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Exhibited at CCP in February 2002.
PHOTOGRAPIHS OF BUSHRANGERS – alive but mostly dead – emerged as a field of interest in 1999 while I was researching the exhibition ‘Mirror with a Memory: Photographic Portraiture in Australia’ for the National Portrait Gallery. As a curator I had no desire to simply undertake a survey of photographic portraiture and so developed other organising principles for ‘Mirror with a Memory’. One of these was to juxtapose formal and vernacular traditions of photographic portraiture, the aim being to initiate a dialogue between what are conventionally two spheres of activity – photographic history and the art museum on one hand, and social history and the library or the archive on the other. By bringing them together I hoped to give a fuller, richer account of the role of photographic portraiture in our lives.

A second aim of ‘Mirror with a Memory’ was to treat photographs not simply as two-dimensional images, with all their associated complexities of meaning, but also as objects. I wanted to underscore the fact that photographs have specific physical properties related to size, process and to their forms of presentation as well as significant physical characteristics emanating from their personal and broader social histories. This is where the physical state of the photographs of bushrangers is especially telling, for they are commonly in poor condition. The distressed state of these objects – their stains, tears, cuts and so on – speak of neglect or even vandalism. Look, for example, at Henry Pohl’s Post-mortem Photograph of Daniel (Mad Dog) Morgan, New South Wales bushranger (1865), which is thoroughly stained and has one corner of its mount inexplicably cut off.

Finally, I wanted the portraits in the exhibition to tell stories. Not just about photography but also about particular aspects of Australian life. I chose to focus on those historical moments in which I saw photography intersecting most powerfully with broader historical and cultural experiences, with what I described then as the circumstances of colonisation. One of these highly charged narratives involves nineteenth-century photographs of ‘outsiders’ and the infamous – convicts, bushrangers and criminals. Photographs of these subjects exist in a variety of forms, depending on the reasons for their production. The most sustained documentation served the interests of the state and includes police records produced from the 1870s onwards, with their standardised shots of offenders (what seems remarkable here is the speed with which the codes of representation were formalised). Also in this category is the outstanding group of carte-de-visite portraits of more than 70 convicts and prisoners, inmates at the Port Arthur settlement who were photographed by Thomas J. Nevin in 1874.

Commercial interests, governed another area of the production of images of the infamous. Carte-de-visite of the most notorious bushrangers, which were widely circulated from the 1860s onwards, were linked to the burgeoning trade in ‘Celebrity’ portraiture that included members of the British royal family, actors, musicians and performers. A particularly bizarre image is a portrait of the bushranging brothers Thomas and John Clarke photographed at Brindabella Gool after their capture in 1867 (they were hanged not long after). It is characterised by a wholly unexpected and poignant clash of codes with the two manacled prisoners posed in front of a studio backdrop of an idyllic pastoral scene. The brothers face the camera with all the due formality of a studio portrait session, hair combed, jackets on (hiding John Clarke’s injured arm), hats in their hands, and half smirking expressions on their faces.

In Tasmania at the turn of the century an unknown photographer, possibly J.W. Beattie, gave a new inflexion to the demand for souvenirs with his production of an elegant sequence of photographs of convicts’ death masks now in the collection of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery. These images, however, did not make their appeal through topicality as had earlier photographs but through nostalgia instead. The convict era they alluded to had long since concluded.

Possibly the smallest group of photographs of the infamous were portraits taken for private and probably familial reasons – for example, of the bushrangers Ben Hall, Frank Gardiner and Steve Hart, all of whom were depicted in their Sunday best. Such images have of course gained value only because of the subsequent notoriety of their subjects.

From my perspective, as fascinating and important as all these photographs are, the great majority of
them can be easily accommodated because they fall mid-range on my emotional register. But there is one photograph that still astonishes me, that literally takes my breath away whenever I see it. It is A.F. Saunders’ postmortem photograph of the ‘half-caste’ bushranger Joe Governor, brother of Jimmy Governor, taken in 1900. A wreck of a thing, it has one edge missing, is torn, crossed, and has erosion losses dotted across Governor’s body which look like flies on a corpse.

What I want to deal with here is not this photograph’s initial effect but its aftermath, for it engenders in me feelings of unease and raises doubts about a whole range of issues associated with, but not unique to, the processes of colonization. This paper, therefore, is a response to two questions: how might we speak about this photograph of Joe Governor in particular; and, more generally, what is the actual significance of postmortem photographs of bushrangers in Australia?

Bushranging in Australia is recognised as having three distinct phases. The first, immediately after white settlement and continuing until c.1840, involved the ‘convict boasters’; that is, escapees from the penal settlements in New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land. The second phase occurred during the gold rush in the 1850s and 1860s when bushrangers were principally armed robbers; their activities were focused around the goldfields in Victoria and New South Wales. The final phase, which coincided with the widespread use of photography following the introduction of the wet plate process, was dominated by native-born bushrangers and ended with the capture of the Kelly Gang in 1880. Jimmy and Joe Governor’s murderous sprees in 1900, during which they killed nine people, was an isolated event, occurring only a few months before the federation of Australia.

Estimates of the numbers involved in bushranging over more than a century vary enormously from hundreds up to 2000; of the 460 individuals identified by writer Harry Nunn, they were almost without exception “shot dead, hanged or imprisoned.” And most were young men, aged in their twenties.

The postmortem photographs of bushrangers occupy a unique position in Australian visual culture because, in contrast to the United States and some European countries, there is little evidence of a benign form of postmortem photographic portraiture being widely practiced here. In the United States, where there has been a great deal of scholarly and popular interest in the subject, two traditions of postmortem photography coexisted in the nineteenth century. In the most abbreviated terms they involved peaceful death on one hand, and violent death (of criminals, outlaws and of black Americans) on the other. However, in Australia, it is principally the images of violent death that have been documented to date and made visible through exhibitions and publications.

That being said it should be noted that the numbers of photographs involved are relatively small. This is not surprising given the practical difficulties of postmortem photography, which depended not only on access to a photographer but also on the condition of the body. Daniel (Mad Dog) Morgan was photographed by Henry Pohl, a partner in the Garthdale Portrait Saloon in Wangaratta, Victoria, either in the woodshed where he died or in town where his body was laid out for public display. Joe Governor’s body was carted to Singleton in New South Wales where it was placed on the billiard table at the Caledonian Hotel and photographed by Saunders, the town’s resident photographer. Joe Byrne of the Kelly Gang had already been dead for two days by the time J.W. Lindt arrived from Melbourne with a contingent of photographers and newspaper artists; Byrne’s corpse was strung up “like a puppet” outside the Benalla Police Station specifically for the photographic session. In Lindt’s famous photograph the small gathering of spectators is an essential part of the scene.

In the nineteenth-century context, postmortem portraits of bushrangers had a number of specific functions. For the authorities and those claiming a reward for the killing of a declared outlaw they were proof of death (rewards were substantial, usually around 1000 pounds on any one head). But the photographs were also part of a larger public spectacle that began with the corpse itself being offered up for viewing, sometimes by hundreds of people, and continued long after the disposal of the body with the circulation of postmortem photographs in the souvenir trade. A close-up photograph of Joe Byrne’s corpse was sold as a souvenir and Henry Pohl’s carte-de-visite of Morgan is believed to have sold in large numbers.

Postmortem photographs operate at the juncture between two critical events – the death itself and the laying to rest of the body. When a criminal such as a bushranger was involved, these events became supercharged; they differed from the Christian norm, which is predicated on the belief in a ‘good death’ and a good burial, as well as more general behavioural codes including fair play. Bushrangers rarely died well and had had burials if they were given a burial at all.

As Pat Jalland has so clearly argued in her book *Death in the Victorian Family*, the moment of death was considered vitally important to Christians in the nineteenth century, whether they were Catholic or Protestant. In the ideal Christian death the dying person had both the time and presence of mind to “beg forgiveness for past sins and to prove his worthiness for salvation.” As a consequence, the last words of a dying person, whether written or spoken, were highly valued as evidence of their readiness for divine judgment. Similarly, the dying person’s final expression was closely studied – a smile was proof that “the soul had smiled the glory of heaven – it was interpreted as a sign of salvation.” Because sudden death, whether the result of a violent act or accident, did not allow time for spiritual reckoning it was believed that a person
should continually prepare themselves for death. The result otherwise would be eternal damnation. In terms of Christian beliefs many bushrangers and, one might add, their victims, experienced the worst kind of death—sudden death.

A key factor influencing whether an outlaw was taken alive or dead was the Felons Apprehension Act of 1865, which provided that any judge of the Supreme Court could issue a warrant for the arrest of any person accused on oath of a capital offense. A summons was then published in the Government Gazette requiring the accused to surrender himself for trial. If he failed to do so he could be officially proclaimed an outlaw.

Once this had occurred it was lawful "for any of Her Majesty's subjects, whether a constable or not, to take the outlaw alive or dead, without the formality of calling on him to surrender." In other words, it was legitimate to fire at an outlaw on sight.

Not surprisingly, in stories and ballads about bushrangers a great deal of narrative energy is directed towards the bushrangers' final moments. Detailed accounts are given of events leading up to their deaths and the manner in which they died. Often the bushranger is caught unaware or while sleeping—that is, unprepared for death. The implication here is also of a lack of fair play or cowardice on the part of police, because the bushranger is given no chance to defend himself. Captain Midnight was caught "sleeping late" and in Frank Clune's Wild Colonial Boys, which includes stories about Ben Hall and Joe Governor, both men were cornered while sleeping (Jimmy Governor was captured in October 1900 shortly before Joe was killed).

Clune parallels Ben Hall's situation with that of Napoleon Bonaparte at Mount Saint Helena forty-four years earlier. To paraphrase Clune's story, while Ben Hall lay sleeping "on his bed of dry leaves ... on the frosty plain" he was oblivious to the fact that the black tracker Billy Dargin was creeping "forward on his belly in the grass" and the police were surrounding him.

When Hall's home was disturbed he woke up, sensed danger and rose to his feet, only to be shot by Dargin and then the police. And so, within a short space of real time, but extended narrative time, Ben Hall sleeps, wakes and dies. The complete scenario is enacted without the bushranger being able to fire a single shot in self-defense. As the story is retold in The Ballad of Ben Hall, Hall is killed by "cowardly blue-coatimps; who were laid on to where he slept by informing peders' plagues".

As for Joe Governor, the circumstances behind his death are contested. By the time the grazier John Wilkinson came across Joe Governor's campsite, he and his brother Jimmy had covered more than 9000 kilometres in a three-month period; they had been pursued by a huge force which at its peak reached a staggering 2000 civilians and 200 police. What remains in dispute in the various accounts of Governor's death was whether Wilkinson issued any warning before firing on him. According to the ballad 'My Name is Jimmy Governor':

Joe was shot asleep, Beneath a shady tree, As Wilkinson was passing by; He fired as he chanced to see. He said he called "Joe, surrender?" But I think it was all rot, The trigger he drew, the bullet flew, And shot him dead on the spot.

In their recent book The True Story of Jimmy Governor, Laurie Moore and Stephan Williams have challenged Wilkinson's claim that he fired from a distance of 250 metres. If so, they argue, "it was an excellent shot". They have concluded that:

The story told by locals is more realistic. They believe that Wilkinson first fired at Joe while he was asleep, calling no warning. This shot was probably delivered at close range and stunned Joe, causing him to stagger off without his gun. Also at close range was the shot through the back of the head that killed him.

History has it that Daniel Morgan was similarly unprepared for death. After holding the residents of the Victorian property Fetherby overnight, Morgan walked outside in the morning, not realising that as a result of a tip-off the house had been surrounded. He was fired on and mortally wounded. Clune writes that:

The shot struck the bushranger in the back...and he fell forward on his face..."You are all a damned lot of cowards" gasped Morgan. "Why didn't you give a fellow a chance?"

For those taken in alive there was a prospect of salvation. Popular accounts of Ned Kelly's last hours in Melbourne Gaol suggest that, as Max Brown puts it, he was "quite contented". On his final day Kelly woke early and "was on his knees praying" when the warder looked in on him; after having his iron removed he prayed again with the Roman Catholic Chaplain of the prison. "Jimmy Governor was described as an exemplary prisoner for his prayers with the chaplain". As Governor was being fitted with the noose he murmured a prayer, the press later reporting that he "went out of the world quietly and without much pain".

This brings me back to Saunders' photograph of Joe Governor. No one looking at it could have any
doubt that Governor is emphatically and horribly dead. Indeed, this is the most graphic representation of death I have come across in nineteenth-century Australian photography and, as such, paradoxically explains the feelings of unease I mentioned earlier. But there is one other irrefutable fact that distinguishes this post-mortem portrait from all the other depictions of bushrangers – its subject is black. Governor’s Aboriginality is inescapable, written all over his skin, hair and facial features (how light-skinned Daniel Morgan looks in comparison).

I suspect that Saunders’ attitude to his dead black subject is what especially troubles me – I say attitude because relationship is far too inclusive a term (although I have continued to use the equally inaccurate word ‘subject’). In order to take the photograph Saunders had stood right over Governor’s body, the lens of his camera almost pressing open the dead man’s half-closed eyes and peering into his half-open mouth. It is a vantage point that strikes me as being obscene in its closeness and irreverence.

The kinds of Libertines Saunders took with Governor are also present in one of Poh’s photographs of Daniel Morgan in which the photographer allegedly propped open Morgan’s eyes with matchsticks and placed a gun in his hand.75 This playing around with the corpse relates to that second charged event I referred to earlier – the disposal of the body. For a Christian, the passage from death to burial was relatively straightforward whereas for the criminal – and the Aboriginal – there was often a brutal in-between stage. It frequently involved decapitation and/or disembowelment and mutilation of the body for scientific purposes (the interest in phrenology was at its height). The criminal body was in effect public property, owned not by the family or the church, but by the state. As a consequence, the bodies of bushrangers, usually incomplete, were buried without ceremony within prison walls, or outside cemetery walls. To give three examples: the headless corpse of Joe Governor was buried outside the cemetery at Whittington near Singleton; Daniel Morgan’s corpse, also minus its head, was interred at Wangaratta; and Ned Kelly’s headless body was buried at the Melbourne Gaol. (Kelly’s skull was subsequently stolen from the Gaol; interestingly the culprit has said that he will not return it until a full burial of Kelly’s remains is arranged).

Before Morgan’s burial “two strange acts of barbarity were perpetrated”. To quote Frank Chene:

Some of the police ‘scraped’ his luxurious beard for a trophy, cutting the skin and flesh from the chin, with the hair attached. After that, Morgan’s head was cut off and taken to Melbourne for scientific study...76

From the government’s point of view, the mutilation of Morgan’s corpse actually went too far. A board was appointed to “Enquire in to the Circumstances... as well as the Persons who directly or indirectly took Part Therein” and concluded that the mutilation “was of a brutal and disgusting character and an outrage upon public decency”.77

Thirty-five years later – just a few months before Federation – Joe Governor’s body was subjected to a similar level of brutality. At the Caledonian Hotel where three to four hundred people queued to see him, “the thing which caused most attraction was Joe’s hard squat feet”.79 According to the account in the Singleton Argus, “one of the party struck a match on one of them. Sand-paper would not have lent a better surface for the因地制宜’s ignorance”.80 Governor’s head was cut off, preserved in spirits and sent to Sydney for scientific study. This action was considered inappropriate by Mr J.C.L. Fitzpatrick who asked in the NSW Legislative Assembly if “all criminals were to be treated in that fashion”. What Fitzpatrick went on to say is especially pertinent to my discussion, for he wondered whether such an action “was not on a par with the barbarous brutality of the outlaws”.81

This brings me to another aspect of Saunders’ photograph that I find unsettling. It is what could be described as its absolutism, the fact that this image knows no doubt. In it the boundaries between opposing elements – death and life, evil and good, between Governor and us (the photographer, the authorities, and the viewer) – appear firmly and rigidly drawn. As viewers of images like these we know immediately where we stand: looming over the corpse of Governor and Morgan, in the crowd gathered around Byrnes. This point about positioning is driven home by the visual counterparts to the post-mortem photographs – the glorious individual and group portraits of proud policemen and civilians involved in capturing various bushrangers. A typical example of the latter is William Edward Barnes’ Warragatta contingent present at capture of the Kelly Gang, 28 June 1880. Indeed, the photographs of bushrangers and policemen have the same story to tell – good triumphs over evil, and civilisation conquers barbarian. They represent a collective act of assurance, proof that civilisation, society and its law-abiding citizens are not only safe but also superior.

With regard to the group portrait, associations with hunting are inescapable. Animal and hunting imagery, including references to dingoes, dogs and foxes, was commonly used to describe bushrangers. Of his own capture, Jimmy Governor said that “They came at me like a pack of bloodhounds. Men were everywhere and as I jumped the creek someone yelled ‘Tally-ho’”.82

I have no intention of, or indeed any interest in, attempting to rehabilitate the reputations of the bushrangers I have referred to, although I am well aware that this is an ongoing process. Daniel Morgan, for example, once regarded as a ferocious monster, is now seen as much maligned and is being re-cast as a champion of workers’ rights and even a ladies’ man.

Henry Pohl
POST-MORTEM PHOTOGRAPH OF DANIEL MORGAN
MORRIS, NEW SOUTH WALES 1866, calotype, 10 x 6.5 cm
Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales
The recent attention given to the Governor's story and to Ned Kelly in Peter Carey's novel *True History of the Kelly Gang* (2000) can be seen as part of this phenomenon.

What I would like to do now is disturb the boundaries that are implicit in the postmortem photographs I have discussed by locating them within other discursive frameworks. In effect, this continues the blurring of distinctions between 'them' and 'us' which was initiated by individuals such as Mr Fitzpatrick in the photographs' own time-frames. It is therefore necessary to return briefly to that space in which the postmortem photograph operates and focus specifically on the treatment of and responses to the body after death has occurred. The points of view I have chosen come both from fact and fiction. It seems to me they offer a useful way of re-embodying language and of rendering the absolutes of the postmortem photographs less certain, less fixed. Thus, they make it possible to open up a space for other readings.

The first to speak is Jacky McGuire, the brother-in-law of the bushranger Ben Hall who was killed on 29 April 1865 in a shoot-out at Billabong Creek near Forbes, New South Wales. McGuire was on hand when Hall's body was brought into town. He obviously inspected it closely and later wrote that:

> I never saw such a sight in my life, and I hope I shall never see such a sight again. He was covered with a mass of wounds, practically torn to pieces with shots. I counted nearly thirty wounds, so they must have used him for target practice, the cowards brutes. They must have shot him for amusement after he was dead."

The second voice belongs to Ned Kelly. After being accused in the press of torturing Sergeant Kennedy and mutilating his body, Kelly gave his own version of the events that had occurred at Stringybark Creek in his famous Jerilderie letter. Kelly was at pains to emphasise his care of Kennedy whom he had shot in the heart to end his suffering from a mortal wound. After Kennedy died, Kelly placed his own cloak over him and, as he described it, "left him as well as I could ... were they [the police officers Kennedy, Scanlon and Lenigan] my own brothers I could not have been more sorry for them."[

This appeal to fellow feeling is played out in different stories about the Kelly Gang. For example, popular fiction has it that Joe Byrne's body was left hanging outside the Benalla Police Station until 'weeping, a young woman threw her arms protectively around it and asked police to give Joe Byrne peace, at last'.

Finally, within this tiny cluster of stories I would like to insert two other unforgettable images related to bushranging; they are, I think, the most appalling of all nineteenth-century Australian photographs I have seen to date. One of the burned bodies by Oswald Thomas Madeley and *Burnt body lying on a sheet of bark* by John Bray are part of a series in the collection of the State Library of Victoria documenting the final confrontation between the Kelly Gang and the police at Glenrowan. What you see pictured, presumably as part of the official documentation, are the thoroughly blackened remains of either Dan Kelly or Steve Hart. According to Prior, Wannax and Nunn, after the siege had ended, "Relatives raked what remained of the bodies of Dan Kelly and Steve Hart from the ashes of the Glenrowan Inn". These were then photographed before family members took them home on horseback and buried them.

These texts and images offer a different perspective on the dynamic inter-relationship between supposedly opposing forces. They also underscore the brutality and barbarism of the postmortem photographs – the violence physically enacted on the body in the first instance and then visually in terms of the photographic representation. To bring these ideas to a conclusion I would like to briefly discuss David Malouf's imaginative reconstruction of the bushranging period in Australian history in his *The Conversations at Currawong Creek* published in 1997.

The protagonists in Malouf's novel are Daniel Carney, a convict turned bushranger (that is, a convict bolter) who has been captured and condemned to die, and Michael Adair, the officer sent to oversee his execution. During what is assumed to be the prisoner's last night, Carney and Adair have a number of conversations that are gently broken by stretches of silence and sleep. These conversations alluded to in the book's title are concerned with the meaning of life, nature, the law, justice, desire, forgiveness and so on. Outside the hut in which Carney and Adair are confined are three troopers and an Aboriginal tracker, whose roles are peripheral but important nevertheless. I will refer to them only in relation to one crucial incident involving a trooper by the name of Langhurst.

In some ways, Langhurst is the novel's hope. He is an empathetic and compassionate individual who at one point is even described as 'pale'. And yet, when Langhurst was unexpectedly attacked by the prisoner Carney, he found himself filled "with a fury that nearly blinded him". Malouf continues that Langhurst:

> had gone in and brought him crashing to the ground and put his boots into the fellow's ribs, into his cheekbone, his groin where he lay curled up in the sand like an enormous baby, using his hands to protect his head."

Langhurst is unnerved by his own response and shamed by the violence in him; he wants, as Malouf puts it, to have a firmer grip on his own nature. This tension between human nature and law, what Malouf terms "the law of the land", "the insufficient law", is central to the novel.26
Ostensibly, the bushranger Carney and officer Adair are poles apart – a criminal who is about to die on one hand and a man on the side of the law and life on the other. However, almost immediately Carney sees through what Malouf describes as Adair’s “false mask.” Somewhat Daniel Carney “dipped into the dark of... Adair’s) head and had drawn up the very questions he had chosen not to find words for.”

In Malouf’s tale what is especially pertinent to my discussion is the gradual collapse of the distance between the two men. At one point during their long night together, Adair feels Carney’s gaze on him:

He felt a kind of warning that he should control his thoughts if he did not want them known; that the space they shared was no longer a contained one with fixed walls and a roof, but was open, and in such a way that the normal rules of separation, of one thing being distinct to itself and closed against another, no longer applied.

Adair comes to what can be considered a radical conclusion, that Carney is actually “the equal of those who have judged and will deprive him... of his unconditional right in the world.”

Shortly before he is to die Carney asks Adair for a favour. It is his last request – can he wash himself?

Adair gives his assent and in an extended light-filled sequence loaded with biblical references Carney washes himself in the river. He removes from his skin the last of “the world’s muck”, including the dried blood of his wounds inflicted on him by Langhurst. As Adair stands watching him he thinks that:

It should finish here... This is the natural end. In the man’s intense absorption in his task, and his own in watching, was a quietness he had been reaching for, he felt, for the whole of his life.

As I see it, in The Conversations atCarlton Creek David Malouf achieves something quite remarkable and for my purposes hugely useful. The interaction between Carney and Adair can be read as a fictional elaboration of Julia Kristeva’s idea of the subject as a ‘living system’ – a symbiosis with the outside world of the other. As Malouf so subtly puts it, the outside world is not a threat but rather a stimulus to change and adaptation. Trauma and crisis can thus broaden horizons. Indeed, if trauma is denied or resisted the result is an atrophying of psychic space.

This brings me back to the unease I experience when I look at Saunders’ photograph of Joe Governor and other postmortem photographs of bushrangers. Perhaps these feelings are engendered not simply by the photographers’ obsequiousness, as manifestations of violence and barbarism, but also because they represent a double death. This death is literal in relation to the subject (the dead bushranger) and psychic on the part of the photographer. What photographers like Bray, Pohl and Saunders share is their trenchant resistance to the world of the other and a conviction that their audience is similarly closed against it.

To conclude I would like to first direct your attention to the disputes that are alleged to have taken place among the policemen present at Ned Kelly’s capture. Nunn, Prior and others have it that Sergeant Steele intended to shoot Kelly dead but was prevented from doing so by a railway guard and another policeman. According to their account:

When Sergeant Steele jammed his revolver in Ned Kelly’s face, Constable Bracken told him, “You shoot him and I’ll shoot you. Take him alive.”

And finally, to David Malouf for the last word on the subject of history. Malouf has suggested that the only way to grasp history is to enter into it in our imagination. Referring to a dream history, a myth history, a history of experience in the imagination, he states that “societies can only become whole, can only know fully what they are when they have relived history in that kind of way.”

ENDNOTES

2. This is a theme that Geoffrey Batchen also pursues in his recent book Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance (New York: Princeton Architectural Press with the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam, 2004).
3. See, for example, Harry Nunn, Bushrangers: A Pictorial History (Sydney: Lansdowne Press, 1980).
4. Nine people were killed by the Governors, including four members of the Mawkey family for whom Jimmy Governor had worked, and a schoolteacher.
5. Nunn, Bushragers, 9.
6. This is an area that has yet to be extensively researched. Evidence to date suggests that postmortem portraiture was practiced in Australia in the nineteenth century but not as commonly as in the United States. Many of the Australian photographs may still be in family collections or may have been destroyed due to perceptions about the morbid nature of the subject. North American publications on postmortem photography include Barbara P. Norfleet, Looking at Death (Boston: D.R. Godine, 1995); Jay Ruby, Secure the Shadow: Death and Photography in America (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995) and Stanley B. Burns, Sleeping Beauty: Memorial Photography in America (Alhambra: 'Twobertrna Press, 1996). There are also publications dealing with violent death, such as James Allen et al., Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America (San Pe: Twin Palms, 2000).
7. By reckoning the bushrangers who were photographed after death include Frederick Lowry, Daniel Morgan, Joe Governor, Frederick Ward (Captain Thunderbolt), and members of the Kelly Gang.
12. Frank Cline, Wild Colonial Boys (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1965), 655.
15. Cline, Wild Colonial Boys, 634.
19. Cline, Jimmy Governor, 185.
20. Cline, Jimmy Governor, 185.