to be known as the founder of Melbourne.\textsuperscript{22}

Throughout the 1830s Fawkner was perceived by Victorian society as somewhat of an oddity, if not an outcast, and he held a rather precarious social position.\textsuperscript{23} Fawkner was a prominent figure, always involved in politics and, through his pioneering efforts in the newspaper business, was at the forefront of public discussions. Nevertheless, socially he was unable to gain leverage and was criticised as a vexation instead of being admired as a community leader. Outwardly, Fawkner scoffed at such rejection, but as will be demonstrated here in a discussion of the portraits he commissioned, this self-proclaimed 'hater of privilege' desperately wanted to be part of the élite and longed for social recognition. As he was a good businessman, with diverse interests as varied as inn keeping and publishing, he was able to create an economic base from which to launch his public image campaign in an attempt to elevate his status. Billot writes that the first signs that Fawkner wanted to raise himself in society's eyes can be seen by the late 1830s, when he began to speak of himself as a 'gentleman'.\textsuperscript{24} Apparently in his youth Fawkner had read much on the heroes of the past and this sparked a romantic determination to be one. In Billot's biography of Fawkner, there are references to him wanting to be seen as a hero and, as Billot claims, it was characteristic of Fawkner to imagine himself as the

\textsuperscript{21}de Serville, \textit{Port Phillip Gentlemen}, p. 140. de Serville suggests that the debate over paternity by both Batman and Fawkner is the first indication of the long feud between conservatives and radicals.

\textsuperscript{22}Billot, p. 211.

\textsuperscript{23}Billot, p. 222.

\textsuperscript{24}Billot, p. 215.
hero who led the way to the new lands of Port Phillip Bay. After the initial years of settlement, the convict turned 'gentleman' slowly but surely started to cultivate a circle of admirers who would support and disseminate his version of the founding of Melbourne. By 1839 his rival John Batman had died and thus Fawkner's main opponent was removed.

One of Fawkner's most stalwart supporters and promoters was the artist William Strutt. Strutt was twenty-five years old when he arrived in Australia in 1851 and had just completed his academic training. In Australia, Strutt is best remembered for his large history paintings, such as Black Thursday and Burial of Burke and Wills, which were actually painted when he returned to England. Strutt's time in Victoria was, however, mostly occupied in his efforts as a portrait painter. Strutt initially advertised himself as an artist able 'to execute Portraits in a style hitherto unattempted in the colonies' and by 1852 he was able to give up his work as an illustrator, writing that 'Commissions for portraits flowed in, and I was soon able to leave my employer [Thomas Ham].' Amongst these commissions were several from Fawkner. Fawkner was one of the first people whom Strutt met when he disembarked in Port Phillip Bay, for Fawkner had a habit of meeting ships at the wharfs and introducing himself to new arrivals. Thus began one of the most enduring and productive artist/patron relationships in the early history of the colony, with both men reaping substantial rewards, as well as facing disappointment, during the period of their friendship. Strutt had an important role in raising Fawkner's status and through the portraits he painted of Fawkner, helped to secure for Fawkner the title of the father of the colony. For Strutt, Fawkner's patronage was crucial because, as Bonyhady notes, Strutt, like all other colonial artists, relied heavily on

25 Billot, p. 97.


28 Billot, p. 274.

29 Billot, p. 273.
patrons who would regularly provide commissions in a community with a very small art market.  

From the outset, Strutt was evidently enthralled by Fawkner's stories of the first days of settlement and, after listening to them, had no doubts as to who was the real founder of Melbourne. Strutt believed that through his art he could preserve the 'correct' version of history and attract the adulation that Fawkner deserved, writing in his journal:

Fawkner, to whom the proud city of Melbourne owes its origin, was one of the early acquaintances in the Colony and steady friend; a man whose ability, marvellous energy and patriotism have not by any means received their due meed of recognition in the land he loved and served so well, and if I can add a leaf or two to the laurels which will some day, in all fairness I may say, be accorded to his memory, I feel that I should have done my duty.

Strutt added a leaf to the 'laurels' accorded to Fawkner's memory by painting two major oil portraits of him. The first was commissioned in 1853 and is a full length portrait of Fawkner (cat. no. 30). The study for this also survives (cat. no. 332*), a rarity in colonial portraiture, and demonstrates that Strutt worked closely from his preparatory sketches (a point to be remembered with other portraits where only the study survives). Strutt describes this 1853 painting of Fawkner as a small full length, in which Fawkner is supposed to be addressing the Assembly. Set against a plain architectural background, the portrait shows the slight figure of Fawkner, for he was only a small man, just one hundred and fifty eight centimetres tall. Billot writes that Fawkner's height undoubtedly played a great part in the development of his character and that by the age of twenty-one Fawkner realised that 'all his

31 Billot, p. 273.
32 Mackaness, I, p. 11.
33 Mackaness, I, p. 8.
34 Mackaness, I, p. 16.
35 Billot, p. 54.
actions from now onwards would need to be larger than life if he was to make any impression on life at all.\textsuperscript{36} Again as Billot observes, unlike John Batman who was over six feet tall, handsome and powerfully built, 'little Johnny Fawkner' (as he was commonly known), lean and glowering, could never claim the heroic proportions or appearance of his rival.\textsuperscript{37} Still the full-length portrait of Fawkner is successful and while not attempting to depict Fawkner as a giant man, Strutt employs a perspective where the viewer gazes up at Fawkner, thus endowing him with stature.

The 1853 portrait relied on well established portrait conventions, with the pose and stance drawing on familiar formulas. Marianna Jenkins, author of \textit{The State Portrait: Its Origin and Evolution}, analyses the development of large, formal state portraits and it is clear that this tradition, which can be traced backed to the sixteenth century, has informed Strutt in his painting of Fawkner.\textsuperscript{38} Robin Simon in \textit{The Portrait in Britain and America} convincingly argues that portrait painters used a limited number of poses and that over several centuries the same compositions were used with very few innovations and developments.\textsuperscript{39} Simon goes onto suggest that a handful of portraits produced in the decades of the Italian High Renaissance served as a major source of inspiration, or imitation, for portraitists. There are many instances in this study where this theory is proved and where similarities between colonial Victorian portraits and European portraits, which are separated by centuries, are too strong to be coincidental. Artists brought to the remote colony of Victoria traditions which were established in the Renaissance, which in turn were derived from classical sculpture and which had been maintained with very few modifications by portraitists working in Britain. The 1853 portrait of Fawkner belongs the tradition of Van Dyck's work on full-length portraits, which in turn relied on Holbein and Titian and classical sources.\textsuperscript{40} Later generations of portraitists, including Reynolds and Gainsborough, used Van Dyck as a source and passed on the conventions of the full

\textsuperscript{36}Billot, p. 60.

\textsuperscript{37}Billot, p. 114.

\textsuperscript{38}Marianna Jenkins, \textit{The State Portrait: Its Origin and Evolution}, Monographs of Archaeology and Fine Arts: 3 ([n.p.]: College Art Association of America in conjunction with the Art Bulletin, 1947).

\textsuperscript{39}Simon, \textit{The Portrait in Britain and America}, p. 56.

\textsuperscript{40}Simon, \textit{The Portrait in Britain and America}, p. 59.
length portraits to the nineteenth century and academic painters like Strutt. Strutt's portrait of Fawknner belongs to the same tradition as the Apollo Belvedere and Reynolds' The Hon. Augustus Keppel. Strutt employs the classic contrapposto pose with the subject gazing off to the side, into the distance, evoking the sense that he is preoccupied with important matters of state and is looking nobly into the future.

Strutt painted his second portrait of Fawknner in 1856 (cat. no. 51*), after returning from New Zealand. He had spent just over a year in New Zealand before returning to Melbourne, where he found it more difficult than at first to find commissions. He again advertised as a portrait painter and despite his pessimism about the lack of work, he was not deserted by Fawknner, who commissioned another portrait of himself, along with one of his wife Eliza (cat. no. 52*). Fawknner had decided that he and Eliza, as the first settlers in the Port Phillip District, should both have their likenesses perpetuated on canvas. The 1856 portrait was the most circulated and well known image of Fawknner. It was first exhibited in Norton's picture-frame shop in Collins Street in 1856 and again in the 1856 Victorian Exhibition of Art. It received favourable reviews with the Age writing that the portrait of our "Oldest Inhabitant" was 'a good likeness, though it makes him too good looking'. It was also later engraved by Calvert and published in the Illustrated Journal of Australasia (cat. no. 212*).

As Curnow remarks, the Fawknner portrait is a bust in the grand manner; the red curtain and the classical column behind it is common in neo-classical portraiture and gives dignity to the subject. The rich red of the curtain highlights and frames Fawknner's face. Curnow goes on to write that Fawknner adopts a determined pose, with the 'metallic clarity' of his features reminiscent of some of the portraits of Ingres, with its allusions to the classical past giving the impression of Fawknner as part of a continuum of great leaders. Again his gaze is directed into the distance and gives the impression of a man with much on his mind. The furrowed brow, the grim

41 Billot, p. 287.
42 Curnow, William Strutt, p. 38.
43 Age, 20 December 1856.
44 Curnow, William Strutt, p. 38.
expression, with the deep lines around his down-turned mouth, creates an impression of a man of responsibility who is burdened by his public duties. All these features are exaggerated in the woodcut by Calvert (cat. no. 212*), to the point where Fawkner appears in a state of agitated concern.

The Strutt oil portrait is romantic in character, with the dawn sky in the background clearly alluding to Fawkner’s role in the birth of the colony. Fawkner himself also bears the intensity, but aloofness, associated with Romantic rather than Victorian portraiture, which is not surprising remembering Fawkner’s earlier interest in the Romantic hero. The portrait had its parallels in British portraiture but they date from early in the nineteenth century, when there was much more emphasis on emotion. The curtain and the classical column were common devices used throughout the nineteenth century but even such simple emotive images as the skyline in the Fawkner portrait were removed by the late 1840s. For example, in John Partridge’s portrait of Lord Melbourne (fig. 1) the curtain and column are present but without the colourful sky and the romantic gaze, which is replaced by quiet introspection. The pose and gesture in the Fawkner portrait, with the folded arms symbolising defiance as well as a certain inner tension, are romantic and in the 1850s tended to be reserved for literary, artistic and theatrical figures. The Fawkner portrait is unusual for its time, in many ways representing a cultural dislocation in being out of step with the latest developments in academic portraiture in Britain. Likenesses such as that of George Evans by Robert Dowling (cat. no. 59*) were much more typical of the 1850s, with the emphasis on sobriety and respectability. Strutt’s inspiration did not come from artists such as Partridge but rather from turn of the century portraitists, in particular Thomas Lawrence. The 1856 portrait of Fawkner is reminiscent of portraits such as Lawrence’s Duke of Wellington (fig. 2). Strutt had a romantic tendency, which was revealed in his inclination to endow his portraits with grandeur, giving his subjects historical significance. Coupled with Fawkner’s notions of the romantic, this explains the style and mood of Strutt’s 1856 portrait of Fawkner.

Although Strutt received all of Fawkner’s commissions for oil paintings, there were other artists who sculpted Fawkner’s likeness in a bid to win the public commission for a monument to him. In 1856 a proposal was put forward suggesting that public money should be spent on gaining for the colony a likeness of this revered hero, in the form of a bust and a bronze statue. As Galbally remarks, sculpture was highly
regarded in the nineteenth century and because of its associations with the Ancients and because of its stamp of classical authority it was favoured for such monuments.\textsuperscript{45} An article in the \textit{Age} describes how the idea arose for not only commissioning a bust of Fawkner, but also a full-length statue of him:

On Wednesday evening when a number of gentlemen were assembled in Mr Hodgson's committee-room waiting to ascertain the state of the poll, Mr S. Elliot suggested, that on account of the many and eminent public services of Mr Fawkner, also his age and state of health, that it would be very desirable to obtain his bust, and that the subscription should be small in order that it should come from the great body of his fellow colonists. Mr Langlands and Mr Service supported the proposal, and recommended besides the bust something more substantial, such as a bronze statute, and in order to consult as to the best manner of giving effect to these views, a committee consisting of Messrs Hodgson, Langlands, Service, Harker, Heales, and Elliot be appointed, to whom subscriptions in furtherance of the object may be transmitted.\textsuperscript{46}

The commission for the bust mentioned here may have been given to Summers or Jones, who both produced busts of Fawkner (cat. nos. 269 and 271). These busts, however, were more than likely not produced from public funds and instead were made on the artists’ own initiative, with the hope that their efforts would boost their eventual bid for the commission. Commissions for statues were highly sought after as they represented substantial financial rewards and security for the sculptor, with the Fawkner statue estimated to cost £500.\textsuperscript{47} The busts are no doubt those mentioned in the \textit{News Letter of Australasia} as modelled in anticipation of the competition of the statue:

\begin{quote}
There can be little doubt that a large amount will be raised, as even Mr. Fawkner's political opponents must admit the worth of the man, and the unselfish earnestness with which he has devoted a large portion of his life to public service. Two busts and a statuett
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{45}Galbally, p.80.
\textsuperscript{46}Age, 2 September 1856.
\textsuperscript{47}Argus, 6 September 1856.
[sic.] have already been modelled, in anticipation of the
competition for the execution of the statue.48

The busts were exhibited at the *Victorian Exhibition of Art* of December 1856, with
the *Age* describing Jones's work as a 'good likeness and classically treated'.49 The
Summer's bust was anonymously donated to the LT in 1871, suggesting that it had
been in private hands and was not part of a public collection. Apart from the two
busts already mentioned, in 1857 the *First Exhibition of the Victorian Society of Fine
Arts* featured a medallion by Scurry (cat. no. 276) and the exhibition of 1860
included a portrait medallion (cat. no 298), again by Summers, and in 1861 an
unfinished portrait bust (cat. no. 308) was displayed.

Despite what was obviously an enthusiastic response on behalf of the sculptors, the
Fawkner monument never went beyond the initial planning stages. Just as an earlier
proposal to erect a statue to the Queen had failed, so did the Fawkner monument.50
When the proposal was announced public reaction was favourable. In the *Journal of
Australasia*, although it was noted that a monument during the lifetime of the person
was often inadvisable, the author condoned the monument because Fawkner was
'the father of the colony' and had 'contributed so much to the welfare of the colony
without the slightest regard to self-interest'.51 The same magazine reported that the
proposal for the Fawkner statue was proceeding well with the collection of
subscriptions entrusted to a large committee.52 So enthusiastic and optimistic was
the *Journal of Australasia* that it reported that the next question was the selection of a
site, probably in front of the Houses of Parliament. The *Age*, however, presents a
less glowing account, and given the eventual failure of the project a more realistic
one. It reported that the 'scheme is going along with the utmost slowness'.53 It was
hoped that the money could be raised entirely from the people so that it would be a

---


49 *Age*, 11 December 1857.

50 *Melbourne Morning Herald*, 13 July 1853.

51 *Journal of Australasia*, 1856, p. 190.

52 *Journal of Australasia*, 1856, p. 239.

53 *Age*, 29 September 1856.
people's monument but, as Bonyhady writes, even when contributions were limited to half-a-crown the colonists could not find the money.  

Bonyhady goes on to write that the demise of the project must have been embarrassing for Fawkner but adds that this should not be interpreted as the colonists rejecting the idea of Fawkner as a hero. Expensive bronzes and marbles are evidence of only a narrow type of public enthusiasm and hero-worship. Fawkner's 'failure to take form in granite' should be balanced by his success in popular images, such as his inclusion in Madame Sohier's waxworks museum. It should be noted that proposals for monumental statues were rare. While Fawkner may not have been venerated in bronze he was in print. As already mentioned, Strutt's 1856 portrait of Fawkner was copied and appeared in the 'Our Portrait Gallery' in the Illustrated Journal of Australasia (cat. no. 212*) along with an article declaring that Fawkner's character and history possessed the greatest interest in the community.

The image of Fawkner as a hero, however, did not go unchallenged. Mr Punch was quick to pounce on the public's and Fawkner's efforts to 'heroise' him. Before 1856, as well as after the proposal for the monument, Melbourne Punch delighted in Fawkner's antics. Fawkner is in fact featured in the first issue of Punch (cat. no. 417), offering a mock endorsement of the magazine. Mahood writes that Fawkner, along with O'Shanassy and Charles Gavan Duffy, was one of the dominant figures amid the uncounted portraits of minor members in the pages of Punch. In taking a close look at the Punch portraits, it is evident that Fawkner up until 1861 did not appear as regularly as many of his contemporaries, such as O'Shanassy or Haines. One of the reasons why it may seem that Fawkner features more regularly is that the illustrations of him are some of the most successful and thoughtful in the magazine.


56Illustrated Journal of Australasia, April 1857.


58See 'Appendix B' for a list of subjects/sitters and their portraits.
Punch's caricatures of Fawkner are very perceptive, while gently undermining Fawkner's efforts. For example Ajax Defying the Lightning (cat. no. 469) shows the feisty little man, scantily dressed and wearing a Grecian helmet, shaking his fist and showing his anger with Melbourne newspapers, including Mr Punch who is portrayed as Jove. As Mahood writes, this is 'a fine example of allegorical incongruity'.59 Chevalier always managed to capture the essence of what we know of Fawkner's character and foibles, and although often showing him as misdirected, self conscious and a little too zealous, Fawkner was also represented as committed and tenacious. This impression comes through even in Punch's sarcastic description of the exact opposite of Fawkner's personality:

MR. FAWKNER - This gentleman owes his success rather to cultivation than to natural ability [sic.] or force of character. His disposition is very gentle and sensitive, and this renders him careful never to speak harshly, and especially, never to say anything that could give offence. This caution is in him carried to a fault. His language is deficient in nervous energy, but is beautifully refined and full of carefully chosen imagery. He should endeavour however to speak more plainly and directly, and to overcome the extreme bashfulness of his nature.60

Seizing on the proposal for the Fawkner monument Punch published its own Designs for the Fawkner Statue (cat. no. 508*). In this witty cartoon offering three bogus suggestions for the monument, Fawkner is put into direct comparison with the great heroes of history and mythology. The illustration is divided into three parts with three well known images cleverly rehashed, putting Fawkner centre stage. As Mahood notes, Fawkner is shown as Napoleon crossing the Alps, nobly pointing the way forward as in David's great picture, but mounted on a kangaroo; as Hercules crushing the popish Hydra; and also as a most unprepossessing Pallas Athene, goddess of all wisdom and guardian of the state.61 In the satirical magazine, Fawkner was also cast as other heroes such as the conquering Julius Caesar, appearing dressed in a Roman tunic, complete with laurel wreath, and with his galley

60Melbourne Punch, 4 September 1856.
in the background just having sailed into harbour (cat. no. 474*). While these illustrations only tease and are jocular in spirit they do highlight a more serious issue and draw attention to Fawkner's typically mid-nineteenth century desire to be a hero and to be given a place in history. No matter how unrealistic, Fawkner wanted his name added to the list of the world's great men, such as Julius Caesar and Napoleon. While Mr Punch obliged and gave him this status, Fawkner wanted more serious recognition and to this end he employed portraitists such as Strutt, Jones, Scurry and Summers.

Fawkner's portraits reflect the patron's active pursuit of hero status. Within the context of the cult of the hero, the portraits testify to Fawkner's success in transforming his reputation as a troublesome ex-convict to that of pioneering hero, culminating in the proposal for a monument. Portraiture had an important role to play in the 'selling' of Fawkner and in achieving the metamorphosis from outcast to hero. Fawkner advertised himself successfully and, as de Serville remarks, he outgrew (or more accurately shrewdly and deliberately fought) his earlier reputation and died honoured by many colonists, with an acceptance of his version of the foundation of Melbourne.

Portraiture and the Opening of the Houses of Parliament

In the same year that the Fawkner statue was proposed, the new Houses of Parliament were opened. Up until 1856 the Legislature had used St Patrick's Hall for the affairs of government, but this was only to be a temporary home for the Parliament. The government needed larger, as well as more impressive, accommodation. By 1853 plans for the new Houses of Parliament were well advanced and, after Kerr and Knight's designs were approved, the building began. The Assembly Chamber and Council Chamber were completed in just enough time

---


63 de Serville, Port Phillip Gentlemen, p. 52.

64 For a history and description of the Parliament House see J. A. Fraser and K. J. Turnbull, Parliament House Victoria (Melbourne: F D Atkinson [n.d]).
for the formal opening of Parliament on 21 November 1856, almost a year after Responsible Government had been granted. After the long electoral processes and implementation of the new constitution, the first Responsible Government was sworn in. This event, the opening of the new Parliament, had two repercussions for portraiture. Firstly, it stirred enough interest and excitement to prompt a proposal for a commemorative group portrait of the newly elected politicians. Secondly, when the new building was opened, it was realised that the halls and chambers needed to be 'decorated', leading to debates as to whether portraits of local heroes would be appropriate.

The plan for a commemorative group portrait of the opening of Parliament was instigated by Fawkner, working in an alliance with Strutt. Within the colony there had previously been proposals for group portraits, with the Sentinel in 1846 mentioning that Opie was working on a painting of Melbourne's grand Separation Banquet, with all the principal speakers having been asked to sit for their portraits. In 1851, Fawkner had also proposed that Strutt should paint the scene of the sitting of the first Legislative Council in November of that year, only months after Victoria had separated from NSW. This event was marked by pageantry and pride in independence and Fawkner thought that a record of it should be made for posterity. Consequently Strutt was positioned on a raised platform in St Patrick's Hall so that he was able to clearly view the proceedings and sketch on the spot. One sepia drawing (cat. no. 326*) in the collection of the Parliament House of Victoria reveals what Strutt had in mind for the finished oil, if the commission had proceeded. The drawing depicts many of the notable men of Victoria, with Fawkner not unexpectedly given the most prominent position in the centre at the front. The transformation from Strutt's first sketch (cat. no. 324*), where Fawkner's name is simply written in, to the final sketch where Fawkner is clearly depicted in the lower right hand corner, reveals Strutt's bias towards the man he believed founded Melbourne. These drawings represent the most advanced stage that the project ever reached as the public money was never forthcoming for the completion of the oil painting.

65 Sentinel, 30 April 1846.
The 1856 project of five years later was to suffer a similar demise and Strutt was once again thwarted. Fawkner, who appeared undaunted by the failure of his last grand enterprise, put forward the proposal for a group portrait of all the parliamentarians gathered in the Council Chamber. Strutt was again allowed to sketch the scene and, as visitors were usually forbidden to take notes or make sketches while in the galleries in Parliament House, this was considered a privilege. Wright, in his history of the Parliament, describes the opening scene with the Governor Edward Macarthur entering the House to a fanfare and a nineteen gun salute and, after taking his place in the chamber and with the members of both houses before him, declared the Parliament of Victoria open. *Punch* commemorated the occasion with its own version of the parliamentarians entering the building being led by a rather fragile and despondent Macarthur (cat. no. 521*).

Strutt's original preparatory sketches are in the Parliamentary State Library (cat. nos. 371*–377*), with the majority reproduced in Tipping's *Victoria the Golden*. As in the 1851 project, Strutt did a considerable amount of preparatory sketching and had thoroughly worked out the composition before the project was cancelled. The most developed study (cat. no. 377*) reveals that Strutt envisaged a similar composition to that of the 1851 scheme, with a line of vision sweeping from the back of the hall to the Governor sitting at the front. Strutt may well have been inspired by George Hayter's *The Houses of Commons, 1833* which shows over four hundred figures and was painted at the time that the new Houses of Parliament in London were being completed and decorated.

In his papers Strutt writes that he had acquired photographic likenesses of the politicians for his portrait of the opening of the Houses of Parliament. 'Acquired' may mean that Strutt was doing some of his own photography at this time, as there are many references in his journal to him buying equipment from the photographers.

66Wright, p. 53.

67Wright, p. 31.

68Marjorie Tipping. *Victoria the Golden: Scenes Sketches and Jottings from Nature by William Strutt, Melbourne Victoria 1850-1862* (Melbourne: Library Committee, Parliament of Victoria, 1980). *Victoria the Golden* is the title Strutt gave to the scrapbook in which he pasted the preparatory sketches. There are many small and indistinguishable portraits in *Victoria the Golden* which have not been catalogued in the thesis. Only the major portraits have been fully documented.
Batchelder and O'Neill. More than likely, however, with the 1856 project he was relying mostly on professional photographers. In Strutt's journal there are references to him buying portraits - 'from Mr Kennedy two portraits half size and medium the sum of £3.10.0.' and 'from Mr Davis for four portraits at 5/each £1.0.0.' A review in the Argus of the Victorian Society of Fine Arts Exhibition makes it clear that Batchelder and O'Neill were providing at least some of the portraits for the painting:

Batchelder and O'Neill have sent a whole gallery of portraits, admirably executed, and representing the members of the Government, and of both Houses of the Legislature. They have been taken, we believe, for the historical picture of the opening of the opening of the first Victorian Parliament. 

Despite all this preparation, Strutt's group portrait never came to fruition. On leaving Australia in 1862, Strutt handed over all his preparatory work to Fawkner with the understanding that someone else would be taking over the project. There is no evidence that anyone did take it over. The failure of this project, and the Fawkner monument, reflect an only too familiar trend within the colony of the public's reluctance to spend large amounts of public money on locally produced portraits of local heroes. The sculptor Woolner became frustrated with this and in his letters he discusses various proposals for large public statues, including a proposal for a statue of the Queen and a statue of La Trobe, but as usual neither of these were ever completed. Even a scheme in 1860 to erect a colossal memorial to Shakespeare to

---

69Strutt Paper, ML, MSS 867 - Thursday July 23 1856, fol. 20; Friday 24 July 1856, fol. 26; September 18 1857, fol. 22; 22 March 1862, fol. 41. It is clear that Strutt used photographs as a source for his paintings, as the photos for the painting the Burial of Burke and Wills show. If he did, however, take photographs himself for the Opening of the Legislative Assembly they have not survived or have not been identified as belonging to the project.

70Strutt Papers, ML, MS 867, folder 5, fol. 19.

71Strutt Papers, ML, MS 867, folder 5, fol. 26.

72Argus, 18 December 1857.

73Mackaness, II, p. 25.

74Thomas Woolner, RA, Sculptor and Poet. His Life and Letters, ed. by Amy Woolner, 2nd edn (New York: AMS Press, 1971), p. 65. There is a reference, however, in a book written by Bernhard Smith's daughter, to Smith receiving a commission from Barkly to produce a full size statue of his late wife, Lady Barkly. Bernhard Smith's daughter writes that he was apparently commissioned by Sir Henry to do the
celebrate the tercentenary of his birth, which was widely publicised and supported, did not eventuate. The first major publicly funded colonial statue was the Burke and Wills monument by Charles Summers, unveiled in 1864. As for commemorative group portrait paintings, Thomas Robert's declaration of 1901 is the first instance of such an ambitious scheme being realised.

The explanation for why all these projects failed, remembering many Victorians believed in the principles of Carlyle's heroes and the importance of hero-worship, are revealed in the debates over how the new Houses of Parliament should be decorated. In these debates financial concerns were obviously a major issue and a lack of funding was the reason offered for why many portrait commissions foundered. In 1856 Victoria had gone through a commercial depression but this had not been as great as anticipated and instead of deficit at the end of the year there was be a surplus of about £85 000. So lack of funds cannot entirely explain the lack of support for portraits of local heroes. In the discussions over what should fill the niches and cover the walls of Melbourne's grandest building, other explanations for the dearth of public commissions emerge.

The commentaries of the day reveal that the majority of colonists believed that all true heroes came from Europe and that heroes were involved in the momentous events that shaped European history. It was widely held that the colony simply could not have any heroes of its own who could compare to them. There was a lack of local pride and the dependence on Britain meant that the colonists were not particularly interested in portraits of local heroes. As demonstrated by a series of lectures delivered at the Mechanic's Institute by Rev. Mr New on the lives of eminent Englishmen, the fascination with British heroes was stronger than with local ones. The stress was placed on the great men of Britain not Victoria and as the *Journal of*

---

75 See the *Age*, 21 November 1860; *Argus*, 18 April 1860, 12, 15 May 1860; *Punch*, 26 April 1860.


77 *News Letter of Australasia*, June 1858, p. 3.
Australasia suggested, in relation to the decoration of the Houses of Parliament, while hero-worship and portraiture were important, it was the British example that the colonists should turn to:

We would have our lawmakers sit daily in the presence of the most illustrious statesmen, jurists and reformers of Great Britain: for we have great faith in the influence silently exercised by those mute effigies. "They, being dead, yet speak:" and contemplating their lineaments, our own legislators would be reminded that there have been and are greater statesmen than themselves; and that their worthier objects of admiration, and loftier and nobler models of imitation, than are to be found in the narrow circle of our own legislative bodies.\textsuperscript{78}

Similarly in an article in My Note Book it is argued that because Victoria was so young, its pioneers and their efforts were not yet worthy of the artist's glorification:

The filling of the niches with statuary, and the covering of the panels with paintings; and in reference to this subject, I am very much of the opinion I have heard expressed, that the subjects for these works were better chosen from the history of the old country than this our new home. Time has not invested with sufficient poetry the incidents which happened within the recollection of some the very "youngest inhabitants. A "Fawkner statue" sounds very much like a burlesque upon that choleric old gentleman; and the "Landing of Batman" is treated more successfully upon the pages or our caustic friend Punch, than it would be upon caustic lime in the council chamber. [...] Future painters - say a hundred and fifty years hence - may become famous by depicting the Hon. J. P. F [...] but it would not, at this day, obtain from the world such an amount of respectful consideration as its abstract merits entitle it to receive.\textsuperscript{79}

Mr Punch once again had a field-day in designing his own Frescoes for the New Houses of Parliament and obliged in producing images of the seminal events in the history of Victoria, an opportunity that other colonial artists would have desired but were denied. The first in this series was the cartoon discussed above of Fawkner dressed as Caesar landing at Port Phillip Bay (cat. no. 474*). This was published in

\textsuperscript{78}The Decorations of the New Houses of Parliament, Journal of Australasia, 1856, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{79}My Note Book, 7 February 1857.
March 1856 with the series continuing until June 1856, covering subjects as diverse as Melbourne's rush to the diggings and Foster's resignation. Strutt's portrait of Fawkner with the Aborigines, *J. P. Fawkner Settles on the Site of Melbourne* (cat. no. 371*), may have been part of a more serious proposal for a series of frescoes for the Parliament House. The frescoes for the Houses of Parliament did not become a reality either and in fact only two portraits of local identities are known to have found their way onto the chamber walls. In an article in the *Argus* of 1860, which deals primarily with the presentation of a portrait of the Queen to the Parliament of Victoria, two 'excellent' portraits are mentioned, one of Macarthur (cat. no. 82*) and one of the Chief-Justice in his robes (cat. no. 81), both by colonial artists, and hanging in the committee rooms. Only one these portrait is extant, that of Governor Macarthur by Strutt.

Edward Macarthur had probably met Strutt when Strutt was working on the sketches of the opening of Parliament in 1856, for Macarthur features strongly in these sketches (cat. no. 372* and 373). Unlike Fawkner, Macarthur was already a highly respected member of society, having a distinguished military background and belonging to an old and established family. He was the son of the renowned John and Elizabeth Macarthur of Sydney and had arrived in Victoria after been promoted to colonel in 1854 and taking over command of the military forces of Melbourne in 1855. Strutt painted the equestrian portrait of Macarthur (cat. no. 82*) in 1857, showing Macarthur in his full military regalia mounted on his favourite grey, 'Welcome', with a brooding landscape in the background. In all the extant portraits of Macarthur, from photographs to engravings, he appears in his military uniform (cat. nos. 110*, 217*, 231*, 236*, 372*, 373 and 374*)

In the portrait of Macarthur there are again the Romantic overtones that could be seen in the 1856 portrait of Fawkner, with the turbulent sky and rugged landscape appropriate romantic imagery for a military commander. As Curnow writes, Sir Edward presents a monumental and commanding figure on his white horse, which

---

80 *Argus*, 11 April 1860.

81 Strutt's association with Macarthur continued when they had both returned to England. Strutt, when he was in England, did matching miniatures of Macarthur and his wife. The sketches for these maybe those in the Victorian Parliamentary Library which are just shoulder views of the couple.
stands at a diagonal to the picture plane. The Equestrian portraiture possessed a certain grandeur and had long been associated with military leaders. The Strutt portrait once again has parallels with the work of Lawrence, especially his portrait of Wellington which shows Wellington mounted with the horse placed at a diagonal to the picture plane.

An even closer parallel can be made found in a portrait of the Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in-Chief, which was engraved and published in the *Illustrated London News* in late 1856 (fig. 3). The portrait of the Duke and the portrait of Macarthur are very similar in composition and style and the similarities prompt the question as to whether Strutt (or even Macarthur) had seen the print and had decided to model the portrait on it. The *Illustrated London News* was regularly imported into Victoria, so it is more than likely that they had both seen the illustration. In both portraits the same composition is employed with the horse placed slightly on the diagonal, with the major difference being that the horse is looking forward rather than turning its head to the side. In the portrait of the Macarthur, the horse's head is the least confidently rendered section and is out of proportion and noticeably smaller than the rest of the horse's body. It can be seen that in between Strutt's study for the portrait (cat. no. 372*) and the finished oil that he has altered the position of horse's right hind leg. It has been brought forward in the same manner as in the illustration in the *Illustrated London News*. Similarly, Macarthur's right hand has been moved from holding the reigns to resting at the side, as in the illustration of the Duke, and a sword has been added. It maybe that Strutt made these changes to conform to the British example, thus demonstrating that the British influence was strong enough to lead to mimicry.

It is fortunate that a considerable amount of information on the commissioning of the Macarthur portrait has survived. In Strutt's papers there are details about the commissioning of the portrait, giving a rare insight into the costs and negotiations surrounding such commissions. The portrait was completed late in 1857, with Strutt receiving payment for it on 23 December 1857, with a note in his papers making

---


reference to the amount of £105.84 This was a large sum of money, although Conway Hart had charged £300 in 1855 for his portrait of Sir Richard Dry. The £105 was probably a partial and final payment, with Macarthur having earlier advanced Strutt money for materials. By the time Macarthur paid for the portrait it would have already been hanging in the Fine Arts Society Exhibition, where it received critical acclaim. For example, James Smith compared it to Titian's portrait of Pope Paul III and said it had something of the spirit of a Van Dyck.85 Macarthur was so pleased with the portrait that he had a copy made of it in 1859 and as a farewell gesture in 1860 presented it to Parliament, demonstrating that if a colonist wanted his portrait to be added to the colony's art collections it had to be self-funded.

It should be noted that there were some public collections of portraits in Victoria, most notably the Melbourne City Council's collection of portraits of mayors. This extensive collection was based on a donation system where the mayors themselves commissioned and payed for the portraits and then presented them to the Council. Through the forties and fifties it became customary for holders of the office to donate portraits of themselves in their mayoral robes, to be hung in the Council Chamber and later, as the collection grew, on the walls of the Town Hall Auditorium. In the Argus of April 1860, in a report of a meeting of the City Council, the collection is referred as a 'portrait gallery'. It is made clear that it was the mayors themselves who were expected to provide their portraits, without any financial assistance. In the report of the meeting a resolution was passed directing the town clerk to request Mr Peter Davis and Councillor Walsh, who had each filled the position of mayor, to favour the council with their portraits.86 Such a system had been instigated with the first mayor, Henry Condell, who along with twelve councillors, amongst them Fawkner, was elected to office in 1842. By all accounts the first mayor and his councillors were carried away with their new importance and decided on an official swearing-in before Mr Justice Willis and a public procession.87 Given all this

84William Strutt Papers, ML, MS 867, folder 5, fol. 17.  
85In Tipping, Victoria the Golden.  
86In the Argus, 25 April 1860, there is a reference to Alderman Bennet putting a motion forward asking mayors to favour the council with their portraits for the council portrait gallery.  
87See Billot, pp. 244-45.
pageantry it is not surprising that it was felt appropriate for Condell's likeness be recorded for posterity (cat. nos. 1*, 5* and 8) and hence a tradition of painting the portraits of the mayor was commenced.

Gerard Hayes has written an article on the collection of mayoral portraits in which he deals specifically with a portrait by Ludwig Becker (cat. no. 47*).88 Hayes explains that from 1842 the collection slowly grew until in 1925 a fire in the Town Hall Auditorium destroyed many of the portraits, although a set of photographs of the collection which was made some time between 1921 and 1925 gives some idea of what was in the collection. One of the few portraits to survive, and the only one that dates to the period under discussion, is the portrait of John Hodgson (cat. no.47*). Hodgson was one of the most painted figures in Victorian history, with no less than three known oil paintings of him (cat. nos. 16, 42 and 47*), suggesting as with the Fawkner monument that there was a competition to produce the best likeness of him. The Becker portrait was painted in 1855, the same year that Becker produced a lithographic portrait of the Hodgson (cat. no. 202). The oil is a full length likeness with Hodgson peering down on the viewer who is encouraged to look up at him, both literally and figuratively, as he stands in his robes and holds official papers as signs of his power. There are echoes of Francis Grant's portrait of La Trobe with marked similarities between the full-length portraits of La Trobe, Fawkner and Hodgson. Each man is differently attired but stands in the same pose and holding documents in their left hand. Other portraits, which are not extant, but which are relevant to this period and which were in the Town Hall collection, are the portraits of William Kerr (cat. no. 33*), Andrew Russell (cat. no. 34*), Dr Augustus Greeves (cat. no. 35*), John Thomas Smith (cat. no. 41*), Sir Henry Barkly (cat. no. 87*) and William Nicholson (cat. no. 89*).

Apart from the portraits of the mayors and the portraits in the Town Hall, there are a few random examples of government authorities or private societies seeking the portraits of eminent men. For example the Committee of the Medical Society commissioned a portrait of the late Dr Maund.89 Also, according to Galbally,

---


89 Melbourne Punch, 15 April 1858.
amongst the earliest purchases made for the Public Library (after the books) were plaster busts of famous men, which were intended to line the Queen's Hall. One of these was of a colonist, Redmond Barry, who had been instrumental in the foundation of the library.\textsuperscript{90} The still extant bust of Barry by Summers (cat. no. 282\textsuperscript{a}), according to the \textit{Age} was always intended for the Public Library, where it is today.\textsuperscript{91} Once again there is no known documentation on who commissioned and funded the bust.

Strutt was the artist favoured by politicians and men in the public arena. Strutt gained the commission for the portrait of Frederick James Sargood (cat. no. 88) from the Prahran Municipal Council, which wanted a portrait of Sargood because he was the first chairman of the Municipal Council of Prahran. The portrait was financed by subscriptions from the ratepayers of Prahran as a testimonial to Sargood on his departure for England and was to be placed in the Prahran courthouse. It is a full-length portrait, that is very similar to the full-length portraits mentioned before of Hodgson and Fawknner. In July 1858 it was exhibited in Mr Norton's shop and described by the \textit{Argus}:

Mr Sargood is neither a Goliath in stature, nor an Antinous in countenance, nor is the modern costume of black broadcloth and satin so eligible for pictorial purposes as the costumes which Vandyck or Velasquez delighted to paint; and so far the artist has laboured under insuperable disadvantages. In spite of these, however, Mr Strutt has produced a portrait which combines extreme fidelity to the original with careful and conscientious finish in all details, and the family and friends of Mr Sargood cannot fail to be satisfied with the result.\textsuperscript{92}

This handful of commissioned portraits represented the extent of publicly funded portraits. Mr Just in his pamphlet on the decoration of the Parliament House expressed dismay at the lack of enthusiasm for portraits of local heroes and urged the colonists not to let money stand in the way of passing on something valuable to

\textsuperscript{90}Galbally, p. 80.

\textsuperscript{91}\textit{Age}, 21 November 1860.

\textsuperscript{92}In Curnow, \textit{William Strutt}, p. 40.
history. He wrote that 'preference should be given to artists settling amongst us' and that 'subjects should be taken from the history of all nations'. While his words seem to have received little support at the time, over the next couple of years more people championed local artists and local heroes, no doubt spurred on by the opening of the Parliament House and the implementation of Responsible Government, which to some degree must have galvanised colonial pride. *My Note Book*, only a matter of months after it had ridiculed the idea of a monument to Fawkner or Batman, when reviewing the *Victorian Exhibition* of 1857, argued for an increase in local production and the depiction of local subjects. The first murmuring of a more patriotic attitude appeared:

Let us have paintings, too, of our distinguished men and of incidents, trivial perhaps in themselves, but not so as connected with the history of our country. The acorn is a simple thing in itself, but it is the seed of the oak-tree. It is not given to man to perceive the influence of every contemporaneous occurrence upon the destiny of the nation to which they belong. Let us preserve the fragments of the story; posterity will unite them in harmonious continuity. Our artists may, if they choose, hand down a history, in their own mystic characters, of their adopted country, which will live when written records have decayed.

Victorians believed in heroes and in worshipping those heroes, but they were slow in believing that anyone amongst them had gained enough status to warrant spending the large sums involved in commissioning public portraits. The local heroes and local artists simply came out second best when compared to British heroes and artists, although this situation slowly changed in the closing years of the fifties. Victorians lacked confidence in their short history and because of this all the portrait projects surrounding the opening of Parliament House founndered. In early Victoria the commissions for large formal oil paintings and sculptures were funded by private patrons rather than through public funds. It was the individuals who believed that history would one day look for images of Victoria's pioneering heroes and who

---

93Just, p. 10.

94Just, p. 11.

95*My Note Book*, 19 December 1857.
believed in the power of portraiture to influence both their peers and future generations who patronised the local portraitists.

*Men of Victoria*

While Victorians may not have been prepared to pay large sums for oil paintings and sculptures of their local heroes, they were prepared to spend their money on cheaper printed portraits. For instance, while Strutt's oil portraits commemorating the opening of the New Houses of Parliament did not eventuate, there were a pair of lithographs issued which portrayed the members of the Assembly and the Council (cat. no. 211). To reiterate Bonyhady's arguments, Fawkner's failure to take form in granite, to have his likeness preserved in a monumental sculpture, should be balanced against the popular images of him. The failure of such proposals for the monument needs to be examined alongside the popular portraits which were produced. It is in mediums as diverse as the lithograph and wax model, that the historian can gauge who the public regarded as their local heroes. This is why a series of lithographs of eminent men, published under the title *Men of Victoria* (cat. nos. 231*-252*), is discussed in this chapter on heroes and hero-worship.

Before discussing *Men of Victoria*, it should be noted that in the mid-nineteenth century prints were not necessarily regarded as ephemeral. It is true that the recording of a likeness of a hero for future generations was a function more readily associated with oil paintings and sculpture. But, as in the *Men of Victoria*, the engraver was often given the responsibility of preserving the image of a hero for posterity. Publications such as 'Our Portrait Gallery', which appeared in the *Illustrated Journal of Australasia* in 1857, reveal that some prints were intended to be preserved. 'Our Portrait Gallery' consisted of several woodcuts, including portraits of William Haines (cat. no. 210*), John Pascoe Fawkner (cat. no. 212*), and Stawell (cat. no. 213*), along with short biographies describing their pioneering efforts in the colony. These portraits are rather crude images by Chevalier, Grosse and Calvert, with the portrait of Stawell the clumsiest and most hiedly executed. Despite the lack of artistic skill and care, with these portraits being amongst the humblest illustrations of the Victorian press, they were accompanied by high ideals:
Believing that a work destined not merely to furnish amusement for the passing hour, but to present such a lively record and picture of the times as may be preserved as an important portion of the "memories pour servir l'histoire" would be incomplete, without some note of those men who have become identified with our progress we purpose to adorn the pages of the Journal with portraits of the men who have rendered themselves eminent in our day and place.96

The publication and collecting of printed portraits in Victoria was an extension of a British tradition and interest in portraits, whether printed in illustrated magazines and newspapers or in editions of single prints. Gertrude May Prescott, in her unpublished PhD thesis *Fame and Photography: Portrait Publications in Great Britain, 1856-1900*, describes the British fetish for collecting portraits. Although her primary concern is photography, she observes that the nineteenth century was one of the great ages of portrait printmaking and that there was widespread enthusiasm for artistic prints.97 Buying editions of single portrait prints was almost a craze in Britain and collecting series of portraits became a 'mania'.98 Prescott outlines the common practice for collecting portraits in Britain in the nineteenth century, writing that portraits were published in volume and serial form, often with biographical letterpress, in addition to being offered individually on the market.99 To enable a collector to assemble a complete and bound volume of the separate parts of these publications, cover-boards and title and contents pages for a year's issues were often provided.

There has been very little work done on the *Men of Victoria* series, with details concerning its time and place of publication and its content still unresolved. It appears that there were in fact two separate publications produced in Victoria with the title *Men of Victoria* - one in 1856, and one published in serial form from 1859


99 Prescott, p. 11.
through to 1860. As the title suggests, both editions contained lithographic portraits of men. The first publication was undoubtedly the work of Ludwig Becker but it is open to question as to who was the major artist, or artists, involved in the second edition. The first edition was published by the Herald Office and the second was published by Hamel & Co..

Marjorie Tipping, in her book on Ludwig Becker, discusses the 1856 edition of the *Men of Victoria*, which contains a total of four portraits - Andrew Clarke (cat. no. 203*), John Hodgson (cat. no. 202), Peter Lalor (cat. no. 204*) and William Stawell (cat. no. 205).\(^{100}\) Becker called this his "quadrumvirate".\(^{101}\) This edition contained not only lithographs but also full page written biographical sketches of the four subjects. The portraits, as Becker writes, were taken from life or photographs and were transferred to stone by his own hand. The portraits are loose-leafed but seem to have been issued at the same time with one cover sheet. The four men that Becker chose are a rather odd group with all of them having very different characters and belonging to a variety of professions and covering a broad spectrum of the community. Hodgson is depicted as a rather nervous figure who sits on a chair playing with his spectacles; Clarke is arrogant and aloof and cast as something of a bohemian; Lalor is shown as a dramatic and romantic figure wrapped in his cloak; while Stawell is shown as a stern politician. Becker in the introductory 'Announcement' to his *Men of Victoria* explained his choice of subjects and why he encouraged Victorians to turn to their own community for their heroes and exemplary figures:

The Work of which I here present the first number, may be viewed as an experiment upon the taste of the Victorian public. It contains a series of the faces of certain men of note among us who, in my humble opinion have endeavoured to do some good in the country of their choice. It contains also memoirs of these men because I wished to show that it was not necessary to have recourse to Downing Street for men able to serve the colony with faithfulness and ability. Whether poor or comparatively [sic.] unknown, I wished to bring such men before the public, and,

\(^{100}\) Marjorie Tipping (ed.), *Ludwig Becker: Artist & Naturalist with the Burke & Wills Expedition* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1979), p. 17. Tipping in her discussion of the *Men of Victoria* does not mention that there were at least two series produced.

\(^{101}\) Becker, *Men of Victoria*, 1856, in the "Announcement".
upon, the principle of *audialur et altera pars*, to say for some of them, who may have incurred any measure of popular odium, some words of defence. My work is thus a kind of "Black and White List" with the Black omitted.\textsuperscript{102}

Becker's 'experiment upon the taste of the Victorian public' was not as successful as he had hoped, with the first number also being the last for several years. Tipping attributes the demise of the first set of portraits to the 'hurly-burly' of political life and that this drew attention away from such publications. Its 'failure', however, was probably due more to Becker's choice of people, whom he himself admits 'may have incurred any measure of popular odium'. Prescott writes that failure to cater to public demands often resulted in the demise of publications, or changes in the editorial policy of others.\textsuperscript{103} In a series of portraits, publishers had to rely on 'sure cards' such as royalty, popular entertainers, professional beauties, religious leaders and prominent statesmen. One issue that failed to attract sufficient purchasers might discourage continued patronage or subsequent publication.\textsuperscript{104} Becker did not start his publication with 'sure cards' and it did not go beyond the first volume.

In 1858 the second issue of the *Men of Victoria* was published and had a much longer and successful life than the first series. Distributed in a revamped style, with sets of portraits issued in instalments to appeal to the Victorian desire for collecting, the format and choice of subjects arrived at a winning combination. The survival of the series is proof that the format and style appealed to the public, as it did to the critic writing in *My Note Book*:

> I have received part I., II., and III., of "The Men of Victoria," a series of lithographic portraits, published by Messrs. Hamel and Co., of Queen-street. As likenesses, they are, in nearly every instance, faultlessly correct, and they possess besides an amount of artistic merit which shows that in practise of this particular branch of the graphic art we occupy something more than a mediocre position. I can only hope that "The Men of Victoria" will enjoy that share of public patronage which they are deserving of, and that the publishers will find the speculation so profitable as

\textsuperscript{102}Becker, *Men of Victoria*, 1856, no page numbers.

\textsuperscript{103}Prescott, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{104}Prescott, p. 52.
to induce them to continue the series, if not quite *infinitum*, at least for as long as we have any worthies whose likenesses are worth preserving as mementoes.\textsuperscript{105}

Mr Punch of course had some objection to choice of subjects, expressing incredulity at the inclusion of Mr Macadam in the series:

Macadam is one of the "Men of Victoria." This is a startling assertion and we doubt not it will astound many, as it did us when we first met with it. We may as well therefore name our authority. *Punch* subscribed some time ago to a series of sketches, under this title, of eminent Victorians, and was well pleased with the first set of portraits handed him; but he had no conception at the time he was shortly to be placed in the absurd position of being a subscriber to lithographed perpetuations of Mr C. Gavan Duffy, and the subject of our present notice - the former having little to do with Victoria, [...] and as for Dr Macadam, we had never before looked upon him otherwise than as a precocious boy.\textsuperscript{106}

Such criticism was an exception and the choice of more popular subjects was an important factor in the success of the second issue of *Men of Victoria*. It consisted of at least twenty portraits (cat. nos. 232*-251*). It was published in monthly instalments by Hamel & Co., with cover-boards. The cover-board for the fourth volume of the *Men of Victoria* series has survived (cat. no. 231*), testifying to the fact that there were at least four parts issued.\textsuperscript{107} The portraits were probably published in sets of five, with a total of four sets of five in the series. It is possible to deduce that the first set of portraits consisted of the portraits of W. W. Anderson (cat. no. 232*), Sir Henry Barkly (cat. no. 233*), Thomas Howard Fellows (cat. no. 234*), William Clark Haines (cat. no. 235*) and Edward Macarthur (cat. no. 236*). This deduction is based on the fact that in 1859 Hamel & Co. moved from 8 Collins Street West to 49 Queen Street. The early address appears on the five portraits mentioned and it can therefore be assumed that they were published first and

\textsuperscript{105}My Note Book, 25 June 1859.

\textsuperscript{106}Melbourne Punch, 17 November 1859.

\textsuperscript{107}In the ML collection of *Men of Victoria*.
probably as a set.\textsuperscript{108} One other single portrait of John Foster (cat. no. 252) reveals the beginnings of what may have been a third series or a change from the format of issuing sets of portraits to single portraits. It differs from the other \textit{Men of Victoria} series in that a short biography is added beneath. It may possibly be a response to a loss in sales and an innovation to recapture the market.

The twenty lithographs, while in many ways similar to the four portraits of 1856, are different in size, being much smaller, and having facsimile signatures beneath them. There is a notable uniformity in the portraits. There is the occasional shift in pose, although the majority are shoulder-length portraits with three-quarter views of the face, with the sitter staring off into the distance. Prescott warns that while we might collectively dismiss such a group of portraits as equally staid or impersonally formal, the mid-nineteenth century was sensitive to the slightest shift in pose, props or expression.\textsuperscript{109} Prescott also writes that celebrities were concerned with public perception. The critics' response to staged poses may have helped restrain the sitter's desire to not be seen to depart visually from other notables. The conservatism of formal portraiture in general, combined with the sensitivity of the Victorian age and the wish to be displayed publicly in a appropriate manner, meant that there were rigid conventions in place.\textsuperscript{110} The subjects in the \textit{Men of Victoria} series do not appear with any props, with only the members of the judiciary system, with their wigs, identified through profession. Prescott writes that in British photographs, sitters occasionally were presented with significant objects, but most appear in impersonal settings which reveal nothing about their character and

\textsuperscript{108} Prescott, p. 12 The portraits from the second edition of the \textit{Men of Victoria} are held in various collections. The LT, ML and ANL, all possess individual portraits from the series, as well as bound and almost complete sets of portraits. After an extensive search, however, the NLA set, which was listed on the computer catalogue, was not located. On the computer read out, however, the portrait of Charles Gavan Duffy is listed as being amongst them and the only other portrait not found elsewhere is that of Sir W. Williams. In the LT there is a set portraits bound under the title \textit{Litho Portraits of Early Victorian Pioneers}, reference *L Tef 920.0945 L71. This contains seventeen portraits from the second \textit{Men of Victoria} series. All the portraits in these are found in the ML as well, except the portrait of Hotham which only exists in the LT. In the ML, there are three volumes of the \textit{Men of Victoria} under the reference FA 920.092/M. One volume is the 1856 edition, with its four portraits and text by Becker and is complete with cover slip. Another volume contains, according to the card catalogue, loose plates from parts three and parts four and has twelve portraits altogether. This volume also has a cover for part four of the series. All twelve of these portraits appear in a third volume which has a cut down version of them. This third volume also has an extra five portraits not contained in any other extant volumes.

\textsuperscript{109} Prescott, p. 91.

\textsuperscript{110} Prescott, p. 98-99.
interests.\textsuperscript{111} This lack of props or variation in pose can also be seen as an attempt by the publishers to create a sense of unity within the portrait series.

Unfortunately there is no surviving documentation on how the subjects for the second *Men of Victoria* were selected and records of negotiations which took place between publisher and subject are lost. As Prescott found in her study, there is usually a dearth of information regarding the financial arrangements between the parties or the actual costs and profits of the publication and the extent of circulation.\textsuperscript{112} Becker's *Men of Victoria* was based on his personal choice, but the second edition appears to have been much more calculated on selecting the people's favourites. It is difficult to tell if the subjects had any involvement in the project at all, as their signature could easily have been copied from letters and in the second series it appears that most of the portraits were copied from other portraits, rather than having been taken from life. The sources of some of the portraits has been identified. In the cases of the portraits of the men who were dead or who had left the colony, they were obviously not taken from life. For example the portrait of the ex-Governor Charles Hotham, who had died in 1855, appears to be after a portrait by J. K. Lynch which is held in the NPG.\textsuperscript{113}

Photographs, rather than painted portraits, were the main source for the lithographs, with many of the portraits after photographs by Batchelder & O'Neill.\textsuperscript{114} The subjects of the *Men of Victoria* may have had their likenesses reproduced without ever sitting for the artist or even granting permission to the publisher to copy their likeness from photographs. Newhall writes that in America daguerreotypists hounded the famous in order to print portraits.\textsuperscript{115} In *Household Words* James White reveals a similar situation in Britain and complains about being pressured to

\textsuperscript{111} Prescott, p. 153-154.

\textsuperscript{112} Prescott, p. 124.


\textsuperscript{114} The portraits of Barry, Evans, Fellows, Haines, Stawell are all after photographs by Batchelder & O'Neill, while the O'Shanassy portrait is after a photo by T. A. Hill.

\textsuperscript{115} Newhall, p. 249.
publish his memoirs and the multitude of photographers who would simply snap a likeness, taking the subject unaware:

He [the publisher] informs me that an illustration to my memoirs, consisting of an excellent photographic likeness, is already in his possession, a woodcut of which will be the frontispiece to my obliging communication. This is a greater nuisance than the other. The pen it is just barely possible to escape from; you may resolve positively to continue as mute and inglorious as Milton if he had been a Dorsetshire labourer at nine shillings a-week; but from a set of amateur portrait-mongers who catch you unawares and make hideous images of you when you are quite unconscious of their proceedings there is no safety whatever.\textsuperscript{116}

It is clear that some photographs were circulated by photographers for reproduction. For example, the Barkly portrait (cat. no. 233\textsuperscript{*}) in the \textit{Men of Victoria} appears to be based on the same photograph as that used by Chevalier in his woodcut of Barkly in the \textit{Illustrated Melbourne News} (cat. no. 220\textsuperscript{*}).\textsuperscript{117} Prints in rival publications were also stolen and copied. For example, the portrait of Macarthur in the \textit{Men of Victoria} (cat. no. 236\textsuperscript{*}) was clearly copied from a photograph in the \textit{Sun Pictures of Victoria} (cat. no. 110\textsuperscript{*}), which was issued the year before. The concept of copyright was alien in mid-nineteenth Victoria and it was basically open slather on portraits and portrait copying. A collection of engravings in the ML by Samuel Calvert offers further testimony to this statement. In this collection of proofs there are numerous examples of Calvert copying from the lithographs from the \textit{Men of Victoria}. His portraits of La Trobe (cat. no. 223\textsuperscript{*}) and Stawell (cat. no. 225\textsuperscript{*}) are copies of the lithographs that appear in the \textit{Men of Victoria} (cat. nos. 244\textsuperscript{*} and 250\textsuperscript{*}).

A point in passing which should be made concerning the sources for the printed portraits, is that prints often give an insight into formulas used in photographic portraits of prominent leaders. Conventions and poses were obviously repeated from one photographer to the next. For instance there are strong similarities between Henry Sadd's portrait of Rev. Macartney after a daguerreotype by Batchelder (cat

\textsuperscript{116}James White, 'Your Life or Your Likeness', \textit{Household Words}, 25 July 1857, p. 384.

\textsuperscript{117}The two portraits cannot have been copied from each other but must instead have both been copied from a photograph by Batchelder & O'Neill. Chevalier's woodcut cannot have been copied from the \textit{Men of Victoria} because it is an extended view of the lithograph.
no. 192*) and that of Adam Cairns after a photograph by Perry (cat. no. 208*), both dated to 1856. Both subjects are seated next to a table, with their legs crossed to the side, a pose which was constantly repeated. Each man has a glove on one hand, holding a glove and a book in the other hand. Here a prescribed iconography clearly emerges to symbolise a man of learning, whether a member of the clergy or a doctor. The book is ready to be opened with the sitter having removed one glove, and the contemplative stare relays Macartney's and Cairn's moral and intellectual status. There are also similarities in a lithograph of Barkly by Henry Burn after a daguerreotype (cat. no. 215*) and the printed portrait of Greeves after a photograph by Noone (cat. no. 198*). Both subjects are again seated on angle to the picture plane, with the same devices used to indicate power, the distant gaze, the medals and trappings of office such as the scroll and sword. In individually published portraits there is more diversity with the inclusion of props, with the scroll and the book being the most common attributes in portraits of men.

While the publishers of *Men of Victoria* may have used deception in some cases to gain a likeness of an individual, it is more than likely that most of the men were only too willing to have their portraits published and co-operated with the publishers. To be listed as one of the 'Men of Victoria' would have been an honour to which many aspired. The men chosen held the most powerful and prestigious positions within colonial society and politics - men who had to maintain a public image, an issue which will be discussed in depth in 'Chapter 4'. The prints were a means for the community's leaders to assert their power. As Prescott writes, such albums of individually issued portraits would have been displayed in public receiving areas and libraries in the home and as such would have been seen by the owner, friends, colleagues and students, family and visitors. In this regard the hero received a level of exposure he had not previously enjoyed. The signatures underneath their portraits, which read 'yours truly', 'your obedient servant' and 'faithfully yours', added a personal note to the prints and implied and established a relationship between the hero and the public.

\[118\] Prescott, p. 49.
The *Men of Victoria* series serves as a gauge of the people and professions that were held in popular esteem and who were regarded as the local heroes. It can be presumed that the subjects were chosen because they attracted the attention and admiration from the public. Politicians featured most regularly in the series and easily gained rights as 'Men of Victoria'. The series also reveals that members of the legal profession also had a high standing, as they have a strong presence in the *Men of Victoria* series. As Russell remarks, law was a prestigious occupation in Melbourne.119 The series included William Stawell who was the most prominent member of the legal profession. Amongst Stawell's colleagues in the legal profession, Redmond Barry (cat. no. 237*) and Robert Molesworth (cat. no. 247*) also had high public profiles and their portraits were included in the *Men of Victoria*. In addition to these portraits of members of the legal profession, there is a portrait in the *Melbourne Monthly Magazine* of Sir William & Beckett (cat. no. 194), who was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Portraits of members of the clergy are a notable omission from the *Men of Victoria* series. The clergy in Victoria in the period 1835 to 1861 played a active role in community affairs and kept a high profile, making their absence from the *Men of Victoria* all the more notable. Their exclusion cannot be explained as an objection to public exposure for there are many other surviving published portraits which prove that many church leaders were happy to receive publicity. For example, Bishop Perry who was the first bishop to come to Victoria, was the subject of a mezzotint by Henry Samuel Sadd (cat. no. 216*) which was according to the writer of an article in *My Note Book* an 'excellent' likeness.120 This was after a photograph which appeared in *Sun Pictures of Victoria* (cat. no. 112*). Dean Macartny's portrait was also published in the *Melbourne Monthly Magazine* in 1855 (cat. no. 192*). Both present images of learned calm gentlemen, deep in contemplation. In Victoria there were social divisions based on religion, with the Catholics and Anglicans divided, and this may explain why it was decided not to include religious leaders in *Men of Victoria*. The publishers may have felt that the publication of portraits of the clergy

---


120 *My Note Book*, 15 August 1857.
may have resulted in the loss of patronage from one or other of the large sections of the community.

The *Men of Victoria* series demonstrates that the colonists were not totally indifferent to their local heroes. The colonists of Victoria had a strong belief in the didactic role of portraiture and the portrait was viewed as important in breeding a healthy familiarity with the heroic figures of history. In Victoria, British ideas about cultivation and the improvement of the individual through contemplation of eminent men worthy of imitation was pervasive. But it was also thought that these heroes could only be found in Britain and Europe and that it was only there that there were events and people of enough historic significance to warrant glorification in sculpture or oil paint. The colonial public could not yet be enticed to spend large sums on schemes such as a monument to Fawkner or Strutt's opening of the Houses of Parliament. Such projects never went beyond the planning stages. It should be remembered, however, that these proposals at least represented a changing attitude and the germination of interest in local art and local heroes.
CHAPTER 3
THE 'OLD GENTRY' AND THE FAMILY PORTRAIT

In Victoria, the adoption of British philosophies on the hero and on hero-worship was symptomatic of a much broader desire by colonists to transplant into the colony British values and institutions. One group in particular - known as the 'old gentry' or old colonists - wanted to preserve British standards and social distinctions. The old gentry were the members of the upper classes who had arrived in the colony before the gold rushes and who held authority in the days when Victoria was known as Port Phillip. They were, as de Serville writes, conservative and 'wanted to recreate society in its traditional English form, based on order, respect for blood and breeding and for the principles of gentility'.

By the 1850s Fawknner was not alone in his protests and his resentment towards the élite, with the 'new chums', the name given to those who arrived with the gold rushes, also fighting for a definition of an upper class based on wealth and work rather than breeding. Some of these immigrants, with their new democratic ideas and brash colonial ways, were in direct conflict with the old colonists. They challenged the secure positions of the upper classes, shocking and threatening the colony's gentry. The old colonists became the object of the new chums' disrespect and were mocked by diggers who had struck it rich and who laughingly mimicked their dress and customs. The satirical Armchair feigned sympathy for the plight of the old colonist:

He retrospecteth moodily on those dear old times, when he gave good morrow to every form he met and every door swung open at his approach. On all sides the new order of things grates on his feelings, and tries his temper [...]. The new chum once amused him, when, as a rara avis, he echoes in despair the demand for mustard to his chop; but now his soul sickeneth at the crowded masses that obscure his vision.

---

1 de Serville, Port Phillip Gentlemen, p. 15.

2 Armchair, 3 September 1853.
De Serville observes that most historians have maintained that the old upper classes, in response to the invasion of the new immigrants, retreated into groups where they led an existence removed from the general life of the colony. De Serville proposes an alternate theory and argues that they did not withdraw completely and that while polite society may have been losing the political leadership of the colony it continued to assert its social rights to act as arbiter of presentability. The visual evidence, the family portraits of the members of the leading families, supports such an interpretation and demonstrates that the old colonists continued to assert their superiority, based on claims of breeding and refinement. This chapter will be largely concerned with the upper classes and their response to the threat posed by the new chums, the rising middle class, examining how portraiture became an important factor in the defence of the social position of the upper class.

Brilliant writes that the historical and sociological implications of the family portrait as an indicator of social change cannot be over-estimated. The family was one of the earliest and most persistent themes in British portraiture, reaching its pinnacle of popularity in the eighteenth century with the conversation pieces by Devis and Zoffany. The conversation piece, more than any other form of portraiture, glorifies the family and family relationships. It is 'a representation of two or more persons in a state of dramatic or psychological relation to each other'. As Pointon argues, the conversation piece is an image in which the notion of social distinction and familial coherence could be secured and perpetuated. Companion portraits, portraits of a husband and wife, were also popular in Britain. Companion portraits had a tradition which was firmly established after Holbein made his first visit to England.

---

3 de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 17.
4 de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 16.
5 de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 27.
6 Brilliant, p. 92.
7 Strong, British Portrait, p. 30.
8 Williamson, p. 1.
9 Pointon, p. 162.
10 Strong, British Portrait, p. 11.
Over the centuries, family portraits have gone in and out of fashion and during certain periods in history and in certain places the genre has flourished.\textsuperscript{11} In the nineteenth century the ancestral portrait enjoyed one of its periods of popularity. The impetus for this popularity came from two major developments. The publication of Darwin's \textit{Origin of Species} on the theories of evolution had a significant impact. In \textit{Portrait Painting: Its Nature and Function}, Furst convincingly argues that theories of evolution affected the development of portraiture, claiming that Darwin and the evolutionists had convinced many people of a continuous and uninterrupted progress in the development of man.\textsuperscript{12} Stemming from this belief was the notion that breeding and lineage was a vital determinant in character. A craze arose for genealogy and tracing family lineage with the character of an ancestor now seen to have a direct bearing on the descendent and his or her place on the evolutionary scale. Such notions had a direct impact on the development of portraiture, with individuals increasingly using portraits as evidence that they belonged to a 'well evolved' family. Creating a false heritage through portraiture and inventing ancestors became widespread. One example of this can be seen in the colony, although it dates slightly after the period under question here. The colonist Samuel Pratt Winter spent years attempting to link his Cromwellian Protestant ancestors with an older English Catholic family of the same name. He built a house filled with originals and copies of portraits of this family, including Charles I and Henrietta Maria, but by 1875 he had to admit defeat and that he was not descended from this family.\textsuperscript{13}

While Darwin's theory may have stressed the importance of lineage and ancestry, Queen Victoria and the portraits of the Royal family stressed the value of the actual family, family relationships and the role of the family in society. Queen Victoria's use of the family portrait was the other major the boost to family portraiture in the

\textsuperscript{11}John Pope-Hennessy (\textit{The Portrait in the Renaissance}, Bolligen Series, 35.12 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 71-72) writes the Renaissance humanist culled their knowledge of family portraits from Pliny, who believed that the portrait was closely connected with the maintenance of a family archive and the keeping of the family tree.

\textsuperscript{12}Furst, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{13}de Serville, \textit{Pounds and Pedigrees}, p. 192.
nineteenth century. Under her influence the family portrait became not only an expression of family pride but also a poignant statement of family respectability. The accession of Queen Victoria marked a significant turning point in the history of royal portraiture; not only were births and marriages commemorated in large formal portraits but the artists were also invited behind the scenes to record informal incidents of family life in a manner unthinkable a generation or two earlier. Queen Victoria was often painted by her court painters in touching and sentimental scenes with the Prince Consort and their children. Domesticity had become a royal virtue. Simon Schama in *The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture 1500-1800* writes that mass production of such images in turn forged a sentimental bond between the monarch and her subjects as a steady flow of images transferred many domestic events to the public domain. Frances Xaver Winterhalter's was the most prominent of the court painters and captured the Royal couple as parents as well as rulers. Oil portraits, such as his family group of 1846 (fig. 4), became well known, both through the printed medium and through display in public exhibitions. An illustration published in the * Illustrated London News* (fig. 5), which shows crowds gathered around Winterhalter's portrait of the family, highlights the influence of images of the Queen and her family. It was through such illustrations that the colonists in Victoria would have become familiar with the developments in ancestral portraiture and the conventions of domestic family portraiture, as well as its importance in exerting social status.

Penny Russell, in her study on colonial gentility and femininity, writes that in Melbourne society the family existed as an ideal formulation, a set of ordered relationships of authority and affection which provided public affirmation of gentility

---


15 Ormond, *Face of Monarchy*, p. 34.


and status. This chapter will look at how this public affirmation was conducted and reflected in the portraits of some of Victoria's leading families.

Woolner's Portrait Medallions and the Cole Family

The Cole family was one of the most genteel of the urban old colonial families in Victoria. De Serville writes that George Ward Cole was very much part of polite society, and a pillar of Brighton gentility and that his wife, Thomas Anne Cole, 'epitomizes solid social Melbourne'. George Ward Cole had arrived in Port Phillip in July 1840, after a career in the navy and merchant marine. He had set himself up as a general merchant and in 1841 bought land on the Yarra River near Spencer Street, where he built Cole's Wharf. He operated paddle steamers on the Yarra and in Port Phillip Bay and also had important banking as well as squatting interests. De Serville states that in colonial society, the upper classes could be divided into two groups - the urban and the pastoral. The Coles bridged these groups and were amongst those whose standing in polite society was based primarily on their urban lifestyle and business interests but who still found a landed base an added security.

In 1842 George Ward Cole was married for a second time to Thomas Anne who was a member of another prominent colonial family, the McCrae family. George Ward Cole had one son by his first marriage and he and Thomas Anne had three sons and three daughters by his second marriage. They continued to hold a prominent place in Victorian society.

The Coles would have been introduced to the sculptor Thomas Woolner in 1852 when he came out to Australia in search of his fortune and to escape recent professional and personal setbacks. Woolner is one of the most renowned sculptors

19 de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 93.
20 Quoted in de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 134.
21 de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 3.
of the nineteenth century to visit Australia, and was a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. He spent less than two years in Australia, initially trying his luck on the goldfields before becoming dispirited by a lack of success and the harsh conditions. Woolner had planned to spend most of his time digging for gold, but soon began producing portraits and executed at least eight medallions while he was in the colony (cat. nos. 256*-263*). Woolner's diaries and letters, which have been published with a commentary by his daughter Amy Woolner, give some details of these commissions and his life in Victoria. Woolner's experience is generally a tale of disappointment and the desperate struggle for patronage.

Woolner reveals some of the problems which hampered his success. He believed that one of his major obstacles was that the colonists preferred oil paintings:

I wish I had known how to paint portraits in oil. I might have made plenty of money in no very great time, but sculpture requires a very hard push indeed to make it go down with the public. This preference for painting is not easily explained. One explanation could be that to make large sculptures was much more expensive than making large paintings. Another problem for Woolner was simply obtaining materials. Here Woolner's letters and journal are illuminating:

I should be able to make some money quickly if it were not for the difficulty I have with plaster of Paris, that which is sent from England gets damp with sea air and is spoilt for artistic purposes. I had a piece of gypsum given me which was a godsend, and have to break it to small pieces, then bake it in an oven, then pound it finely in a mortar, after that sift it thro' fine muslin: all this before one cast can be taken. I had to make some modelling tools ere I began and dig in the earth for some clay - this I could do to perfection after my 8 months' digging-experience - which was the color of that I modelled "Boadicea" in. I have my tools a little in order now and mean to work hard. I get 25 pounds for a medallion here. In England they would not give me 25 pence. I

---


24 Thomas Woolner, p. 60.

25 Thomas Woolner, p. 64.
should ask you to send some clay and tools but I am quite uncertain when I shall return.\textsuperscript{26}

One advantage Woolner had, as he explained to his father, was that he had powerful friends who were anxious to aid him in every way.\textsuperscript{27} Juliet Peers in her article on Woolner notes that he relied upon friends and satisfied patrons to circulate his name.\textsuperscript{28} His generous patrons came from the most genteel circles of Melbourne society. Unfortunately for Woolner, his patrons were few in number and were unable to guarantee his economic survival. They were prestigious, but formed a numerically small clique.

Woolner was privileged to enter the inner sanctum of these cliques, as his patrons did not simply entrust taking their likeness to any artist. The old gentry only gave commissions to portraitists who came with personal recommendations and who were sympathetic to their aims and sensitive to their social position. In other words, the artist had to prove he had qualifications beyond his artistic ability. It is significant that the old gentry did not patronise artists outside of their society, such as William Strutt, even though he was often acknowledged at the best portraitist in the colony. Strutt's association with Fawkner may have precluded him from gaining the favour of the old colonists. Strutt was associated with the enemy in the form of the radical John Pascoe Fawkner and therefore alienated himself from many other potential patrons. This reveals that the relationship between the patron and the artist was not merely a clinical business operation but rather relied on exchange of trust and the sharing, or at the least the appearance of a sharing, of a common ideology. An illustration published in Melbourne Punch, however, indicates that for the artist one of the most pressing concerns was simply being paid. In The Best Test (fig. 6) an artist is asked whether his has patron has taste and the artist replies that she has because she has not only paid for one picture but is going to commission another.

\textsuperscript{26}Thomas Woolner, p. 61.

\textsuperscript{27}Thomas Woolner, p. 60.

THE BEST TEST.

First Artist: Fine woman, that. Rich, I suppose, plenty of taste and all that?

Second Artist: Taste! I believe you, my boy. Why, she paid me for t'other picture and gave me a commission for another.
When Woolner arrived in the colony he had many personal connections in his favour to recommend him to the old gentry. He had travelled to Australia with his friend Edward La Trobe Bateman, who was the nephew of the Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe. Genteel society, at least before the gold rushes, revolved around the Governor so Woolner's connections with La Trobe, through his nephew, would have ensured his entry into the colony's most established cliques. Woolner modelled the likeness of Governor La Trobe (cat. no. 260*), with multiple copies circulated. This no doubt did much to advertise his skills and increase his prestige as the portraitist to the Queen's representative.\(^{29}\) Beyond his associations with the Governor he was also recommended to the old colonists by friends in London. When in London Woolner had lived in St John's Wood where he had socialised with William and Mary Howitt, who used to visit the members of the Pre-Raphaelites, who included Holman Hunt and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. William Howitt had a brother in Victoria, Godfrey Howitt, who was a prominent doctor in Melbourne and with whom Woolner stayed for several months. During his stay he did several medallion portraits of the Howitt family (cat. nos. 261, 262 and 263*) and through Godfrey Howitt he was introduced to the Melbourne élite, including Captain George Ward Cole.\(^{30}\)

George Ward Cole commissioned three medallions from Woolner, one of himself, one of his wife and one of their son (cat. nos. 257*-259*). These medallions are framed under glass and are surrounded by red velvet, which acts as a stark contrast to the white plaster. The frame appears to be the original, with the arrangement of the medallions dating back to their execution. The frame is simple and made of wood and is far from ornate, which was in keeping with the gentry's sense of restraint. George Ward Cole and his son are shown with their left profile, facing Thomas Anne Cole, who is shown in right profile. As a rule Woolner depicted the subject's left profile and his deviancy from this to show Mrs Cole's right profile suggests that he had this arrangement in mind when he was modelling her likeness. The Coles all have stern expressions on their faces with again the furrowed brow alluding to their position of responsibility and possibly to a rather serious and

\(^{29}\)Peers, p. 37.

\(^{30}\)Thomas Woolner, p. 43.
sombre nature. Mrs Cole and George Ward Cole are locked in an intense but cold contemplative gaze. The boy is probably William their second son who was born in 1849 and who died in 1866 at the age of seventeen. The first son had been killed in a drowning accident. William is significantly facing in the same direction as his father and is facing his mother. His expression and positioning echo that of his father, emphasising a patriarchal theme.

The medallions are classical in style and reflect Woolner's academic training. Woolner had trained at the Royal Academy Schools and his sculpture was fundamentally classical in style. As Richard Jenkyns remarks, the influence of the ancient world in the nineteenth century was vast, with sculpture perceived as peculiarly the ancient art, the Greek art. The use of the classical style endows the medallions with certain meanings and inferences. As Wolff remarks, particular conventions reproduce aspects of ideology encoded in styles. She discusses what she calls 'the aesthetic mediation' of the text, explaining that ideology is not directly reflected in an image but is always mediated by the aesthetic code. The aesthetic code of the medallions implies power and austerity, with links to ancient coins and medals. Jenkyns writes that in the nineteenth century marble and its coldness was also associated with polite society. Although the Cole medallions are in plaster

---

31Piper, The English Face, p. 206 and 218. See also Andrea Rose, Pre-Raphaelite Portraits (Sparkford: Oxford Illustrated Press, 1981). Rose writes that the Pre-Raphaelites, in their brief and vivid spring, in the fifties, piercingly scrutinized faces. Portraiture, as art, however, did not interest them much but with their insistence on faithfulness to nature, they filled their compositions with real faces drawn from life.

32Richard Jenkyns, Dignity and Decadence Victorian Art and Classical Inheritance (London: Harper Collins, 1991), p. 200. Although Woolner was a member of the Pre-Raphaelites, it is difficult to see any visible evidence of those tenets in his work. It should be noted here that despite the presence of several representatives of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, including Woolner, Smith of Bateman, their artistic theories made little impact in Victoria. Diane Dunbar writes that there was a similar situation in Tasmania some years earlier, with Bock’s conservative and conventional stylistic approach. At no stage did his work reflect the new movement in British portraiture that had been evident since the end of the eighteenth century, with artists revealing a particular sensitivity to the character of the individual, as in the work of Thomas Gainsborough. See Diane Dunbar, Thomas Bock: Society Portraitist, the Oil Paintings, in Thomas Bock, Society Portraitist, exh. cat. coordinated by Diane Dunbar (Launceston: Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, 1991), pp. 43-47 (p. 43).


34Wolff, p. 126.

35Wolff, pp. 119-120.

36Jenkyns, p. 98.
rather than marble, they have a sense of coldness without a trace of tenderness or warmth. To add to the sense of austerity, the profile tends to be more impersonal. All of these elements of style and technique, of cold classical detachment, envelop the Coles in a world of strict and rigid convention.

The question which must be asked is why polite society wanted to be portrayed as cold and impersonal? The answer to this question lies in the need of the gentry to appear separate from the rest of society and almost beyond common human emotion. In the case of the Cole medallions, George Ward Cole wanted to raise his family above the 'new chums' and convey a sense of belonging to an aloof and cultivated sector of society. Before ascribing, however, too much meaning to George Ward Cole commissioning a sculptured family portrait, it should be remembered he had practical and expedient reasons for commissioning a conversation piece in plaster. The Coles normally would have employed a painter for such a task as a conversation piece, if it had not been for their desire and motivation to support Woolner. Cole wanted to see Woolner succeed and stay in the colony, and along with the others in his social circle gave Woolner as much work as possible.

The coldness and impersonality of sculpture meant that it was not the medium commonly used for family portraits and conversation pieces. Traditionally, oil painting was used for depicting children and the interplay of the family, except in posthumous child portraits where the sculpture's coldness and stillness were obviously more appropriate characteristics. The medallion on the other hand was regarded as ideal for presenting the hero, with the idealised profile and its classical associations with the great leaders of antiquity. The Cole medallions were very unusual for the nineteenth century and reveal a peculiarly colonial brand of portraiture. The unique nature of colonial patronage resulted in innovation with the commissioning by George Ward Cole of a conversation piece in sculpture.

Woolner had arrived in the colony several years before it became possible for sculptors to make a steady living from their work. By the late 1850s, other sculptors, most notably Charles Summers and Margaret Thomas, found it much

easier to make a living from portrait busts of the colony's heroes and celebrities. Graeme Sturgeon, the author of a major survey history of Australian sculpture, remarks that with the gold rushes, the burgeoning population and the sudden acquisition of wealth on an immense scale resulted in the creation of a rich urban middle class able and willing to use their wealth in support of the arts. As with oil painting this was not exactly the case. While Sturgeon is correct in his statement that there was an increase in sculpture production, the patronage did not come from a rich urban middle class but rather from the pre-gold men, the trend which is argued for throughout this chapter. Men such as Barry (cat. nos. 282* and 309), Webb (cat. nos. 302 and 303) and Gilbee (cat. no. 295), who had all arrived before the gold rushes, were those listed in the catalogues as patronising the local sculptors. In the 1850s Charles Summers was particularly successful. He gained work as the sculptor for the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament and in the following years received many portrait commissions, culminating in the *Burke and Wills* monument. Woolner had arrived just before the surge and increase in the support of the arts which took place once the rushes settled down. As a reporter for the *Argus* lamented, the lack of support which Woolner received in the colony was regrettable:

As we become accustomed to the more sober and rational life which is fast replacing the wild excitement of the first days of the gold discovery, it is hoped that we shall begin to pay a little more attention than we have yet done to the elegant and refined features of the arts and sciences. [...] Of the abilities of Mr Woolner, of the manner in which he remained unrecognised amongst us, and how he left us, we have often spoken. The neglect which he experienced, compared with his ready appreciation in Sydney, remains a sort of blot upon our national character.

Woolner went to Sydney in early 1854 with the hope of getting the commission for a major statue of Wentworth. He stayed in Sydney for a few months and was able to do several portrait medallions and writes that he could obtain much work in

---


39 *Argus*, 28 August 1854.

40 *Thomas Woolner*, p. 64.
modelling the heads of the people of Sydney.\textsuperscript{41} He returned to England in 1854. His experience in Australia revealed that even the patronage of the elite did not guarantee success.

Some six years after Woolner had left the colony the Coles also commissioned companion portraits in oil from the artist John Irvine (cat. nos. 83* and 84*). Irvine like Woolner came to the Coles with personal recommendations. Dr McCrae, Thomas Anne’s brother, owned paintings by Irvine and exhibited them in the 1847 Sydney exhibition of the Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Australia. In the DAA Keith Furniss suggests that it was possibly Irvine’s association with the McCraes that was responsible for his migration to Melbourne with his family in the late 1850s.\textsuperscript{42} Irvine’s companion portraits of the Coles portray the couple as respectable and genteel. The imagery used in such portraits is discussed in the next section but what needs to be noted here is that the Coles were anxious to have their portraits taken. As with the Woolner medallions they wanted to exert and display their power, based on respectability and family lineage and morality. But who was the audience for these portraits?

Russell writes that in Melbourne a paradox existed in the assertion of power by the gentility. She writes that to be an effective weapon in the struggle for social dominance, superiority had to be visible, and therefore somehow it had to be displayed.\textsuperscript{43} Display, however, was regarded as vulgar. The portrait of George Ward Cole was included in the Victorian Exhibition of Fine Arts but it would have been inappropriate to publicly display portraits of a genteel family, such as Woolner’s Cole medallions. The public display of portraits of women will be discussed in ‘Chapter 5’ but here it should be noted that there is only a couple of examples of oil paintings or sculptures of women which were displayed. As a rule family portraits, such as those of the Coles, would have been hung in the family home and therefore would have only been seen by the friends and family who were invited into their homes. The portraits were then in part designed by the gentry to

\textsuperscript{41}Thomas Woolner, p. 73.

\textsuperscript{42}DAA, p. 392.

\textsuperscript{43}Russell, A Wish of Distinction, p. 59. Russell argues that the gentry strove to impress each other.
impress each other. At St Ninians, a small estate in Brighton, the Coles kept open house to a large circle of relations, friends, and neighbours and it would have been these people who saw their portraits.

Just because the family portraits were not seen by the new chums, by the middle class, it does not follow that the Cole portraits were solely concerned with internal jostling for status and impression. They were entwined in the power struggles between the upper classes and the masses. It was when the new colonists arrived that the old gentry felt insecure and it was this insecurity which brought about the need to reinforce their social status, even if this was only to themselves. Portraits such as those by Woolner and Irvine did this and presented to the gentry the image they wanted to see of themselves. As will be seen in the next section on Dowling and the portraits of the squatter families, portraits could function as much a means to fortify self-image as a means of propaganda targeted at a perceived enemy.

Robert Dowling's Portraits of Squatter Families

Robert Dowling visited Victoria in the same year as Woolner, in 1852, and returned in 1856 when he did most of his Victorian work. Robert Dowling was an artist from Tasmania who had learnt to paint under Thomas Bock. Bock in turn was influenced by the work of Reynolds and had a conservative and conventional approach to portraiture which he passed on to Dowling. During his 1856 visit to Victoria, Dowling worked in and around Melbourne and he is known to have gone to Geelong, where Mr and Mrs Kernot (cat. nos. 60 and 61) sat for their portraits, but he spent most of his time in the Western District, the heart of squatter territory. John Jones has written on Robert Dowling's visit to the Western District, listing the various commissions which Dowling received. Dowling stayed with his brother Thomas Dowling and his sister-in-law Maria Dowling, who lived at Jellabad station

---


45 Dunbar, p. 43.

46 John Jones, 'Robert Dowling's Visit to the Western District of Victoria in 1856', Art and Australia, 25.2 (Summer 1987), 202 - 205.
on Mount Emu Creek near Darlington. Thomas Dowling was a pastoralist who had come across from Tasmania to Port Phillip in 1849 and had built up a merino flock. As was the case with Woolner, Robert Dowling's personal connections with members of the élite squattocracy gave him access to a number of influential patrons.

To appreciate Dowling's portraits of the squatters it is necessary to have some understanding of who the squatters were and their position in Victorian society. To reiterate Brilliant's comments, portraits reflect social realities and a study of portraiture requires some sensitivity to the social implications of its representational modes and to the subtle interaction between social and artistic conventions.47 The squatters were pioneering pastoralists who had taken up land in what were the remote areas of Victoria and who had lived an isolated existence running flocks and herds. Squatters were almost entirely made up of pre-gold men and represented the most powerful and wealthiest sections of Port Phillip society.48 In the 1840s, the squatter appeared as a romantic, bearded, Byronic creature49 and up until the discovery of gold he lived in a relative pastoral Arcadia. In the 1850s this all changed and the squatter's world was turned upside down. Labourers left for the fields and the properties which were actually on the goldfields were lost, while others suffered depredation and trespass. There was a growing resentment in the 1850s towards the squatter and his monopoly over the land, becoming a crucial debate in colonial politics. Faced with widespread opposition to their hold on the land, some squatters sold out but the majority stood their ground and faced a formidable if motley army of enemies and critics.50 Many of the newcomers wanted to see the land opened up. The land question came to be one of the most vexing political issues of the day with struggles issuing between the urban majority and élite squatter.

The first generation of squatters-turned-landowners provided the foundations for a class of country gentlemen - complete with a freehold estate, a fine house and

47 Brilliant, p. 11.
48 de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 184.
49 de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 159.
50 de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, pp. 181-182.
heirs.\textsuperscript{51} De Serville writes that apart from certain colonists resident in Melbourne, such as Woolner's patrons discussed above, the most notable group to acquire the outward trappings of gentility from the 1850s onwards were the Western District squatters of simple origins.\textsuperscript{52} For these people, the family unit was important because there was little point in struggling to secure freehold if one had no sons to inherit the land.\textsuperscript{53} The squatters argued that they had settled the land and had made the colony what it was, and that it was their children who should reap the benefits of their hard work. They were prepared to fight for this. The surviving portraits assert their position and reflect their defiance. This is particularly the case in Dowling's portrait \textit{Masters George, William and Miss Harriet Ware with an Aboriginal Servant} (cat. no. 64*).

\textit{Masters George, William and Miss Harriet Ware with an Aboriginal Servant} (cat. no. 64*) depicts the three eldest children of Joseph and Barbara Ware with a native retainer, known as Jimmy Ware, in the park at their Minjah station near Warrnambool. The portrait was commissioned by Joseph Ware who was a formidable and distinguished squatter and was the brother of Maria Dowling. Children, as Pointon remarks, do not commission portraits. The presence of a child in a portrait is therefore the result of negotiated relationships in the adult world, designed, consciously and unconsciously, to produce a set of explicit and implicit meanings.\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Masters George, William and Miss Harriet Ware with an Aboriginal Servant} must be viewed as a reflection of the father's, the patron's, agenda. The portrait of the children is a succinct testimony of the squatters' right to the land and was carefully constructed to put forward the squatter's position. Three elements need to be considered in deciphering the meaning - the demeanour and pose of the children, the inclusion of the Aboriginal retainer, and the landscape.

\textsuperscript{51}De Serville, \textit{Pounds and Pedigrees}, p. 172.
\textsuperscript{52}De Serville, \textit{Port Phillip Gentlemen}, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{53}De Serville, \textit{Pounds and Pedigrees}, p. 166.
The central figure in the group is George the eldest son, who cannot be older than eight or nine, given the fact that he is still in a dress. The painting has a tight pyramid structure with George placed at the apex of a triangle composition and occupying the most prominent position. His lightly coloured figure is severally contrasted against and framed by the dark tone and colours of the tree behind. Unlike the other children, he defiantly stares at the viewer, asserting his right as the heir to the land, the successor. In his hands he holds a branch across his body as if it was a gun, indicating that he is involved in a power struggle, a war. His little sister Harriet sits comfortable at his knee, as if safe in her brother's protection. George's brother William sits to his left and while staring into the distance, with a watchful attitude, his whole body is directed toward his elder brother. The dog in front of William acts as a symbol of fidelity between the boys, as well as a sign of the European domestication of the colony. As the dog grows, so will the tie between the brothers and their tie to the land. A hierarchy is established with the eldest son bearing responsibility and presiding over an ordered world where everyone knows their place.

The retainer Jimmy Ware is part of this group and while he completes the triangle he very much fulfils a subservient role. His figure is not highlighted but instead is thrown into darkness and is almost lost. He does not have the same austere and alert expression as the children and instead he is shown slightly grinning. This expression is used as point of difference to imply that Jimmy is not as genteel as the children he sits with. Significantly he is also dressed in European garb, symbolising that he has been tamed and is living within the European world. Pointon writes that non-European slaves and servants are used to endorse the status of the sitter. In *Masters George, William and Miss Harriet Ware* the inclusion of Jimmy is to show that the squatters have brought civilisation to the remote corners of the empire and thus through Jimmy the work they have done is endorsed. This is not a threatening native but rather a servant with whom a little girl can sit comfortably. The Aborigine is even protective towards the children, casually holding a branch which could also be raised as a weapon to protect the children. There is a sense of an Arcadia where

---

55 Pointon, p. 217.
the native and the coloniser live harmoniously together, but an Arcadia which is under threat from outsiders.

It is significant that all these figures are placed in a landscape. They all sit beneath the shade of a tree and in the background the pasture lands of Minjah station can be seen. The land operates as a signifier in several ways. First of all it shows that the subjects must have wealth and status as they are able to own and manage land. As Ann Bermingham in her analysis of outdoor conversation pieces writes, nature tells the viewer that the subjects of the painting enjoy both property and taste. In the colonial context it indicates that the children are from a squatter family. Nature, again as Bermingham notes, legitimises the position and power of the subject. The inclusion of the landscape, and the way that children sit so comfortably in the land, implies that the Ware children’s rights and inherited ownership of the land is natural and correct.

Nochlin writes one of the most important functions of ideology is to veil the overt power relations obtaining in society at a particular moment in history by making them appear to be part of the natural, eternal order of things. The power relations are veiled in Masters George, William and Miss Harriet Ware with an Aboriginal Servant, with the branch/gun and the watchful gaze of the children the only marked indicators of tension. Nevertheless, the painting belongs to the story of the struggle between the squatters and the middle classes demanding the unlocking of the lands. To highlight this point it is worth looking at another depiction of children to show that there was a whole range of ways to represent children and that each was endowed with an ideological stance.

John Richardson’s portrait Drawing from Life (cat. no. 102*), depicts his children, who appear far more relaxed and are shown playing at their home in Octavia Street.

---


57 Bermingham, p. 15. A tradition existed in England of the rural ideal, with the family seen as ‘natural’ and stable and depicted in their gardens and on properties, but in the mid-nineteenth century children were usually shown inside.

58 Nochlin, p. 2.
St Kilda. The painting has been calculated to give an image of happy children growing up in a cultured environment surrounded by musical instruments and artists' tools. The children smile and are engrossed with the eldest son, Charles Douglas, drawing the pet dog. Charles Douglas followed in his father's footsteps and became an artist. The children are oblivious to gaze of the viewer and appear to carry on as usual, in contrast to Masters George, William and Miss Harriet Ware with an Aboriginal Servant where George Ware adopts a confrontational stare and challenges the onlooker. This is not to say that Drawing from Life is what its title suggests. The inclusion of the father, the self-portrait on the right, entering the room through the door, reveals that this painting is also a construction, for in reality Richardson would have had to have been behind his easel. Instead, he includes himself in the painting with brushes and palette in hand to show himself as fostering and condoning the creative spirit of his children. These are not children who have just gone wild. Drawing from Life has its own message and betrays its own ideological stance. Richardson presents his own outlook on life through his children, who are shown growing up free of the rigidity seen in the Cole or Ware portraits and in the cultured world of the artist.

Returning to Robert Dowling's work in the Western District, most of his paintings can be interpreted through the squatters struggle for their rights to the land. Dowling's portrait of Mrs Adolphus Sceales with Black Jimmie on Merrang Station of 1856 (cat. no. 63*) is one of his most important colonial works. Mrs Sceales of Merrang station is shown in mourning black, following her husband's death, with her arm resting on her black thoroughbred, which has a side saddle indicating that it is for her to ride. An Aboriginal groom called Jimmie holds a large chestnut gelding which is saddled for an absent male rider, Mr Sceales, rather than Jimmie who is not in riding gear. The dogs around can be interpreted as a traditional symbol of faithfulness and Mrs Sceales devotion to her husband, who had been dead for three years by the time this painting was commissioned. The dog with chestnut colouring looks towards the chestnut horse while the dog with black spots looks towards Mrs Sceales. The dogs show she will be faithful to his memory and the bonds of life cannot be broken even by death.

59See 'Appendix A' on Richardson.
Bonyhady writes that this painting is a tribute to Mrs Sceales's late husband but that it is unusual in content.\textsuperscript{60} He remarks that such commemorative paintings were generally portraits of the deceased person based on a sketch or a photograph. Why does this not happen in this portrait, why did Mrs Sceales not commission a portrait of her husband? It is because Mrs Sceales wanted to make the important statement that while her husband may be dead she still holds the land. As a portrait commissioned by a woman it also reveals that women were very aware of the class struggles in colonial society. Mrs Sceales is surrounded by gloom and darkness, which is only alleviated by the red line on the horse's blanket and the light of a distant sky. Dark clouds symbolically hang over her and the buildings of Merrang station in the background. Such a sense of doom is appropriate for a commemorative piece but also may be read as a statement of the impending danger to the land, the threat posed by the post-gold arrivals. This would explain many of the unusual features of the painting. It would explain why Mrs Sceales wanted to be painted outside when women were normally depicted in-doors; why there is the Aborigine who serves more or less the same function as the retainer in\textit{ Masters George, William and Miss Harriet Ware with an Aboriginal Servant}; and why the horses, which were such a feature of the work of the man on the land, were included.

As Dowling's \textit{Mrs Adolphus Sceales with Black Jimmie on Merrang Station} indicates, the institution of marriage was a crucial feature of squatter society. Marriage was not only a means for coping with the isolation of a squatting existence but was also essential for ensuring the birth of heirs. It is not surprising to find that apart from conversation pieces Dowling was given commissions for companion portraits. On his first visit to Victoria he painted the companion portraits of Thomas and Maria Dowling (cat. nos. 3* and 4*). The portrait of Thomas has 'squatter' stamped upon it. Dowling is painted with the squatters distinctive beard, which signified their freedom from the constraints and conventions of society.\textsuperscript{61} His beard and rather arrogant and confrontational glare meets all the descriptions of the squatter

\textsuperscript{60}Bonyhady, \textit{The Colonial Image}, p. 63.

\textsuperscript{61}de Serville, \textit{Port Phillip Gentlemen}, p. 89.
stereotype, who was separated from the townspeople, not only in political stance, but in outward appearance, as Kiddle notes:

The townspeople had discarded the dark clothes of the Old Country for straw hats and light suits but their dress was not as distinctive as that of the countrymen. Amongst all the loud-voiced hustlers the squatters themselves were the most conspicuous and characteristic figures. In their bushmen's dress, heavily bearded and riding magnificent horses, they took the eyes of the townspeople.62

Again the portrait presents the image that Thomas Dowling wanted of himself, that of the superior man of the land. Its iconography must be interpreted in terms of colonial class struggle but the style and conventions used must be seen in the context of European conventions. Although Robert Dowling had not studied in England at this stage, he had been exposed to the academic tradition through Thomas Bock. Returning to a point made in the last chapter and raised by Robin Simon, portrait poses are repeated again and again throughout the history of the genre. Thus the Thomas Dowling portrait can easily be viewed as a descendent of Titian's Man with a Glove, which Simon notes was one of a handful of portraits used as models for portraitists over the centuries. Although Thomas does not carry a glove, his left arm is resting, with the hand falling and with the index finger pointing to the ground. It is not possible to tell whether these similarities were intended, but they exist. The use of European styles can once again be viewed as the adoption of a ideological stance, just as in the Woolner medallions. The use of academic portrait conventions can be interpreted as belief in order, established authority, tradition and to a certain degree the dominance of Britain.

The portrait of Maria Dowling (cat. no. 4*) also follows the traditions of the Academy. Women in the mid-nineteenth century, in Victoria or Britain, had to appear in portraits in a definite role, as either genteel ladies or caring mothers. Ribieiro writes that, conditioned by their status as decorative objects, women were inclined towards a fashionable facade - almost a mask - in terms of dress and the face

which they could present to the world. One publication in England, the *Keepsake*, which regularly carried portraits of women and which was geared to a female market, presented the ideal of Victorian womanhood. Susan Casteras in *Images of Victorian Womanhood in Art*, referring to the Victorian era, writes that in this magazine Victorian ladies were typecast as 'dainty paragons of leisure' and that the 'passive prettiness of these creatures was part of the appeal that made them the darlings of the drawing room'. Maria Dowling is not quite portrayed as dainty but she is shown as respectable and genteel. She holds what seems to be the mandatory handkerchief as a sign of her gentility and also prominently displays her wedding ring to indicate her marital status.

Significantly, Maria is also shown indoors in a domestic setting. Casteras writes that the Victorian lady in art was 'doomed to the perimeters of home and garden'. Lynda Nead, the author of *Myths of Sexuality*, explains how women came to be portrayed, almost without exception, inside their homes. She writes that in the late eighteenth century, with the separation of home and workplace as business and trade developed, there was both an economic and a social need for a physically separated space for work and for home. The home was 'domesticated' as were the women who were located within this sphere. Women have certainly not always been portrayed in this way.

Early in the eighteenth century a broader range of types of portraits of women existed, which appeared to endow women with heroic characteristics. Reynolds, who was particularly renowned for his allegorical portraits of women, often raised his female subjects to the status of goddess. For example in *Lady Blake as Juno*.

---


65 Casteras, p. 73.


67 Apart from Reynolds, in the eighteenth Gainsborough painted many idyllic and graceful images of women. These tend to be celebrations of womanhood concentrating on feminine nature. Very rarely do the eighteenth or mid-nineteenth century deal with the deeds of the women.
receiving the Cestus form Venus or in Lady Charlotte Hill, Countess Talbot, Sacrificing to Minerva, Reynolds imbues the subjects with heroic characteristics derived from mythological stories. One of the most outstanding of his portraits Mrs Siddons as the Tragic Muse, casts the actress as a heroic figure. While such portraits are amongst the most dramatic depictions of women, it could be argued that Reynolds's central aim is not to glorify women, nor to draw attention to their heroic deeds. Rather, Reynolds is simply applying his 'grand style' and trying to give the lowly genre of portrait painting something of the status of history painting. In so doing, he has recourse to allegory and in this implies that women and their social role possess nothing intrinsically heroic, and therefore it is necessary to abandon any semblance of reality and use myths about beauty and maternity to glorify women. In his portraits of men on the other hand, while painted with classical allusions and bolstered by a sense of the dramatic (also in an effort to raise the genre of portraiture), they are always depicted as themselves, and not as gods or mythological characters. As Wind writes a man is glorified in the social position he has attained and not shown outside it as a protagonist from a myth.\(^{68}\)

It is important then when looking at the portraits of women which were produced in the colony to be wary of stating that they were 'just' portrayed as wives and mothers. While colonial Victoria was patriarchal, the women in the portraits were at least shown as who they were, wives and mothers, even if these were idealised. Women were considered to be worthy of the portraitist's attention and, as Penny Russell explains in her examination of 'gentility and femininity', these women did have powerful roles in maintaining the social status of the gentry.\(^{69}\) They had to maintain what Russell has called 'genteel femininity'. This refers to a set of complex ideas through which a women established the moral superiority of the gentry. It consisted of a dislike of display, ambition or pretension and a dedication to the 'private' domestic world as a moral haven. This moral haven was what the old 'gentry' relied upon to maintain their status, to separate them from the mob, and therefore the wife and mother was important. Men needed the aid of women in their class struggles, not that these struggles should be seen as the sole concern of men.

\(^{68}\)Wind, p. 29.

The importance of the female was reflected in the numerous companion portraits and family portraits in which they were portrayed. The image of the respectable wife and mother secured the family superiority and in the portraits she was given equal status in guarding the family's ancestry. The likenesses of the women of the gentry must be seen in part as a statement of a woman's power rather than oppression.

It is interesting to compare the portraits of the Dowlings with another set of companion portraits of Mr John Cosgrave and his wife (cat. nos. 28* and 29*). The Cosgraves held quite a different position in Victorian society, although they were also one of the pre-gold families. Mr John Cosgrave was the treasurer to the City Corporation of Melbourne and according to the *Victorian Men of the Time* he had been a carpenter and then had entered business as a publican before he had been elected as a councillor for Bourke Ward in 1850.\(^{70}\) Cosgrave's work as a publican ensured financial security and it became a colonial axiom that the quickest way to make money was to be a publican.\(^{71}\) In 1858 he was appointed to the position of chairman to the City Council but resigned his position in 1861. He had married Ellen Atcheson in 1848 and they had one son and one daughter. The Cosgraves belonged to the respectable but not the élite of Melbourne society. While John held positions of reasonable status he did not mix with the upper classes of the community and did not meet any of the criteria, such as being a member of one the major clubs, to qualify as a member of the more genteel classes.

Although not part of the gentry, the Cosgraves still used the portraits in much the same way as the Dowlings and the Coles to booster their own self image and to impress their friends. Neither Mr nor Mrs Cosgrave has the same arrogant and aloof expression as seen in the portraits of the gentry. Mr Cosgrave, who almost has a slight smile on his face, has nothing of the austerity of Thomas Dowling for example. This may partly be explained by the fact that he was not trained and schooled in the manners of the élite but may also be that Mr Cosgrave did not have to appear as defiant. The new chums only meant increased business opportunities for him. The Cosgraves are also both sitting, which immediately creates a more relaxed

\(^{70}\) *Victorian Men of the Time*, 2nd edn.

\(^{71}\) de Serville, *Pounds and Pedigrees*, p. 19.
air. These portraits lack the tension that has been seen in the other portraits and this can be explained by the fact that the Cosgraves did not feel that their social position was under threat. Instead, it was improving and allowed them to afford to commission such paintings.

Another difference between the Cosgrave and Dowling portraits, which is less easy to judge, is the difference in the quality of the work and the implication this has for the standing of both couples in society. The Cosgrave portraits were painted by John Oswald Campbell. He had studied at the Royal Academy Schools and had arrived in Victoria in 1852, planning to set up as a portrait painter. He was soon a part of the Melbourne art community and in April 1853 was involved in the establishment of the short-lived Victorian Fine Arts Society. There are very few records of the portraits he painted in the colony before he left for Sydney in 1855 and the Cosgraves are the only extant oils by him. Campbell does not seem to have painted portraits of any prominent members of society, nor does his name appear in the catalogues of the various exhibitions of the period. Judging by the quality of his work in the Cosgrave portraits, which Shar Jones describes as 'competent but wooden',72 Campbell seems to have catered for a market which was obviously wealthy enough to pay for his work, but could not be described as the gentry.

The Cosgrave portraits nevertheless were created to fulfil the image of a respectable family heritage and were demonstrations of ancestral pride. For the Cosgraves this image added to their social status but for the squatters in the Western District the image was imperative to their survival and in their claims to the right to rule. Dowling's portraits reflect the tensions which existed in the squatter's world and their defiance of the challenge brought by the new chums.

**Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and Her Children**

In the final section of this chapter, the object of discussion is once again a portrait commissioned by an old colonist. The portrait *Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and Her*
Children (cat. no. 2*) is discussed in the context of what it reveals about family structures and how the family functioned in gender and class relations. This portrait also highlights some of the problems of attribution in colonial portraiture. The O'Mullane portrait entered the collection of the NGV in 1976, coming from a distant cousin of Maria O'Mullane's descendants. The portrait shows Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane with four of her five children, including three of her four boys and her daughter. From the left there is Ann Eliza, Jeremiah, Mrs O'Mullane herself, Arthur and George. The O'Mullanes were an old established family of Melbourne with Maria's husband, Dr Arthur O'Mullane a surgeon in Melbourne. The painting is not signed or dated and has been attributed to no less than three artists - Strutt, Vieuxseux and Becker and dated anywhere between 1851 and 1855. These attributions have been based on two lines of argument, stylistic or circumstantial grounds. It will be argued here that the O'Mullane portrait is not by any of these portraitists but is the work of Conway Hart and must have been painted between 1852 and 1853.

The least convincing attribution is that made to Strutt. Tim Bonyhady in The Colonial Image: Australian Painting 1800-1880 in a very brief and cursory discussion of portrait attributes it to William Strutt. For several reasons this is a highly questionable supposition. As has been seen in the last chapter, Strutt was concerned with grand portraits of public figures which would be of lasting historical significance for all levels of society. As such, this rather crude depiction of domesticity would be very much out of character with the rest of his work. It also is not in keeping with the drafting skills that Strutt possessed. Bonyhady acknowledges that the portrait appears naive with its stiff figures and sharply falling floor.73 He goes on to argue that the composition is only awkward because Strutt was not used to group scenes and that Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and Her Children only seems naive because Strutt was being too ambitious with the 'fish-eye' perspective. This argument does not take into account other group portraits, such as Richard Hale Budd with two of his students (cat. no. 328) nor the sketches of 1851 and 1856 of the meeting of Parliament, which were discussed in 'Chapter 2', and which prove that Strutt could competently deal with ambitious compositions. The

---

73Bonyhady, Colonial Image, p. 66.
O'Mullane portrait is painted with none of the confidence and ease more readily associated with Strutt and consequently it is difficult to believe that this is his work.

A more recent and convincing attribution has been made in the DAA where it is suggested that Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and Her Children is by the artist Julie Elizabeth Agnes Vieuusseux. This attribution is based on 'stylistic as well as associational grounds', arguing that the portrait would fit in with the Vieuusseux mixed German and French background and that there is evidence of an association between Vieuusseux and the O'Mullanes. Vieuusseux, whose life in Victoria is described by Marjorie Theobald in a chapter of Double Time: Women in Victoria -150 Years, arrived in Melbourne in early 1852 and by 1853 was practising as a portrait painter and art dealer while her husband was away at the goldfields. She advertised in the Argus that she would be taking portraits:

MRS VIEUSSEUX - Has the honour to announce that she follows her profession as PORTRAIT PAINTER and in soliciting the patronage of all lovers of the Fine Arts, she respectfully invites them to visit her studio [...] Portraits taken in Oils, Chalks and Pencils, after the most approved styles.

Vieuusseux eventually opened a prestigious college for the education of young ladies for which Maria O'Mullane stood as a referee. This was in 1857 and it is certain that the two women at least knew each other by then. The reference to their association appears some five years after the portrait was painted. In the DAA the date of the portrait is given as c. 1855, making only a two year difference between the execution of the portrait and knowledge of the O'Mullane/Vieuusseux connection. Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and Her Children, however, was painted between 1852 and 1853. In an article in the Art Bulletin of Victoria, Jennifer Phipps puts forward many reasons for the date of the portrait which cannot be disputed. In style and in terms of dress and furniture there can be no doubt that it is from somewhere in the early 1850s. It must have been painted after 1851 because one of the sons,
Frederick, had died in April 1851 and the fact that he is not present in the painting implies that it was painted after his death. His death may also have been a deciding factor in securing the likenesses of the other surviving children. The upper limit for the date of the painting can be established by the dress of Jeremiah, who was born in 1845 and who is seen on the left holding on to the dog. He is still in a dress and as boys only remained in dresses until they were seven or eight it could not have been painted after 1852 or 1853.

Given the time lapse between the portrait and proof of Vieuxseux and O'Mullane's association the DAA attribution becomes less secure. It is more than likely that the two women's paths crossed not because of the painting but because the O'Mullane's may have been interested in sending their eldest daughter to Vieuxseux's ladies college. As for the arguments on style, the reviews of her work in the newspapers describe a much more competent hand than is evident Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and Her Children, as well as revealing that Vieuxseux was much more inclined to painting allegorical, religious and still life painting than family group portraits.77

While the Vieuxseux attribution rests mainly on circumstantial grounds, no matter how tenuous, the attribution to Becker relies on stylistic comparison. Within the NGV the portrait has been attributed to Becker, based on miniatures which have recently come into the collection which appear to be by Becker (cat. nos. 65-67). But these miniatures were painted after the large portrait and therefore to a certain degree are irrelevant, they are not studies for Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and Her Children. The children are clearly older than they are in the painting. It has also been suggested that the O'Mullane portrait has many similarities with Becker's oil portrait of Hodgson in the Town Hall (cat. no. 47*). While the colouring is similar, the paintings are so different in size and composition that it is impossible to establish either way whether they are by the same hand. It has been argued by Phipps that there is miniaturist style to the way the faces are executed in the O'Mullane portrait, and as Becker was a miniaturist this may add further weight to the argument that it is by him. But there were many other miniaturists working in the Victoria at the time, including Conway Hart.

77See 'Appendix A'.

The main argument against the painting being by Becker is once more that he was a more competent draughtsman than is represented in the O'Mullane portrait, as his *The Brothers* of 1851 demonstrates. This is a much more balanced and flowing composition. It is true that in *The Brothers* Becker is working in the medium of watercolour which he was much more comfortable with than oil painting. But the fact that Becker did not like working in oil only adds further doubts to him being responsible for the O'Mullane portrait. It is one thing for him to have painted the oil portrait of his friend Hodgson but there does not seem to be any reason why he would have painted the O'Mullane portrait. At the time the portrait was painted Becker was also known to have been on the goldfields.

Turning now to the artist to whom the *Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and Her Children* portrait has been attributed to here - Conway Hart. This attribution is based upon both circumstantial and stylistic arguments. Unlike Strutt, Vieuxsceux or Becker, Conway Hart was known to have painted conversation pieces like the O'Mullane portrait. In the 1853 *Victorian Fine Arts Society Exhibition* he was represented by two family portraits, *Portrait of J. Stewart Esq and Family* (cat. no. 10) and *Mrs Symons and Children* (cat. no. 12). Whether conversation pieces or companion portraits, such as that of Mr Justice Williams and Mrs Williams (cat. nos. 18 and 19), ancestral portraits were a major source of income for him.

Hart is best known for his large oil paintings, but I have discovered that he was also a miniaturist. In 1858 Mr Conway Hart advertised in *Melbourne Punch* 'Miniatures of Ivory or Cardboard' and 'Miniatures on Ivory'. Hart's extant portraits, although there are no group portraits, reveal similarities with the O'Mullane portrait. For example, the rendering of the face in the portrait of Richard Dry (fig. 7) reveals the same miniaturist's technique and is not dissimilar to Maria O'Mullane's face. The flowers and leaves on the curtain in his portrait of Mary Morton Allport on the other hand show the same rushed and heavy brushstrokes as those on the carpet in the O'Mullane portrait. Another maybe more tenuous factor in the stylistic

---

78 *Melbourne Punch*, 25 March 1858. The same advertisements appears throughout March, April and May. Hart's name is not listed on these advertisement and the only clue as to who is advertising is the address of 41 Collins Street. In the directories Hart is listed at this address.
arguments is competence. The reviews of Hart's work indicate that his skills matched those of the artist who painted the O'Mullane portrait. Unlike Strutt or Vieuxseux, the critics had reservations about Hart's work and ability, with a common view that he was a 'clever colorist', who 'sets at naught both anatomy and perspective'.\footnote{New Letter of Australasia, January 1858, p. 4.} The criticisms made of his family portraits in the 1853 exhibition, for example, could also be made of the O'Mullane portrait:

Mr. Conway Hart, too, has some good portraits. He is happy in imparting a very pleasing expression to the female countenance, of which there are two good instances in his portraits of Mrs. Symons and Mrs. Williams. His colouring is sometimes chalky and little painful to the eye, but with a little painstaking, Mr. Hart could readily overcome these blemishes in his otherwise meritorious productions.\footnote{Argus, 30 August 1853.}

In the 1857 exhibition:

Mr Conway W. Hart who, we believe has London experience and is a member of the English Academy at Rome, has several pictures which display to great advantage his knowledge of color, but are sadly deficient in drawing.\footnote{Age, 11 December 1857.}

And the same criticisms in 1858:

Of Mr. Conway Hart's pictures we would say little. He appears to have been spoilt by the commendation he got years ago, when he was almost alone in the field. He has a very clever trick - and trick it is - of coloring; but his pictures are positively painful to contemplate, from the utter absence of anything like drawing. If he had confined himself to drawing angels, like Mrs Davitt, perhaps we might confess to some ignorance of anatomy of those personages, and of the perspective effects of the atmosphere in which they dwell; but, as it is, we can only recommend Mr. Hart to prosecute a sever course of study in figure drawing. When he has done that, his talent and skill in coloring will be invaluable to him: now they are only in the way.\footnote{Illustrated Journal of Australasia, 4, January to June 1858, p. 37.}
Given that Hart was known to have accepted commissions for family portraits and that his skills seem to match those displayed in *Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and her Children*, I have attributed the portrait to him.

Setting aside questions of attribution, *Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and her Children* is an interesting and provocative painting. Dr O'Mullane was a prominent doctor in Melbourne and his profession would have given him a certain status in the community. As mentioned in the last chapter, positions in the church and law were considered prestigious, just as careers in the medical profession brought respectability. Dr Godfrey Howitt was mentioned above with Woolner producing sculpture medallions of his family (cat. no. 261). Other doctors who commissioned sculptures and paintings were James Beaney (cat. no. 195), Dr Fisher (cat. no. 299), Dr Gilbee (cat. nos. 36, 196 and 295), Dr Hunter (cat. no. 99) and George Ryder (cat. no. 267). A mezzotint of Dr Adam Cairns (cat. no. 208*) was also published in 1856. The medical profession's profile was increasing and Dr O'Mullane undoubtedly felt that in was keeping with a man of eminence to have a portrait of his family hanging in his urban home.

The O'Mullane portrait is an awkward composition and Hart has struggled in the area to the left where the legs of the daughter, dog and son have become totally confused. This can simply be explained away by a lack of competence and draughtsmanship on the behalf of the artist. More troublesome, however, is the strange angle of the couch that Maria sits on, with the clumsy and prominently placed footstool, and the strange void in the centre between Mrs O'Mullane and her two eldest boys. The two boys are isolated and disconnected. The wall leaves an incredibly bare zone in the painting, especially when compared to the activity to the left of the composition, indicating that someone had been painted out, or at the last minute excluded. The painting in terms of composition and narrative would make much more sense if someone occupied the void. This would explain why the right end of the couch is not at quite the correct angle and why it and the footstool have been painted in a different green. The footstool appears to have been painted later than the rest of the painting and functions to balance the far end of the couch.
If someone has been painted out it prompts the questions as to whom? It may well be that the father, Dr O'Mullane, for some reason was at first going to be in the picture and was omitted at the last minute or, more probably the son, Frederick, who died was meant to be in the gap. If Frederick was included the picture would have been cohesive and his presence would explain why, for instance, the eldest boy, Arthur, on the left of the composition has his chair turned inwards as though he was reading or talking to someone, rather than facing a blank wall. If this is so Frederick was either painted out after the painting was finished, although it seems more likely that the O'Mullanes would cherish his likeness instead of removing it, unless of course it was too painful for them to look upon. More probable than this scenario is that Frederick died during the painting of the picture. If so the portrait becomes a kind of a memorial piece with the vacant space symbolic of the void in the O'Mullane family, similar to Dowling's *Mrs Adolphus Sceales with Black Jimmie of Merrang Station* (cat. no. 63*) with the missing rider.

Whether the son or Dr O'Mullane were meant to be included in the portrait and whether it is supposed to be read at one level as a memorial painting makes little difference to the importance of the ideology inherent in the portrait. As Pointon states at one level any group of beautiful women and children, richly attired and posed in a well-furnished interior, stands as a sign of status, property and power of succession of the father and householder.\(^{83}\) She goes on to write that the matter does not end there and that there is much to be learned from images of women who are not widows, who are posed with their children, but without their husbands. Pointon argues that the absence of the father/husband in these images is a deliberate narrative device that sharpens our perception of the patriarchal.\(^{84}\) While maybe not deliberate, *Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and her Children* certainly revolves around patriarchal power, even though Dr O'Mullane himself is not present.

Maria is placed at the centre of the composition, with George on the right pointing an arrow, in a rather clumsy gesture, towards her and directing our attention to her. Maria is presented in more or less the same way as other women of the period, again

---

83 Pointon, p. 160.

84 Pointon, p. 160.
holding a handkerchief as a sign of her gentility and although we cannot see her wedding ring, the presence of the children implies that she was married. Her children are divided into two groups to the right and left of her. Her daughter who stands near the window is almost identical looking to her mother and she holds a doll that echoes and highlights a maternal role. She appears hemmed in despite the fact that she stands by an open window. The garden is not a means of escape, but just a symbol of the natural order. The daughter also stands by the dog, which her brother Jeremiah clings to as a symbol of faithfulness and security. Jeremiah is on the side of the painting occupied by his mother and sister and is not yet ready to join his brothers who are on the right of the painting.

The other two boys in *Elizabeth Maria O'Mullane and Her Children*, while still children and in need of their mother and family, are shown as quite distant and their clothes, the fact that they are in trousers, indicates that they are on their way to becoming young gentleman. Hart has divided the picture down the middle into the female world on the left and the male world on the right. This family piece in many ways presents some of the major sources of friction, or maybe more accurately the status quo, existing between the sexes at this time. Victoria was a patriarchal society in which there were clear gender divisions. The boys who have just managed to escape the domestic world of their mother and seem ready to defend themselves against her pulling them back. George threateningly holds the arrow toward his mother and sister and seems determined to keep the two worlds separate. In the O'Mullane portraits Arthur and George have taken up the masculine position and have their books and masculine pursuits such as archery. As Pollock writes, the attributes of the father function as props for the signifier of difference.85

The O'Mullane portrait is yet another statement of an old colonist's faith in the respectable family. It shows a belief in order and tradition in both gender and class relationships. The extraordinary numbers of new immigrants inspired and motivated the commissioning of such portraits. The old colonists used portraiture in an attempt to affirm their position in Victorian society and separate themselves from the newcomers. The portraits also in many ways demonstrate a characteristic of the old

85 Pollock, p. 149.
gentry which Russell recognised. She writes that the gentry, like tragic heroes of operatic cliche, luxuriated in their own demise. Of all the social groups that existed in the colony, including the new moneyed classes and the new wave of gentlemen, it was the old colonists who utilised the potential of the family portrait. In many ways this is not surprising as the family, and the family name, was their power base and through the ancestral portrait they not only legitimised their individual status but also glorified the very notion of the family and proud ancestry.

86 Russell, A Wish of Distinction, p. 3.
CHAPTER 4

CARICATURE, POLITICS AND THE PRINTED PORTRAIT

In Victoria the years 1834 to 1861 were marked by political ferment and just as members of the old gentry were forced to adjust to the great social upheavals of the 1850s, politicians had to learn to survive in a turbulent political environment. In 'Chapter 2' it was noted that the portrait of the hero had a political function in reinforcing authority and conditioning the behaviour of the populace, a function that went beyond just a philanthropic concern to see the masses enrich their lives. In this chapter the connections between portraiture, power, propaganda and politics, will be explored further, with particular emphasis placed on the role of caricature and the publishing of portrait prints. Discussion will shift away from the formal portraits which were intended to serve both an immediate social function and be preserved for future generations (whether a sculpture, a painting or a print) to look at ephemeral images which dealt with the day-to-day affairs of politics. Images in newspapers and illustrated magazines, including satirical publications, will be analysed, along with editions of single prints, to gain an understanding of how the portrait functioned in the political arena. The likenesses of two of the colony's leaders, John O'Shanassy and Sir Henry Barkly, have been chosen as major examples of how a public image could be constructed, and also dismantled. The work of George Thomas is also examined in depth to direct attention towards the standing of the caricaturist in the community.

For the art historian a study of ephemeral material can be difficult, for while the political print when deciphered offers a valuable and detailed insight into political thinking, more often than not the meaning of the images has been lost with time. This is particularly the case with caricatures. Mahood remarks that the political cartoon speaks the language of its time with all its current catchwords and cliches and it is not the reflection of the historian's idea of history but rather the common man's reaction to political events of the day.¹ It is this close connection to everyday occurrences that makes political imagery so difficult to later understand. In the

¹Mahood, The Loaded Line, p. 4.
words of Gombrich and Kris, if the 'comic artist has the great advantage of being readily understood by his contemporary public, he pays for it by being more difficult of appreciation for generations to come'.\(^2\) Non-satirical prints suffer in the same way and questions as to who commissioned them, what their target audience was and what impact they had are also difficult to answer. In addition, given the ephemeral nature of the portraits, the extant prints do not include all of the portraits produced in the colony. All these almost insurmountable factors have led many art historians to dismiss what Georgia Brady Bumgardner has called the 'political portrait print'.\(^3\) But while there may be difficulties in understanding the political portrait print, it cannot be overlooked, for in the nineteenth century, more than in any other era, politicians and rulers realised the importance of the printed portrait, utilising its propaganda potential and at the same time heeding the effect of the subversive caricature.

The nineteenth century was an age when the political power base in Britain was gradually being eroded and politicians had to find a way to reach a growing electorate. Since the beginning of the century male enfranchisement had gained momentum, with the demands of the Chartists slowly realised. In such an environment where the principles of democracy were gaining credence and were being implemented, securing power involved winning the favour of the electorate. The competition for political office was also intensified by a liberation of the laws for qualification and who could run for office. The 'vote' became an important part of political life and in order to win this all important vote, a politician's 'public image' became a significant factor in political success. Public image has of course always been important in politics and, as Alpheus Hyatt Mayor argues in *Prints and People*, for centuries leaders from the time of Alexander the Great had used coins, and later prints, to circulate portraits of themselves.\(^4\) However, what distinguishes the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was the sheer volume of portrait prints, the speed at which they were produced and powerful role they had amongst a populace

---

\(^2\)Gombrich and Kris, p. 4.


which was more politically powerful than it had ever been and which had demonstrated an unprecedented capacity for revolt.

Hand in hand with the need to reach and communicate with a growing electorate, new technical means of mechanical reproduction came to the fore, facilitating the quick and cheap reproduction of images. The nineteenth century saw art enter what Walter Benjamin has called the 'age of mechanical reproduction'. In his essay, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, Benjamin argues that with the rise of the means of mechanical reproduction, the function of art changed from being based on ritual to being based on politics. The relationship between art, democracy, the industrial revolution and the mass media forms a complex web, with the mechanical means of production giving the printed portrait a new political potency. One of the most celebrated additions to the means of mechanical reproduction was photography, which from the time of its invention was recognised as having great potential for marketing prominent people and increasing their public profile. While photography eventually realised this potential, in the early 1850s it was not a viable medium for producing prints cheaply or on a mass scale because the negative/positive processes were still in the experimental stage. Instead, the most popular and dominant means of mechanical reproduction in portraiture, apart from the lithograph and the mezzotint, was the woodcut. The major advantage of the woodcut, apart from being a quick and simple method of reproduction, was that it allowed illustrations to be printed together with type.  

Ashbee writes, that it was in the age of mass media that the caricature came to the fore and it was then that the caricature was given its power, danger and charm. The growth in the press industry, which was boosted by higher literacy levels, greatly affected the production of satiric prints, which were no longer printed as one-offs but were included regularly in weekly magazines. A landmark in this kind of publication was Charles Phillipon's comic weekly, *La Caricature*, and its successor the daily

---


Charivari. The Charivari inspired a whole range of similar magazines, including London Punch. In all these publications prominent political figures and their foibles were targeted, with an assumption that politicians were not above question or ridicule. Ashbee writes that this subversive element is an integral part of caricature, which implies the privilege of the individual to laugh at his rulers, whether in despotism or democracy. By the nineteenth century the upper classes and politicians were not only not immune from the satirist's attentions but were the object of them.

Like other colonies throughout the empire, Victoria felt the impact of the rise in democratic ideologies and, just as in Britain, this was reflected in the caricatures and portrait prints of the age. The gold rushes had given working men a taste of independence and, as de Serville remarks, in jeering tones they announced to the upper classes the memorable challenge 'We will be your masters yet'. Even before the discovery of gold, a strong belief in equality had prevailed in the colony and this was only strengthened and given new voice by the arrival of diggers from Britain, America and Europe, imbued with Chartist or liberal ideas. In his book A People's Counsel: A History of the Parliament of Victoria 1856-1990, Raymond Wright describes the political atmosphere in Victoria and outlines the numerous battles for power between the various factions and interest groups. Through Wright's description it becomes clear that the voters and politicians were a bold and outspoken breed and as Wright argues, even in the early years of settlement, the colonists 'thought highly of themselves'. Their arrogance and insolent nature was clearly demonstrated when some disgruntled and disenchanted colonists campaigning for Separation nominated such men as the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel to represent them in Sydney. The Port Phillip residents hoped that such actions would signal that they were not happy that Sydney was in control of their land and the distribution of their revenue. Throughout the forties the dominant political issue was

---

8Ashbee, p. 34.

9de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 18.

10de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. xi.

Separation, but even after this was granted the colony continued to be restless, with the disturbances increasing in the fifties, especially over the land question and over the squatter's monopoly. From the very first poll taken in 1843, when the results caused such a commotion that the Riot Act had to be read, it became apparent that elections in Victoria were not to be quiet affairs. After the granting of Responsible Government in 1856, elections once again saw disorder and polling days were apparently marked by riots and drunkenness. An illustration in Melbourne Punch, entitled Fact and Fiction (cat. no. 570*) portrays two politicians, Michie and Moore, on the campaign, with reports of the jeering they received. The 'fact' is the aggravation which politicians attracted and the 'fiction' is a welcome from the electorate. In one incident in June 1860, voters vented their anger by burning the likenesses of politicians:

Effigies of Messrs. Coppin and Harvey were set on fire during the proceedings, amid the intense approval of the audience assembled. The committee had no hand in these episodes, which, nevertheless, were not a little significant of the odour the gentlemen thus honoured are held in just now by their constituency.

In this volatile environment it was necessary for politicians to use every tool available to maintain some kind of control and presence. Propaganda campaigns were run with determination and grave resolution and be it a by-election or a general election for the Upper of Lower House, local residents were forcibly reminded that a poll was to be taken. Posters were smeared on every surface, newspapers reported policy speeches, stolid dignitaries endorsed this candidate here, another there. Magazines and newspapers also started to include portraits of politicians, basing their style and format on British publications. For example, the Illustrated Melbourne Family News was clearly based on the Illustrated London News. A comparison of its cover, featuring the portrait of the newly elected candidate Mr Embling (cat. no. 191*), with the layout of the cover of the Illustrated London News of 14 October 1854 (fig. 8) demonstrated the appropriation of the London format, title and

---

12 Wright, p. 20.

13 Argus, 6 June 1860 and see 7 June 1860.

14 Wright, p. 39.
THE ILLUSTRATED
LONDON
NEWS

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1854.

THE BATTLE OF THE ALMA.

The battle of the Alma has been fought with great bravery and energy.

The news from the battle was received with intense excitement in London and the country. The victory was hailed as a great triumph for the British arms.

The Illustrated London News, Saturday, October 14, 1854.
inclusion of illustrations on the front page. In light of the discussion in the last chapter, it is interesting to note that this portrait was accompanied by the statement that 'it is of little interest to state what he is by birth and antecedents'. Such portraits as that of Embling, along with caricatures, became increasingly important in political life, particularly and significantly, in the late 1850s when the turmoil of the rushes had died down and Responsible Government had been granted. It was in the last five to six years of the period 1834 to 1861 that the political print proliferated and became a factor in winning, or losing, power.

Melbourne Punch and John O'Shanassy

One the most prominent and influential political leaders in the early decades of Victoria's history was the Irishman John O'Shanassy, who, like Fawkner, was a colourful and intriguing character. Despite O'Shanassy's importance and personality, no major biographies on him have been published and his life and work still await scholarly attention. The ADB and an article by W. H. Archer are the two major published sources on O'Shanassy's life, providing basic biographical details. O'Shanassy was born in Ireland and arrived in Melbourne in 1845, where he opened a drapery shop. There was a clear social distinction between those who were engaged in mercantile, or international trade, and those who were engaged in retail trade or manufacture and bore the stigmas of 'the shop' or of industry. Russell writes that these men, men such as O'Shanassy, were condescendingly known by people from the old gentry as 'tradesmen'. Not long after O'Shanassy arrived he entered politics and became identified with popular agitations, such as the Separation movement and the opposition to policies reviving transportation. He was elected to the first Legislative Council in 1851 and here was virtually Leader of the Opposition, challenging the squatting interests that dominated the council. As the years went by, his public profile became stronger and with the support of the Irish community John O'Shanassy emerged as a man of consequence. On the granting of Responsible

15Illustrated Melbourne Family News, 22 September 1855.


Government in 1856, he successfully competed for two electorates, winning seats in both Melbourne and Kilmore, and was left to choose which to accept, a predicament captured in *Punch's* cartoon *A Reserved Seat* (cat. no. 516). Eventually O'Shanassy chose to represent Kilmore, a seat he held until 1865.

As a high profile personality it is not surprising to find that numerous portraits of O'Shanassy were published. There is, however, only one known oil painting of him, the full-length portrait by Strutt. This was commissioned from funds raised by subscription from members of the St Patrick's Society, an organisation, as the name suggests, of Irish Catholics living in the colony. As a public commission the portrait stands as another one of the very few examples of the colonists funding portraits of their local heroes. The *Argus* reports that the Strutt portrait of O'Shanassy was hung in the hall in which the Society held its meetings and it 'was ordered that the picture should occupy the most conspicuous part of the hall'.¹⁸ Unfortunately the portrait is lost but the study does survive (cat. no. 409), which reveals that Strutt envisaged much the same kind of grand, stately portrait as that for his 1853 portrait of Fawkner. While this portrait no doubt did much to reinforce O'Shanassy's status and presence among the members of the Society, those who already supported him and the Irish cause, it did not help to win over other electors and other factions within the community. This was where the printed portrait, which could be widely disseminated, came to the fore and brought the Irish politician to the notice of the whole of the Victorian community.

Based on the extant portraits, John O'Shanassy's likeness was published more often than that of any other politician of the period. The two earliest prints are a woodcut from a photograph by G. W. Perry (cat. no. 188*), which was published in the *Melbourne Pictorial Times* on 7 July 1855, and a mezzotint by Sadd, after a daguerreotype by J. C. Alexander, which was published in the *Illustrated Australian Magazine* in July 1855 (cat. no. 190*). The two portraits are examples of the range of quality in the production of prints within the colony, with the woodcut a crude likeness, while the mezzotint reveals Sadd's proficiency in mezzotint. These prints would have given many colonists their first glimpse of the large and domineering

¹⁸*Argus*, 4 April 1860.
presence of the Irish leader, who always appeared as stern and with an extremely worried expression, alluding once again to the weight of the heavy responsibilities he carried as the people's representative. A comparison of the first two portraits of O'Shanassay with a photograph from *Sun Pictures of Victoria* (cat. no. 111*) reveals that the woodcut is a poor likeness, while a comparison with the mezzotint shows that mezzotint could be a far more flattering medium than photography. Sadd has softened O'Shanassay's features and has overall made the unkempt leader appear better groomed and more of a statesman. This is the case in all the printed portraits of O'Shanassy, including another mezzotint by Sadd after a daguerreotype by T. A Hill (cat. no. 199*), as well as the lithograph in the *Men of Victoria* (cat. no. 249*), where O'Shanassay is portrayed as far more of the statesman than in Fauchery's photograph. It may be that because of the harsh and uncompromising nature of early photography that politicians in the colony favoured the mezzotint, the lithograph and even the woodcut.

Bumgardner writes that in America, one of the purposes of political portraits was to counteract negative images presented by caricatures. 19 This was certainly also the case in Victoria. The portraits of O'Shanassay were published in part in reaction to the illustrations which were appearing in *Melbourne Punch*, at a time when the magazine was enjoying great popularity. The format of *Melbourne Punch* in which John O'Shanassay so regularly featured was based on its London counterpart. Jonathan King has remarked that the cartoons were 'rigidly English' being 'merely transferred to the other end of the world without a thought to their relevance'. 20 Victoria was a community that had eagerly awaited the arrival of *London Punch*, even when it was a few months out of date, and as such it is not surprising that *Melbourne Punch* mirrored its format, complete with a Mr Punch and his dog Toby. But this did not amount to simply copying the London parent. As Mahood argues *Melbourne Punch* was even 'self consciously colonial'. 21 On only one occasion in the years 1834 to 1861 is there any evidence that Chevalier may have been using

19 Bumgardner, p. 95.


21 Mahood, 'Melbourne Punch and Its Early Artists', p. 68.
*London Punch* as a model. *Come to Grief* (cat. no. 699*) may have been based on *Our Once Facetious Contemporary is by no Means Funny this Week* (fig. 9). *Poor Frozen Out Ministers* (cat. no. 558*) also has notable similarities with *Frozen-Out Tea-Gardeners* (fig. 10) but because they are dated so close together, the chances are slim that Chevalier could have seen the *London Punch* in time to copy it. *Melbourne Punch* did use many of the same devices as *London Punch*, and like most caricaturists of the period, Chevalier depicts politicians as animals, circus performers or children. Chevalier, however, introduced local content as well as developing a style, pitch and form of humour that reflected his European background, but was very much geared toward a colonial audience.

As numerous authors have commented, Chevalier’s illustrations integrated his broad knowledge of different countries and languages with his understanding of major artistic and literary works. He had studied art and architecture in Lausanne, Munich and London and had spent two years in Rome before arriving in Australia. By the time he started work on *Melbourne Punch* he was able to produce sophisticated images, which avoided many of the cliches that could be found in *London Punch*. A close examination of the illustrations in the two magazines reveals differing approaches to a number of issues, with the Melbourne audience demanding a more subtle interpretation of current affairs than the London audience. Unlike the colonies of NSW and Tasmania, Victoria had not been a penal settlement designed to harbour the dregs of society and, as indicated by the standard that *Melbourne Punch* was pitched at, was generally a well educated community. Gold had attracted to Australia a high proportion of people with education, professional experience and good connections and while Victoria may not have drawn the aristocracy or the most celebrated intellects nor did it attract the poor or ill-educated. As Inglis writes, gold drew a higher proportion of men with education, professional experience and good connections.

Mahood writes that the ‘man in the street [in Victoria], like his London counterpart, did not discuss politics in terms of voluminous editorials of the regular newspapers

---


23 Inglis, p. 30.
"THO' ONCE FACETIOUS CONTEMPORARY IS BY NO MEANS FUNNY THIS WEEK."

[ Vide Bright, in his Great Political Organ, the "Morning Star." ]
FROZEN-OUT TEA-GARDENERS,
As Seen at the Present Time about Westminster.
he wanted something more succinct, simplified and stereotyped, politics in a nutshell'. While this may have been so, the Melbourne Punch cartoons reveal that colonists did not want the spoon feeding that the British did. For instance, a comparison of the depiction of Chinese in an London Punch illustration, A Lesson to John Chinaman (fig. 11), with the illustration Talbot-ype Portraits (cat. no. 538*) which appeared in the Melbourne indicates a very different audience. It can be seen that London Punch portrayed the Chinese as evil and relied heavily on a stereotyped image. A Chinaman being whipped by Palmerston with Punch's approval wears a sign around his neck reading 'The Destroyer of Women and Children'. There is no ambiguity in this illustration showing that the Chinese were wicked and deserved punishment. Chevalier in Melbourne Punch mocks such stereotypes and in New Electioneering Diggings (cat. no. 503*) depicts Kerr as a fool for trying to buy Chinese votes with rats. As Kerr tries to bribe the Chinese with rats they look rather blankly and disbelievingly at his antics. In the illustration Talbot-ype Portraits (cat. no. 538*) Chevalier presents two politicians, one painting a Chinese man as an angel and the other painting him as the devil, highlighting the different interpretations of the Chinese. Such illustrations emphasise that the colonial audience grasped that there could be varying interpretations and views of the same subject. The public of Victoria was not necessarily looking for easily digestible images.

Not only were the ideas which Melbourne Punch expressed pitched at a higher level, so was the way these ideas were conveyed. Chevalier in his illustrations seems to have relied on his audience having a background similar to his and sufficient knowledge of art and literature, of the classical past as well as current events, to be able to understand the allusions he was making. For example, in the Sword of Damocles (cat. no. 563*) O'Shanassy is shown with his ministry, including Foster, Greeves, Chapman and Duffy, with the sword of Damocles hanging over them. Parallels are made between Damocles who found that happiness was fragile when he discovered a sword hanging over his head and O'Shanassy whose ministry was in a precarious position and on the verge of collapse. To fully understand this illustration it is necessary to have an understanding of the story of Damocles. References were often also made to Shakespeare. Illustrations such as When Shall We Three Meet

Again (cat. no. 574*) which portrays O'Shanassy, Duffy and Foster as the witches from Macbeth only become amusing with a knowledge of Shakespeare's play. The three politicians had been thrown out of Government in April 1857 and are shown plotting for their return. Most of Chevalier's cartoons rely on the audience having a broad knowledge and education.

It is erroneous to believe that such illustrations could be understood by an illiterate or poorly educated audience. Although, caricatures such as those that appeared in Melbourne Punch have often been cited as a way to communicate with the illiterate, even a quick glance at the illustrations demonstrates that they assumed at least a rudimentary education.  

Mr Punch saw himself as the people's champion but who were the people that Punch championed? Punch represented the middle classes who were stereotyped in the Punch character of Mr Bull, who first appears in the illustration the Land Lord's Mistake (cat. no. 588*). Mr Bull was a middle-class man who was independent and suspicious of authority but who also distrusted radical democratic ideas. In other words Melbourne Punch's patrons were those who held moderate political views. Punch's circulation and the fact that it endured for so many years demonstrates that it expressed popularly held views. The political tone was set at somewhere between the revolutionary character of the Age and the conservative nature of the Argus. The tone of Punch reveals that under the surface of the popular, reformist society lay a natural conservatism fundamental to the colony, 'a rock which in the end wrecked many radical dreams and visions'.

Both Mr Punch and O'Shanasssy claimed a democratic outlook and representation of the common people against the interests of squatters. But there were obviously degrees of democratic outlook and Punch reveals that Victorian society was

---

25 In the colony there was a view that illustrations could be used to communicate with the illiterate. There was a proposal put forward by William Nicholson concerning the secret ballot suggesting that a picture of the candidate should appear on the voting card for those who could not read. This suggestion is captured in Punch's cartoon Mr. Nicholson's "Pictur Card" (cat. no. 448*), which shows Nicholson demonstrating his scheme on a large poster.

26 Mahood, The Loaded Line, p. 52.

27 de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. xi.
suspicious, for example, of the O'Shanassy brand of radicalism. O'Shanassy as an Irish Catholic leader was perceived to represent an extreme democratic section of the community, and a menacing one at that. This is why, as Mahood comments, the bias against the 'Irish faction' recurs throughout *Melbourne Punch*. This bias was greatly increased with the arrival of the influential Charles Gavan Duffy, who was perceived to be even more dangerous and radical than O'Shanassy. Victorians expressed democratic ideals but they did not want the radical and demonstrated reform associated with the Irish movement. This is why *Punch* was much kinder in its treatment of so-called radicals such as the unaligned Fawkner than a powerful Irish leader like O'Shanassy. Fawkner was viewed as a hero and the Irish as a threat. Mr Punch mocks Fawkner's foibles, but Fawkner is nevertheless depicted as the people's champion. This is clearly the message in *Jack the Giant Killer* (cat. no. 491*). Fawkner, dressed in armour, is shown as the hero bravely slaying the two headed Irish monster of O'Shanassy and Duffy.

Chevalier uses subtle but effective means to undermine O'Shanassy and rather than show him as a power-hungry Irish revolutionary to be feared, he depicts him simply as a fool. He is not even a devious fool but instead is depicted as comical and harmless, thus stripping him of any respect or presence. The illustrations of O'Shanassy are, for the most part, amongst Chevalier's strongest and most incisive images. In his drawings of O'Shanassy, Chevalier meets the often cited criterion for good caricature of revealing the 'true' personality of the subject. As Mahood writes, despite doubts about Chevalier's skills as a draughtsman 'he had the gift of the caricaturist for summing up the essentials of a face or a character in a few lines'. Gombrich and Kris's follow the same line of thinking claiming that a caricaturist is someone who:

[...] is not content with drawing a long nose just a little longer, or a broad chin just a bit broader. Such partial distortions are characteristic only of superficial or immature work. The real aim of the true caricaturist is to transform the whole man into a

---


completely new and ridiculous figure which nevertheless resembles the original in a striking and surprising way.\textsuperscript{30}

This was what Chevalier succeeded in doing in his caricatures of O'Shanassy, transforming O'Shanassy 'into a completely new and ridiculous figure'. O'Shanassy was a simple enough target for caricaturing, with his large and solid frame and his unkempt hair stretched across his balding head, and his Irish background, all open to easy exploitation. But instead of emphasising these points, Chevalier creates a more complex, and entertaining figure for the pages of \textit{Melbourne Punch}. With his depictions of O'Shanassy, Chevalier avoids falling into the trap of resorting to stereotypes, as he does with Duffy. In illustrations of Duffy, such as \textit{The Usages of the Imperial Parliament} (cat. no. 525*), Chevalier opts for the Irish paddy cliche and consequently does not capture the fullness of character that he does with O'Shanassy. O'Shanassy makes his debut in \textit{Melbourne Punch} in 1855 with the illustration \textit{Black Monday} (cat. no. 444*). From this point onwards, what could be interpreted as O'Shanassy's positive traits of strength and dominance are inverted and translated to obstinacy and oafishness.

In the portraits of O'Shanassy, Chevalier concentrates on facial characteristics to create an unmistakable likeness and achieves consistency through repeatedly focusing on O'Shanassy's troubled expression, with his down-turned mouth and furrowed brow. This means that no matter what situation or form O'Shanassy finds himself in, he can be immediately identified by his expression. He always appears as slightly perplexed and confused and not sure what is happening around him, whether he is a chicken (cat. no. 511*) or pondering a jigsaw puzzle (cat. no. 557*). His caricature is instantly recognisable, even when he appears in the unlikely form of a bowling pin in \textit{Floored} (cat. no. 710*). In this illustration only O'Shanassy's face is shown but the distinct expression makes it clear who it is. In illustrations where Chevalier departs from his formula for depicting O'Shanassy, such as in \textit{Desirable}, \textit{If Not Probable} (cat. no. 499*) in which O'Shanassy has a smile on his face, the image is not as successful. O'Shanassy is portrayed as everything from a clown, to a peacock, to a circus performer, and even a child, but in all these different guises he is instantly recognisable, just as Fawkner is in his caricatures. This consistency adds

\textsuperscript{30}Gombrich and Kris, p. 12.
greatly to the impact of the *Punch* caricatures, breeding a familiarity with the likenesses of politicians. William Kelly in his *Life in Victoria* remarked on just how successful *Punch* was in capturing the likenesses of the individual:

> The pictorial travesties alone afford evidence that there is a colonial Cruikshank in existence, while the quaint resemblances imparted to the various caricatures that illuminate its pages make them, as a country cousin once said of his uncle's portrait, "more like than the original." There is no mistaking them, whether they be on the snout of dog, the head of fish, or the beak of a goose [...]. In a word, Melbourne Punch is a promising boy.31

In a discussion of portraiture, but in particular when looking at caricatures such as that of O'Shanassy, an important issue is the influence of physiognomic theories. As Brilliant writes, failure to recognise any possible physiognomic indicators compromises the viewer's response to the portrait.32 There have been several studies published which have espoused convincing links between portraiture and physiognomic theories. John Crawford, in an article on American portrait busts, argues that portraits were influenced by ancient theories of physiognomy and that every face was assumed to be 'the sum of each person's individual nature and character'.33 Peter Meller, in his article on physiognomic theory in Renaissance heroic portraits, argues that certain portraits epitomise the theory of antique and medieval physiognomics.34 He writes that the antique literature of physiognomics tended to analyse the separate parts of the body, relating each one to the characteristics of an animal in an attempt to interpret the soul. This popular 'science' exerted some influence on artistic practice.35

31Kelly 1977 p. 129. (quoted in Jubilee issue of *Punch*)

32Brilliant, pp. 37-38


35Meller, p. 60. Meller argues that the portrait of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, for example is portrayed as lion-like, with a rather square face with hanging cheeks, heavy eyebrows, wide mouth, and a "moderate" forehead with a certain "cloud" in the middle, all taken as signs of a lion-like character. On the other hand he writes that Donatello's head of Gattamelata emphasises the muscular cheeks, as well as combining dragon like physiognomy and can be interpreted in terms of leonine physiognomy.
Pointon argues that in the eighteenth century the visual language of physiognomics was well understood. The audience was alert to the transposing of the grotesque features and body dispositions of the lower classes to the aristocratic or upper-classes subjects as a means to satirise the personal and political weaknesses of the upper classes.  Since the late eighteenth century, when Lavater had first published his theories on physiognomy, caricaturists had employed physiognomic theories. Lavater essentially proposed that character could be read through the face and put forward arguments for a system of analysing and ascertaining a person's character through their appearance. He published a series of profiles, revealing portrait types, from good men to bad men, from the fool to the intellect. Caricaturists, such as James Gillray, took these portrait types and through caricature drew striking similarities between well known citizens and Lavater's least desirable personalities. While it can be shown that Gillray clearly relied on the current physiognomic theories, the same arguments cannot be forward for Chevalier.

By the time Chevalier was working for Melbourne Punch Lavater's theories had been superseded and had evolved into the pseudo-science of phrenology. Phrenology was the science of reading heads and was essentially based on the notion that the shape of a person's skull could reveal their true personality. Various books have been written on phrenology, but David de Giustino in his Conquest of Mind: Phrenology and Victorian Social Thought has written one of the most comprehensive accounts of the impact of phrenology on nineteenth century thinking. He notes that Gall was the first to claim that 'external signs' depended upon the internal geography and operation of the brain, and that the connection between one's visage and character was something that could be measured and documented. The skull was divided into 'faculties' and it was the relative size of these, rather than simply the size of the whole skull, that was important in reading character. As de Giustino explains, broad and noble foreheads were indicative of intellectual prowess, whereas faculties associated with feelings of love were located at the back of the head.

---

36 Pointon, p. 86.

37 de Giustino, p. 17.

38 de Giustino, pp. 16-17.
Many phrenologists believed that their theories had important ramifications for portraiture. Money-minded amateurs would analyse portraits and the *Phrenological Journal* published a number of interpretations of mental powers in cases where only pictures or statues were available.\textsuperscript{39} The most renowned phrenologist of the mid-nineteenth century was George Combe, whose ideas on art and phrenology were amalgamated in a book published in 1855 and entitled *Phrenology Applied to Painting and Sculpture*. He argued that many of the faults in an artist's work resulted from a lack of familiarity with the laws of phrenology.\textsuperscript{40} For instance, he writes that Titian's portrait of *Flora* is almost correct except that 'he had placed the ear a little too low, and thereby unconsciously introduced discord between the qualities indicated by the brain and those embodied in the countenance and in every other part of the figure'.\textsuperscript{41} Combe had this advice for artists wishing to avoid such aberrations:

The interest with which we regard any representation of the human figure depends greatly on the extent to which it embodies the passions and emotions of the soul, and vigour and acuteness of intellect. The most beautiful forms, if inexpressive of mind, fail to command general sympathy. The expression of mind appears to depend on the adoption of the forms, proportions, texture, and attitudes of the whole figure, to the capacities and emotions intended to be represented. To accomplish this object successfully, the artist will find it advantageous to study, not the anatomy of the bones and muscles only, to which chiefly his attention has hitherto been directed; but also the structure and functions of all the vital organs, - viz. the brain, nerves, heart, lungs, blood vessels, and abdominal viscera; and the influence of each of these on the mental character, and through it on the forms and expression of the body.\textsuperscript{42}

There is evidence that Combe's theories had some impact in Victoria. The following passage demonstrates there were many people in the colony who believed that

\textsuperscript{39} de Giustino, p. 58.


\textsuperscript{41} Combe, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{42} Combe, p. 26.
portraits were amenable to phrenological analysis. The writer for the *Melbourne Monthly Magazine* in a discussion of the portrait of Rev Macartney (cat. no. 192*) revealed a belief that physiognomy could help in understanding character:

> The resemblance to its prototype is striking, and we would recommend those who may be anxious to learn something more of the character and disposition of their respected pastor, than the limits of this memoir will enable us to give, to study the picture with the eye of the a physiognomist, and be satisfied with the conclusion which they must inevitably draw.

As will be discussed in the next chapter, in Victoria there was a popular interest in phrenology but this interest took more the form of a hobby, a curiosity, rather than a regard for phrenology as a serious science. In the mid-nineteenth century, phrenology had come into disrepute and while it was still held that physical appearance reflected character, the ability of phrenology to decipher exactly how had been questioned. Since the eighteenth century, the laws of physiognomy had grown more and more complex and less easily understood. The rules were not quite as simple as an aquiline nose showing its bearer to be noble like the eagle, the bovine face betraying a placid disposition. Instead these stereotypes were replaced by a system where all features had to be considered in relation to each other, with phrenologists arguing over the nature of this relationship. In short, the physiognomists no longer provided a simple or codified visual language which could be applied in the same way as in Lavater's portrait types. There was no code that was well enough known to be either universally intelligible or easily applied by artists. There is no evidence in Chevalier's work that he deliberately applied the rules of phrenology. This is not to say, however, that he was not indirectly influenced by phrenology and did not work from the basic tenet expressed by the phrenologist - that character was revealed in the face and the physical form.

In Chevalier's work and colonial portraiture a major focus of the portraits was on the face, as opposed to external attributes. The portraits of the mid-nineteenth century

---

43 *Melbourne Monthly Magazine*, September 1855, p. 255.
were very different, for example, to the portraits of Queen Elizabeth I of which Brilliant remarks that 'the mask is all'. In the portraits of Elizabeth I, access to her and recognition of her comes only through a reading of external attributes, while her face is almost insignificant. By contrast, and as demonstrated in the portraits of O'Shanassy, expression and emotions were paramount and vital to identification in Chevalier's work. In all the portraits discussed so far, such as in the Men of Victoria series, the emphasis was on the face and not props.

Despite the attacks by Mr Punch on O'Shanassy, he maintained the support of large sections of the community and had a large degree of success in his political career. The point could be argued that no publicity is bad publicity. In March 1857 O'Shanassy became Victoria's second Premier, succeeding his political rival William Haines, who had lost office over alleged misappropriation of public funds. O'Shanassy, however, was unable to form a stable ministry and was forced to concede to a second Haines ministry in April 1857. During this period there was a revolving door to the office of Premier, for in less than a year, in March 1858, O'Shanassy regained the position and became Premier for a second time, only to be ousted again in October 1859, and relegated to Opposition Leader until he was once again made Premier in November 1861. The seven ministries which came to power between the years 1856 and 1861, and O'Shanassy's experiences in Government, demonstrate just how fickle and precarious life could be in Victorian politics. The illustrations in Punch are a means to gauge the political environment in Victoria and to gain a greater knowledge of the major personalities. Chevalier portrayed O'Shanassy as the archetypal fool but to counterbalance this image there were many engravings issued which flattered the Irish leader. As will also be seen in the portraits of Sir Henry Barkly, the portraits of O'Shanassy are demonstrations of propaganda exercises designed to channel public opinion and to have mass appeal, all in the pursuit of power.

---

44 Brilliant, p. 103.
Portraiture and Sir Henry Barkly

Sir Henry Barkly, as Governor, stood at the other end of the social spectrum to John O'Shanassy. However, like O'Shanassy Barkly had to fight for political leverage and acceptance from the masses. The Governor was appointed to the colony by the Queen and while he did not have to rely on the vote of the electors, he did need the good will and support of the colonists to be a successful ruler. The Governors who had preceded Barkly had not won popular support and had aroused antagonism amongst the populace. When Barkly arrived in the colony, Victorians were desperate for a new Governor, with the previous Governor, the much maligned Sir Charles Hotham, having died a year earlier. Following Hotham's death, Macarthur, as commander-in-chief, automatically became the interim Governor, until someone could be found to fill the position permanently. This was not an easy task as Victoria was seen as one of the most troublesome outposts of the British empire and no-one was in a hurry to take up the burden of sustaining the Queen's rule in such a volatile community. A measure of the arduous nature of the post was reflected in the position attracting the highest salary in the entire empire. The Colonial Office in London realised that Victoria needed someone with experience and a proven success record in colonial administration. Sir Henry Barkly, who had governed British Guiana and Jamaica, was the ideal choice and was given the dubious honour. By Christmas Eve of 1856 he had reached the shores of Port Phillip Bay.

Mona MacMillan's *Sir Henry Barkly: Mediator and Moderator 1815-1898* is the major biography on Barkly and, while MacMillan tends to uncritically laud Barkly's achievements, she reveals much about Barkly's life and work in the colony.45 MacMillan describes a competent and astute leader and a conciliator who throughout his career had displayed considerable leadership skills. In Victoria, if Barkly was to succeed where his predecessors had failed, he needed to call on all his experience and abilities. To understand the difficulties which Barkly faced it is necessary to look at the experiences of the earlier Governors.

---

The first Governor, Charles Joseph La Trobe, while admired by the upper classes as a man of culture and breeding, was criticised by the majority of his peers, and later by historians, for his weak leadership and lack of zeal when it came to the needs of Port Phillip. Alan Gross's biography of La Trobe, reveals that La Trobe did not seek or welcome the power and responsibility which came with such an important position and, as he had not been trained for the position, he had neither the adequate skills nor the inclination to succeed in it. As Jill Eastwood notes in the *ADB*, La Trobe did not have the usual background of a colonial Governor, lacking both army and naval training and he had limited administrative experience. He stumbled along for many years but the pressures involved with the gold rushes overwhelmed him and he resigned in December 1852.

Although La Trobe resigned in 1852 he was not replaced until 1854, by Charles Hotham, who was almost the opposite in personality and temperament and was determined not to make the same mistakes of indecisive or weak leadership. Hotham's biographer, Shirley Roberts, reveals that Hotham did not want the post either but that once appointed he was determined to rule with an iron fist and adopted a confrontationist approach. Unfortunately for Hotham, this extreme authoritarianism proved to be even more disastrous than La Trobe's weakness. Shortly after he arrived in the colony it became apparent that Hotham did not understand his role as Governor, taking a dictatorial line which alienated his Executive Council and Government officials. During his term in office Responsible Government was granted but Hotham, not realising the implications of this, attracted further criticism. He continued to dictate to the colonists, appointing without consultation a ministry when the colonists had won the right to choose their own representatives. Hotham's greatest miscalculation was in the handling and enforcing of the licensing system on the gold-fields, which led ultimately to the Eureka outbreak. In the face of widespread hostility and with his leadership in tatters, Hotham tendered his resignation at the end of 1855. He died, however, before he could return to England and Macarthur was appointed as the interim Governor.

---


47 *ADB*, 1788-1850, p. 89.
As Hotham's successor, Barkly was able to look back on the experience of his predecessors and found himself trying to walk a fine line between the two extremes of La Trobe and Hotham. *Punch* commemorated Barkly's assumption of office in *Seeing the Old Year Out and the New Year In* (cat. no. 531*), showing Macarthur leaving a room as Barkly enters to be greeted by the then Premier William Haines. There is a certain optimism in this illustration with the emphasis on new beginnings, as the clock in the background strikes twelve with the start of a new year and a new era. Victorians had high expectations of Barkly and looked to him to provide a stable influence in the colony, hoping that a more peaceful and settled period had been ushered in. Barkly had to try to sustain these positive attitudes and by most accounts he achieved this goal. During his stay in the colony Barkly made very few enemies, the most outspoken and powerful of these actually being John O'Shanassy, who prompted Barkly’s resignation in 1863 when he introduced a Bill halving the Governor’s salary. Discord between the two had developed over the years as it became clear that Barkly favoured O'Shanassy's rival, William Haines, as the Premier. Members of the upper classes also criticised Barkly for trying to please everyone. As Mrs Murray wrote in her novel on Victoria, she thought Barkly was a 'safe man', adding that he 'never does anything which the majority disapproves of'. 48 While Barkly, almost inevitably, did not win universal approval he was a popular Governor, as witnessed by the tributes which flowed in at his farewell banquet. As the *Age* reported:

> Under the presidency of Sir Henry Barkly, the Constitution had grown and ripened. He received the charter of our political privileges rough and unconstrued. He has worked on the system, and guided in its proper channel Responsible Government. His great merit is that he has never mistaken his position, nor usurped functions which were not legally permitted to him. He has been in all respects a constitutional Governor. 49

Barkly's success can be attributed to a number of factors, not least the experience he had gained in Jamaica when it received Responsible Government. Barkly understood what was involved in being a constitutional Governor and was quick to

---


49 *Age*, 4 September 1863.
assess the situation he had been lumbered with, noting that the colonists were adamant that the Governor would not have undue power and influence over their affairs. With the introduction of Responsible Government, the Governor's powers had been greatly eroded, and thus Barkly had far less official power than his predecessors. His official power now rested solely in his right to call on an individual politician to form Government and in deciding on a dissolution of the Assembly. Despite his lack of formal powers, and given the fact that the Premier and his Government made the most important political decisions in the colony, the Governor retained a pivotal position in Victorian politics simply because he was the monarch's representative. This gave him immense influence. As MacMillan writes, Barkly could exert pressure and mould popular thinking in subtle ways, not only on the Government but throughout the fabric of the young and growing society.\textsuperscript{50} It will be argued here that one of the ways that Barkly enhanced his influence and manipulated popular thinking was through printed portraits, and even through caricature. By circulating his likeness throughout the community, Barkly legitimised his rule and made his presence felt.

Barkly embarked on a public image campaign which must be seen in the context of a tradition of imperial propaganda. British royalty for many centuries had realised the power of portraiture, with the royal image in various guises emerging as a potent symbol. Henry VIII was one of the first kings to fully utilise the potential of the portrait and, working with such artists as Holbein, his likeness became an instantly recognisable symbol. Even today, the portraits of Henry VIII are distinctive and exude power, showing the king as a formidable and strong leader whose right to rule is beyond challenge. Elizabeth I continued this tradition and mounted a strong program of visual propaganda, having her printed likeness disseminated throughout the kingdom. Successive monarchs used court painters to glorify and idealise themselves and their families. Queen Victoria in the mid-nineteenth century upheld, and even expanded, this tradition, with her portraits taking the form of souvenirs. For the first time she employed photographers in imperial image making and from the commencement of her reign vast numbers of prints of the young Queen were sold throughout the empire:

\textsuperscript{50}MacMillan, p. 97.
OF THE QUEEN there have been already above fifty portraits published [...]. The prodigious "rage" for the portraits of her Most Gracious Majesty is but a recent growth. Before she ascended the throne, we believe, very few pictures of her existed. At all events, none of her loyal subjects [...] be his purse large or small, need be without a copy of her sweet, gentle, and gracious countenance; for thousand have been "given away" by generous publishers of newspapers.\textsuperscript{51}

While Barkly seems to have followed his Queen's example, it is difficult to assess the implications and context in which the extant portraits of Barkly were created. As none of the documentation surrounding their commissioning has survived, it is difficult to answer questions as fundamental as how large the print runs were, how much the prints sold for and what negotiations took place between the subject, artist, printer and publisher. As was the case with the \textit{Men of Victoria} series, some suppositions have to be made, relying solely on what the portraits themselves reveal. It is clear that some portraits of Barkly were produced primarily for commercial gain, given that he was a popular leader whose portraits had a high selling potential. As mentioned in 'Chapter 2', Barkly was what Prescott has termed a 'sure card', as proven by the fact that he appeared in the two major pictorial publications of the period, the \textit{Sun Pictures of Victoria} (cat. no. 108*) and the \textit{Men of Victoria} (cat. no. 233*), and was featured in the first issue as well as on the cover-board of the latter (cat. no. 231*). The first issue of the \textit{Illustrated Melbourne News} also included his portrait (cat. no. 220*), with an article that remarked that his status resembled 'that of her Majesty in England "who reigns but does not govern"'.\textsuperscript{52} It was evident that his likenesses were considered to be capable of selling copies of publications.

The portraits of Barkly would have allowed colonists to familiarise themselves with their Governor's likeness and, with his portrait hanging in their drawing rooms, they would have been constantly reminded of Barkly's guiding presence, strengthening the ties between the ruler and his subjects. While this may have been the effect of the portraits, the dearth of relevant documentation, makes it difficult to gauge just how active Barkly was in the publication process and how deliberate the propaganda role

\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Art Union: A Monthly Journal of Fine Arts}, February 1839, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Illustrated Melbourne News}, January 1858, p. 7.
of his portraits was. In other words, did Barkly consciously embark on a publicity campaign and instigate the publication of his portrait or was he simply a placid party in the efforts of entrepreneurs seeking financial gains? It was probably a combination of both, for Barkly must have had some involvement in the production of the portraits, even if this was just sitting for the photographs that the prints were based on. No doubt engravers also 'stole' Barkly's likeness, such as in the woodcut by Calvert (cat. no. 221*) which is after a print by Burn (cat. no. 215*) and which could have easily been printed without Barkly's consent. The visual evidence, however, does suggest that Barkly had an active involvement in the publication of most of the portraits and that he was behind their very careful and deliberate composition. The large number of portrait prints of him alone suggests that he encouraged their publication. Also, given Barkly's political prowess, astuteness and desire to win over the masses, it would be in keeping with his personality to utilise the mass media. It is also known that he had contact with artists in the colony and, as patron of artists' societies, could have easily sought advice on the publications of his portrait. So while Barkly may not have initiated the publication in every instance, there can be little doubt that he monitored the style and distribution of his portraits.

The portrait of Barkly by Henry Burn, which is a poster size lithograph after a daguerreotype (cat. no. 215*), printed by Hamel & Locher, stands out from the other prints as a propaganda exercise. The Burn portrait was widely distributed and sold for a guinea and while not cheap at this price was accessible to the majority of the population. It was displayed at the Victorian Society of Fine Arts Exhibition of 1857. It is quite a large print and was obviously intended to be framed and hung in drawing rooms. The Burn lithograph was issued in the first year in which Barkly was in the colony and at a time when it was crucial to win the favour of the colonists, to create a good first impression and establish himself as worthy of being the Queen's representative. It is a formal portrait, with Barkly posing in his full military uniform. He carries a sword, which in a psychoanalytical critique could easily be interpreted as a phallic symbol, and his crest appears beneath the portrait, overall resulting in a statement of imperial authority. These very formal portraits can be read in terms of Barkly's anxiety in the first years of his appointment to establish authority, while in later portraits he appears much more relaxed. By the late 1850s in Men of Victoria (cat. no. 233*) and Sun Pictures of Victoria (cat. no. 108*) he appears simply in a suit and in the cartes-de-visite that were issued in the early 1860s
he is even shown casually talking to his wife. This is not to say that Barkly does not appear again in military regalia, as is evident in a 1860 painted photograph held in Government house (cat. no. 121*), where he is shown in more or less the same pose as in the Burn lithograph. But even when he does appear in uniform in the later 1850s he is much more relaxed, as noted by the *Herald* writer in a review of a mezzotint by Sadd (cat. no. 230*):

A portrait of Sir Henry Barkly, engraved by H. S. Sadd from a photograph by Batchelder and O'Neill, has just appeared, and reflects great credit to the artist. The likeness is accurate, and the photographer has succeeded in catching the expression of Sir Henry's features in one of his happiest moods. It is altogether a clever and well-merited tribute to our popular and widely esteemed Governor, and at the same time affords agreeable evidence of the increase in the fine arts in Victoria.

It was through the pages of *Melbourne Punch*, not the printed portraits hanging in drawing rooms, that Barkly's likeness would have become best known. No doubt Barkly was anxious that he be favourably represented in the magazine because of the key role it played in shaping popular opinion. In a dispatch to Lord Stanley, concerning J. T. Smith's claims to a Knighthood, Barkly revealed that he did see *Melbourne Punch* as the voice of the majority and was going to send a *Punch* cartoon of Smith 'in testimony of the view taken of it' in the colony.\(^{53}\) Traditionally Mr Punch had not treated Governors kindly, particularly Hotham whom he constantly attacked, reeking havoc on his public image. Illustrations such as *Let it Burn, I'm Only a Lodger* (cat. no. 423) were typical. It shows Hotham ready to depart the colony and accuses him of leaving behind a disaster, with the turmoil of Eureka represented in a cloud of smoke and with Mr Punch and Toby left to put out the flames. Hotham is portrayed as uncaring and malicious, having lost all the respect he had when he first came to the colony. As was the case with Barkly, when Hotham arrived in Victoria the colonists had looked forward to being led by someone with more ability than La Trobe but were bitterly disappointed. The contrast, between Hotham's arrival and his imminent departure is captured in the illustration *Hotham Rocket* (cat. no. 437*), which is divided into two scenes. The first shows Hotham's face amongst the fireworks at the arrival celebrations, as he shoots out

\(^{53}\)Barkly Papers, Hertfordshire Record Office.
above a triumphal arch which has inscribed on it 'Victoria Welcomes Victoria's Choice'. The other scene shows the 'Hotham Rocket' as burnt out and plummeting into a turbulent sea with the only sign of hope being the 'New Constitution' on the horizon. There is very little humour in such illustrations and they are aggressive and vitriolic. The accompanying poem, a parody on Byron, called Childe Hotham, adds to the impact of the image with the last stanza reading:

Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean - roll!
And bear from hence the Childe who we disprize
Far from the land once curt by his control.
His advent brilliant as the rocket's rise,-
His exit as when falling from the skies,
Charred and extinct, it drops like any stone
Down to the depths where shipwreck's treasure lies;
So sinks the rocket stick with bubbling groan,
Without a grave, unknelled, uncoffin'd and unknown.\(^{54}\)

The office of Governor offered no immunity from the caustic satire of Mr Punch. In fact it was quite the opposite for the Governor was cast in the early issues of Melbourne Punch as a money-grabbing opportunist and as an itinerant not interested in the affairs of the colony. Barkly, however, managed to break this stereotype. While it may have been expected that Mr Punch would be hostile to Barkly he in fact became a firm and almost sycophantic admirer. In many illustrations Barkly and Punch and Toby appear almost as co-conspirators. In In Between the Acts (cat. no. 613*) they sit cosily together in a theatre box watching Haines sweep up various parliamentary Bills. This illustration refers to a break in Parliament of one week at a time when Haines was struggling to settle two of the major issues of the day concerning the Land Bill and State Aid to churches and schools. In addition to being Punch's friend, Barkly is also portrayed as a conciliator, such as in the Last Appeal (cat. no. 767*). Such images are completely different to earlier illustration where the Governor is harshly berated and they reflect the high public standing which Barkly had gained partly through the positive propaganda carried out with the printed portrait.

---

\(^{54}\)Melbourne Punch, 1855, vol. 1, p. 84.
George Thomas's Caricatures

*Melbourne Punch* was the dominant satirical magazine of the period, with other publications such as the *Armchair* and *Ballarat Punch* enjoying only brief periods of popularity. Magazines and the printed medium were not the only form that caricatures appeared in. The Castlemaine Art Gallery and Historical Museum holds a number of pencil and ink sketches by the caricaturist George H. Thomas, who did not publish his work but instead followed a common eighteenth century practice of displaying his caricatures in shop windows. Thomas exhibited his illustrations in Mr Wilson's shop, the local stationer who had premises in Hargreaves Street, one of the busiest streets in the gold town of Castlemaine, giving Thomas's work a high degree of exposure.

Very little is known of Thomas's life before he arrived on the goldfields and started caricaturing Castlemaine's local identities. A newspaper report of June 1859 mentions that he was an illustrator for the *Illustrated London News* but beyond this, details of his early career are unknown. Alan McCulloch, who first brought Thomas's work to light in *Artists of the Australian Gold Rushes*, and then in *Encyclopedia of Australian Art*, describes him as a caricaturist and illustrator who was working in the Castlemaine district from 1855, before being arrested at Daylesford in 1865. The *DAA* adds to McCulloch's account, revealing that by 1867 Thomas had moved to Tasmania and had started working for Hobart *Punch*.

Thomas is best remembered as a protagonist in a court case in which he brought charges against a Mr George Smyth for destroying a number of his caricatures. George Smyth was a barrister and one of Thomas's favourite subjects. Smyth was continually annoyed with the liberties which Thomas was taking with his likeness

---

55 The *Armchair* did not carry any portraits and there are no issues of *Ballarat Punch* in public collections.

56 For an account of Thomas's activities see a report in the *Mount Alexander Mail*, 17 June 1859.

57 *Mount Alexander Mail*, 17 June 1859. There are illustrations by a W. Thomas in the *Illustrated London News*, but there are no signed illustrations by a George Thomas.

58 *EAA*, p. 1188.

59 *DAA*, p. 790.
and in May 1859 became so outraged that he stormed into Wilson's shop and tore up one of Thomas's illustrations:

On the 13th of this month he [Thomas] had drawn a caricature, which so far as could at this moment be gathered respecting the defence, had been interpreted by the defendant to be a representation of himself. It was exhibited in the shop window of Mr Wilson, for the purpose of public observation, so that the parties might see it, and any person choosing to do so might become a purchaser. It was then vied by crowds of admirers, and amongst others the defendant came and looked also (laugh). Having looked, he went into the shop and requested to look at the picture. There was only a woman in the shop, and confiding in his position as a gentleman, she handed it to him. Directly she had done so however, he tore it up and threw the pieces into the street.\(^6\)

In the *EAA*, McCulloch writes that after this incident, and the subsequent publicity from the trial, Thomas's work 'enjoyed a brief period of popularity'.\(^6\) The court proceedings attracted considerable attention and the value of Thomas's work increased, with copies of the offending pictures selling for as much as 30 shillings. Unfortunately none of these copies seems to have survived. In court, Thomas declared that before Smyth's action his caricatures were worth only a guinea but had since risen to two. Smyth was in fact a favourite for Thomas. Smyth's lawyer alleged that if Smyth left town Thomas would have no means of livelihood. Thomas, quick with a reply, declared to great laughter 'Oh no. There would still Mr Donogh and yourself.' Smyth's lawyer, Wilson, was obviously not as amused as the rest of the court and asked Thomas what right he had to caricature any public man. Unfortunately for the art historian, there was an objection to this question and Thomas did not have to reply. Although such direct questions went unanswered, much can be gleaned from the trial proceedings on the community's attitude towards caricature, caricaturists and the rights of men holding public office.

The court case reveals a lack of sympathy for Smyth and, while it was believed that private lives should remain just that, the public life of prominent citizens was fair

\(^6\) *Mount Alexander Mail*, 17 June 1859.

\(^6\) *EAA*, p. 1188.
game. Smyth's grievances were not treated seriously and the whole case was surrounded by mirth and hilarity. In the end the court found in favour of the caricaturist, fined Smyth 1 shilling and awarded Thomas 15 shillings in damages.\textsuperscript{62} The judgement clearly showed that caricature was an acceptable part of public life and that in the democratic, post-gold era the caricaturist had the support of the populace. Although there were instances where Chevalier's victims complained about his work,\textsuperscript{63} he received general sanction, expressing entire satisfaction with the amount of support which he received as a colonial artist.\textsuperscript{64} There were still boundaries, particularly when it came to private citizens, as a letter in the \textit{Mount Alexander Mail}, from the irate 'Common Decency', reveals but this applied to private not public citizens:

It is now apparently a part and portion of the daily avocation of a knight of the pencil [...] to enter the court on its opening, take his seat within (not at) the bar, help himself to a sheet of paper [...] and exercise his powers of caricature upon any object deemed worthy of distinguished consideration. This day, an unfortunate widow woman, of unprepossessing appearance, was in the witness box. A caricature was immediately prepared, handed openly to on of the profession, by him to the Clerk of the Court, and from that functionary to the Bench of the Magistrates, each of whom seemed to compare the caricature to the original with immense amusement! As a bystander, I protest against the manner of conducting public business. I protest against the free permission accorded to the distinguished artist of occupying a seat forbidden to other of more creditable and cleanly antecedents.\textsuperscript{65}

The status of the caricaturist had changed considerably since the days when a Mr Pittman used to work in the colony. Pittman had arrived in Victoria in 1843 and, after going into business with his brother, exhibited two portraits of local identities, a Mr Berverley Suttor (cat. no. 314) and a Mr Hooson (cat. no. 315). Throughout

\textsuperscript{62}Following this decision, Smyth wanted to take the case further and had intentions of bringing a libel case against Thomas - see the \textit{Mount Alexander Mail}, 20 June 1859. A letter which was subsequently published reveals that Smyth had dropped the action - see \textit{Mount Alexander Mail}, 22 June 1859.

\textsuperscript{63}In the proceedings of the Thomas versus Smyth case, there is an incident mentioned where a Mr Bernal, of Melbourne, was so offended by a caricature in \textit{Punch} that he was provoked into assaulting the editor.

\textsuperscript{64}Bonyhady, \textit{Images in Opposition}, p. 15.

\textsuperscript{65}\textit{Mount Alexander Mail}, 15 March 1861, p. 5.
November 1843 these caricatures could be seen in Pittman's shop window with the announcement that they were first in a series of 'Heads of People'. In the *Port Phillip Gazette* of 11 November 1843, Pittman is described as a 'limner of the first class' and the two caricatures by him are mentioned:

The likeness of Suttor was admirable, but Hooson's is unparalleled. Every rut and crevice in this worthy's face is depicted with character and truth; he is represented in his official costume, with his countenance exhibiting the inexpressible surprise and dismay with which he heard Councillor Smith's motion on Tuesday last, for the general reduction of the corporation servants' salaries.66

The image of Suttor was still apparently on display in 1845, along with other 'heads of the people' which had been added to the collection, including a lithograph of Alderman Kerr (cat. no. 182), which the writer for the *Port Phillip Herald* noted was first rate but 'too flattering'.67 The Kerr caricature caused considerable furore with the *Patriot* expressing a fear that the portrait might be published by the *Port Phillip Herald*.68 The *Herald* refuted such 'allegations' and denied that it would ever publish caricatures, and announced 'to throw open our columns to the caricaturist [sic] would be to place ourselves on a level with the lower cast of public prints'.69

By the 1850s the caricature had become a much more acceptable form of public print with the caricaturists themselves receiving the support of the community. The middle classes were such a dominant force that the 'lower cast of public prints' were pervasive. The gentry could not have helped but been aware of the popular but disrespectful work of the caricaturist. This is all a demonstration that the middle classes were becoming more powerful and that the old gentry were justified in their fear of the middle classes. Similarly, Thomas, although finding himself constantly in the courts for drunkenness and vagrancy, received much support and even achieved a certain notoriety. Henry Britton, a pioneer of Castlemaine, in a speech

---

66 *Port Phillip Gazette*, 11 November 1843.

67 *Port Phillip Herald*, 18 February 1845.

68 Mentioned in the *Port Phillip Herald*, 18 February 1845.

69 *Port Phillip Herald*, 18 February 1845.
delivered to the Castlemaine Association of Pioneers and Old Residents on 17 June 1887, looked back over Castlemaine's history and even all those years later recalled 'a clever cartoon by a well-known local artist of genuine talent, named Thomas'.\textsuperscript{70} By the mid 1860s Thomas's fortunes appear to have been waning and in May 1864 he was arrested for drunkenness. In another article of September 1864 he is referred to as an artist who was well known in Castlemaine some time ago, with the report adding, however, that he had once again been arrested for vagrancy.\textsuperscript{71} A few years after this incident, Thomas had left Victoria and in May 1867 the \emph{Mount Alexander Mail} reports that he was headed to Hobart Town to take up work as an illustrator for \emph{Punch}.\textsuperscript{72}

Apart from these newspaper reports and the caricatures themselves, the only other clues to Thomas's life and work can be found in a set of notes in the Castlemaine Art Gallery, entitled \emph{Notes on the Hargrave Cartoons}. These hand-written notes were compiled in 1952 by a Miss Brotherton, who was working at the Castlemaine Art Gallery when several of Thomas's caricatures from the A. L. Hargrave estate were handed over to the Gallery.\textsuperscript{73} These notes contain rather haphazard jottings and unresolved work on nine of the Thomas cartoons, eight of these from the Hargrave estate and one from the Aitken estate. The provenance of the cartoons is difficult to establish and it is not known exactly how the illustrations ended up in the Hargrave family. All that A. L. Hargrave knew was that his mother had received them from his uncle, Charles James Dawson, who had been one of Melbourne's early barristers:

The story, which came to me by my mother, was that an Editor of a paper in Castlemaine or Bendigo had published something which had offended, resulting in the Editor being thrashed, and a law suit

\textsuperscript{70}Henry Britton's address of 17 June 1887 published in Castlemaine Association of Pioneers and Old Residents, \emph{Records of the Castlemaine Pioneers} (Melbourne: Rigby Limited, 1972), p. 68.

\textsuperscript{71}\emph{Mount Alexander Mail}, 14 September 1865, although there was not enough evidence to charge him

\textsuperscript{72}\emph{Mount Alexander Mail}, 6 May 1867.

\textsuperscript{73}Information from Laurreta Zilles at the Castlemaine Art Gallery.
followed. I assume that C. J. Dawson was the barrister for the Editor and that is how the cartoons came into my possession.\textsuperscript{74}

Unfortunately this explanation of the origin of the cartoons raises more questions than it resolves. It is difficult to establish exactly what the connection was between Dawson and Thomas. Dawson was not involved in the 1859 trial of Thomas versus Smyth, so there exists no evidence that the two met then and this clearly was not the law suit that Hargrave's mother refers to in the above passage. Judging from the illustrations that Dawson had, which can be dated to circa 1856-1858, as will be shown, it seems that the two must have met around then. While it is only speculation, it may be that the law suit that Hargrave's mother is alluding to was the well publicised case of Stephen versus Wilson and Mackinnon, the proprietors and editors of the \textit{Argus}. This was a complex case, but essentially Stephen was suing the \textit{Argus} for comments made about his character just after he had decided to stand for election for the District of Talbot. The editors had published statements claiming that Stephen's behaviour, when he was in the colony of South Australia some fifteen years earlier, had shown that he was not worthy of public office. Dawson represented the editors and fits Hargrave's mother's description of the case.

If this is the case she is referring to, Thomas was not involved in it and therefore the question still remains as to how a Melbourne barrister such as Dawson came into possession of the cartoons? The answer may lie in the fact that much of the substance of the case against the editors of the \textit{Argus} revolved around earlier libel allegations between Stephen and the proprietor of the \textit{South Australian Register} - a Mr Robert Thomas. This case caused equally as much consternation and for the Thomas family of Adelaide, the Melbourne law suit which re-dredged so many issues concerning Stephen's character, was of so much interest that one of Robert Thomas's sons, William Kyffin Thomas, was sent to Melbourne and acted as a chief witness for the \textit{Argus}. It may be that George Thomas was somehow related to the Thomas family of Adelaide, although there is no conclusive documentation to support such a hypothesis and the theory remains only speculation. It is interesting to note, however, that the Thomas family of Adelaide also had artists amongst its

\textsuperscript{74}Notes on the Hargrave Cartoons, 1952, Castlemaine Art Gallery.
members and that at the same time that they became involved in Stephen case, the name of George Thomas the caricaturist appears for the first time in Victoria.\textsuperscript{75}

It is possible too that Thomas met Dawson in yet another court case, in 1856, at around the same time that the Stephen versus Argus case was being heard. The Argus reports that a George Thomas was arrested for stealing a comb. This incident fits into our picture of Thomas, who was always involved in minor legal problems and who may not have been the alcoholic that the DAA claims he was, but who was known to be often drunk:

A man named George Thomas was charged at the City Court yesterday with stealing a comb from a German hawker, named Hermann Braun. The complainant, it appeared, had gone into the Limerick Castle Hotel, in Elizabeth-street, on the previous day, and offered his wares. The prisoner, who was there, under the influence of drink it was alleged took up a comb of small value and did not return it, whereupon the complainant gave him into custody of a policeman. The prisoner denied having taken the comb at all, but the Bench found him guilty, and offered him the option of trial by jury, which he instantly selected, and was admitted to bail for his appearance at the next Criminal Sessions.\textsuperscript{76}

The outcome of Thomas's appearance at the Criminal Sessions was also published in the Argus, where it was reported that he was found not guilty and discharged with a caution for future conduct.\textsuperscript{77} In this report it is mentioned that the hawker, from whom Thomas allegedly stole the comb, was represented by Dr Mackay but there is no mention of who represented Thomas. It may be that it was Dawson, or that at least Thomas met Dawson in the law court at this time. Thomas may have given Dawson the cartoons, or Dawson may have bought them from him, but as the illustrations Dawson had in his possession span a number of years, it appears that there was some enduring relationship between the two.

\textsuperscript{75}The Diary and Letters of Mary Thomas, ed. by E. K. Thomas, (Adelaide: W. K. Thomas & Co., 1915), p. 130. Unfortunately this diary only extends to the early 1840s and does not cover the period when the Stephen versus the Argus case was being heard. Mary Thomas, however, was an artist, who encouraged her family in the pursuits of the fine arts. See DAA, entry under 'Thomas, J. T.', p. 791, and 'Skipper, John Michael', pp. 729-730.

\textsuperscript{76}Argus, 21 August 1856.

\textsuperscript{77}Argus, 17 September 1856
Of the nine caricatures discussed in the *Notes on the Hargrave Cartoons*, only four have survived cat. (nos. 388*, 389, 390* and 406*). The meaning of these cartoons is even more difficult to decipher than those in *Melbourne Punch*, mainly because they are not even dated. The simplest to interpret is the caricature of Vincent Pyke (cat. no. 406*), which came from the Aitken estate. Vincent Pyke was a politician who had first entered the public arena when he was elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1856. He was unable to afford to keep his seat in the Assembly and in February 1857 resigned in the hope of becoming the government's immigration agent. The Government of the day, however, fell and the position was never created, leaving Pyke stranded in England without an income. Pyke returned to Victoria in 1858 and was appointed warden to Sandhurst - or Bendigo as it is now known. The caricature dates from this period in Pyke's life. The title of 'odd fish' with the pun on 'pike' had been used earlier with the *Mount Alexander Mail* giving him this title in its issue of 27 February 1857.\(^78\) A newspaper clipping attached to the illustration describes the new warden:

THE NEW BENDIGO WARDEN. - Considerable interest was excited yesterday, in Sandhurst, by the appearance of a gentleman with any quantity of spectacles, and bearded like the Bard, who was for a considerable portion of the day revolving around the Camp, like a planet around the sun. On inquiry, it was ascertained that the gentleman in question was our newly appointed Warden, Mr Vincent Pyke.\(^79\)

Identifying the characters and dating the other illustrations is not quite so straightforward as with the Pyke illustration. One other illustration from the Hargrave estate contains enough clues to date it and to proceed to an interpretation of its content, but it also shows the complexities and difficulties interpreting such ephemeral material. This is an illustration which shows a crouched figure with 'reputation' written across his back, with a man standing to the left holding a dagger with 'REPORT' written on it (cat. no. 388*). This figure is wearing a head band and feather and has the dagger pointing towards the crouched figure. Another man

---

\(^78\) *Mount Alexander Mail*, 27 February 1857.

\(^79\) From *Mercury*, no date given.
in the centre pulls back a curtain, which has the words 'MOUNT ALEXANDER MAIL' running across the top, and reveals an awkwardly positioned man on a pedestal. He has a scroll in this hand which reads 'CENSUR PAL COUNCIL'. On the base of the pedestal is 'SAINT ALEXANDER', indicating that the caricature is the editor of the Mount Alexander Mail, Mr Saint. The key to dating this cartoon is in the building in the background called 'Traynor Boot and Shoe Maker.' Alexander Traynor is listed in the Castlemaine directories of 1856 and 1857 as a boot and shoe dealer of Mostyn and Hargrave streets but by February 1857, Traynor was advertising his shop for sale, as he was intending to return home. In the advertisement it is revealed that his shop was in the very centre of town and it may be that Thomas used to display his caricatures in this shop, before going to Wilson, and this is why it is included in the illustration. The point is, however, that Traynor's shop had gone by 1857 and therefore it can be assumed that the illustration dates from before then.

Given that the cartoon was drawn around 1856/57, a review of the major news items and events of this period reveals the narrative of the cartoon. It is likely that the illustration relates to a battle between the Town Clerk and the Mount Alexander Mail. In April 1857 the Town Clerk, Henry Christophers, resigned, presenting a letter which stated that he wanted the Council to appoint a commission of three merchants to investigate his accounts, in order that his character might be cleared from the wilful aspersions of the press. In his letter of resignation he wrote of 'wilfully malignant defamation and slurs with which I am most unjustly assailed by a senseless press'. One of the councillors, Mr Hitchcock, felt that these words should be removed from the letter, arguing that the council should not endorse such sentiments and imputations against the press. Mr Hitchcock then moved that the financial statement should not be accepted as it was not a detailed and exact enough account of expenditure, causing a furore because of what this implied about Christophers' financial management. A series of letters were published between

80 Mount Alexander Mail, 20, 23 February, 18 March, 1857. There are also portrait rooms in the background which are presumed in Notes on the Hargrave Cartoons to be those of Wheeler, but he was not in Castlemaine until much later.

81 Mount Alexander Mail, 8 April 1857.

82 Mount Alexander Mail, 8 April 1857.
Christophers and the editor of the Mount Alexander Mail. Allegations were thrown backwards and forth about unfair and unsubstantiated slurs concerning municipal funds and the Mail's responsibility in its reports of the town council's proceedings. Everything in the Thomas cartoon indicates that it is this feud between Saint and Christophers which is being referred to, with Saint shown sitting in judgement of Christophers. Chapman, a barber and councillor, has been identified in Notes on the Hargrave Cartoons as the figure in the background. The figure holding the dagger, ready to destroy 'reputation', may be Mr Hitchcock and the figure throwing the curtain open is probably another councillor involved in the whole affair, Walter Smith.

Most of the Thomas illustrations, such as the one above, are drawn with quick, sketchy pencil lines and rely heavily on written captions to identify the subjects. Thomas's skills as a draughtsman were limited and compared to caricaturists such as Chevalier he lacked the ability to capture a personality powerfully and insightfully. Nor is the humour in his work as sophisticated, for in caricatures such as that of Pyke (cat. no. 406*), Thomas relies on rather obvious puns, while in Punch when caricaturing Pyke he is cast as Richelieu (cat. no. 461*). Due to the inferior quality of Thomas's work, one cartoon in the Castlemaine Gallery, reputedly by Thomas, stands out because it is drawn with an ease, sharpness and certainty of line that is uncharacteristic of his work. This is the illustration entitled Here We Are Again (cat. no. 390*). In fact it is so unlike the rest of Thomas's work that it must be concluded that it is not his work at all.

In the Notes on the Hargrave Cartoons it is stated that all the drawings are probably by Thomas but that maybe that some are the work of Nicholas Chevalier. In terms of style, with bolder lines and less detail and shading, Here We Are Again is more like Chevalier's work. It is reminiscent of the illustrations he was doing for Melbourne Punch, with one of his cartoons Here I Am Again (cat. no. 566*) not only given a similar title but also being remarkably similar in composition. The writing also appears to be that of Chevalier's, with the 'N' in 'RETURN' the same as the 'N' Chevalier used in his monogram. At the top of the illustration is the caption 'Return of the Artist', which indicates that the figure in the middle, shown with a pen in his hand, is a self-portrait of the artist. Consequently, if this cartoon was by Chevalier, the figure would be Chevalier's self-portrait. A comparison with
a self-portrait which Chevalier did in 1857 (fig. 12) indeed shows that the artist represented in Here We Are Again could easily be a self-caricature of Chevalier, with his full beard and broad rimmed hat. If this illustration is by Chevalier, it reveals that Chevalier's ties with the goldfields were stronger and more extensive than previously thought. It is known that Chevalier went on expeditions with fellow artist Eugéne von Guérard and their friend William Howitt, but his ability to caricature so many of Castlemaine's leading citizens and, that he was 'returning', indicates that he must have spent quite a considerable amount of time in Castlemaine.

The George Thomas illustrations demonstrate how difficult it can be to interpret ephemera. However, the ephemera do give a great insight into the politics of the day and demonstrate how the caricaturist could take liberties with men of public standing. Political leaders and their actions were open to attack from the satirist. The caricaturing of men in public office was widely condoned, with caricatures being displayed in shop windows and published in magazines. As the patrons of these caricatures, it is clear that the majority of the Victorian populace took great amusement in seeing their political leaders mocked. While the victims might rally against such illustrators as Chevalier and Thomas, in the end they had very little choice but to also laugh at the satire. Caricatures are the only extant images of some Victorian politicians and the only likenesses that some of the colonists would ever have seen. As such they were extremely powerful images, which not only revealed the majority view but also helped to form it. Unfortunately, most of the material associated with the printing and publication of political portraits has not survived and other factors involved, such as the impact on the public, is difficult to measure. It is clear, however, that there was a growing awareness of the power of the press and the role that the printed portrait could have in an emerging democratic society. Victorian politicians were aware of this and along with various publishers saw the economic and propaganda potential, both good and bad, of the printed portrait.
CHAPTER 5

PORTRAITS OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES

In the last three chapters much of the discussion has revolved around the reaction of the upper classes and politicians to the growing middle class population who arrived with the discovery of gold and who irrevocably changed the social and political landscape. As Russell comments, the 1850s were notable for the expansion and diversification of the bourgeoisie.¹ The middle classes were the people who forced the old colonist to look with 'disdainful and sour glance at the moving masses that have almost effaced the memory of "days long gone and passed away"'.² The middle classes have only been presented in their role as stimulating the increase in the production of ancestral and political portraits. In this chapter the focus is directed towards the actual portraits of the middle classes. An attempt is made to gain a better understanding of this group's visual culture and to analyse the likenesses they bought and ordered of themselves.

There are some fundamental problems in studying the portraits of the middle classes in that very few of these portraits are extant and most of the related documentation is lost. As far as can be estimated, only a minuscule percentage of the portraits has survived and in almost all cases the identities of the subjects and the patrons has been lost. As with portrait prints, while there may be difficulties in studying this body of work, in an examination of the sociology of portraiture the portraits of the middle classes cannot be dismissed. As Zolberg writes, a sociological perspective means incorporating the routine as well as the rare.³ The lack of information has resulted, however, in a change of approach. Discussion in this chapter operates on a more general level, rather than looking in fine detail at particular portraits or patrons. Most of the surviving information on the portraits of the middles classes concerns the portraitists, with newspapers and magazines, advertisements and articles being the greatest source of information. This has meant that the role of the portraitist comes

¹Russell, A Wish of Distinction, p. 3.
²Armchair, 3 September 1853.
to fore. The lives and work of various artists, such as Perez Mann Batchelder, Walter Bentley Woodbury, Andrew Macredie, Samuel Henry Sadd, Letitia Davidson and Georgiana McCrae are analysed. Their lives and experiences dominate the discussion of photography and silhouettes, portrait engraving and mementoes, and the role of women artists in the colony.

In the gold decade there was a population explosion in Victoria with the estimated population rising from 97,489 in 1851 to 541,800 in 1861. The population was largely male; in 1861 there were 321,724 males in the colony as compared to 220,076 females. The majority of these migrants came from England with a total of 251,263 arriving from British ports. Looking beyond the statistics it is difficult to describe the middle class population of Victoria as it was a rather amorphous group. It consisted of fortune hunters, merchants, clerks, single men and women, and families. Unlike such groups as the old gentry whose names and occupations can almost all be listed and who were largely united by a common ideology, the middle classes were not a homogeneous group. A discussion of middle class portraiture must be sensitive to these differences, especially with the diggers on the goldfields representing a group within this class who lived very different lives to those people in Melbourne and surrounding towns. In a search for some common ground there are some generalisations which can be made about the majority of the Victorian population in the 1850s. As noted in chapter 'Chapter 4', the Victorian population was generally well-educated and literate, with the illustrations and commentary in Melbourne Punch revealing a high level of political awareness. It is important to note this awareness as it bred a consciousness that there were privileged groups living in their midst - namely the squatters and old colonists - and an expectation of political rights. Political awareness did not equate to a revolutionary spirit and, again as seen in 'Chapter 4', there was an underlying conservatism in the democratic claims of the colonial masses.

Amongst the thousands who were attracted by the riches of Victoria there were many portraitists. A discussion of the experience of artists in the colony reveals much

---

4Figures taken from Serle, p. 382.

5Serle, p. 385.
about the development of portraiture. In a study such as this, which essentially adopts a sociological approach, the emphasis on the portraitist's role needs to be explained. The sociology of art traditionally stands in opposition to the history of art as the history of the artist hero and to the approach which reaches back to the work of Vasari, where the artist is immortalised and described as a divinely inspired genius who transcends his social background. In recent decades such approaches have been discredited and art historians have argued that one of the major obstacles in the history of art is the preoccupation with the artist. The art historians who pioneered sociological methodologies, such as Antal and Hauser, dispensed with the intangible quality of genius and removed greatness as the criteria for judging and interpreting visual culture. They focused on the social environment that the art object was created in and the relationship between visual culture, economics and class struggle. The question was then asked as to whether the artist should be considered at all and, as Zolberg writes, does it matter who creates the work? It is argued here, as Zolberg concludes, that it is neither satisfactory sociologically nor as an intellectual strategy to dismiss the artist because 'amputating initial creation distorts the sociological project of understanding the relations of society and art'. The artist should not simply be ignored but instead it is important that the artist is not discussed as a mystical creator. Rather the artist should be assessed as a person who can be understood in the terms of the society within which he or she works.

As noted in the 'Introduction' the artist, in particular the portraitist, is subject to the whims and tastes of the market. Wolff remarks that in the nineteenth century the disintegration of traditional ties between producer and consumer - such as the Church and Academy - meant that the artist became a free-floating, unattached individual, not bounded by patron or commission and having to resort to the art market. Wolff quotes Vazques and argues that the requirements of the market had a great impact on the artist:

The artist is subject to the tastes, preferences, ideas, and aesthetic notions of those who influence the market. In as much as he

---

6 Zolberg, p. 114.
7 Zolberg, p. 114.
8 Wolff, p. 18.
produces works of art destined for a market that absorbs them, the artist cannot fail to heed the exigencies of this market: they often affect the content as well as the form of a work of art, thus placing limitations on the artist, stifling his creative potential, his individuality.\textsuperscript{9}

Of course the artist/patron relationship operated in both directions and just as the status and ideology of the patron influenced the content and form of the portrait, so did the views and background of the portraitist. As Pollock writes, artists do not passively reproduce ideology but participate in its construction and alteration.\textsuperscript{10} In the case of Dowling, for example, he came from squatter stock and therefore had an understanding of the threat posed by the new chums and democratic ideals. What we see in his portraits may be as much the intention of Robert Dowling as his patrons. Chevalier's training and outlook must also be seen to have influenced his work and, along with the demands of the market, resulted in the imagery and sophistication of the Melbourne Punch caricatures. In the case of the portraitists of the middle classes, their lives and backgrounds reveal that there were influences operating which have not been previously seen. In the middle class portrait market American artists and American pictorial conventions came to the fore.

**Photography and Silhouette**

In Victoria by the 1850s photography had developed into a thriving and competitive business. The catalysts for this growth were the gold rushes. From a handful of photographers working in the colony in the late 1840s Victoria saw literally hundreds of photographers set up businesses in the 1850s. The increase in the population meant that there was a much larger market for photography, making the establishment of permanent studios a viable option for photographers. As Cato writes, during the late 1850s many more photographers opened up their own studios, with the rapid rise in population allowing more photographers to put an end


\textsuperscript{10}Pollock, p. 47.
to travelling. The potential of this photographic market was not exploited by English photographers but rather was dominated by Americans, or photographers who had at least worked in America. Amongst them were R. H. Acley, the Batchelder brothers, Edwin Dalton, Townsend Duryea, Thomas Flintoff, Barnett Johnson, Charles Johnson, Daniel O'Neill and Augustus Baker Pierce, with a branch of the American firm Meade Brothers also established in Melbourne. In most cases the origins of colonial photographers is unknown and therefore a complete listing cannot be given of the photographers with American backgrounds. The names which have already been cited, however, do represent the most prominent and successful photographers in the colony, with the Batchelders almost undeniably the dominant operators in the colony.

Perez Mann Batchelder was a professional photographer and the elder brother of Freeman, Benjamin and Nathaniel Batchelder. He was born in Boston, Massachusetts, and, like so many of the Americans who arrived in Australia, immigrated from the east coast. Batchelder had worked on the Californian goldfields as an itinerant photographer, organising a chain of studios on wheels which could be easily moved from site to site. The Victorian gold rushes inspired Perez to extend the chain. He opened a Melbourne branch of P. M. Batchelder at 57 Collins Street East in 1854 and in that year exhibited a portrait of the town clerk (cat. no. 104) in the Melbourne Exhibition, 1854, in Connexion with the Paris Exhibition. In 1856 the firm Batchelder & O'Neill was established, with Freeman Batchelder taking over his brother's premises and going into business with Daniel O'Neill, who was from Salem in America.

The history of Australian colonial art has almost entirely ignored the American influence, with the emphasis placed on the British example. It is true, as has been demonstrated, that Britain and British portrait conventions played the major role in the development of portraiture in the colony. But in the middle class market, from techniques to attitudes toward female artists, the American influence was prominent. In the early days of photography the colonists had looked to England. For instance,

11Cato, p. 11

12See 'Appendix A' for references and biographical details on the Batchelder brothers.
one of the colony's earliest photographers Douglas Kilburn came from London and was lauded for his British connections as the brother of William Edward Kilburn, the photographic artist to the Queen: ¹³

We strongly recommend our readers to pay a visit to the studio of Mr. Kilburn [...] in order to witness the wonder working powers of the daguerreotype. Acting on the instructions received from his brother, the most distinguished photographic artist of the day, Mr Kilburn has carried the art to a perfection hitherto unknown here - the likenesses he produces being speakingly true, and quite devoid of that dull leaden aspect which seemed formerly to be inseparable from likenesses obtained by this process. ¹⁴

By the 1850s the situation had changed considerably. Kilburn's promotion of himself as the brother of the photographer to the Queen was replaced by advertisements such as that by Johnson & Co, claiming that their daguerreotypes were 'faithful likeness in the celebrated American style'. ¹⁵ What, however, was this 'celebrated American style'? The American style can largely be described in terms of technique. As stated in the first chapter, from the mid-1850s the negative collodion process - the ambrotype - was popular in Australia. It was not a process, however, which had gained widespread appeal in Britain or Europe, where the collodion print was favoured. In the colony the French photographer Fauchery showed his European background in using this process in his collodion prints published under the title of *Sun Pictures*. The 'hybrid' process of the ambrotype, which used features common to both collodion photography and the daguerreotype process, was not particularly popular in France or Europe. The ambrotype was, however, dominant form of photography in America, revealing just one instance of where photographers after the gold rushes followed the American lead rather than Europe. The ambrotype's popularity rested in the fact that it was cheaper than the daguerreotype, dispensing with the expensive copper plates, and it avoided the printing and expense necessary for photographs on paper.

¹³*Argus*, 1 August 1848.

¹⁴*Argus*, 7 July 1848.

¹⁵January 1855, quoted in the *DAA*, p. 406.
To understand the dominance of the Americans in the middle class market it is important to recognise the vital factor of American business prowess. Their commercial aggression was crucial in winning the patronage for the production of photographic portraits. Australia was an extremely difficult place for a photographer to financially survive in and it took more than just being a good photographer to survive the financial vicissitudes of the 1850s. Most of Victoria's photographers were situated in Melbourne itself, although there were many others working in Geelong and Ballarat. Some colonial photographers were driven to extremes in the battle for their share of the portrait market. With the hundreds of photographers working in the colony, the scramble for customers increased as the decade progressed, to the point where Mr J. Noone was even offering a freehold allotment with every portrait taken.\textsuperscript{16} A lottery of works of art, conducted by Messrs. Peck and Noone, offered as an attraction a photographic portrait of each subscriber, in addition to the chances of a prize.\textsuperscript{17} Others such as Mr W. J. Wilson established 'A Subscription Portrait Club' as an incentive to prospective clientele, where portraits cost from 10s. 6d. to 20s and could be paid for in weekly instalments of 2s. 6d.\textsuperscript{18} Others were offering photographs more cheaply, as low as 7s 6d from the Photographic Portrait Gallery which produced 'LIFE PORTRAITS' of all sizes.\textsuperscript{19} Added to the competition amongst the professional photographers, the amateur photographer was also emerging as a significant entity amongst the middle classes.\textsuperscript{20} In advertisements from the late 1850s, photographers such as George William Perry offered instruction for amateurs and sold photographic equipment,\textsuperscript{21} including apparatus and chemicals for the collodion process.\textsuperscript{22} The interest in photography

\textsuperscript{16}Melbourne Punch, 2 September 1858.

\textsuperscript{17}New Letter of Australasia, October 1857, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{18}My Note Book, 2 May 1857, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{19}My Note Book, 4 April 1857, p. 108.

\textsuperscript{20}For a discussion of the emergence of amateur photography in the mid-nineteenth century see Grace Seiberling Amateurs, Photography, and the Mid-Victorian Imagination (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). Seiberling explains how amateur photography moved from being a concern of the learned gentleman to being a hobby to fill up the leisure time of the bourgeoisie.

\textsuperscript{21}Melbourne's Punch Almanack, 1857, advertisement page.

\textsuperscript{22}Melbourne Punch Almanack, 1856.
had grown so much that in 1860 the Photographic Society of Victoria was formed as a meeting place and forum for developments in photography.\textsuperscript{23}

A better understanding of just how difficult it was for a photographer to survive in the colony can be gained from looking at the experiences of one of Perez Mann Batchelder's employees, Walter Woodbury. Woodbury was an Englishman whose experiences demonstrate that he did not have the business skills which were associated with the Americans. We know much of Woodbury's life in Victoria from a collection of letters held at the Royal Photographic Society in Bath. The letters are mostly addressed to his mother and reveal the difficulties involved in establishing a photographic business in the colony. Woodbury was born on 26 June 1834 at Manchester, England. He learned to take collodion photographs before he left from Liverpool for Victoria on 6 July 1852, attracted by the gold rushes. Arriving in Melbourne on the \textit{Serampore} on 9 October and finding that thousands had preceded him to the goldfields, Woodbury earned a living as a carrier of goods and a cook for a few weeks, then became an assistant surveyor with the Government, taking photographs as a hobby with an adapted camera obscura he had purchased locally. On 30 January 1853 he wrote to his mother that he could 'at last manage to take a good likeness, now I never have a failure', and that he was teaching Dawson, the surveyor for whom he was working, to take photographs as well.\textsuperscript{24}

In January 1854 Woodbury was working as a draughtsman with the Commission of Sewers and Water Supply but by 30 December 1854 he had lost his job. He informed his mother that he was 'once more without a situation [...] and with not the least chance of getting it' so had decided 'to turn photographic artist'.\textsuperscript{25} He set up in partnership with a Mr Spencer to whom he had taught photography, and they proposed to travel around the diggings taking portraits. The venture was not a success and Woodbury set up on his own at North Melbourne. His North Melbourne business also struggled to survive. As business was dull he decided to accept an offer from Perez Mann Batchelder to come and take 'glass pictures' for him

\textsuperscript{23}Davies and Stanbury, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{24}Walter Woodbury Papers, Royal Photographic Society, Bath (UK), letter no. 489, 30 January 1853.

\textsuperscript{25}Walter Woodbury Papers, letter no. 498, 30 December 1854.
in town, with Batchelder telling Woodbury that he thought he was 'the best glass artist in Melbourne'. This arrangement did not last long and by February 1856 he was once again concentrating exclusively on his North Melbourne business. But here he could not attract enough patronage, as he explained to his mother in August 1856:

When I last wrote I had an establishment in North Melbourne, but did not do very much. There are so many artists in this Colony that is only those who have got settled business [sic] in the centre of the towns that can do well at it. If I had capital I might have got on well as I think that my production, at the present time, are equal to any in the colony. The only place in the Colony [...] where there was no one in the business was the Ovens Gold Fields. Having about £50 [...] I and Davis, (a young man who I taught the business to) started last March and after a walk of 200 miles, arrived here [Woodshed Creek, Beechworth] being 14 days on the road. [...] We had not been set up 2 days before another party in the same business arrived and started in the same place, but whenever one person goes another is sure to come. Business there might be enough for one person but not for two.  

Unable to meet with success in the colony, in 1857 Woodbury left for Batavia. His experiences demonstrated that skill alone did not guarantee success. He lacked the business sense of the Batchelder brothers, a vital characteristic for a successful colonial photographer.

The business success of the Americans comprised a number of elements, including being zealous in the promotion of their services. Batchelder advertised heavily, using the newspapers as the most effective way to attract patronage. He also used to display portraits of celebrities in the windows to attract patronage. Woodbury noted that Batchelder included a portrait of the celebrated dancer Lola Montez, displayed with 'all the [other] celebrated characters hung out at the door'. Beaumont Newhall writes that in America it was a common practice for photographers to place

---

26 Walter Woodbury Papers, letter no. 500, 1 August 1855.

27 Walter Woodbury Papers, letter no. 501, 26 February 1856.

28 Walter Woodbury Papers, letter no. 502, 23 August 1856.

29 Walter Woodbury Papers, letter no. 500, 1 August 1855.
portraits of celebrities in their shop windows, partly because collections of celebrities brought revenue from publishers who had engravings made from them, but also to raise publicity.\textsuperscript{30} In a similar way painters and sculptors used exhibitions to advertise their skills. But as Desmond Shawe-Taylor remarks, it was a ticklish question as to whether the portrait painter should advertise.\textsuperscript{31} Artists such as Dowling and Woolner did not advertise their skills, indicating that the elitist portraitists felt it was beneath them to advertise. Strutt advertised his services when he first arrived and once again in 1856 after his return from New Zealand but at both times he was extremely anxious to find work and to re-establish to attract commissions.\textsuperscript{32} The instance of Strutt advertising can be read as a sign of his desperation rather than demonstrating that advertising was an acceptable practice for artists of formal portraiture.

Apart from advertising, the key to American success seems to have been the profit made from importing photographic materials. Batchelder & O'Neill imported chemicals and equipment for their own use as well as for sale to amateurs and other professionals. They advertised that (see fig. 13):

\textbf{The trade supplied with every description of Apparatus and Materials.- The goods imported by B. and O'N. are from the best houses in England and America. The chemicals are prepared expressly for photographic purposes and superior to those sold by druggists. [...] Goods carefully packed and forwarded to any part of Australia and neighbouring colonies.}\textsuperscript{33}

Batchelder was in the position to supply these materials because of his connections to other Americans involved in shipping and commerce. The Americans in the colony had formed themselves into trading groups and had established strong shipping contacts. An insight into the American business community in Victoria is given in George Francis Train's letters, which date from 1853 to 1855 and have been


\textsuperscript{31}Shawe-Taylor, p. 18.

\textsuperscript{32}See 'Appendix A'.

\textsuperscript{33}Tanner's Directory, 1859.
BATCHELDER & O’NEILL’S
(LATE P. M. BATCHELDER’S)
DAGUERREOTYPE & PHOTOGRAPHIC
PORTRAIT ROOMS,
NO. 57, COLLINS STREET EAST.

B. & O’N. invite the attention of the Public to their large and commodious Rooms for the above business.

Having recently added another large Operating Room to their former extensive premises, with an excellent Sky-light for the taking of

COLLODION OR GLASS PORTRAITS,

they are now prepared to execute either the Daguerreotype or Glass Pictures in a style surpassed by none in the Colonies.

Portraits taken at their Establishment forwarded to any part of Europe and America, FREE OF CHARGE.

Their Rooms are easy of access, and fitted with every convenience for Ladies’ Toilet.

Correct Copies taken from Paintings or Daguerreotypes.

The Trade supplied with every description of Apparatus and Materials.

The Goods Imported by B. and O’N. are from the best houses in England and America.

The Chemicals are Prepared EXPRESSLY for Photographic purposes, and superior to those sold by Druggists.

PRICE LISTS forwarded to addresses.

Goods carefully packed and forwarded to any part of Australia and neighbouring Colonies.

fig. 13
published under the title of *A Yankee Merchant in Goldrush Australia*. Train was a merchant who had arrived in Victoria in 1853 and like Perez Mann Batchelder had been born in Boston. As described in the introduction to *A Yankee Merchant in Goldrush Australia*, Train was the 'epitome of the 'wide-awake' and enterprising Yankee merchant'.\(^{34}\) Train describes a situation in Melbourne where all business was motivated by Americans and American commercialism. For my purposes an interesting way of describing the American contribution to business comes in one of Train's letters describing the building of the exchange building:

> At a preliminary meeting of the subscribers it was suggested that a suitable statue of Queen Victoria should be placed in front of the building. Of course it would have been bad taste for me to have intimated that they had better get their cage before, &c.; or, as there were no Americans on the spot, to move an amendment that another statue of Washington should also be erected there.\(^{35}\)

Train's account is no doubt biased and pro-American but photography is one area where his claims for the superior business sense of the American can be substantiated. Many of the American immigrants, because of the Californian gold rushes, had had previous experience in trading with goldfields communities. Train believed that Melbourne had much in common with San Francisco as they were both port towns which were at the centre of gold rush fever. Train argued that in Melbourne all that was needed was the 'San Francisco style of doing things'.\(^{36}\) The San Francisco style of doing things brought success for photographers such as the Batchelder brothers.

It has often been argued that the photography took over the market of the oil painter. From the middle of the nineteenth century through until today, critics have held photography responsible for destroying the development of other forms of


\(^{35}\)Daniel and Potts (eds.), p. 30, letter 1 August 1853.

\(^{36}\)Daniel and Potts (eds.), p. 22, letter 23 June 1853.
portraiture, including oil painting and sculpture. The following remarks were typical of the 'fears' that photography was taking over from all other forms of portraiture:

The productions of the Daguerreotype [...] have absorbed the whole patronage in the line of portrait painting. This is much to be regretted, as this valuable discovery was never intended to take the place of Art, properly so called, but merely to be an auxiliary to the artist, by which he might be able to obtain correct and proper studies for his works.

Or as a critic for the *Melbourne Examiner* wrote:

It is most certain that of late years the mechanical skill of the photographer has greatly superseded the art of the portrait-painter. Indeed, miniature painting may be described as one of the lost arts.

The extent to which photography challenged large oil portraits or sculpture is, however, a debatable point. An examination of the ideological associations of photography versus oil painting reveal that they operated in different ways. The photograph as a symbol of power and supremacy could not challenge the formal portrait. One of the most obvious reasons why photographs could not encroach on the domain of high formal portraiture is to be found in an examination of their size. Their small scale simply made them less suitable for public display. One very large daguerreotype of William Kerr (cat. no. 128*), measuring 25.5 by 20.5 centimetres, was large enough for public display, as were many of the larger ambrotypes, which are mostly of politicians. Indeed many such photographs were included in the fine arts exhibitions. But most of the photographs being produced for the middle classes only had the dimensions of about 8 or 9 centimetres by 7 or 8 centimetres. As Piper has argued the impact of photography upon life-scale portraiture, in paint or in sculpture, was initially probably very slight because it could offer nothing that

---


38Just, pp. 17-18.

39*Examiner*, 19 October 1861.
seriously disturbed the prestige of the life-scale portrait as an object of pomp and circumstance.\textsuperscript{40}

Ironically, the lack of expense associated with the photograph also meant that it did not pose a serious threat to the sculpture or the oil painting. Cheapness meant that it could not be exclusive. With its popularity the photograph lost its power to be élitist. Here some of the arguments Ann Bermingham puts forward in her study of landscape and ideology are relevant. Bermingham observes that the upper classes of the eighteenth century needed to differentiate themselves both in the design of their gardens and in their landscape painting. Bermingham contends that it is ideologically significant that as the countryside, the common land, became more regularised in appearance with the enclosure acts, the gardens of the aristocracy became more informal and irregular.\textsuperscript{41} Similarly it may be argued that it is significant that as the photographic portrait became more common, the upper classes turned more and more to the painted and sculpted image. The upper classes maintained their élitism partly through the development of difference from the middle class. This is not a claim that the upper classes never had their photographs taken, rather that when they did the photograph did not carry the same message of wealth and status as the oil portrait or sculpture.

The oil painting and sculpture were also associated with the high arts and refinement. Photography and engraving were rated much lower. John Pye, an English landscape engraver, attacked the Academy bitterly for having fixed a stigma of degradation on engraving and holding it up to the gaze of the world as inferior to other branches of the fine arts. In the introduction to the facsimile edition of the lectures Pye delivered in 1836, it is stated that Pye argued that 'the best plates engraved now appear to me as being free translation from pictures, instead of being cold rigid copies'.\textsuperscript{42} Expressions of the superiority of the oil painting and sculpture can be found in

\textsuperscript{40}Piper, \textit{The English Face}, p. 202.

\textsuperscript{41}Bermingham, p. 13.

Victoria. Implicit in the following statement by Redmond Barry is the belief that oil painting and sculpture, along with architecture, belonged to the 'fine arts':

Our views are not solely limited to the gratification of the external senses, nor bounded by such selfish and sordid considerations of utility. We may be permitted to allow our vision a wider field, our thought a more expansive range; and to behold the Fine Arts, as the instruments of civilization and the handmaidens of refinement: to admire the splendour of their works as symbols of human posterity; and to respect the renowned masters of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, as ministers of the social virtues.\(^{43}\)

The photographic medium, no matter what the content, negated any attempt to express superiority or status. The size, cheapness and its low ranking in the world of the fine arts meant that it could not operate in the same manner as the oil painting or sculpture. Instead the major function of the photograph was as a gift of exchange, a memento and a keepsake. The daguerreotype in particular possessed many of the same qualities as the miniature and, as Trachtenberg writes, it held a mystique, becoming a 'talismanic likeness'.\(^{44}\) Most of the photographs produced in Victoria seem to have been destined for 'home', usually meaning England. Newspaper advertisements were full of offers to send photographs 'home' and this service was often included free in the price of the photograph. For example, the photographer William Robison advertised that locals 'should not miss such an opportunity of sending so pleasing and welcome gift to their anxious relatives in the mother country'.\(^{45}\) It must be remembered that most of the new chums would have had family overseas who wanted to see their likenesses.

In daguerreotypes and ambrotypes, the middle classes are generally portrayed as serious and sombre. Portraits such as that of an unknown woman (cat. no. 161*), shows the subject with a grim expression. She is seated and obviously has her eyes firmly fixed on an object to her left, with her face a picture of concentration. In the


\(^{45}\)*Argus*, 30 March 1855.
early days of photography exposure times were quite lengthy, still a couple of seconds even with the ambrotype, and as such an expression had to be held in place. This required a certain degree of concentration and explains the fixed and troubled countenances. The stern expressions could be seen as a mimicking of the upper classes, but are better explained as a result of the technical limitations of photography. Women were asked to wear dark clothes, so that their faces could be contrasted against a dark background, and this gives most of the portraits a rather sombre feeling. As in the portrait of the unknown woman (cat. no. 161*), the subject was normally seated on a chair and was posed with one arm casually propped on a table, a composition designed to create an impression of a domestic home environment.

Portraits were often exchanged between couples. Companion photographic portraits such as the portraits of the Frasers (cat. nos. 153* and 154*) demonstrate the transference of many of the conventions seen in companion portraits in oil. The husband and wife are posed so that they face each other, with three-quarter angle views of their faces. Where the portraits differ markedly, however, from oil portraits is in their size and the fact that they are mounted in small, plushly lined, leather cases. Daguerreotypes and ambrotypes were sold in leather cases, which were secured with small hooks. These cases were quite elaborate and their intricate design and framing completely altered the effect of the image. This is an important point to remember when discussing the function of the portrait. In handling the photographs, and having to go through the step of opening the tiny delicate cases, the photographs convey a completely different impression to that of the framed portrait designed to be hung on the wall. Towards the end of the 1850s the first frames, rather than cases, were being produced, with the rings on the back indicating the portraits were designed to be hung. But throughout most of the 1850s the portraits were sold in cases, adding further impetus to the argument that the portraits of the middle classes were intended to be personal mementoes, not public statements of power.

Child portraiture was another major source of income for the photographer. There were many problems with taking photographs of children as they often would not be still. For example, in a photograph of an unknown woman and her child (cat. no. 180*) it can be seen that the mother is holding on tightly to her energetic child. It is
difficult to tell whether the child is a boy or girl. The mother securely holds the child's right arm, as well as passing her left arm around the child and tightly pinning the child to her. Nothing, however, could be done about the child's expression and a mischievous grin appears which slightly blurs the image. Despite the difficulties with capturing a child's likeness, it was something that many parents sought. As Newton writes, in an age of high mortality, regardless of social level, photographs of children had a special appeal beyond the natural desires of parents to have an image of their offspring at their most innocent and dependent.\textsuperscript{46} Mortuary portraits of children and adults were also regularly advertised by studios, but none from the colony during the period 1834 to 1861 have been located.\textsuperscript{47} Often mortuary portraits were done in sculpture and there appears to have been a significant market for this work. In the exhibition catalogues, sculpted posthumous busts of children were listed as on display (cat. no. 287 and 288).\textsuperscript{48} Monuments were also erected in cemeteries, as this article in the \textit{Argus} indicates:

It is pleasant to find that during the rise of the arts in Victoria, we are enabled (to use an Horatian expression) to watch the marble struggling into life. An instance of this was given us last week in a pretty sculptural monument, wrought in the colony, and intended to mark that spot in the New Cemetery which contains the remains of "our little Arthur," an infant son of Mr. J. G. Francis, Commissioner Public Works. It is the work of Mr C. J. Sheddy, sculptor of King-street, at whose premises we were enabled to inspect it. The design is very simple, and consists of a small oblong marble sarcophagus, on the lid of which lies the effigy of an infant, which has just expired during sleep, with a smile yet lingering on its lips. It need hardly be remarked that this figure, in point of perfection of design and workmanship, will not bear comparison with the higher order of European works of art, but it has very considerable merit of its own, and will be no mean ornament to the cemetery.\textsuperscript{49}

A photograph in the LT collection (cat. no. 151*) gives a very rare image of a father and son portrayed together. This photograph is unfortunately in poor condition and

\textsuperscript{46}Newton, p. 19.

\textsuperscript{47}Newton, p. 20

\textsuperscript{48}See \textit{Catalogue of the Victorian Exhibition of Fine Arts}, 1860.

\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Argus}, 12 March 1860.
it is difficult to tell what the father is carrying in his hand. There is no doubt, however, that he is the boy's father. Apart from this photograph one of the few other instances of a man depicted as a father can be seen in the silhouettes by Andrew Macredie.\textsuperscript{50} In the LT there is a bound volume of silhouettes by Andrew Macredie (cat. nos. 338-367) which dates to 1854 and one single framed silhouette by him (cat. no. 368*), which are the only known examples of silhouettes produced in early Victoria. While photography may not have challenged oil painting, it did eclipse the silhouette. The silhouettist who could quickly and cheaply produce portraits was made redundant with the arrival of the photographer. The medium of silhouette like the photograph was designed for creating mementoes and as such they were competing for the same market. As the nineteenth century progressed, the photograph, which provided so much more detail, won this competition and held a greater appeal to this market.

Macredie's leather volume has 'Banyinong' stamped in gold letters on the cover and consists of an elaborate title page decorated with a variety of silhouette figures. This is followed by thirty pages of silhouette scenes. The volume is probably a copy book in which Macredie kept copies of the silhouettes he made for other people.\textsuperscript{51} This was a common practice amongst silhouettists, including the most prominent silhouettist of the era August Edouart, who kept books of silhouettes with labels so that he could reproduce them if necessary. All of Macredie's silhouettes are full-length figures and normally there is more than one silhouette to a page, arranged in a kind of conversation piece. It is fortunate that most of the people in the silhouettes have been identified, with their names written in pencil on the back of each page.

\textsuperscript{50} The book of silhouettes is in fact full of unique scenes. The first silhouette shows the artist Jack Dobie drawing a portrait of Willie Dobie (cat. no. 338*). The only other known instance of a portraitist at work is Frescoes for the New Houses of Parliament - No XII (cat. no. 495), in which Chevalier is shown drawing. There is also a portrait of European servants amongst Macredie's silhouettes - another unusual portrayal. Bob Richardson is shown with his servants Goldy and Mrs Goldy (cat. no. 351*).

\textsuperscript{51} Candice Bruce writes that it was doubtful, given the satirical nature of some of the silhouettes, that the subjects would have seen the finished product. Bruce argues in the DAA, p. 507, that Macredie was mildly satirising his fellow colonists, giving as examples an image showing two gentlemen in a discussion where Macredie adds the captions 'They did talk of Discounts and Cash Accounts', and of another pastoralist, 'His application was for 1 million acres. Lord of all he surveys - and His psalm was "The lord is my Shepherd I shall not want". But he got a dry country and had to make his own water'. Bruce writes that Macredie's wit is sharp and dry and the subjects are closely observed. While the subjects may not have seen Macredie's copy book and caption, they almost certainly would have owned a copy of the silhouettes themselves.
One of Macredie's silhouettes depicts a father holding his baby (cat. no. 340*). This is a silhouette of William Donald and his wife and child. Donald holds the child at some distance and while this could hardly be deemed a touching, emotion laden portrait, it does show a man in a paternal role. Similarly the portrait of the Russell family gives us a glimpse of family life, with the mother and son facing the seated father. Just as Maria O'Mullane's daughter echoed the maternal themes of the painting in the O'Mullane family portrait, here Russell's son, still at the age of wearing a dress, is shown with a crop in his hand riding a mock horse. The fact that silhouettes were not intended to be overt statements of status meant that men could appear in more sentimental roles. The silhouettes were images for their own keeping, to be included in scrapbooks or to be hung in small frames, and to show family and friends. In this context it was suitable for a man to appear as a father. In portraits where the expression of status was paramount, the allusions to the domestic world were inappropriate.

At this point some comment should be made on Macredie and the art of the silhouette. Macredie uses a variety of methods in his silhouettes, using pencils and watercolours and as Bolton writes the variations of methods with silhouettes is endless. Variations were criticised by Edouart who in his A Treatise on Silhouette Likenesses of 1835 objected to any form but the basic black silhouette. In reference to coloured silhouettes he writes that he 'cannot understand how persons can have so bad, and I may say, a childish taste!'. Edouart writes that silhouettes should be left black. Macredie had obviously not read Edouart's theories, or chose to ignore them, because most of his silhouettes are full of colour and are more than simple shades. Most are bronzed silhouettes. Jackson writes that at the end of the eighteenth century a fleck of gold or 'bronzing', was doubtless demanded with this new thrill ignoring the anomaly that a shadow having no colour should have barred gold chains and combs and coral ear-rings to deck it out. Desmond Coke, who


writes that in the 1830s professionals and amateurs were 'glorying in outrage more astounding at each new adventure',\textsuperscript{55} argues that gold was added to the silhouettes because it was known as a cheap art.\textsuperscript{56} Gold was a means to make the silhouette look more expensive. While Macredie did not get as outrageous as some of his contemporaries, Edouart no doubt would have considered his work vulgar.

Photographs which were produced at this time had many similarities to silhouettes with their use of gold. In portraits of the middle class, flecks of gold were passed over pieces of jewellery, such as rings, necklaces and brooches (see cat. no. 161* and 180* for examples). Such ostentation was in direct opposition to the spartan nature of the portraits of the old gentry. As de Serville writes, in the 1850s more than ever, quietness of manner and living, and modesty of expenditure and deportment, remained the touchstones of gentility and the mark of the true upper class.\textsuperscript{57} In a colony renowned for its production of gold, the use of gold in portraits should be seen as significant. The middle classes may even have been making a comment against the old gentry, for gold was at the heart of old gentry's problems. Gold was the power base of the middle classes and it may be that this is what is being alluded to in the photographs of the middle classes. The use of gold, however, is more easily explained as simply an ostentatious mark used by the middle classes to show family and friends that they lived in the land of gold and wealth.

\textbf{Portrait Engraving and the Memento}

As a result of the popularity of the positive collodion process, the industry of reproducing private portrait images emerged in the colony. Engravers reproduced

\textsuperscript{55}Desmond Coke, The Art of Silhouette (London: Martin Secker, 1913), p. 81. Helen and Nel Laughon, in August Edouart: A Quaker Album, American and English Duplicate Silhouettes 1827-1845 (Richmond, Virginia: Cheswick Press, 1987), p. xi, argue that in the later years of the eighteenth century the technique of profile taking appealed to the thrifty Quakers because it offered speed and cheapness. The same arguments could be put forward for Macredie's patrons. The people living around Banyinong were Scottish, who were reputedly very careful with their money and were hard workers who did not have the time or inclination for indulging in luxuries, including expensive portrait painting.

\textsuperscript{56}Coke, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{57}de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 27.
individual portraits from private photographs or drawings, normally in woodcut. This became a practice that was widely adopted in the colony, with printers such as Campbell and Fergusson advertising that they would copy individual portraits (fig. 14). In this regard photography once again stimulated rather than strangled the portrait market. The practice of engraving private portraits originated in America, whereas in Europe, where photographers were using negative/positive processes to print photographic images, such practices were redundant. Wendy Wick Reaves writes that the American lithographer Cephas G. Childs developed the scheme of reproduction of private portraiture in 1830.

One of the most prominent portrait engravers in the colony was Henry Samuel Sadd. He provides an example of an engraver bridging the gap between English and American printing practices. Sadd was born in London, the son of Samuel Sadd, a jeweller, and Dorothea, née Clint. Sadd came to New South Wales in 1853 by the way of North America. He married in New York in 1848 and from that it can be presumed that he had spent as many as five years in America before he arrived in Australia. He first spent a couple of years in Sydney working as a portrait engraver before moving to Melbourne in 1855. Sadd can lay claim to being the only known portrait engraver in the colony who worked in the medium of mezzotint, a technique particularly favoured in British portrait engraving. He published many mezzotints of prominent men, including the Governor, as discussed in 'Chapter 4'. Sadd also taught himself wood-engraving and did portrait engravings on wood for the Illustrated Australian News and the Sydney-based Town and Country Journal.

Like other engravers in the colony, Sadd had to earn an income and compete in a commercial market and hence took advantage of the American practice of private portrait engraving. Sadd did these portraits in mezzotint, rather than the more common mediums of the woodcut and the lithograph. Sadd's work in mezzotint

---


60 For a list of the portrait he engraved see 'Appendix A' and the entry for Sadd.
was an exception in the colony rather than the rule. In Victoria, lithography was a much more popular technique, as was the case in America. Wick Reaves observes that the dominant artistic heritage of the first American shops was lithography, inspired by developments in Paris.⁶¹ As Sweet writes, although illustrations were engraved in mezzotint in England, the technique was not commonly used in America.⁶² In Britain mezzotints and steel engravings tended to be favoured for portrait series. In this regard the lithographic portrait series of *Men of Victoria* followed the American example. Why once again Victoria should have followed the lead of America can in this instance probably be explained by the fact that most of the engravers were not competent enough to handle the technique of the mezzotint.

Sadd’s private portrait engravings combined and adapted a popular British tradition to an American practice. Although the *Argus* declared that it was ‘astonishing that Mr. Sadd should not have met with more liberal patronage than would seem to have been hitherto awarded him’,⁶³ he did receive enough support to stay in business for several decades. Sadd’s work won critical acclaim, with the comments in *Age* typical of the accolades he received:

> We have before had occasion to speak in highly favourable terms of Mr Sadd’s abilities in portrait engraving. In the present example [Dr Cairns (cat. no. 208*)] he had surpassed his former efforts, and shown with entire success he reproduce all the beauties of the sun-painting by purely mechanical means, and yet without any discernible harshness or distinctness of line.⁶⁴

*My Note Book* showed equal admiration:

> I have seen several Engravings from daguerreotypes, by Mr. H. S. Sadd. They are done in mezzotint, and they are highly meritorious. Mr Sadd has acquired the skill to impart to the engraving all the life-likeness of the original light-picture, and yet

---

⁶¹ Wick Reaves, pp. 94-95.


⁶³ *Examiner and Melbourne Weekly News*, 4 June 1859, p. 11.

⁶⁴ *Age*, 18 March 1856.
to present them without the metallic appearance which they all more or less possess. [...] These pictures when colored have very much the appearance of a miniature painting; and as the expense of their production is not great, it offers convenient mode of sending one's likeness home, if one happens to have a great number of friends who are doubtless perpetually wondering what effect an Australian life and an Australian Sun have had upon one's face.65

This quote reveals that the middle class had a quite different mentality and agenda in portraiture to that of the élite. As with the photographs, engravings were mementoes. The middle classes often wanted to be portrayed as colonial, while the style, content and formulas used by the élite showed a marked concern to appear English and be associated with England. For the middle classes, photographs and the prints from photographs were often a way of giving family and friends a glimpse of life in the remote colony. A photograph was accepted as proof of the existence of things and shapes that never would have been believed on the evidence of a hand-made picture. Images of people in an Australian setting and in Australian garb were of particular interest to a British audience. As Woodbury suggested in one of his letters to his mother, the appearance of the digger created a certain amount of curiosity:

I think you would be rather amused if you saw me in my colonial dress, moleskin trousers, red woolen frock, leather belt with sheath knife and broad straw hat with a green veil tied around it to prevent the dust getting into the eyes. Altogether I look quite colonial.66

With the 'quite colonial' portrayals of the diggers in photographic and printed portraits, some of the first uniquely colonial images produced in Victoria or Australia emerge. The artist Ludwig Becker, along with other artists, worked on the goldfields, taking advantage of what was no doubt a lucrative market for cheap, quickly executed portrait souvenirs to be sent home or kept as reminders of a harsh digger's life. A valuable excerpt from the journal of Charles Akers mentions Becker working on the goldfields:

---

65My Note Book, 15 August 1857, p. 271.

66Walter Woodbury Papers, letter no. 489, 30 Dec 1853.
I forgot to tell you that at Bendigo we met L W Becker and paid him a visit in his diggers tent. He is "a digging artist" which means that he takes likenesses at 3oz of gold where he has applicants and works and digs when he has none [...] he has shown us some of his drawing - faces and figures good, but landscape stiff.67

A key work from Becker’s time on the goldfields is the pencil and watercolour portrait of the digger William O’Dell Burrowes (cat. no. 329*). This is a romantic image, recording time spent in foreign lands, and would have been the type of image, apart from photographs, which portrait engravers such as Sadd would have worked from. In Becker’s portrait there are traces of a distinctive brand of colonial art and the portrait represents a juxtaposition of academic conventions, in particular the pose, with colonial imagery. The digger has his hand resting inside his shirt. There are other examples of this pose being used in Victoria, including in the portraits of Stawell (cat. no. 205), La Trobe (cat. nos. 223* and 244) and Evans (cat. no. 240*). Robin Simon writes that this pose has baffled many modern viewers and goes on to write that James Northcote, a pupil of Reynolds, was partly responsible for starting the belief that is was a way for the artist to avoid painting hands.68. However, the true of origin of the pose was in the necessity of keeping the hand warm after a glove had been removed for shaking hands. While the gesture may have been functional at first, it did become simply an alternative, fashionable way of disposing of the hand.

While the pose may have followed European conventions, the portrait of Burrowes departs form British formulas in many other ways. The most striking difference between it and academic portraiture is in the use of light and colour. This portrait, partly because of the use of watercolour, has none of the heaviness and darkness seen in portraits such as that of William Evans (cat. no 59*). Light permeates the portrait of Burrowes. The realities of colonial conditions, including the harsh Australian sun, and the lighter-colour clothing of the diggers, dictated a changed in the style and mood of some colonial portraiture. Becker has portrayed Burrowes in the digger uniform, complete with moleskin trousers and red shirt. The red of the


68Simon, The Portrait in Britain and America, pp. 73-75.
shirt is shown in pale hues, indicating that it has been bleached in the sun. Capturing the likeness of a digger demanded a departure from the dark and formal portraits associated with British conventions.

Apart from the use of light and colour in the portraits of the diggers, colonial dress alerts the viewer that they are not looking at British portraits. For instance the portrait of James Scurry by Frederick Scurry (cat. no. 330*), which shows James with a veil around his hat to protect him in Melbourne's dust storms, is easily recognisable as a portrait from colonial Australia. Andrew Macredie's silhouette of two diggers (cat. no. 368*) also belongs to the genre of portrait mementoes which were being produced on the goldfields. The two diggers are dressed in common digger apparel, complete with cabbage hats and shown with picks and shovels. In the background of the Macredie silhouette is the general store where gold would have been exchanged. Such features immediately alert the viewer that this scene is not set in Britain. Once again the simple realities of colonial conditions made an impact on portraiture, leading to recognisably colonial images.

The desire to appear colonial can be interpreted as a deterioration of British authority amongst the middle classes. Unlike the old gentry, the middle classes did not necessarily want to appear English. They were quite happy to appear Australian in 'American style' portraits. A question which can be asked is whether it was ideologically significant that the middle classes used the services of American artists or can the American influence simply be reduced to economic rationalism?

Train wrote that 'You would be surprised to see how fast this place is becoming Americanized'. He believed that Victoria would follow in the footsteps of America:

Many [...] strongly recommended Australia to follow in our footsteps. Depend upon it - these sentiments show the feeling of the people! Australia will no long be trammelled with the home Government. Why should it - when the Government is continually throwing impediments in our path? Every day I hear the same tune - every fresh arrival strengthens it - and ere long you

---

69 Daniel and Potts (eds.), p. 92.
must not be surprised to acknowledge Australia as the great republic of the southern ocean.\footnote{Daniel and Potts (eds.), p. 84, letter 7 November 1853.}

Despite Train's belief that the colonists were actively following in the footsteps of America, there was much hostility in the colony towards Americans. America was referred to as the 'uncivilized nation'.\footnote{Daniel and Potts (eds.), p. 37, letter 12 August 1853.} The old gentry were particularly hostile and interestingly Train recognises the 'old chums' as the enemies:

Melbourne, though situated so far out of the way, cannot fail to be a great city. All we require is a little energy and good deal of money to make the wheel turn rapidly. The 'old chums' will not budge from office, and take as little pride about putting things in shape as we should in fencing in Timbuctoo. We must introduce a sprinkle of Yankeeism here.\footnote{Daniel and Potts (eds.), p. 24, letter 23 June 1853.}

There may have been some colonists who were making a direct statement of defiance in their American style portrait prints and photographs, just as the use of gold may have been confrontational in some cases. America was associated with democracy and independence and some colonists may have wanted these associations to be read into their portraits. But the fact that the middle classes still looked to Britain as home negates such a reading that the middle classes were using portraiture to align themselves with America. The appeal of American photographers and engravers rested essentially in the competitive prices they offered and the fact that they allowed the middle classes to have their portraits taken at relatively little expense. But it should be remembered that this in itself gave the portraits of the middle classes a covert role in the power struggle with the old gentry. Foucault argues that an analysis of power must look at techniques of domination and the subtle mechanism through which power can be exerted.\footnote{Foucault, p. 102.} The photographs of the middle classes may not have been overt, calculated statements of power but they nevertheless played a subtle role in the class struggles in colonial Victoria. The very fact that the middle classes could have their portraits taken was vitally important. In this regard the
middle classes had a power denied to previous generations. Silhouettists had supplied the middle classes with portraits in the eighteenth century but the photograph greatly extended the boundaries of their visual culture.

The ability of the middle classes to commission likenesses of themselves was one more instance of an encroachment on the old gentry's domain and the blurring of the lines of demarcation between the classes. As indicated in the introduction to W. Cooke Taylor's *National Portrait Gallery of Illustrious and Eminent Personages*, in the nineteenth century the access of the masses to visual culture was all part of their acquisition of power:

This series had been issued at a price which allows of "the rich man's library being purchased at a sum within the poor man's means," so that the "luxuries of the lordly castle many become the comforts of the peasant's cottage." [...] This cheapness is, in fact, an extension of the intellectual suffrage to classes previously excluded from such franchise.74

Or as a writer for the *Art Union* observed in 1841 about the development of photography 'those will sit that have never sat before, and never would have submitted to be painted in the ordinary way'.75 The seemingly benign mementoes of the middle classes revealed and added to their growing power. While the middle classes may not have been conscious of it, their portrait photographs and prints challenged the old gentry. The complacency about seeking the services of Americans, the gaudy use of gold and the desire to appear colonial stood in opposition to the values that the old gentry expressed in their portraits, that is loyalty to Britain and the Empire, refinement and restraint, and the masking of colonial origins.

---


75 "Photographic Portraits", *Art Union*, April 1841, p. 65.
The Role of Women Portraitists

The role of women portraitists working in the colony has not so far been discussed in any depth. This is because most of the professional women artists, although not all, worked in the middle class market and therefore the examination of their work rightly belongs in this chapter. One of the aims of this section is to look at why women were largely confined to the middle class market and explain why they did not produce the portraits of Victoria’s élite.

It has only been in recent years that the place of women in the history of Australian art has been discussed at all. As Joan Kerr notes, a vast number of amateurs who indulged in sketching as a normal female activity for their social class have been almost completely ignored. Rediscovery and reinstating women in the history of colonial art aligns itself with the work of the early feminist art historians, who rewrote women back in to the history of art and argued for the worth of their work. Such an approach has its limitations. As Pollock argues, feminist art history has to stop merely juggling the aesthetic criteria for appreciating art and has to reject all evaluative criticism. Instead, the feminist art historian should concentrate on an historical explanation of women’s artistic production. By concentrating on the sociological aspects of production, rather than inexplicable notions of greatness, feminist art historians have provided a new framework for assessing the female contribution to art history, based on modes of production, rather than issues of quality and genius.

An analysis of the experiences of one female miniaturist, Mrs Letitia Davidson, gives an insight into the role of women artists in colonial society, and the restrictions and opportunities they had placed before them. In addition to being a miniaturist, Davidson was a portrait painter and professional photographer. Her life and history bring into focus many of the issues surrounding feminist art history as they relate to

---


77 Pollock, p. 27.
portraiture in the colony of Victoria. The fact that none of her work from the period before 1861 has survived, or at least has not been identified, is typical of the neglect of the work of women artists. All we know of her comes from newspapers, advertisements in the *Argus*, her membership of the *Victorian Fine Arts Society* and her contribution of miniatures to major exhibitions. Davidson worked in Victoria in the 1850s before she moved to Tasmania in about 1860. She was one of the most active of the female artists and was a prominent member of the art community, which accepted and even encouraged the contribution women had to make. Proof of this can be seen in the invitation to women, along with gentleman artists, to join the various artists' societies which were formed in the 1850s. In 1853 in the notice for the formation of the first Fine Arts society 'both ladies and gentlemen' were invited to join. Women also contributed to associated exhibitions and received critical and favourable reviews which were no different to the type the men received. For instance, in 1853 the *Argus* reviewed Davidson's work:

Mrs Davidson's miniatures especially are very fine: they are distinguished by their exquisite delicacy of tone and finish. We would particularly instance two - viz., "Portrait of a lady and a child," on Bristol board, and a "Lady" in a satin dress, done on ivory. If there exists the [...] love of true art in Melbourne - and have not the least doubt of it - Mrs Davidson's miniatures will grace the drawing rooms of many a habitation in Victoria.

In the exhibition of 1856 the increasing participation of women was noted and encouraged:

The number of ladies present was an extremely gratifying proof to me that the refining influences of Art will meet with a large share of encouragement from them, and I am no less pleased to be able

---

*Argus*, 26 April 1853.

See 'Appendix A' and the entry for Davidson.

In the exhibition 10 of the 57 artists represented were women, including Mdm Vieuxseux, Miss E. Bath, Mrs A. Davitt, Miss K Kennedy Mrs Wilkers, Miss Wilkinson, Mrs A M McCrae, Mrs Lempriere, Miss Thurston and Madame Ravier.

*Argus*, 30 August 1853.
to record that among the pictures now exhibiting, are several works from the hands of fair artists.\(^\text{82}\)

Like Davidson, most of the female portraitists were miniaturists who competed for the patronage of the middle class and who advertised their services and charged for their work. The first female portraitist to arrive in the colony was a Miss Rowe, who arrived in Port Phillip in 1844 and was followed by Elizabeth Douglass, Miss Eliza May, and Mrs Testar and then Mrs Davidson. All these women were active professional artists. Some were married and some were single. Their experiences testify to a relatively liberal attitude in the colony towards women working as artists and to the argument put forward here that women in the colony had more chance of succeeding as professional artists than they did in Britain.

In Britain in the mid-nineteenth century it was held that women’s physiology was inherently weak and vulnerable, so that women’s inability to create great art need not be seen as a discredit to them but simply as a fact of life.\(^\text{83}\) According to the rules of phrenology, it was popularly believed that women’s brains were smaller than men’s and that smaller meant less. While these views were changing and female artists in Britain were exerting their rights, as witnessed in the formation of the Society of Female Artists in 1857, generally female creativity was defined as amateur and unskilled, and desirably so.\(^\text{84}\) It could be argued that the same situation existed in Victoria as most of the women artists were miniaturists and were not working in other ‘masculine’ areas of portraiture. In the nineteenth century miniature painting was considered to be sentimental and concerned with family and friends and as such deemed to belong to the female domain. Ernst von Guhl, in his history of women artists published in the *Westminster Review*, wrote that female artists had been

---

\(^{82}\) *My Note Book*, 20 December 1856.


\(^{84}\) Gerrish Nunn, p. 5. It has been argued that the same case existed in Australia. For example Caroline Ambrus writes that women in early colonial society ‘did not cherish any concept of having a career in the same sense that women of today’ and that the ‘modern concept of a career path through accomplishment, acknowledgment, patronage, training, peer recognition, financial rewards and the achievement of social mobility, was not relevant to the early women artists’, adding that the issues of amateurism and professionalism did not have any relevance in this period (Caroline Ambrus, *Australian Women Artists First Fleet to 1945: History, Hearsay and Her Say* (Canberra: Irrepressible Press, 1992), p. 9.). As demonstrated in this chapter amateurism and professionalism were very important issues for female artists in colonial Victoria.
traditionally associated with miniature painting and mentions Layla, who was a female portraitist referred to in Roman annals who 'may be regarded as the precursor of miniature-painters of modern time'. In Victoria the identification of miniature painting as female and sentimental was not so marked. Many men were working as miniaturists in Victoria, including John Botterill, Edwin Dalton, Ludwig Becker, Conway Hart and George William Perry, who made small portraits for brooches and lockets.

Gerrish Nunn notes that one of the reasons for miniature painting being regarded as suitable for women was that it had the advantage that it could be executed in the strict seclusion of the home. In nineteenth century Britain it was felt that if the work could be completed without leaving the home it became more respectable. This may explain why Julie Vieusseux, an oil painter, stressed in her advertisements that she was working from home. But most of the other female artists strayed from the British norm. Davidson, for example, shared a studio with the artist Frederick Frith on the corner of Collins and Swanston street, below the office of the Argus and in the centre of town. Having work premises demonstrated that these women were professionals. The colonial women who worked as miniaturists were not amateurs looking for a pastime, but were very professional in their outlook in that they worked for profit and commercial gain and not out of sentiment.

In addition to the silhouette, the rise of photography signalled the end of miniature painting. George Williamson writes that beyond 1820 very few great artists were working on miniatures, stating that photography was the principal factor in the decline of the miniature. Or as Maas notes, miniatures were ailing for some time and became extinct overnight with the introduction of photography. The same

---

85Ernst von Guhl, 'Women Artist', Westminster Review, 14 (July 1858), 163-185 (p. 166).

86Gerrish Nunn, p. 29. Teaching was another area from which female artists tended to dominate because they could teach at home.

87Argus, 18 December 1852.


89Maas, p. 199.
situation occurred in Australia and, as Buscombe notes, miniatures declined in popularity with the advent of photography, as the daguerreotype became the new form of the small intimate image.  

By 1861 it was evident, especially with the introduction of the carte-de-visite, that photography had almost taken over. Many miniaturists turned to photography as a profession and worked as colourists. Amongst them was Davidson who in the 1860s took up photography. According to Barbara Hall and Jenni Mather in their study on Australian female photographers, women photographers had been working in the colony since the late 1840s.  

A Madame Charpiot worked in Ballarat in 1856, and a Miss Hampson was listed in the Melbourne Commercial Directory of 1855 as a daguerrean artist and worked in Melbourne until the end of the decade. Charpiot specialised in collodion portraits of women, indicating that there may have been a market for women taking portraits of women.  

Although Charpiot, Hampson and Davidson represented only a small percentage of the photographers working in the colony, their presence and success proves that women could succeed as photographers and that this was a respected and accepted profession for them.

Turning to another area, wax modelling, which was traditionally designated female, it can be seen that women could be very aggressive in their approach to profit making. Madame Sohier, whose wax works museum and Chamber of Horrors is discussed in the next chapter, was one of the colony's most financially successful portraitists. Colligan argues that wax modelling was acceptable because it involved making clothes and dressing models, which were viewed as female skills.  

Sohier, however, was obviously not only a dress maker but was also a business orientated woman. Similarly another wax modeller Mrs Poole, who arrived in Victoria in 1856, demonstrated a keen business sense. At an exhibition in Geelong in 1857 she exhibited a medallion taken from life of the NSW Governor Sir Henry Young, which demonstrated that she had good connections in Sydney and that in Victoria she

---

90Buscombe, Artists in Early Australia and Their Portraits, p. 11.


92Argus, 31 January 1855, an announcement that Charpiot devoted her attention to lady visitors.

wanted to advertise this fact. She obviously wanted to make money from her art and in 1857 advertised copies for sale of a wax medallion of Henry Barkly (cat. no. 280), which was not from life but after the print by Burn.  

While most of the female artists earned a living producing small scale portraits for the middle classes, it should not be forgotten that there were a few who produced large formal oil paintings and sculptures. Even given the commercial outlook of female miniaturists and wax modellers it could be argued that they were only allowed this scope in what was very much a patriarchal society because it did not encroach on the male domain. There were, however, some women portraitists in the colony who were working within male domain of portrait painting. Elizabeth Bath, for example, exhibited one oil portrait, along with four portraits in pastelle, at the Victorian Society of Fine Arts of 1857. Mrs Green exhibited her oil portraits at the 1856 Victorian Exhibition of Art in Melbourne, with the catalogue listing her as a professional artist of 4 Henry Street, Collingwood. Mrs G. Harvey was referred to as a portrait painter showing Portrait of a Lady with the Victorian Fine Arts Society at Melbourne in 1853.

The work of the sculptor and painter Margaret Thomas is the most notable demonstration of the opportunity for a female artist to succeed in the colony. Margaret Thomas came to Melbourne with her family in 1852 and became a pupil of one of the colony's most prominent sculptors, Charles Summers. She gained status as a serious sculptor and received important commissions, carving busts of such eminent colonists as Sir Redmond Barry. Parallels can be drawn between her and the American Harriet Hosmer, who was one of the few female sculptors of the nineteenth century. In Britain Hosmer was seen as an inspiring example of the

\[94\text{See News Letter of Australasia, December 1857, p. 4.}\]

\[95\text{Nor were all women producing portraits. Religious paintings by Miss Wilkinson's were included in the 1856 Victorian Exhibition of Art: oils of St Sebastian and The Centurion's Vision, a 'crayon' portrait, a pencil drawing of Archangel Michael Casting down Lucifer and three other works (medium unspecified) including Judith with the Head of Holofernes. The following year she had one oil painting The Completion of the Toilet, for sale at £42, in the first exhibition of the Victorian Society of Fine Arts. It evidently did not sell, for she showed it again in 1858 at the Victorian Industrial Society's exhibition together with two other oil copies of 'Old Masters'. Mrs Hitchins was a painter and art teacher, who was married to Fortescue Hitchins. She showed eight paintings, including Brisk Gale, Carrier Pigeon, Magdalene and Susanna, with the Victorian Fine Arts Society in 1853.}\]
possibility of women becoming established in the fine arts. The case of Margaret Thomas acts as a demonstration of the more liberal attitude towards female artists in the colony and is just one more area where Australia followed the American lead. Thomas regularly exhibited her sculpture and in a review of the 1861 *Fine Arts Exhibition* it was proclaimed that 'one lady sculptor has ventured to enter the lists in the race for fame'. The *Examiner*, while noting that lady sculptors were unusual, added that the colony should be proud of Thomas:

A bust, a figure, and a medallion in plaster by Miss Thomas are satisfying evidence that this young lady possesses very considerable ability and unquestionable taste in modelling. Her success may be very safely predicted if industry and perseverance be called in to aid her in her studies. A lady sculptor in a new colony is something to boast of, if not wonder at, and it is sincerely hoped that Miss Thomas, will have every reason to felicitate herself on having chosen to adopt a branch of Art which presents grave difficulties even to the most gifted of its cultivators.

Mrs Davidson and her colleagues more than likely came from a middle class background in which it was necessary for them to work. As Pamela Gerrish Nunn writes in her book on women artists of the Victorian era, the profession of artist would by and large only suggest itself to middle class women. For women of the colonial upper classes a quite different situation existed and here strong gender bias gave them quite a different role as artists. In the case of women of the upper class, gender and class restrictions intersected and conspired to demand that they remain amateurs. For women within the ranks of the gentry, they could produce portraits as a hobby but earning money from their work was not condoned. The life and work of two women from the gentry, Katherine Rose Beale and Georgiana McCrae, form a stark contrast to that of Davidson.

---

96 Gerrish Nunn, p. 12.

97 *Argus*, 3 October 1861.

98 *Examiner*, 19 October 1861.

99 Gerrish Nunn, p. 3.
Katherine Rose Beale née Young, a miniaturist, exemplified the role of female artists within the ranks of the upper classes. In the LT there is a religious diary by her, along with a set of notes on miniature painting and photography. None of her work appears to have survived, although an article in *Woman's World* of 1934 reproduces two miniatures, which have not been located, which may have been by her. This article also fills in some basic biographical details on Beale. Katherine Rose Young was the niece of the Governor of St Helena and was living there when she met Major Anthony Beale at Government House. The two were married in 1814 and continued to live at St Helena until the East India Company was withdrawn and Major Beale was pensioned and returned to England. Back in England, he experienced great difficulty in obtaining suitable employment and decided to try his luck in the colonies. In 1839, the Beales, and eleven of their children, travelled via Launceston to Port Phillip. They built a house and lived out their years mixing with the best social circles, with Mrs Beale paying calls on the ladies of Melbourne, including Mrs La Trobe. She died in 1856.

There has been some confusion over the attribution of the Beale diaries held in the LT collection. In total there are three Beale diaries, with the *DAA* claiming the illustrated diary is the work of a Margaret Beale, showing 'extremely crude, schematic ink narrative sketches' of her home at St Helena Park. In the entry for what should be Katherine Rose Beale her name has somehow been confused with Margaret Beale, an artist who was working in Tasmania at the time. But a simple transposition of names is not the only problem with the Katherine Rose/Margaret Beale *DAA* entry. The illustrated diary, which is described as lacking any 'redeeming aesthetic feature', is also praised as 'a unique social document' of the 'verbal and visual record of the most pedestrian details of a woman's life in early Victoria'. The diary, however, does not describe a woman's life and is in fact the work of Katherine Rose's husband Anthony. An article in the *Victorian Historical Magazine* reveals that Katherine Rose did occasionally fill in the gaps left by her

100See C. K-H., 'The Historic Little Church at St. Helena and the Woman Whom it Commemorates', *Woman's World* (July 1934), pp. 29 and 54.

101Quoted in the *DAA*, p. 56, with the error possibly arising from a sketch in the diary where Margaret is asked to 'bring along your chops'.
husband but that this diary is a record of Anthony's experiences in early Victoria.  
A simple reading of the diary, which describes what were a man's chores on the  
land, such as fencing, confirms this attribution to Anthony. It is also not Katherine  
Rose's handwriting in most of the entries. One other diary, an unillustrated religious  
diary in the L.T, which was written by Katherine Rose between 1854 to 1856 and  
was continued by her husband from 1856-1859, shows she had a very neat, fine  
hand that was quite distinct from her husband. It is in this handwriting that the notes  
on miniature painting and photography are written. These notes indicate that  
Katherine Rose was a knowledgeable artist, probably capable of much more than the  
crude sketches in Anthony's diary. The wrongful attribution was no doubt a result  
of a tendency of art historians to assume that amateur work is female and that men  
did not indulge in sketching in journals, but as shown here such stereotypes are  
fallacious for men and women in the colony could be found working in all branches  
of portraiture.

Unfortunately, Beale's religious diary does not describe any of her life as an artist.  
There is no evidence that she worked as a professional artist. Beale belonged to a  
class of ladies for which it was unacceptable to make money from their work, as  
shown in the case of Georgiana McCrae, the most celebrated of Victoria's female  
colonial artists. Like Beale, McCrae has also left diaries of her experiences in Port  
Phillip but her diaries are fortunately filled with references to her work as an artist.

Hugh McCrae edited Georgiana's journal in 1934, while Huntly Cowper, McCrae's  
great grandson, in later publications of the journal, writes that she was a skilled  
portraitist.  

Georgiana McCrae was born in London in 1804 and came to the Port Phillip District with her husband, Andrew Murison McCrae. She studied with John Varley, John Glover and M. D. Serresand and the miniature painter 'Old Hayter', who had written a book The Art of Miniature Painting. McCrae also studied at the Royal Academy and in 1820-21 won medals for a miniature and a group of portraits in watercolours from the Society for Promoting


104Georgiana’s Journal, p. xxi.
Arts, Manufactures and Commerce. Before she married she intended to be a professional artist and went to live in Edinburgh with high hopes of making a good income from portrait painting. During her time there she did a number of portraits for what she called fame and money.\textsuperscript{105}

McCrae's life, however, as a professional artist came to an abrupt end when she married Andrew Murison McCrae on 25 September 1830. Years later she recorded in her journal on her anniversary 'left my easel and changed my name'.\textsuperscript{106} McCrae arrived in Australia in 1841 after the birth of her fourth child and met up with Andrew who had come out earlier and had begun to practice law in Melbourne. In 1843 he took up the Arthur's Seat run where the McCrae family stayed until 1851, when Andrew abandoned squating to become a police magistrate, firstly at Alberton then at Barrow's Inn, Hepburn, Creswick and finally for seventeen years at Kilmore. Georgiana did not accompany him on all these moves and spent most of her time in Melbourne with her children. Although Georgiana came from a well established family in high society, being the sister-in-law of Thomas Anne Cole, she fought against many of its restrictions, thus attracting criticism. Mrs Cole did not approve of Georgiana and felt that as a wife she had been a great trial to her brother and she fully sympathised with Andrew when Georgiana began proceedings for a separation.\textsuperscript{107}

One of McCrae's greatest frustrations in the colony, and probably the reason why she attracted her sister-in-law's scorn, was the restriction placed on her as an artist. Despite the fact that she did not work as a professional, McCrae produced portraits at a steady rate. At Mayfield and Arthur's Seat she did a large number of watercolours and drawings and a few journal entries show that she was painting some portraits for people she and her husband socialised with. In the entry for 30 September 1841 she writes that Mr O. Browne gave her a sitting for his portrait which he was to send home.\textsuperscript{108} In October of the same year there are references to a portrait McCrae was

\textsuperscript{105}ADB, 1788-1850, 2, p. 160.

\textsuperscript{106}ADB, 1788-1850, 2, p. 160.

\textsuperscript{107}Quoted in de Serville, Pounds and Pedigrees, p. 134.

\textsuperscript{108}Georgiana's Journal, p. 45.
painting of Mr Sconcé for his sister in law, Miss Repton\textsuperscript{109} and on the 30 October she writes that the likeness was considered most successful.\textsuperscript{110} A final reference to this portrait appears on the 4 November 1841 when Georgiana writes:

Final sitting from Mr Sconcé, as Mrs Sconcé won't allow me to put another touch to the picture, which she considers "perfect", and, as I have painted it con amore, I feel pretty satisfied.\textsuperscript{111}

All of McCræ's portraits, at least in her early years in the colony, were painted 'con amore', with McCræ unable to accept money for her efforts. A journal entry of 8 February 1845, makes it clear that this was her husband's attitude:

There is a living to be had here through my art of miniature painting, for which I have several orders in hand; but dare not oppose the family wishes that "money must not be made in that way"!\textsuperscript{112}

Georgiana could pursue her artistic interests as a genteel pastime, but she could not consider making a career as an artist or earning money for her work. Nochlin argues that it is precisely the insistence upon a modest, proficient self-deceiving level of amateurism as a 'suitable accomplishment' for the well-brought-up young woman, who would naturally want to direct her major attention to the welfare of others, family and husband, that militated against any real accomplishment on the part of women.\textsuperscript{113} In addition, the kinds of demands placed before both aristocrats and women, the amount of time necessarily devoted to social functions, the very kind of activities demanded, simply made total devotion to professional art production out of the question.\textsuperscript{114} Despite the lack of encouragement or the conducive environment in upper class circles, McCræ did exhibit some of her work in the 1857 Victorían

\textsuperscript{109}Georgiana's Journal, p. 46.
\textsuperscript{110}Georgiana's Journal, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{111}Georgiana's Journal, p. 50
\textsuperscript{112}ADB, 1788-1850, 2. p. 160.
\textsuperscript{113}Nochlin, p. 164.
\textsuperscript{114}Nochlin, p. 157.
*Society of Fine Arts* exhibition, where she exhibited 'miniatures from life' (cat. no. 79).

It was noted at the beginning of this chapter that the upper classes only gave commissions to those artists who moved in the same social circles as themselves, such as Dowling and Woolner. Because women in these circles were not allowed to work as professional portraitists, it follows that all the commissions had to be given to men. Women of the upper classes were excluded from the commissions for the formal portraits because they could not earn money from their work, while the female portraitists of the middle classes, who could earn money from their work, belonged to the wrong class. The élite did not commission portraits from the middle class artist, whether they were male or female. The reason why women did not receive commissions from the old gentry was then as much the result of class prejudice as gender bias.

An analysis of the portraits of the middle class illuminates the class differences between them and the old gentry. The old colonists were only prepared to pay for the services of male artists whom they felt held a suitable social standing and who could produce Academic restrained portraits in keeping with the likenesses of the English aristocracy. The middle class reveal none of these concerns in their portraits. They were quite happy to commission portraits in the 'American style' and provided work for female artists. Their portraits were often gaudy and did not shy away from the appearance of the colonial. The portraits and portraitists discussed in this chapter were the 'other' which the upper classes tried to differentiate themselves from. In this regard the portraits of the middle classes must be viewed as important in colonial class struggles, even if in the minds of the middle classes the photographic and printed portraits simply functioned as mementoes and souvenirs.
CHAPTER 6
PORTRAITURE AS ENTERTAINMENT

Portraits were used as signifiers of status and as tools in political, gender and class struggles. They also functioned as forms of entertainment, not that this negates their social and political power. Portraits of celebrities, from stage performers to sporting heroes, were popular in mid-nineteenth century Victoria and were produced for the amusement of the populace as a whole. The emergence of the various means of mechanical reproduction had not only facilitated the heightened profile of key politicians, but had also allowed the entertainer to achieve fame throughout colonial society. The portraits discussed in this chapter can be called 'popular portraits' for they were aimed at a wide audience, and their appeal seems to have cut across social barriers. The prints of the colony's celebrities appear to have been bought and collected by everyone from the diggers to the members of Victoria's élite. As a writer for the Gentleman's Magazine explained, the appeal of portraiture in mid-nineteenth century, in Britain anyway, pervaded the entire society:

We are by no means deficient, as Englishmen, in our love of portraiture. [...] How far this passion descends in the scale of society is shown by the marvellous multiplication of cheap photographic establishments now bedecking our public thoroughfares; wherein Joe and Jane may gratify their mutual regards by the easy expenditure of a loose shilling or eighteen-pence. The features of every public character are multiplied indefinitely in our illustrated newspapers, and even on an endless variety of objects of domestic and personal use.¹

Portraits which were designed as harmless entertainment reveal much about the common threads which tied sections of colonial society. They offer an insight into Victorian society which has not been gained through an examination of the other portraits and raise issues as diverse as voyeurism and colonial rivalries. The portraits discussed here often reveal the less savoury side of Victorian behaviour and values, with entertainment portraits becoming part of the indulgent and escapist

tendencies of the colonists. The colonists displayed a decadence which Rev Cairns, writing in 1856, attacked:

It need not be concealed, that the tendency here is to a life of ease and indulgence. The theatre, the casino, the ball-room, offer attractions which comparatively few resist, and multitudes of the young and gay crowd these scenes of pleasurable excitement, and acquire habits of thought which enfeeble their moral sense, and stimulate their vicious desires. [...] The merest froth and scum of the printing-press, are greedily devoured, as not only the mind's necessary food, but its coveted luxury.²

As Rev Cairns, reveals there were many outlets for entertainment in the colony. In this chapter the amusements which employed portraiture are examined. Firstly, portraits of female entertainers and their appeal are considered, followed by a discussion of portraits of the colony's cricketing heroes and then a discussion of Madame Sohier's waxworks museum.

Portraiture and the Female Entertainer

The nineteenth century use of portraiture in the theatre and in the promotion of celebrities was a relatively new development. It was only in the late eighteenth century that entrepreneurs realised what a valuable commodity 'star' status could be. Since the second half of the eighteenth century images of actors and actresses had become increasingly popular and numerous. As Sara Stevenson writes, in A Face for Any Occasion: Some Aspects of Portrait Engraving there was a great flood of small-scale popular engravings of actors and entertainers.³ With an upsurge of interest in the theatre, the image of the actor gained in grandeur and pretension,⁴ as exemplified in the portraits of David Garrick who was normally depicted at the most


⁴Stevenson, p. 108.
dramatic point of a play.\textsuperscript{5} Garrick was one of the first to use portraiture to enhance his standing as an actor and commissioned Zoffany to paint dramatic images, which became well known through the engraved versions. In doing this Garrick managed to raise not only his own status but that of all thespians. The most fashionable portrait painters of the day, such as Reynolds and Gainsborough, were involved in painting portraits of actors and actresses and by doing so could advertise their own artistic skills.

One of the most important innovations of the early nineteenth century was the 'tinsel picture'. Tinsel pictures were simply printed portraits of stage performers, usually in action shots from scenes from particular plays, and could be bought uncoloured or coloured. They also came with various cut-outs of clothes, swords and props, which could be glued on to make personalised and often quite elaborate images of favourite singers, actors and actresses. These tinsel pictures were incredibly popular in early Victorian Britain and it is surprising that they were not brought to Australia. The closest example of a the style of a tinsel picture which was produced in the colony, is an illustration which appeared in the \textit{Illustrated Family News} (cat. no. 193*). This shows Brooke and Younge in a scene from Macbeth, during the sword fight and is reminiscent of the tinsel pictures. In the colony, simple woodcut and lithographic portraits of celebrities were much more popular. Wendy Wick Reaves writes that this was also the case in America where lithographic portraits dominated the market and the public demanded and expected to buy, immediately and inexpensively, images of their idols.\textsuperscript{6} The fans of Fanny Elssler, for example, crowded the print stores demanding images of the new ballet celebrity.\textsuperscript{7} The colonists of Victoria were not quite so demanding but they had a fascination and desire to own portraits of thespians, especially female performers.

A discussion of theatre in Victoria would be deficient without mentioning the theatre's most prominent actor and entrepreneur, George Selth Coppin. Alec Bagot, in his biography on Coppin, \textit{Coppin the Great, Father of the Australian Theatre},

\textsuperscript{5}W. J. Lawrence, 'The Portraits of David Garrick', \textit{Connoisseur}, (1905), pp. 211-218.

\textsuperscript{6}Wick Reaves, p. 85.

\textsuperscript{7}Wick Reaves, p. 83.
describes the crucial impetus which Coppin gave to Australian theatre and the work
he did throughout the colonies of NSW, South Australia, Tasmania and Victoria.\footnote{Alec Bagot, \textit{Coppin the Great: Father of Australian Theatre} (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1965).}
Coppin first visited Melbourne in 1845, staying for little over a year, taking over the
Melbourne Company before he moved to Adelaide in August 1846. He was settled
and prospering in South Australia, with a number of business interests but the
exodus brought about by the discoveries on the Victorian goldfields saw the collapse
of his copper mining speculations and he was made insolvent. In December of
1851, Coppin left for the goldfields himself, but was soon discouraged, and left the
diggings to find his fortune elsewhere. He went to Geelong and returned to the
stage, and while working there with Deering made a considerable profit at the box
office. Coppin soon realised that there was money to be had in the development and
expansion of theatre in the thriving colony and that the digger audience could prove
extremely profitable. He decided that it would be worth his effort to travel back to
England to recruit actors, the most renowned being the tragedian Gustavus Vaughan
Brooke, and where he could also have a prefabricated theatre built for him and
shipped out to the colony.

Coppin arrived back in Victoria in 1854 and performed at the Queen's Theatre, until
his own prefabricated theatre could be opened in June 1855. This was called the
Olympic Theatre and nicknamed the Iron Pot. Coppin obviously had ambitious
plans, wanting to be one of the major players in the entertainment industry in
Melbourne. Since the rushes had settled down, and with a more stable population,
there were more and more people trying to corner the amusement market in the
colony's capital. The Queen's Theatre, opened in 1845, had been the only theatre in
Melbourne for many years until the Theatre Royal, which was built by John Black,
challenged its supremacy. For a short time Black also challenged the Iron Pot, even
attempting to steal two of Coppin's leads, but Coppin's proved to be more
successful and, by June 1856, Black was insolvent and the Theatre Royal had been
taken over by Coppin. In September of that year Coppin also went into partnership
with Gustavus Vaughan Brooke and extended his business interests beyond the
theatre and bought Cremorne Gardens in Richmond. Coppin and Brooke now
jointly held the Olympic, the Theatre Royal, where they presented alternate seasons
of drama and opera, the Cremorne Gardens Amusement Park, Astley's Amphitheatre (later Princess Theatre) and four hotels.

Coppin's success relied much on his performers and through portraiture he was able to market them and attract full houses. The DAA reports that Charles R. Frisbee engraved many of the theatrical posters of Coppin and his troupe, which were pasted up in Melbourne during the late 1850s and 1860s. Frisbee's subjects included G. V. Brooke, Barry Sullivan, Walter Montgomery and George Coppin himself, with posters of Coppin as 'Milky White' and as 'Paul Pry' referred to by Woodhouse. An article in the Argus on 18 December 1857 also refers to a group of theatrical portraits exhibited by Alfred Phillips, comprising Mrs. A. Phillips, Miss Herbert, Miss Morgan, Mr Brooke (in "His Last Legs") and Messrs. Lambert, Edwards, Heir, Sefton, and Younge, which 'will repay inspection'. In an article written in 1882 Coppin recalled that 'the dress-circle, the only tier of boxes, was ornamented round with large oil-colour circular medallion portraits of Brooke, in Othello, Hamlet, Corsican Brother, Richelieu, Shylock, O'Callaghan, and other parts.'

Apart from such prints, paintings and sculpture, photographs were also used to promote entertainers. In the last chapter it was noted that Perez Mann Batchelder displayed a portrait of Lola Montez in his window to attract patronage, but in so doing he was also giving the dancer publicity. Cowley and Wilson are also said to have exhibited a number of daguerreotypes of celebrities at their shop, including a portrait of Lola Montez. It was not until the 1860s, and with the introduction of the carte-de-visite, that Batchelder had the opportunity to reproduce portraits of celebrities in large enough numbers to make a profit.

In Victoria photographs of women were the most popular and it was the female likeness which dominated the photographer's window. As Walter Woodbury writes

9DAA, p. 279.
10Argus, 18 December 1857.
11"Our Stage", in The Imperial Review, June 1882.
12DAA, p. 178.
when mentioning Montez coming in to have her photograph taken, many female actors and singers came to Batchelder's to have their likeness taken:

We have had a visit from the celebrated Lola Montez, she has been acting in Melbourne for Mr. Batchelder's where we have all the celebrated characters hung out at the door. I have a nice little likeness of her which I took for myself, as she is very handsome still [...]. I have had the pleasure of seeing Miss Cathcart who if you recollect I was introduced to in Liverpool once when I was going to the Isle of Man. She came to have her Likeness taken together with her husband and she knew me directly; she is acting with Brooke the celebrated tragedian.\(^{13}\)

Lola Montez was one of the most popular as well as sensational performers to visit Victoria. Montez arrived in 1855 and managed to cause quite a sensation. In *Lola Montez and Castlemaine: Some Early Theatrical History*, Raymond Bradfield writes that Montez was the archetypal 'femme fatale' and was in her element with the diggers.\(^{14}\) She opened at the Theatre Royal in September 1855, incorporating her infamous and suggestive 'spider dance' into her routine. She was denounced by the Melbourne press and left the colony for a short time, before arriving in Ballarat in February in 1856, where she was attracted large audiences. Boosted by full houses, she toured the goldfields, travelling to Bendigo, Castlemaine and the Ovens. Her likeness appeared in the *Australian Picture Pleasure Book* of 1857, which was published in Sydney, and so enthusiastic were her audiences that the *Mount Alexander Mail* reports an auction of her portrait:

FOR SALE ON SATURDAY NEXT. MR. H. HUGHES has received instructions to Sell by Public auction, at 12 o'clock, at the CASTLEMAINE AUCTION MART AND HORSE BAZAAR, A Highly-finished and Valuable LIKENESS OF THE CELEBRATED LOLA MONTES. This Picture was Imported with a small Gallery of Engravings and Oil Paintings, about three years ago, and has for the last two years been in the possession of a gentleman in the neighborhood. The above portrait will be Sold

---

\(^{13}\)Walter Woodbury Papers, letter no. 500, 1 August 1855.

\(^{14}\)Raymond Bradfield, *Lola Montez and Castlemaine: Some Early Theatrical History* ([n.p]: [n.pub], [n.d.]).
without a reserve. [...] The Proceeds of the Sale are to be presented to the Castlemaine Hospital.\(^{15}\)

Most of the portraits of Montez that were circulated in the colony were imported and in these portraits she is portrayed as genteel and a respectable lady. The only exception to this is in the *Melbourne Punch* illustration, "Deformed Transformed," or the Mayors Ball (cat. no. 441*), in which she is shown dancing amongst a group of drunk and rowdy men. Women were generally not caricatured, except for their excesses in fashion, and as such this is an unusual depiction which reveals that Montez did not have enough respect or status to escape Chevalier's satire. In this illustration she functions as the femme fatale. A portrait of Montez which is now held in the NLA may have been displayed in the colony at some time, although it almost certainly was not produced in the colony as it is after an oil painting by an European artist, E. B. d'Auvergne. Here none of the imagery demarcates the likeness of Montez from the portraits of 'respectable' women. In the nineteenth century acting and singing were generally acceptable and respectable professions for women. Most female entertainers did not perform in the same manner or receive the condemnation as Lola Montez. In the mid-nineteenth century Queen Victoria and her Consort attended London theatres and this had an immediate impact on audiences and reformed the moral tone of the theatre. Michael Baker, in *The Rise of the Victorian Actor*, remarks that it was during the nineteenth century that there arose a view that the actor was different from other mortals, not because he was poor, idle or eccentric, but because he had a more intense sensibility, which was seen as enhancing the human values that were felt to be threatened by the advance of modern industrial society.\(^{16}\)

Amongst the actresses which were deemed respectable in Victoria was Ellen Mortyn (cat. no. 229*). A portrait of her was published in the July 1859 issue of *My Note Book*. This is a woodcut by C. E. Winston, after a photograph by Batchelder & O'Neill. Mortyn, who was amongst those who had been brought to Australia by George Coppin, had only just died. In the woodcut, and the accompanying article,

\(^{15}\) *Mount Alexander Mail*, quoted from Bradfield.

Mortyn is portrayed as the Victorian heroine and the image commemorates her life and recalls her tragic and untimely death. Nead observes that physical frailty was a sign of respectable femininity and by the mid-nineteenth century a morbid cult of 'female invalidism' had developed.17 This portrait can be seen as a manifestation of this cult in the colony. The half length portrait of Mortyn is placed within an oval frame with the muse of tragedy, Melpomene, on the left, with the mask of tragedy at her feet, and on the right is the comic muse, Thalia, with a comic mask at her feet. These masks are repeated at the top of the frame, along with a staff and a dagger, which are, respectively, the emblems of the muse of comedy and muse of tragedy. As Wind writes, such iconography was developed from the actual design of theatres, where actors were framed by the stage, with a mask suspended from above and statues of the two muses on the left and right.18 At the bottom is a scroll with 'Royal' written on it, which refers to the Theatre Royal. The curtain above her likeness draws analogies between Mortyn's death and her final stage performance, a point that is emphasised in the article:

Her last appearance seems but yesterday, and now she has played her final part, and the dark curtain of death has fallen for ever upon her performances. The disease which brought her to her grave was an inherited one, and her appearance was such as to indicate that she must have suffered variously from its influence for some time past, and it is not a little melancholy to reflect that while she has been delighting thousands by the charming gaiety of her acting, the effort had possibly augmented the progress of the fatal malady which has deprived the Victorian stage of its fairest ornament.19

In Victoria, the singer Anna Bishop was the darling of the stage and had immense popular appeal. Anna Bishop, along with Madame Carandini, had arrived in 1856 to launch Coppin's opening of the opera season at the Theatre Royal. She was enthusiastically received in both Melbourne and Sydney. A lithograph of Anna Bishop (cat. no. 209*), which is autographed and addressed to Polly, who was

17 Nead, p. 29.
18 Wind, p. 38.
19 My Note Book, 9 July 1859, p. 1063.
Coppin’s daughter, portrays her as a respectable and even genteel lady, as in the portrait of Mortyn. The lithograph, which is the work of Cyrus Mason, dates to 1856 and is after a photo by George William Perry. Bishop is portrayed sitting next to a table with a vase of roses in full bloom. As Pollock writes, flowers have often been used as a metaphor for women’s sexuality. In this case the flowers indicate that Bishop’s virtue is intact, confirmed by the fact she wears a cross around her neck as sign of her adherence to the codes of Christian morality. There is nothing in the iconography of the portrait which departs from the ideal image of respectable womanhood. The neckline of her dress is low but not too much significance can be attached to this as the neckline of genteel women was often low. As Russell writes, amongst the gentry the depth of the neckline could change. The News Letter of Australasia reviewed the Bishop portrait and stated that it was ‘a very neatly executed portrait’. The Argus described it as:

A very accurate, and at the same time pleasing likeness of this popular vocalist, [which] has just been drawn upon the stone by Mr. Cyrus Mason, and issued as a neat lithograph. It is copied from a photographic portrait by Mr. Perry, of Collins-street, and has obtained the approbation of Madame Anna Bishop herself, a fac-simile of whose autograph is appended to the engraving. The picture is in every respect creditable to the artist by whom it has been placed upon the stone.

Lynda Nead in her Myths of Sexuality discusses images of women in terms of norms and deviance. In this dichotomy such portraits as that of Maria Dowling (cat. no. 4*) and Maria Elizabeth O’Mullane (cat. no. 2*) can be securely categorised as the norm. The portraits of female entertainers are not quite so easy to categorise. Despite a conventional iconography, such portraits as those of Anna Bishop have an awkward place in Nead’s dichotomy of the norm and the deviant. The same portrait conventions are used with female actors as with wives and mothers, but these

20 Pollock, p. 135.
21 Russell, A Wish of Distinction, p. 112.
22 News Letter of Australasia, October 1856, p. 3.
23 Argus, 26 August 1856.
24 Nead, p. 3.
portraits do not belong to the norm. To decipher why not it is necessary to turn to psychoanalytical theories. As Pollock writes, the use of psychoanalytical theory provides some interpretative tools for understanding the obsessive preoccupation with images of woman. A psychoanalytical analysis shifts attention away from iconographic readings to the study of the process of the image, what is being done with it and what it is doing for its users. In approaching the portraits of female entertainers from this perspective, important differences between the portraits of women such as Maria Dowling versus the images of Anna Bishop can be found.

Starting with the function of the portraits of the image of the ideal womanhood, and the types of portraits which were discussed in 'Chapter 3', it can be seen that the portraits of the female gentry were used as a statement of ancestral pride and family superiority, with the women fulfilling their role as wives and mothers. These portraits were owned by their husbands and were commissioned by their husbands to add to the family's prestige, with the rare exception of portraits such as Mrs Adolphus Sceales with Black Jimmie on Merrang Station née Jane Paton. Portraits of respectable women were owned by one man and in refined circles the exclusive nature of the portrait of a woman was cherished. Russell writes that ladies of the upper classes ideally never sought attention, particularly from the general public and shielded themselves from the dangers of publicity. Mr Punch, when writing about the carte-de-visite, revealed the value that was placed on intimacy of the female likeness and he lamented the fact that with the progress of photography anyone could possess a woman's beauty:

Photography has encroached most lamentably on the regions of romance. All the tender significance in the gift of portrait is at at [sic] end, when portraits are sold by the dozen and any number can be obtained for two and sixpence a piece. When the beloved object presents her expectant proprietor with her photograph, he regrets in his exclusive selfishness the benefit derived by the coiety taken from the step taken to place him alone.

Her beauty has become, in a manner, public property. When the likeness has once been printed her features will always remain in

25 Pollock, p. 147
26 Russell, A Wish of Distinction, p. 58.
type, and copies of an admired work can be struck off and disposed of by an enterprising publisher.27

The author Elizabeth Gaskell had strong convictions about the public exposure of her portrait, stating that 'other women may not object to having their portraits taken for the public and sold indiscriminately, but I feel a strong, insurmountable objection to it'.28 One fictional story, 'My Wife's Picture' in the Illustrated Australian Magazine indicates how a portrait of a woman could demand as much respect as the woman herself.29 'My Wife's Picture' tells the story of a Mr John Peppers who during a social evening with other gentlemen frequently drew from his waistcoat pocket a miniature, which after gazing at intently for a few moments would return it to his pocket with a deep sigh. One time he put it on the table and was angered when Fred Buck picked it up. Peppers said to Buck 'I allow no man to gaze on my wife's picture, sir' and then challenges him to a duel. Despite this challenge Buck shows the miniature to everyone. Peppers is seen to be acting nobly in protecting his wife's image but Richard, another man present at the incident and who knew Peppers well, exposes his actions as calculated and dishonourable. Richard claims that Peppers placed the picture in Fred's way on purpose to gratify his own vanity by the display of his wife's beauty and to astonish the party by a show of his own valour. The story, while just a passing tale, reveals the almost sacred nature of portraits of respectable women.

Turning to the function of the portraits of female entertainers it can be seen that there are quite different dynamics at play when compared to the portraits of the female gentility. While the same iconography may be employed in portraits of female entertainers, their function was very different. The key to this difference is found in the medium used. Because portraits of female entertainers were prints or publicly displayed photographs, and could be owned or viewed by anyone, they lost their exclusiveness and in fact became very different from portraits such as those of Maria

27Melbourne Punch, 16 January 1862.

28Prescott, p. 120.

Dowling or Mrs Cole.\textsuperscript{30} It must be asked what the men were doing with these portraits and here psychoanalytical theories are helpful. Pollock writes that Lacanian theories of desire and the imaginary introduce a function for the image as a mean to regain visual access to the lost object.\textsuperscript{31} In this case the lost object is the female. The portrait of Anna Bishop, although not explicitly erotic, can be read as a way of gaining access to the female and was a projection for male fantasies and is endowed with a voyeuristic element. The printed images or photographs of female performers could be seen and possessed by any man, unlike oil portraits or sculptures. In this sense they fall into Nead's category of deviance. Considering the exclusive nature of portraits of genteel women, a man owning a portrait of a female performer, no matter how respectable she may be, takes on more sinister overtones. No doubt women also bought prints of female entertainers but in a male-dominated society the target audience would have been male. Bishop in this lithograph becomes the subject of the male gaze. The fact that she does not return this gaze confirms the viewer's right to look and appraise.\textsuperscript{32}

Two portraits by George Gordon McCrae, Georgiana's son, of female entertainers can also be interpreted from a psychoanalytical perspective. In his scrap-book, which is mostly filled with pictures of ships, McCrae has drawn portraits of Georgy Hodson as Anna in \textit{Der Freischutz} (cat. no. 413*) and Sarah Flower in the Iron Pot theatre (cat. no. 414*). Both women are shown on stage and are viewed from above. The high perspective can be explained as the view that McCrae would have had from his seat but it also imbues the image with aspects of voyeurism of a man gazing down on a woman. The sexual overtones of these portraits are intensified by the fact that the drawings appear in a scrap-book which is filled with sailing ships and images which were concerned with the male world. The actors in many ways appear out of place, emphasising that they are the subject of a male's attention. Like other portraits of female stage performers the McCrae drawings were created for the

\textsuperscript{30}In Britain, printed portraits of aristocratic women were published in magazines such as the \textit{Keepsake} and publications such as William and Edward Finden's \textit{Portrait of the Female Aristocracy of the Court of Queen Victoria}, 2 vols (London: J. Hogarth, 1849). The Queen's portrait was also widely circulated. In these instances the standing of the women, who normally held titles, was so far beyond reproach that public exposure could not damage them.

\textsuperscript{31}Pollock, p. 147

\textsuperscript{32}Pollock, p. 75.
male patron, for his ownership, amusement and the extension of his desires. In the backgrounds of both of these portraits there are also some rather bizarre portraits of men. In the top left hand corner of the portrait of Sarah Flower there is a portrait of a man who appears to be intently gazing but he is facing in the opposite direction to Sarah. It may be that McCrae drew this portrait during Flower's performance and that it depicts someone in the audience.

The portraits of the female entertainers emphasise the importance of the function of portraits. A simple interpretation of iconography can hide significant meanings. The portraits of female entertainers follow the conventions of portraits of respectable women and the female actors and singers were certainly not blatantly presented in erotic images designed to fire the male imagination. Instead, their portraits were made to be acceptable to respectable men. But the fact that they could be owned by so many men, that there was no discrimination in terms of exposure to the male gaze, placed them in a category different from that of the exemplary woman of respectability.

Portraits of the First Eleven

The portraits of cricketers provide an interesting contrast in how the male celebrity was depicted. As in England, one of the most popular pastimes in the colony, for both spectators and players, was cricket. Robin Simon and Alastair Smart have written a history on art and cricket, called The Art of Cricket, noting that from the eighteenth century onwards it became fashionable in portraiture for young men and boys to be depicted with props alluding to the game of cricket - such as a bat, ball or a wicket. At this time the game was considered 'manly' and was played by the aristocracy, (and their labourers) and offered appropriate overtones for those young gentlemen on the verge of manhood. By the nineteenth century the game was opened up to the middle classes and the use of cricket as a symbol of the élite lost its potency. Cricket became a profession and the nineteenth century was the era in which mass produced images of the cricketers became popular. Simon and Smart

---

observe that the period 1820 to 1860 saw the rise in the professionalism of cricket and with this portraits of the amateur were replaced by those who actually made their living from the game.\textsuperscript{34} According to Cardus and Arlott, the nineteenth century saw cricketers become important in the popular imagination as individuals who received instant hero worship.\textsuperscript{35}

The first game of cricket played in the colony was organised by the MCC and was played against the military in 1838. The first intercolonial cricket match, however, was not played until February 1851, at Launceston, with a return match played south of the Yarra in March 1852. These were simply amateur games and it was not until 1854 that Victoria included professionals in their team. The Tasmanians were not impressed by this move, but it did herald the beginning of professional and highly competitive cricket in Australia. As mentioned in \textit{Australian Cricket 1803-93}, intercolonial cricket matches sharpened rivalry between the colonies.\textsuperscript{36} First class cricket began on the mainland in 1856 when NSW played Victoria and won. The next match was held in Sydney in January 1857 in the Domain, with NSW again taking the honours. But NSW's dominance did not last long, with Victoria winning the next five matches from January 1858 onwards.

It is not a coincidence that the first Victorian portrait prints of cricketers date from the beginning of this winning streak.\textsuperscript{37} While the colony may have shown little pride in their politicians and cringed at the thought of commemorating eminent pioneers, they took great pride in their successful cricketers. As Victoria became more successful in its cricketing efforts, colonial pride was galvanised and the large number of prints published testified to the increasing interest taken in the colony's sporting heroes and their part in the battle for superiority between the colonies. Intercolonial, and even

\textsuperscript{34} Simon and Smart, p. 28.


\textsuperscript{36} Jack Pollard, \textit{The Formative Years of Australian Cricket 1803-1893} (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1987), p. 94.

\textsuperscript{37} As the 1850s progressed, the entrepreneurial activity surrounding cricket began to increase. For example, as there were no scoreboards at the grounds, printers were cashing in by printing scorecards and selling them as the match unfolded. Mr Taylor from \textit{Bradshaw's Guide} issued cards from a printing press on the ground. This was a common practice in England as well.
club matches, attracted great interest from spectators. They were reported at length in daily and weekly newspapers,38 and prompted the popularity of cricketing prints.

Bouwman in Glorious Innings: Treasures from the Melbourne Cricket Club, describes many of the surviving portraits of cricketing heroes. One of the earliest of these is a hand coloured photograph in the collection of the Melbourne Cricket Club (MCC) (cat. no. 117*), which has been dated to 1859. It shows five of the most important cricketers of the day. The cricketers have an arrogant expression and are posed in a nonchalant stance, staring out at the viewer, with their hands on their hips or holding bats, balls or gloves. They confront the viewer in a way that the female entertainers do not. They are all impeccably dressed in cricketing garb, leaving no doubt as to who they are and their role as sporting heroes. Dress was very important in cricket with established rules leading to uniformity:

The trouser should be made of flannel, well shrunck before it is made up, having six loops round the waistband, through which an Indian rubber belt may pass, and help to do the duty of braces which must be exploded whilst in the active exercise of hitting.39

In this photograph the cricketers are all dressed correctly and represent the cricketing establishment and all the glamour associated with representing the colony. Another collage photograph produced in 1859 (cat. no. 118*) shows all of the first eleven. This collage was a source for many other portraits, including another collage in the following year (cat. no. 119*), which shows a slightly different arrangement of figures. The same type of 'borrowing' of images, as seen in the portraits of politicians, appears also in the portraits of cricketers. An 1859 print (cat. no. 253*) is a direct copy of the collage, with the figures arranged in exactly the same order and with the names of the players recorded beneath. In the following year, in 1860, the collage was again the source for a lithograph by Edward Gilks and printed by Ferguson & Mitchell (cat. no. 254*). Gilk's print is an unusual cricketing print, not only for the colony but for the genre as a whole.

---


One of the problems with cricketing prints was that the artist had to decide whether to show the crowds and the cricketers actually playing, and in so doing capture the atmosphere of the day, or to show the likenesses of the heroes. Gilks in his lithograph found a novel solution to this problem and as the inscription reads this is a 'sketch of the Victorian eleven and the intercolonial cricket ground'. The crowd and the pitch are shown in the middle with the portraits of players arranged around this, with facsimile signatures printed below. Although this arrangement was meant to please everyone and offer all perspectives, it did not receive critical acclaim:

Making all allowances for the usual imperfections of colonial workmanship, we cannot compliment Mr. Gilks upon his lithograph print of the late grand cricket match, and still less upon the portraits which surround it. The artist seems to have viewed the scene through a distorted medium, as neither the men in the field, the spectators surrounding the play, nor the structures upon the ground are in their proper positions, let alone the fact of two of the most picturesque marquees being omitted altogether - at least, such is the conclusion our recollection of the match compels us to arrive at. The public is so familiar, from a largely circulated photograph taken last year in Sydney, with the appearance and attitudes of the bulk of the Victorian eleven, that the figures are even recognisable in the bad copy before us. The two new-hands, Huddlestone and Ross, bear no resemblance, whatever to the originals. The artist has, however, hit upon a happy method of facilitating identification, by appending what purports to be an autograph (of immoderate dimensions) to each so-called likeness.40

Apart from revealing colonial rivalry and gender differences cricket prints were also used to make social statements. Cricket, and the art associated with cricket, revealed much about colonial society and was a projection of many of its tensions, pretensions and values. With the formation of the exclusive Melbourne Cricket Club the game of cricket became a vehicle for delineating social divisions. The MCC was founded in November 1838 by five gentlemen, who all held positions of importance in the colony.41 While the club was established relatively early in Melbourne's history, Bouwman writes that given the self consciously aristocratic nature of early

40Argus, 7 March 1860.

41Pollard, p. 40.
Melbourne society, and the desire of the citizens of Port Phillip to emulate the upper classes of England, it was perhaps surprising that it took even as long as three years to form a cricket club.\textsuperscript{42} One of the earliest Victorian cricketing prints, \textit{Grand Intercolonial Cricket Match}, portrays the members of the MCC (cat. no. 228*). This is a lithograph drawn by Henry Glover and printed by Robinson, commemorating the match between Victoria and NSW played in January of 1858. Like most of the Victorian prints of cricket scenes during this period, it borrows from the English example and, as Bouwman again writes, it bears many resemblances to \textit{The Cricket Match between Sussex and Kent, Played at Brighton} of 1849 (fig. 15). This observation validates Cardus' theory that the Sussex versus Kent print became the most widely disseminated model for cricket pictures.\textsuperscript{43} In the foreground there is a group of spectators, who are actually facing away from the match. They are clearly club members of the MCC, whose portraits were meant to be recognised. The women, on the other hand, are watching the game; they have their backs to us and significantly are anonymous figures.

Bouwman in his description of the Glover lithograph, writes that the picture suggests that the MCC members were becoming more aware of their Club's social position in Melbourne life.\textsuperscript{44} He adds that the scene gives prominence to social rather than cricketing figures and it seems to imply a sense of ownership or proprietorship by the figures in the foreground over the figures in the background. The composition has obviously been carefully constructed and the protagonists carefully posed. Glover has even been careful with the stance of the cricketers, as this too was an indication of class. For example, for a batsman to have his feet parallel to the batting crease would have been to commit a social solecism, and to indicate a peasant nature, and this is why in the Glover lithograph the batsman is shown with his feet almost at right angles and with one foot well advanced of the crease.\textsuperscript{45} The most popular text on cricket at this time was \textit{Felix on the Bat}, which described how batsmen should

\textsuperscript{42}Bouwman, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{43}Cardus, p. 28.

\textsuperscript{44}Bouwman, p. 43.

\textsuperscript{45}Simon and Smart, p. 17.
stand, including pictures and diagrams and it was to these rules that Victorian cricketers obviously looked.46

Such cricket prints reveal that portraits which can be interpreted on one level as just a simple form of amusement, can offer valuable insights into gender difference, colonial pride and class divisions. While these portraits were printed and could be owned by the general public, their function was quite different to portraits of the female entertainer.

Madame Sohier's Chamber of Horrors

The colonial fascination with portraits of criminals revealed the same voyeuristic tendencies associated with the portraits of female entertainers. Portraits of villains became a form of entertainment in themselves, with the criminal achieving a sensational form of celebrity status. Newspapers and magazines carried quite often gruesome reports of murderers and bushrangers and of their crimes, escapades and atrocities. Marcia Pointon writes that in Britain the interest in portraying murderers awaiting trial or execution became a serious preoccupation by the end of the eighteenth century.47 Criminal cases galvanised colonial society's curiosity, with many crimes, trials and villains becoming infamous. In the trial of the Eureka insurgents, a portrait of those accused of treachery against the Queen was published in the local newspapers (cat. no. 187*), which rarely carried any illustrations. Another criminal case, although not a local incident, of the murder of Emile L'Angelier by his lover Madeline Hamilton Smith in Scotland, also attracted a great deal of attention in Victoria. Caroline Dexter, who worked under the pseudonym 'Budgery', in 1857 in Melbourne published a pamphlet, Emile & Madeline, on the whole affair, including her own commentary and the surviving letters written by the lovers. The cover page of Emile and Madeline included an engraved portrait of the murderer Madeline Smith and was after a daguerreotype which was apparently

\[46\text{Felix on the Bat.}\]

\[47\text{Pointon, p. 92.}\]
circulating in Melbourne at the time. Victorians took a great interest in such likenesses and took a morbid interest in the subject of murder, as Dexter remarks in her introduction:

Murder - with its multitudinous horrors - has ever been a fertile theme for those who have lamented over the unhappy and strange destiny of the human race. [...] this diabolical propensity to "shed our brethren's blood" unfolds itself in such individual natures as the lawless highwaymen, who are stimulated by avarice and the thirst for gold [...] When we hear tales of petty tyrants who are influenced by those powers or passions which phrenologists denominate "combativeness" and "destructiveness," it is not unreasonable to conceive, that the EVIL parts and parcels of that incomprehensible organization which help to build up the temple of two-sided humanity will more frequently preponderate, and those convulsions of passion be wrought into devilish workings, which "Cain-like" engender wrath and fury against every impediment that crosses their path, or frustrates their vile and selfish purposes.49

In the colony the most notable testimony to the Victorians' interest in the criminal mind could be found in Madame Sohier's Chamber of Horrors. This was the section in her waxworks museum which housed figures of the most notorious criminals of the age, and which was originally called 'Notorious Malefactors'.50 Along with the adjoining Phrenological Museum, the waxworks was one of the most popular forms of entertainment in the colony. In Canvas and Wax: Images of Information in Australian Panoramas and Waxworks, with Particular Reference to Melbourne 1849-1920, Mimi Colligan has provided a history of Madame Sohier's waxworks and as such all that needs to be given here is a brief summary of these findings. Madame Sohier's waxworks was initially run by Madame Lee in Great Bourke Street, who opened the first exhibition on 7 May 1857.51 Most of the exhibits were imported

---

48Colligan, p. 165. Colligan writes that Mrs Williams possibly based her model of Madeline Smith on a print by Samuel Calvert. A proof of the engraving is in the ML.

49Budgery [Caroline Dexter], Emile and Madeline (Melbourne: [n. pub], 1857), p. 7.

50Colligan, p. 162.

51Colligan, p. 159.
from England and included mainly effigies of the royal family. In 1858 Mrs Lee gave up the museum, to return to the stage, and it was taken over by Mrs Williams, who had arrived in Australia with Professor Sohier in 1853, whom she married in April 1859. Mrs Williams's 'Australian Waxworks Exhibition' opened on 9 February 1858 at 147 Bourke Street East opposite the Eastern Market and in the following years the Sohiers consolidated their position in Melbourne opening a branch in Sydney. By 1862 they were boasting that 100,000 adults and a large number of children visited every year and, as the Argus reported, by 1860 the museum was a well established feature of Melbourne:

The other exhibition has been so long with us as to be quite naturalised. It is Sohier's Wax Work Exhibition and Phrenological Museum. This is to be found in two saloons in Bourke-street, nearly opposite Nunn's Hotel. The lower one is crowded with figures, almost every one of which is sure to be included in any exhibition of this kind, Mrs Janley's being very nearly a prototype of the whole, save the Baker-street exhibition of Madame Tussaud. Here are [...] our Gracious Majesty handling a sceptre [...] Prince Albert and the rest of the Royal family.

From all accounts the Melbourne wax museum was very much like Madame Tussaud's. In 1845 Tussaud's had for the first time applied the title of the Chamber of Horrors to the 'Separate Room' which contained portraits of criminals. A contributor to London Punch was responsible for the name change, after jokingly using the title Chamber of Horrors in an article. The name stuck and soon it was officially adopted.

While Madame Sohier would have had inherited many of her models from Madame Lee and could have had others imported, she made the majority of them herself, as she was a professional wax modeller. The major advantage in Madame Sohier's

---

52 Colligan, p. 159.
53 Colligan, p. 169.
54 Argus, 27 December 1860.
56 Colligan, p. 162.
ability to model her own figures was that she could add topical, local figures to the exhibition, such as the hanged Chinese murderer Chang-Sigh. In the case of most of the figures for the museum, Madame Sohier would have had to rely on illustrations. This was not the case, however, when it came to the Chamber of Horrors, for she had a far more gruesome primary source for these figures. As the following article reviewing the waxworks explains, Madame Sohier modelled these images on the death masks which were made in Melbourne Gaol after criminals had been hung:

The most interesting feature of the “show” is, however, a colonial “Chamber of Horrors,” which is to be found in the upper room. Here are ranged rows and rows of figures of men who have been hung in Melbourne. In each case the faces are modelled from casts taken after execution, and the writer of these lines, whose unpleasant duty it has frequently been to watch the last dying moments of many of our colonial condamés, can bear witness to their terrible fidelity [...]. Parted from the rest are a group of Price’s murderers, among which is Melville, dressed in the clothes he died in, and represented in the act of attacking his gaoler, sharpened spoon in hand.

Such descriptions reveal that one of the major aims of the exhibition was to maximise the realism and to make the displays as sensational as possible. Melville here is captured in the act of one of his most ghastly crimes and, as a macabre addition, the model is dressed in the clothes Melville died in. The realism of the figures would have been enhanced by the use of wax, which had an advantage over plaster, stone, and wood, in that it has a translucent quality not unlike that of human skin and did not need so much paint to achieve realism. For the viewer, however, what would have made these figures most realistic would have been the knowledge that they were based on the actual death masks of the criminals. Two of these masks, which date to the period under discussion, have survived and are now on display in Old Melbourne Gaol. One of these is of James Condon (cat. no. 268), who was tried and convicted

57 Colligan, p. 162.
58 Colligan, p. 165.
59 Argus, 27 December 1860.
60 Colligan, p. 24.
of robbery and was executed at the age twenty-one on 24 November 1855. The other extant death mask is of George Melville (cat. no. 264*), although not the same Melville mentioned in the above article. There has been some confusion to whether this death mask is of Captain Melville or George Melville. In his book *Bushranger: A Pictorial History*, Harry Nunn presents it as the death mask of the infamous Captain Melville. Captain Melville, which was an alias for Frank McCallum, was found by a warder strangled by a red-spotted scarf at dawn on 12 August 1857. It is not known whether he committed suicide or was murdered. The surviving death mask is dated four years earlier, inscribed around the base of the mask is 'Melville, 1853', the year in which George Melville was executed.

These death masks were the work of a Mr Pardoe.\(^{61}\) The display in the Old Melbourne Gaol, explains that the death masks had two purposes. Firstly, they provided an accurate three dimensional record of death, which was considered better than a photograph, and thus provided proof that the criminal had been executed in accordance with the law. Secondly, the masks provided an opportunity for phrenologists to study the criminal character and to examine their skulls in the hope of reaching a better understanding of the mind of the murderer and the thief. As mentioned in 'Chapter 4' phrenology had its beginnings in the eighteenth century work of the physiognomist Johann Kaspar Lavater. The enthusiasm with which Lavater's physiognomic theories were welcomed after the publication of the first English edition of his *Essays on Physiognomy* can be understood in the context of a desire to be able to identify and recognise society's deviants and thereby to establish a taxonomy.\(^{62}\) Phrenology stirred a great interest in the behaviour of the criminal. As Dr Guthrie wrote in a letter to Robert Peel, in 1829:

> Thirty years ago none wished to look at the body of a murderer. Now the desire for knowledge induces many to overcome their prejudices and not only look at the dead body, but to hunt it out in the dissection room, and to examine all the bumps on the head, and compare the resemblance to the penny woodcuts.\(^{63}\)

\(^{61}\) Colligan, p. 163.

\(^{62}\) Pointon, p. 86.

By the 1840s phrenology's opponents had succeeded in ridiculing it and the amateur 'head-reader' had taken over. One of the most prominent 'head readers' or phrenologists in the colony was Madame Sohier's husband, Professor Sohier, who claimed to hold degrees from the University of France and who ran the adjoining Phrenological Museum. An article in the Argus explains that at the end of the Chamber of Horrors was the Phrenological Museum, containing a 'number of casts of heads', with each of these exhibitions 'proving considerably attractive during this Christmas season, the visitors being numerous'. Despite its many critics, phrenology continued to be taken seriously in the study of society's outcasts. The Government in a Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines of 1858-59, even published and supported the findings of Sohier's analysis of the Aborigines. Phrenologists had always divided heads according to race and gender and were preoccupied with ranking people based on their physical characteristics. In extreme criminal cases, such as that of Frederick Bayley Deeming, whose callous and brutal nature seemed without cause or reason, the skull was sectioned so that the convolution patterns inside the skull could also be studied. It was widely held that it was not a man's history, circumstances and education which were stamped into the shape of the skull, but only his natural tendencies and that criminals were dominated by the two elements of 'destructiveness' and 'combativeness'. It was in pursuit of a greater understanding of these elements and how these could be combated that the death masks were ostensibly made.

An analysis of the Chamber of Horrors raises the question of how could such an exhibition exist in a society which, as established in the second chapter, believed that the visual arts should have a didactic purpose and that portraiture should encourage imitation? Surely the Chamber of Horrors was an anathema, which inspired nothing but criminal activity. If the heroic could stir heroic action, surely the portrait of

---

64Colligan, p. 160.

65Argus, 27 December 1860.


67de Giustino, p. 147.
villain stirred villainous actions? Colligan writes, however, that such popular entertainments did seek as much as to instruct as to amuse and that the ostensible purpose of the museum was 'rational amusement'. But how could figures of criminals be classified as rational amusement and how could exposure to such macabre images of the least desirable elements in society be acceptable? As if aware of the discrepancies in their own thinking and the interest they had in criminal likenesses, the colonists' explanation was that viewing criminal images discouraged criminal tendencies, rather than arousing emulation. Through a familiarity with the villain it was believed that signs of deviancy could be detected early and that the life of crime could be avoided.

Phrenology also provided a convenient way to mask the widespread and morbid interest in portraits and escapades of criminals. Phrenology was seen as a form of education, instructing people on the evil tendencies. De Giustino writes, in a chapter called 'A Shortcut to Knowledge', that among ordinary people one of the most alluring features of phrenology was its apparent synthesis of scientific information and general wisdom and that it gave a plain description of the human condition, which delighted the youngest and least tutored intellect. Phrenology provided easy information and covered a whole range of subjects, and at a time when knowledge was both power and powerful entertainment it had a winning formula. In Victoria, lectures were given on the subject of the criminal mind and the question was asked as to whether a bad skull made a man bad or whether a bad man made his skull bad. Professor Sohier expressed his thoughts on the question in a lecture delivered at the Mechanics Institute:

A very interesting lecture on the Passions, illustrated by casts of the heads of the murderers of the late Inspector-General. There was a very good audience. The lecturer treated his subject in a popular rather than a scientific style, and, after drawing some interesting contrasts between "felons" and true "heroes" adverted much to the much vexed question among phrenologists and their opponents of moral responsibility, and endeavoured to show that

---

68 Colligan, p. 1.
69 Colligan, p. 29.
70 de Giustino, p. 59.
every man, though not responsible for his original organisation, was so for the after use made of it; that man's duty began where God's ended; and that a man was not a bad man because he had a bad head, but that he had a bad head because he was a bad man: in other words, he contended that anti-phrenologists mistook the effect for the cause.\textsuperscript{71}

The \textit{Chamber of Horrors} obviously pandered to the sensational, with its emphasis on realism and the macabre, but in making it a centre of learning, a centre for phrenological study, it became a respectable middle class form of entertainment. While interest in Madame Sohier's \textit{Chamber of Horrors} may to a point be explained as educational and as part of self-improvement, this explanation does not account for the dramatic and realistic reconstructions of the murderers and thieves committing atrocities. If the concern was purely educational, there would be no need to dress the figures in the clothes they died in. In other words, the colonists could argue that the portrait of the criminal could be as instructive as the portrait of the hero, but beneath this veneer of learning there was a thrill taken in the sensational, with the wax effigies arousing a macabre curiosity.

With the portraits of criminals and the portraits of female entertainers, entrepreneurs capitalised on the colonist's desire to be amused and stimulated. The portraits of criminals were grim but thrilling, the portraits of female actresses carried voyeuristic, sexual overtones in a predominantly male society, while the portraits of cricketers stirred pride and intercolonial rivalries. Colonial portraiture was not solely concerned with class struggle. The portrait that was designed to entertain revealed the colonists' often morbid curiosity and their desire for sensational amusement.

\textsuperscript{71} \textit{Argus}, 16 May 1857.
CONCLUSIONS

Questions about the actual relationship of the economic and the ideological, or about the degree of art or ideology, or about the transformative potential of a particular style of work, are always empirical questions, whose answer requires the historical analysis of a concrete situation.\(^1\)

Janet Wolff in her *Sociology of Art* argues that general models for the sociology of art, models which hold true in all situations, are unobtainable and that to understand the sociology of art specific situations must be analysed. This thesis represents one such analysis, examining the development of portraiture in the colony of Victoria between the years 1834 and 1861. An application of sociological theories of art has yielded important findings on portraiture and patronage and their relationship to economics and politics, class and gender, and power and ideology.

One of the most important findings in the thesis concerns the impact that the gold rushes had on the development of portraiture and local art. Art historians have acknowledged that the influx of fortune hunters and the increased wealth brought about by the discovery of gold stimulated the growth of the visual arts. Within the story of Australian art, it has been argued that the new arrivals increased the patronage base and supported local art and artists with more enthusiasm than the pioneering generation. This, however, was not exactly the case. The new arrivals were undoubtedly responsible for the proliferation of the engraved and photographic likeness, but in the case of sculptures and oil paintings it was the old colonists, not the new arrivals, who were the major patrons. Members of the old gentry, the pre-gold élite, commissioned most of the painted and sculpted portraits produced in the gold decade from 1851 to 1861.

This phenomenon raises the compelling question of why did the colonists decide to commission portraits during the gold rushes when they had not done so before? The answer lies in part in the fact that before 1851 there was a lack of suitable portraitists living in the colony. The upper classes of Victoria were very particular about whom they allowed to take their likenesses. The élite policed those who came into their

\(^1\)Wolff, pp. 139-140.
homes and who were given the responsibility of promoting their prestige and refinement. As demonstrated in the cases of Thomas Woolner, Robert Dowling and John Irvine, it was necessary to have personal connections to the gentry in order to win their patronage. The arrival of suitable portraitists after the discovery of gold was no doubt a factor in motivating the old colonists. It should not be forgotten, however, that there were many well trained and professional artists working in the colony before 1851 and if there had been sufficient need the gentry could have used their services.

The increased patronage from the old gentry was also motivated by the conflict and tensions arising between them and the new burgeoning middle classes. The gold rushes created a world of uncertainty in which ideological struggles became paramount. The influx of new immigrants challenged the old gentry’s security and their position at the head of society, their power base was under threat. As part of the élite’s attempt to regain and maintain their supremacy they turned to the portraitist. Portraits of the old gentry emphasised family respectability, proud ancestral lineage and refinement - the basic components of their claim to hold a privileged position in society. Portraits such as those painted by Robert Dowling in the Western District were aggressive in their announcement that the squatters were responsible for the establishment of the colony and that their pioneering efforts had won them and their families a right to the land and the right to rule. The various companion portraits of husbands and wives indicated solidarity and moral fortitude. The depiction of children, the next generation, implied continuity, as well as the natural passing on of power. Images such as Woolner’s medallions of the Cole family were calculated to enhance the family’s status and portrayed them as distinct and superior to the other members of urban Melbourne society. The family portraits of the old gentry were a means of legitimising and upholding power.

The old gentry used their family portraits to boost their own morale. The paintings and sculptures were not actually seen by the members of the middle classes. Instead they became part of exclusive estates and were used to fortify the old colonist’s self-image in the face of challenge. This was in keeping with the gentry’s philosophy of remaining aloof and using separation as a means of power. Politicians could not afford to be so exclusive. They had to win the favour of the new immigrants, including the gold diggers and business men whose political power was expanding.
and who were vocal in their political views. The prints that were sold in series, such as *Men of Victoria*, revealed a desire of the subject not only to be portrayed as a hero but also to meet their need to win the approval of the middle classes. From the Irish politician John O'Shanassy to the governor Sir Henry Barkly, eminent men of Victoria were forced to appeal to the colonists through the engraved likenesses of themselves, which were published in illustrated magazines and as single prints. They conveyed an image of earnest men of responsibility, with their furrowed brows and sombre expressions alluding to their sense of public duty.

The portrait print was not only an important propaganda tool through which political leaders could influence their electorate but, in the form of a caricature, it was also a means by which the middle classes could exert political pressure. The satirical magazine *Melbourne Punch* had wide appeal with Chevalier taking many liberties with the likenesses of politicians. Mr Punch mocked the appearance and the performance of politicians and placed them before the public for ridicule. Familiar faces were paraded through the pages of *Melbourne Punch* as chickens and dogs, children and clowns, Shakespearian heroes and mythological gods. Such publications gave the middle classes power. Politicians had to contend with the 'popular' image which was developed and sanctioned through the popular press. The victims of the cartoonist's wit had no recourse or hope of halting the publication of such illustrations. The case of the caricaturist George Thomas demonstrated that the satirist had the support of the community and that in the gold rush era no one was immune from the judgement of the middle classes.

This case study on colonial portraits has revealed that medium and style, and even frames, are vital signifiers. As Hadjinicolaou argues, ideologies should not be sought in the 'content' of paintings but in their manner, which implies the unity of form and content. Academic styled sculptures and large oil paintings, which were designed and framed for display, had associations with Britain, tradition and cultured tastes. When the old gentry commissioned portraits in classical and Academic forms they were expressing a belief in the corresponding values. But such observations on the import and character of sculpted and painted mediums are not new and many art

---

2Hadjinicolaou, p. 16.
historians have recognised that the ideology implicit in a formal portrait is very
different, for instance, to a photograph. In this thesis, an important observation, in
regard to medium concerns the portrayal of women in engravings. It has been
argued that while the content, or narrative and subject matter, of the portraits of
women may not have varied between the printed and the painted likeness, the
medium used created crucial differences. In the mid-nineteenth century the fact that a
printed portrait of a woman, such as an actor, could be bought and owned by any
man meant that it did not live up to the ideals and rules of a portraits of women of
respectability. Oil paintings or sculpture were exclusive and their viewing was
essentially controlled by the husband or father. On the other hand, printed portraits
of female entertainers were open to the voyeuristic gaze of anyone who had a couple
of shillings.

Just as in the portraits of men, an analysis of portraits of women must revolve
around the issue of function. There were essentially two types of portraits of women
produced in the colony - the portraits of women in the role of wife and mother and
the portraits of female entertainers. Colonial Victoria was a patriarchal society and
portraits of women were designed to meet the requirements of a feminine ideal in a
man's world. But it should not be forgotten that stereotypes existed for both men
and for women. There were clear gender divisions and distinctions between how
men and women were portrayed. In portraits of women handkerchiefs abound,
along with wedding rings and children. In the portraits of men, swords, books and
riding crops are plentiful. The fact that respectable women were always portrayed as
wives and mothers can in one way be interpreted as a sign of their confinement to the
domestic world. Portraits of domestic virtue perpetuated an ideal that did restrict
women. A sense of this restriction and tension seeps through in the portrait of *Maria
O'Mullane and her Children*, with the mother and daughter appearing imprisoned by
their maternal duties and future. The portraits of women such as Thomas Anne Cole
and Maria Dowling can also be read as statements of feminine power. Women
represented family values and morality. It was crucial that a woman meet the ideals
of respectability in order that she and her family achieve status. For women to be
portrayed as vital to the social structure, to glorify their role, gives them prestige
rather than casting them as subservient.
There were very marked differences between the classes in regards to women working as professional portraitists. As demonstrated in the case of Georgiana McCrae, the gentry did not approve of their women earning money from portraiture. In their circles women were allowed to develop their artistic skills but they were very much expected to work in the realm of the amateur and not prosper financially by their work. Amongst the middle classes, on the other hand, women practising as artists, complete with studios and advertising their services, was an acceptable way of making a living. Examples such as Letitia Davidson prove that women could be active members of the art community. Women were invited to and did join art societies and exhibited in all the major exhibitions of the period. It is true that their numbers were much smaller than the men but they were nevertheless significant. What was arguably one of the most successful businesses exploiting the attraction of the portrait was run by a woman, that is Madame Sohier's wax works museum. It was the gender prejudice of one particular class in colonial society that conspired to restrict women to the so-called lower end of the market. As the gentry disapproved of genteel women working as professional portraitists and would only give commissions to members of their own class, it follows that they were left with no choice but to turn to a man.

An important part of the exploration of colonial portraiture is the analysis of influence. In all aspects of colonial society, including the visual arts, the influence of Britain was paramount. In many instances in this thesis it has been seen that the parallels between the colonial portrait and the British example were indisputable. Madame Sohier's Chamber of Horrors was almost a replica of Madame Tussaud's, even copying the name of the gallery of criminals. The only difference was that local villains were included. Melbourne Punch was modelled on its London parent and appropriated its name and its major characters of Mr Punch and Toby. In formal portraiture the British academic tradition was adhered to with many trained painters and sculptors bringing their expertise to the colony. There were no signs, however, of the adoption of the most up to date artistic practices such as espoused by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, despite the presence of Thomas Woolner. As seen with Strutt's work and the Romantic overtones in his paintings, colonial portraiture often looked back to the early nineteenth century and to the work of portraitists such as Thomas Lawrence. From large formal portraits, through to caricatures, Victorians adopted British conventions. The portraits they bought and commissioned
demonstrated how extensive the domination of a the central power was in a colonial community.

Beyond the British influence the American impact was also significant. American artists and practices permeated the middle class market, resulting in the popularity of the ambrotype and private printed portraits. Americans such as Perez Mann Batchelder, armed with their experience on the Californian gold fields, dominated the colonial mass market. It is difficult to assess the significance of the American influence and to decide how much emphasis should be placed on it. In 'Chapter 5' some tentative arguments were put forward speculating that the middle class who went to American portraitists and who embraced American portrait conventions may have consciously and actively aligned themselves with American democratic and liberal philosophies. Americans were regarded as rebellious and independent and it maybe that some colonists sought these associations in their 'American style' portraits. Doubts are cast on such arguments, however, when it is remembered that most colonists still looked to Britain with pride and saw England as home. Those colonists who went to American portraitists probably did do because they operated better businesses and were the most competitive photographers and engravers.

Even if the middle classes' patronage of American artists can be reduced to pure economics, the new chums' ambivalence towards those who took their portraits is significant. There was much widespread disdain towards Americans in the Victorian community but this did not stop the middle classes from doing business with them. For oil paintings and sculptures, the old gentry used only portraitists with a British background. The middle classes were not as discriminating. The portraits of the middle classes were not outward expressions of status, but, within their small, intricate cases, operated as intimate mementoes. The new chums commissioned portraits to send to their relatives to show how they were faring in the remote colony and to be reminders of family and friends. The use of gold in the portraits could be seen as a confrontational statement. For the old gentry, gold was at the heart of all their problems and this gaudy use of it in photographs could be interpreted as rubbing salt into the wound. But it is more likely that this was not a deliberate statement of confrontation. Instead gold was used by colonists to emphasise to their friends and relatives and to themselves that they were in the land of gold and wealth. This kind of ostentation would of course have been unacceptable amongst the old
gentry. Although the portraits of the middle classes were not designed in the same way to be part of a class battle they were nevertheless a factor in it. The very fact that the middle classes could have their portraits taken - a privilege which in the past had largely been the prerogative of the upper classes - was in itself a challenge to the élite's supremacy. The middle classes had been in a way visually enfranchised.

The most notable innovations in colonial portraiture came from the portraits of the middle classes. The middle classes wanted to be portrayed as colonists living in colonial conditions, not as English aristocracy. Not surprisingly then, it was within the art of the middle classes that a peculiarly colonial art form developed. In the portraits of the gold diggers there is a merging of British conventions with the demands of Australian patrons. Traditional poses and formats are used but there is a notable difference in the use of light and colour. The diggers wore bleached shirts and moleskin trousers and worked outside in the harsh Australian sun. Portraying all these elements resulted in a quite different portrait to that of the dark and heavy images of the Academy. Later in the century, artists were praised for capturing the light and character of the Australian landscape. The beginnings of this tradition can be seen in portraits such as those done by Becker on the goldfields, where his style captured an image of the Australian people.

While there are features such as dress in the portraits of diggers which make them relatively easy to designate as colonial, there were other less obvious instances where colonial conditions led to change and invention. In mid-nineteenth century Victoria there was little national pride and enthusiasm for depicting key events and people from the colony's pioneering history. This was demonstrated again and again in the demise of such projects as the commemoration and decoration of the Houses of Parliament and the Fawkner monument. This being so, there was little room for the painter or sculptor to deal with overtly colonial subject matter or even begin to explore the possibilities of a colonial style. The gentry who commissioned paintings and sculptures wanted to appear English and to mimic British portraiture. Colonial conditions, however, meant that it was not always possible for them to do this. The shortage of artists and materials meant that they had to make-do with what they had and this often led to innovation. An example of this can be seen in the Cole medallions. George Ward Cole when looking to commission a family portrait had to settle for a sculptor. Traditionally in Britain such family portraits were the domain of painters rather than sculptors and it was they who produced the conversation pieces.
Not surprisingly then there are very few British family portraits executed in sculpture and there are none which resemble Woolner's portraits of the Cole family. Woolner's portrayal of the Cole family is without precedent and therefore it can be argued that it is peculiarly colonial.

A study of Victorian colonial portraiture reveals that the meaning of an image must not only be sought in iconography and subject matter, but also in medium, style and function. All these elements must be analysed in a sociological study of portraiture. Most of the portraits discussed in this thesis would have been impossible to understand without a knowledge of their patrons, the people who bought or commissioned the portraits. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, patronage is the key to interpreting the iconography and form of a particular portrait. Colonial portraits reveal much about class and gender tensions, reflecting these divisions in society as well as perpetuating them. In the years 1834 to 1861 the foundations for the future development of portraiture in Victoria were laid and the portrait emerged as an increasingly significant part of the artistic, political, social and commercial climate of the colony.
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Budgery [Caroline Dexter], *Emile and Madeline* (Melbourne: [n. pub], 1857)

Burr, C. C., *Autobiography and Lectures of Lola Montez* (London: [n. pub], 1858)


Combe, George, *Phrenology Applied to Painting and Sculpture* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1855)


Edouart, A., *A Treatise on Silhouette Likenesses; by Monsieur Edouart, Silhouettist to the French Royal Family and Patronised by His Royal Highness the Late Duke of Gloucester and the Principal Nobility of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London: Londman, 1835)


_Felix on the Bat; Being a Scientific Inquiry into the Use of the Cricket Bat: Together with the History and Use of the Catapulta_, 3rd edn (London: Bailey Brothers, 1855)


Finn, Edmund, *Chronicle of Early Melbourne, 1835 to 1852: Historical, Anecdotal and Personal* (Melbourne: Fergusson and Mitchell, 1888)

Georgiana's *Journal, Melbourne 1841-1865*, ed. by Hugh McCrae, 2nd edn (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1966)

Guhl, Von Ernst, 'Women Artists', *Westminster Review*, 14 (July 1858), 163-185

Howitt, William, *Two Years in Victoria, with Visits to Sydney and Van Dieman's Land*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860)


McCombie, Thomas, *History of the Colony of Victoria from its Settlement to the Death of Sir Charles Hotham* (Melbourne: Sands and Kenny, 1858)


*National Gallery of Photographic Portraits*, portraits by Herbert Watkins, biographies by Herbert Fry (London: [n. pub], 1858)


Pattison, Mark, 'History and Biography', *Westminster Review*, 14 (July 1858), 265-284


'Three Centuries of Family Portraits', Macmillan's Magazine, 83 (September 1866), 340-56

White, James, 'Your Life or Your Likeness', Household Words, 25 July 1857, 384.


Pamphlets

Barry, Redmond, An Introductory Lecture on Architecture, Sculpture and Painting, Delivered at the Melbourne's Mechanic's Institution on 8 September, 1847 (Melbourne: Gazette Office, 1847)

Barton, Rev Frederick George, Men for the Colony - A Lecture Delivered to the Members of the Kyneton Mechanics Institute (Melbourne: G. J. Sands for the Mechanics Institute, 1856)

Cumming, Rev John, with an introduction by Rev Cairns, A Lecture on Labor, Rest and Recreation (Melbourne: James Caple, 1856)

Rules of the Victorian Society of Fine Art (Melbourne: Victorian Society of Fine Art, 1856)

Catalogues

Catalogue of the Victorian Fine Arts Society's Exhibition, Mechanic's Institution, (Melbourne: [n. pub.], 1853)

Official Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition, 1854, in Connexion with Paris Exhibition, 1855 (Melbourne: [n.pub.], 1854)

Catalogue of the Victorian Exhibition of Art Consisting of Paintings Sculpture, Architectural and Decorative Art (Melbourne: [n.pub], 1856)
Catalogue of the Pictures and other Works of Art forming the First Exhibition of the Victorian Society of Fine Arts (Melbourne: [n.pub]. 1857)

Victoria Industrial Society, Catalogue of the Eighth Annual Exhibition of Manufactures, Produce, Machinery and Fine Arts (Melbourne: [n. pub]., 11 1858)

Catalogue of the Victorian Exhibition of Fine Arts (Melbourne: [n. pub.], 1860)

Catalogue of the Victorian Exhibition of Fine Arts (Melbourne: [n. pub.], 1861)

Catalogue of Madame Sohier's Waxworks Exhibition (Melbourne: [n. pub]., 1866)

Directories/Almanacs

1839  New South Wales and Port Phillip General Post Office Directory

1841  Kerr's Melbourne Almanac and Port Phillip Directory

1842  Kerr's Melbourne Almanac and Port Phillip Directory

1844  Port Phillip Separation Merchants' and Settlers' Almanac, Diary and Melbourne Directory

1845  Port Phillip Separation Merchants' and Settlers' Almanac, Diary and Directory for Melbourne and the District of Port Phillip

1847  J. J. Mouritz, The Port Phillip Almanac and Directory

1847  Port Phillip Patriot Almanac and Directory

1849  The Squatters' Directory, Containing a List of All the Occupants of Crown Lands, in the Intermediate and Unsettled Districts of Port Phillip

1851  Victorian Directory.

1853  The Melbourne Commercial Directory Including Collingwood and Richmond, and Almanac

1853  New Quarterly Melbourne Directory
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1853</td>
<td>Bryce Ross's Diggings Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>The Melbourne Commercial Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>The Geelong Commercial Directory and Almanac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>The Melbourne Commercial Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Castlemaine Directory, Almanac and Book of General Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Geelong, Ballarat, Creswick's Creek Commercial Directory and Almanac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>The Melbourne Commercial, Professional and Legal Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Ovens Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Huxtable's Ballarat Commercial Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Castlemaine Almanac, Directory and Book of General Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>A Colonial Directory, Including Geelong and Melbourne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858</td>
<td>The Geelong Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Bendigo District General Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Tanner's Melbourne Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Castlemaine Directory and Book of General Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Geelong and Western District General Directory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Manuscripts**

Akers, Charles, Journal, ML.

Barkly, Sir Henry, Papers, Hertfordshire Record Office (UK)

Barry, Sir Redmond, Papers, LT, ms 8380.

Beale, Anthony Beale, Diaries, LT, ms 10751.
Coppin, George Selth, Papers, NLA, 3040

*Notes of the Hargrave Cartoons*, Castlemaine Art Gallery

Smith, James, Papers, ML, 212/1

Strutt, William, 'Autobiography and other papers 1778-1955', 7 vols, 1 portfolio, ML.

Woodbury, Walter, Papers, Royal Photographic Society, Bath (UK)

Woodhouse, Herbert, 'Victorian Pioneers of Litho-drawing and Engraving, 1842 to 1889', ML, Doc 1147.

Newspapers/Magazines

*Age* (Melbourne), 1854-1861

*Argus* (Melbourne), 1846-1861

*Art Union* (London), 1839

*Australian Magazine* (Melbourne), 1859

*Australian Picture Pleasure Book* (Melbourne), 1857

*Household Words* (London), 1857

*Illustrated Australian Magazine* (Melbourne), 1850-52

*Illustrated Journal of Australasia* (Melbourne). 1850-1860

*Illustrated London News* (London), 1834-1861

*Illustrated Melbourne Family News* (Melbourne) 1855

*Illustrated Melbourne Post* (Melbourne), 1862

*Illustrated News* (Melbourne), 1858

*Journal of Australasia* (Melbourne), 1856-1858
Melbourne Illustrated News (Melbourne), 1853

Melbourne Monthly Magazine (Melbourne), 1855

My Note Book (Melbourne), 1856-1859

Melbourne Punch (Melbourne), 1855-1861

News Letter of Australasia (Melbourne), 1856-1858

Polyglot News Letter (Melbourne), 1858-1859

Victorian Monthly Magazine (Melbourne), 1859

Secondary Sources


Alexander, R. B., 'Prominent Personalities of the Eighteen Fifties', Victorian Historical Magazine, 24 (1952), 121-139

Ambrus, Caroline, Australian Women Artists First Fleet to 1945: History, Hearsay and Her Say (Canberra: Irrepressible Press, 1992)


Antal, Frederick, Florentine and Social Painting and Its Social Background (London: [n. pub], 1948)

Archer, Midred, India and British Portraiture 1770-1825, (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1979)


Ashley-Cooper, F. S., 'Cricket and the Royal Family', in *Imperial Cricket*, ed. by P. F. Warner (London: [n.pub], 1912)


*Bibliography on Portraiture: Selected Writings on Portraiture as an Art Form and as Documentation*, compiled by Irene Heppner, 2 vols (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1990)


Bodleian Library, *Portraits of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1952)

Bonwick, James, *Port Phillip Settlement* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1883)

Bonwick, James, *Early Struggles of the Australian Press* (London: Gordon and Gotch, 1890)


Bonyhady, Tim, 'The Politics of Colonial Sculpture', *Art and Australia*, 28.4 (Spring 1990), 102-106


Bradfield, Raymond, *Lola Montez and Castlemaine: Some Early Theatrical History* ([n.p]: [n.pub], [n.d.])

Bradfield, Raymond, *They Trod the Boards: How the Dramatic Arts Burgeoned on Forest Creek in 1857* (Castlemaine: Castlemaine Mail Print, [n.d.])


Breckenridge, James D., 'Portraiture and Cult of the Skulls', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 63 series 6 (1964), 275-287

Bumgardner, Georgia Brady, 'Political Portraiture: Two Prints of Andrew Jackson', *American Art Journal*, 28 (1986), 84-95


Chester, Austin, 'The Art of William Strutt', *Windsor Magazine*, November 1912

Chitty, Alfred, 'Victorian Commemorative Medals', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, 2.5 (1912), 15-26


Coke, Desmond, *The Art of Silhouette* (London: Martin Secker, 1913)


Cooper, Helen and Peter Cooter, *Heads, or the Art of Phrenology* (London: London Phrenology Company, 1983)


Curnow, Heather, 'Nicholas Chevalier 1826-1902', *Art and Australia*, 18.3 (Autumn 1980), 255-261

Curnow, Heather, *William Strutt* (Sydney: Australian Gallery Directors Council with the assistance of the Visual Arts Board of the Australia Council in conjunction with the Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1980)


Dictionary of Australian Artists: Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870, ed. by Joan Kerr (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992)


Dutton, Geoffrey, The Squatters (Melbourne: Currey O'Neil Ross, 1985)

Edwards, Ralph, Early Conversation Pictures from the Middle Ages to about 1730: A Study in Origins (London: Country Life, 1954)

Emerson, Ralph Waldo, Representative Men and English Traits (London: Ward Lock, [n.d.])


Faigan, Julian, Uncommon Australians: Towards an Australian Portrait Gallery (Sydney: Art Exhibitions Australia, 1992)


Getlein, Frank and Dorothy Getlein, *The Bite of the Print: Satire and Irony in Woodcuts, Engravings, Etchings, Lithograph and Serigraphs* (London: Jenkins, 1964)


Glover, A., *Victorian Treasures from the La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria* (Melbourne: [n.pub], 1980)

Glück, Gustav, 'Van Dyck's Equestrian Portraits of Charles I', *Burlington Magazine*, 70 (May 1937), 221-217


Gombrich, Ernst Hans and E. Kris, *Caricature*, ed. by Elizabeth Senior (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1940)


Gross, Alan, *Charles Joseph La Trobe: Superintendent of the Port Phillip District 1839-1851 Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria 1851-1854* (Melbourne: [n.pub.], 1956)


Hall, Barbara and Jenni Mather, Australian Women Photographers 1840 - 1950 (Richmond: Greenhouse, 1986)


Hetherington, John, Pillars of the Faith: Churchmen and their Churches in Early Victoria (Melbourne: F. W. Chesire, 1966)

Hickman, Peggy, Two Centuries of Silhouettes: Celebrities in Profile (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1971)

Holyoake, Mary, 'Melbourne Art Scene from 1839 to 1859', Art and Australia, 15.3 (Autumn 1978), 289-296

Holyoake, Mary, 'Melbourne Art Scene: Introduction to the 1850s', Art and Australia, 17.2 (Summer 1979), 138-139

Hook, Sidney, The Hero in History: A Study in Limitation and Possibility (New York: Day, 1943)

Hunt, Susan, 'An Australian Portrait Gallery: Constructing a National Tradition', Art and Australia, 30.2 (Summer 1992), 194-196

Ingamells, John, Mrs Robinson and Her Portraits, Wallace Collection Monographs: 1 (London: Trustees of the Wallace Collection, 1978)

Inglis, Ken, Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History 1788-1870 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1993)


Jones, John, 'Robert Dowling's Visit to the Western District of Victoria in 1856', *Art and Australia*, 25.2 (Summer 1987), 202-205


King, Jonathan, *The Other Side of the Coin: A Cartoon History of Australia* (Sydney: Cassell Australia, 1976)


Long, Charles R., 'Memorials to Victorian Explorers and Pioneers', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, 4.4 (June 1915), 153-161

Long, Charles R., 'Memorials to Victorian Explorers and Pioneers', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, 7.2 (January 1919), 77-79


McCaughey, Davis, Naomi Perkins and Angus Trumble, *Victoria's Colonial Governors 1839-1900* (Melbourne: Melbourne University, 1993)


McDonald, Patricia and Barry Pearce, *The Artist and the Patron: Aspects of Colonial Art in New South Wales* (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1988)

McLennan Hall, T., 'Children in Art', *Scottish Art Review*, 1949, 20-29

MacLeod, Dianne Sachko, 'Art Collecting and Victorian Middle-Class Taste', *Art History*, 10. 3 (September 1987), 328-350


McNicoll, Ronald, *The Early Years of the Melbourne Club* (Melbourne: [n.pub.], 1976)


Mahood, Marguerite, 'Melbourne Punch and Its Early Artists', *La Trobe Library Journal*, 1.4 (October 1969), 65-81


Martindale, Andrew, Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz/SDU, 1988)


Mayor, Alpheus Hyatt, Prints and People: A Social History of Printed Pictures (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972)


Moore, William, 'Portrait of John Batman', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, 1.2 (April 1911), 72

Moore, William, *The Story of Australian Art: from the Earliest Known Art of the Continent to the Art of To-day* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1980)


Phipps, Jennifer, 'Portrait of Maria Elizabeth O'Mullane and Her Children c. 1852', *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, 18 (1977), 53-55


Piper, David, 'A Commentary on the Development of Portraiture', in *European Portraits 1600-1900 in the Art Institute of Chicago* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1978)


Prescott, Gertrude May, *Fame and Photography: Portrait Publications in Great Britain, 1856-1900* ([n.p.]: University Microfilms International, 1985)


Radford, Ron, 'Australian Colonial Portraits Exhibition', *Art and Australia*, 18.1 (Spring 1980), 15-18


Schama, Simon, 'The Domestication of Majesty: Royal Family Portraiture 1500-1800', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17.1 (Summer 1986), 155-183


Smith, Minnie, *Bernhard Smith and His Connection with Art or the 7 P. R. B.s* (Melbourne: [n.pub.], 1917)


Stafford, Barbara Maria, "'Peculiar Marks': Lavater and the Countenance of Blemished Thought', *Art Journal*, Fall 1987, 185-191.


Thomas, Margaret, *Hero of the Workshop and a Somersetshire Worthy. Charels Summers Sculptor, the Story of his Struggles and Triumph* (London: Hamilton, Adams, [1879])


Turner, Hemy Gyles, *A History of the Colony of Victoria from its Discovery to its Absorption into the Commonwealth of Australia*, 2 vols (London: [n.pub.], 1904)


Wanostrocht's, *Felix on the Bat*, 1845.


Willis, Anne Marie, *Picturing Australia: A History of Photography* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1988)


