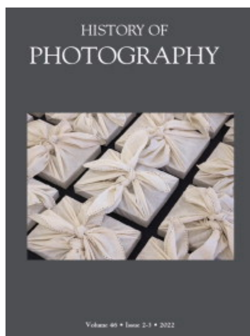

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# Beyond Sentimentality: The Family as Patron, Subject and Author of Early Photography in Colonial Australia

Elisa deCourcy

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# Beyond Sentimentality: The Family as Patron, Subject and Author of Early Photography in Colonial Australia

Elisa deCourcy

This article investigates the first decade and a half of photographic practice in the Australian colonies from the perspective of family participation in the portrait marketplace. The article argues that this period has largely been narrated around determining the point of photography's arrival. This approach risks underplaying both the significant innovation and entrepreneurship that defined early photographic practice in this part of the British Empire and how photographic culture engaged with settlers' dispossession of First Nations land. This is not to say that early colonial Australian photography developed in isolation. Rather, the evasion of early British photography patents, as well as Australia's geographic location diluted the perpetuation of the English studio model in this part of the world. This, in turn, impacted the kinds of individuals who practised as daguerreian photographers in the colonies and – because of the appetites of colonial society, particularly settler families – the types of photographic products offered.

**Keywords:** *daguerreotype, photography patents, Australia, Thomas Bock (1790–1855), George Barron Goodman (?–1851), Lawson Insley (dates unknown), colonial portraiture*

The State Library of New South Wales in Sydney holds a collection of sixth-plate and ninth-plate daguerreotypes accessioned with the prefix 'SAFE', alluding to their protected location in the institution – for they are indeed significant. The images come from a family of frontier pastoralists, the Lawsons. They amount to five individual portraits of the young Lawson sisters and another of their mother and infant brother (figure 1). The Lawson daguerreotypes were made in May 1845 in Bathurst, New South Wales, west of the Blue Mountains range, through which the children's grandfather had navigated a colonial route across unceded Dharug and Gundungurra Country three decades earlier.[1] They were taken by one of the first commercial photographers to operate in the Australian colonies, the English itinerant George Barron Goodman (?–1851).[2] These tiny images, each cased to be cradled comfortably in an adult's upturned palm are among the oldest surviving extant Australian photographs.[3] Each of the Lawson sisters appears in an identical dark dress with light lace trimming on the sleeves and bertha neckline. Each girl, and their mother and infant brother, sat one after the other in the same black

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Email for correspondence: Elisa deCourcy elisa.decourcy@anu.edu.au

1 – The Lawson children were the grandchildren of Lieutenant William Lawson (1774–1850) who, along with Gregory Blaxland and William Wentworth, surveyed a route through the Blue Mountains range out to Bathurst in 1813, through the traditional lands of the Gundungurra, Darug and Wiradjuri peoples.

2 – Geoffrey Batchen claims that 'George Bar(r)on Goodman' is an Anglicised inflection of Gershon Ben Avrahim, the daguerreotypist's name by birth. See Geoffrey Batchen, 'Postscript Antipodean Photography: An Itinerant History', in *The Photograph and Australia*, ed. by Judy Annear (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales Press, 2015), 262.

3 – There is an older extant surviving daguerreotype in a public collection, a sixth plate of William Bland held at the

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Figure 1. (a) George B. Goodman, 'Eliza Lawson', May 1845. Bathurst, sixth-plate, Wharton-cased daguerreotype. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, MIN 157. (b) George B. Goodman, 'Susannah Caroline Lawson', May 1845. Bathurst, ninth-plate, uncased daguerreotype in pinchbeck frame. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, MIN 158. (c) George B. Goodman, 'Sarah Ann Lawson', May 1845. Bathurst, ninth-plate, Wharton-cased daguerreotype. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, MIN 142. (d) George B. Goodman, 'Sophia Rebecca Lawson', May 1845. Bathurst, ninth-plate, Wharton-cased daguerreotype. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney MIN 155. (e) George B. Goodman, 'Maria Emily Lawson', May 1845. Bathurst, ninth-plate, uncased daguerreotype in pinchbeck frame. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, MIN 345. (f) George B. Goodman, 'Caroline and Son Thomas James Lawson', May 1845. Bathurst, ninth-plate, uncased daguerreotype in pinchbeck frame. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, MIN 323.

Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, MIN350, taken by George Goodman around January 1845, four months before he made the trip to Bathurst. This portrait of Bland is noted as on display in Sydney in January 1845; see 'The Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 January 1845, 2.

chair, the smallest two girls boosted with books or pillows just out of sight. Their delicate coiffured heads were placed in the same head brace, also hidden from view, for the length of their portrait's exposure. Each girl either looked steadily at the camera, positioned directly in her line of sight, or turned her head to look past it.

Families like the Lawsons were important patrons, subjects and authors during the first decade and a half of photography in the Australian colonies, and indeed well beyond. The custom of settler families was coveted by both itinerant daguerreotypists and those who maintained more fixed studio practices. Settler families used photography to visualise narratives of pioneering prosperity and to communicate with relatives across the Empire. Both these motivations shaped the unique photographic products and experiences transacted in the Australian colonies. Very few cased

photographs from these first few decades of colonial Australian photography survive in public or private collections, as little as one per cent of the images produced.[4] Their exhibition in shows on photography, and more generally on colonial art, has admirably concentrated on bringing together as many examples as possible for public viewing.[5] Despite these efforts, the overwhelming story of the daguerrean period remains one where photography is conceived as a relatively individual portrait pursuit, with the family appearing as a later consumer.[6] This article brings to light for the first time the influence of the Australian settler family in defining the first years of photographic practice by assessing early cased images alongside related documentation and a range of portraiture in other media. The article posits that, while the family was similarly influential in other geographic locations, collections of colonial Australian family photography resonate with the agendas and intensity of the colonial project underway in this part of the world. Specifically, these early family photographs communicate a stronger, aggregated sense of the particular pioneering aspirations of the colonial Australian context, while erasing acts of dispossession and frontier violence occurring just outside the frame, than examples of the genre represented by single portrait commissions.

4 – Helen Ennis, *Photography and Australia* (London: Reaktion, 2007), 13.

5 – See for example *The Photograph and Australia*, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, 2015; *Colony*, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 2017; and *Belonging*, National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 2020.

6 – My point here is that while a portion of the Lawson's and other families' daguerreotypes have been exhibited in shows like those already listed, their status as family collections has evaded emphasis, as has an explanation of how families' purchasing power shaped photographic businesses.

Histories of Australian photography tend to conceive of its colonial particularity from the late 1860s when views of the Australian landscape and portraits of First Nations People from this region were exhibited internationally at world fairs.[7] This article makes the case that there is an even earlier chapter for colonial particularity, before the 1860s internationalised public display of distinctive colonial Australian scenes and portraits. Legal caveats in British early photography patents diluted the perpetuation of the English studio model in this part of the world. As a result, far from being passive sites for the reception of European inventions, colonial places were sites of innovation where global knowledge, trade and communication systems collided with local appetites to produce distinct iterations of the medium's early history. The experience of photography in the Australian colonies is one devised to convenience the settler family both within and beyond formal studio structures. The cased presentation and mobility of daguerreotype portraits allowed for their productive integration into larger mixed-media settler family archives, and the composition and finishing of family daguerreotypes reflects the history of colonisation to which they play a part.

7 – Ennis, *Photography and Australia*, 10–11; see also Emily Harris, 'Race and Australian National Identity at the 1866–7 Intercolonial Exhibition', in *Seize the Day: Exhibitions, Australia and the World*, ed. by Kate Darian-Smith et al. (Melbourne: Monash University Publishing, 2008), 89–125; Daniel Palmer and Martyn Jolly, *Installation View: Photography Exhibitions in Australia 1848–2020* (Melbourne: Perimeter Books, 2021), particularly 37–56; and Gael Newton, *Shades of Light: Photography and Australia 1839–1988* (Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1988), particularly 45–64.

## *Daguerreotype Photography's Legal Discord*

In early 1840, before photographic technologies were exported to the Australian colonies, English entrepreneur Richard Beard purchased the Royal Letters Patent no. 8194. This patent had been submitted to the London Patent Office by Louis Daguerre's agent, Miles Berry, in August of the previous year. As is well documented in histories of photography, the patent entitled Beard to profit from taking commissions for daguerreotype portraits and gave him authority henceforth to 'vend' licences for daguerreotype businesses in 'England, Wales, and the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and in *all Her Majesty's colonies and plantations*' (my emphasis).[8] The patent outlined the principles of Daguerre's sliding-box camera and diagrammatically illustrated the baths, vapour cases and funnels needed for the preparation, exposure and development of plates.[9]

Beard quickly took out a second patent on 13 June 1840, document no. 8546, where he outlined improvements to 'the apparatus for obtaining likenesses', patenting and commencing production of New York optician, Alexander S. Wolcott's reflecting mirror camera.[10] In May 1840, Wolcott had patented the same camera, designed with his business partner John Johnson, in the seperate legal jurisdiction

8 – 'Obtaining Daguerreotype Portraits, &c. A.D. 1839 … No. 8194', Lines 13–16, patent document printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, printers to the Queen, The British Library, London, 1857; Keith I. P. Adamson, 'Early British Patents in Photography', *History of Photography*, 15, no. 4 (1991), 314–15; and Bernard V. Heathcote and Pauline F. Heathcote, 'Richard Beard: An Ingenious and Enterprising Patentee', *History of Photography*, 3, no. 4 (1979), 315.

9 – 'Obtaining Daguerreotype Portraits', Addendum Plates 1–6.

10 – Arthur T. Gill, 'Wolcott's Camera in England and the Bromine–Iodine Process', *History of Photography*, 1, no. 3 (1977), 215.

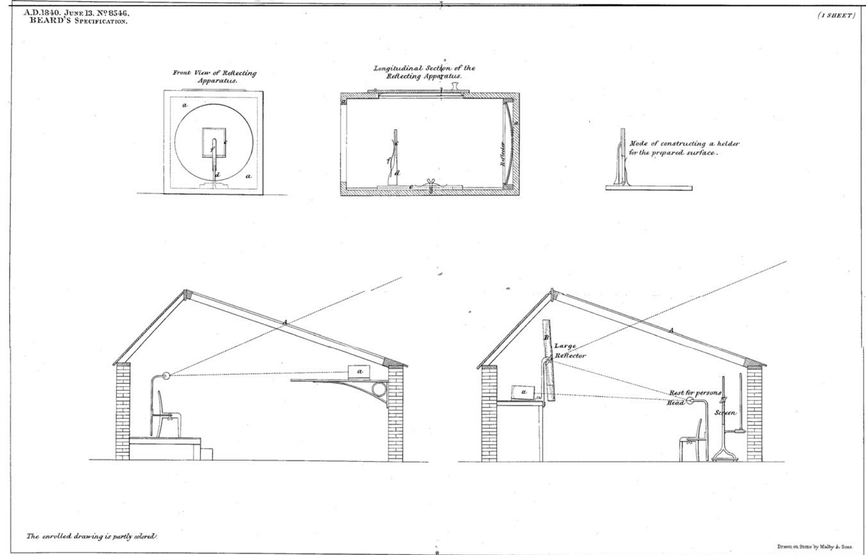


Figure 2. 'Apparatus for Obtaining Likenesses, & c. A.D. 1840 … No. 8546'. Page seven of patent document printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, printers to the Queen, The British Library, London, 1857.

of the United States of America (no.1582).[11] Importantly, Beard's British patent's description extended beyond Wolcott's lens-less apparatus to include the means by which light was directed into the camera. Beard outlined the construction of a space around the Wolcott camera, comprising a roof made of 'blue glass, or otherwise'.[12] He described the positioning of concave reflectors to 'collect the rays of light from the sun [and to] throw [them back] on the person sitting'.[13] This second patent's instructive drawings show versions of the head clamp and elevated seat that would fix the person in the space of photographic experience (figure 2). The external necessity to direct and focus light into the Wolcott camera's internal chamber allowed Beard to use Patent no. 8546 to design a blueprint for the layout of the photography studio. Yet the jurisdiction of this second patent was only for 'England, Wales, and the Town of Berwick-upon-Tweed'.[14] For reasons unknown, but likely due to cost, its jurisdiction did not name or extend to the British colonies and plantations.[15] In legal terms, this meant that while the commercial practice of the daguerreotype process was regulated by Patent no. 8194, the copyright for Beard's licensed design and use of his light-controlled studio and the Wolcott camera was only applicable in the English mainland. This would also be the case for later patents Beard took out, such as that for 'Colouring of Daguerreotype Pictures' (No. 9292, on 9 September 1842).[16] Steve Edwards and others have followed the issuing of licenses, springing from the original Patent no. 8194, observing the stringent legal authority Beard exercised through the courts to police the daguerreotype practice in England during the 1840s and early 1850s.[17] Far less work has been done on tracing how completely this original patent, no. 8194, was observed beyond the British Isles at the outer reaches of its geographic jurisdiction, or the effect that the colonies' exclusion from later materials patents had on their experience of early photography.

### *Goodman and a Beginning for Colonial Australian Photography*

George Goodman's arrival at Sydney Cove, Gadigal Country, in November 1842 represented the first opportunity New South Wales settlers had to commission their portraits in photographic form.[18] He set out immediately to construct his first daguerreotype portrait studio on the flat roof of Sydney's tallest building, the Royal Hotel on George Street.[19] It was a process that took him the better part of a month. As has been reiterated in many histories of Australian photography, Goodman's

11 – Janice G. Schimmelman, 'Patents: United States', in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. by John Hannavy (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1056.
12 – 'Apparatus for Obtaining Likenesses, & c. A.D. 1840 … No. 8546, Lines 29–31, patent document printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, printers to the Queen, The British Library, London, 1857.
13 – Ibid., Lines 32–35.
14 – Ibid., Lines 13–14.
15 – Ibid., Line 14.
16 – 'Colouring Daguerreotype Pictures AD 1842 … No 9292', patent document printed by George Edward Eyre and William Spottiswoode, printers to the Queen, The British Library, London, 1856.
17 – Steve Edwards, '"Beard Patentee": Daguerreotype Property and Authorship', *Oxford Art Journal*, 36, no. 3 (2013), 379–87; and Heathcote and Heathcote, *A Faithful Likeness*, 25–35.
18 – The first daguerreotype exposed in the Australian colonies was a view of Bridge Street and part of George Street, taken from Macquarie Place, in Sydney on 13 May 1841 by an unnamed daguerreotypist; see 'At the Stores of Messers Joubert and Murphy, an Interesting Trial of the Advantages of the Daguerreotype', *Australian*, 15 May 1841, 2; R. Derek Wood, 'The Voyage of Captain Lucas and the Daguerreotype of Sydney', *Journal de la Sociéte des océanistes*, 102, no. 1 (1996), 113–18; and 'Household Furniture', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 March 1843, 3.
19 – Joseph Fowles, *Sydney in 1848: illustrated by copperplate engravings of its principal streets, public buildings, churches, chapels etc; from drawings by Joseph Fowles* (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1862), 51–52.

arrival was announced in the press with the claim that he was carrying the 'invention of a Mr. Beard, who holds the patent for the same'.[20] Later Goodman described himself as holding a Royal Letters Patent licence for the daguerreotype.[21] These and subsequent assertions to legal legitimacy suggest that Goodman had gone to the expense of obtaining a licence to practise, under Patent no. 8194, from Beard prior to his departure from London in June 1842.[22] He was perhaps alerted to this legal imperative through advertisements appearing across several London newspapers in early 1842, which signalled Beard's exclusive patent right and singular authority for issuing licences for practising daguerreotype photography extending to 'Britain's colonies and plantations'.[23] At the time of Goodman's June departure from London, Beard was publicly litigating at the Court of Chancery against daguerreotype practitioner Antoine Claudet (1797–1867) at the Court of Chancery, whose English practice Beard claimed infringed the exclusivity of his patent holding.[24] Just as Goodman's ship the *Eden* arrived in Sydney, Beard, still in London, was once again in the courts, this time filing a case against the renegade unlicensed studio of Edward Joseph Edwards in London's Liverpool Street.[25] Over the next five years of his Australian career, Goodman's successive studios in Sydney, Hobart, Launceston, Bathurst, Windsor, Port Philip, Adelaide and Maitland were legally and technologically tethered to the English daguerreotype enterprise.[26] However, his studio practice evolved from initially being designed to physically mimic the experience of daguerreotype portraiture offered in the English metropole – even when the later materials' patents' jurisdiction did not obligate him to do so – to one which incorporated local tastes and bent to the contingencies of his own mobility.

Goodman's first studio in Sydney was described as a glass laboratory and functioned, owing to its central, elevated location on top of the Royal Hotel, as a spectacle to the daguerreotype portrait experience.[27] No images or drawings of the structure survive. Yet descriptions of its form indicate it strongly resembled the blue-glass-roofed studio patented by Beard in 1840. A reporter for the *Sydney Morning Herald* wrote:

> The spot selected by Mr Goodman for his operations is on the leads [that is, the flat roof and parapets] of the Royal Hotel, where his laboratory has been constructed. We have seen many of the portraits which issued from the laboratory during the week before it opened to the public, and must certainly acknowledge that the accounts in English newspapers have not at all been exaggerated.[28]

Hype surrounding Goodman's premises and practice can be measured by his exposure of a total of seventy portraits in the week anticipating its public opening, presumably by forward invitation, and in its opening two days on 12 and 13 December 1842.[29] He began by advertising his daguerreotype practice as exclusively centred on the portrait experience, as necessitated by his rudimentary camera, pricing 'busts [at] £1 1s; three-fourth likenesses [at] £1 10s [and] full-length [daguerreotypes at] £2 2s'.[30] Goodman's clients included the New South Wales governor, George Gipps, who in mid-January 1843 had six daguerreotypes of himself and his son taken, but none of his wife who accompanied him for the occasion.[31] In late January 1843, Goodman received a 'larger camera' from England, of unspecified design but presumably fitted with a lens, which temporarily prompted him to expand his offerings to larger scenes of 'family groups, houses, monuments, and landscapes'.[32] However, these options were quickly retracted from his advertisements which reverted to offering single-subject daguerreotype portraits, priced according to size.

20 – 'Daguerreotype Portraits', *Australian*, Sydney, 9 November 1842, 2; Sandy Barrie, 'G. B. Goodman, Australia's First Daguerreotypist', *Daguerreian Annual*, 1995, 173–78; Geoffrey Batchen, *Apparitions: Photography and Dissemination* (Sydney: Power Publications, 2019), 70–71; Jack Cato, *The Story of the Camera in Australia* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1955), 3; Alan Davies and Peter Stanbury, *The Mechanical Eye in Australia: Photography 1841–1900* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985), 8; and Newton, *Shades of Light*, 6–7.

21 – 'Daguerreotype By Her Majesty's Letters Patent', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 January 1843, 3.

22 – 'To The Editor', *Courier*, Hobart, 6 October 1843, 1.

23 – 'Beard's Patent Photographic Portraits', *The Times*, London, 18 April 1842, 1.

24 – 'Law Notices', *The Times*, London, 10 June 1842, 7; and 'IV Courts – BEARD V. CLAUDET', *Morning Advertiser*, London, 13 June 1842, 1. The *Eden* left London on 15 June 1842 and arrived in Sydney 3 November 1842; see 'Shipping Intelligence', *Australasian Chronicle*, Sydney, 5 November 1842, 3. Antoine Claudet had purchased an individual licence to practice daguerreotype photography commercially from Miles Berry prior to Beard's purchase of the patent right. For this reason, Beard was never able to successfully force the closure or revision of Claudet's photography business. This case, unlike the slew of others Beard would bring to the bar over the next decade, was successfully contested; see Edwards, 'Beard Patentee', 379.

25 – Heathcote and Heathcote, *A Faithful Likeness*, 30–31; and 'Beard vs Edwards – The Daguerreotype', *Sun*, London, 14 November 1842, 3.

26 – Goodman's itinerant Australian career can be tracked through the papers and advertisement of his business; see 'Daguerreotype Portraits', *Australian*, Sydney, 9 November 1842, 2; 'Daguerreotype', *Courier*, Hobart, 1 September 1843, 3; 'Daguerreotype: By Her Majesty's Letters Patent', *Launceston Advertiser*, 7 March 1844, 1; 'Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 February 1845, 2; 'Daguerreotype', *Geelong Advertiser and Squatters' Advocate*, 2 August 1845, 2; 'The Daguerreotype', *South Australian*, 9 January 1846, 3; and 'Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 May 1846, 2.

27 – 'The Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 January 1845, 2. The journalist remembers and describes Goodman's glass laboratory structure when he returns to the city after some time away.

Goodman left Sydney for the first time in mid 1843 to seek out new clients and customers travelling to Hobart, Palawa Country, in the colony of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). He again erected his glass-roofed studio in August. This time it was placed at a lower elevation in the garden of Mrs Wilmot's boarding establishment in the centre of the city on Patrick Street. Again, this was a process that took the better part of three weeks, but unlike in Sydney in 1842–43, Goodman was not without competitor or antecedent.[33] He was rather surprised to find in Hobart that the celebrated convict-turned-colonial artist Thomas Bock was offering daguerreotype portraits alongside sketched, painted and pencil portraits but without a glass-roofed studio structure and indeed without a licence from Beard.[34]

Goodman would disassemble his laboratory-cum-studio one last time for his forward travel to Van Diemen's Land's second largest port city, Launceston, Tyerrenotepanner, Leterremairrener and Panninher Country, where it was erected and then sold on to his assistant John Flavelle.[35] Flavelle would only practise as a daguerreotypist, with the glass house, for two months before disbanding the architecture and relocating to Sydney, later opening an optician and watchmaker store which also retailed photographic supplies.[36]

Abandoning the glass-roofed architecture after Launceston in November 1843 allowed Goodman to henceforth move more precipitously between colonial cities and towns. It is not clear what propelled this revision of practice, whether it was a recognition of the glass structure's redundancy in a geography where the light was stronger and the air clearer than in the English metropole.[37] Perhaps, Goodman felt that the bother of the studio's construction and deconstruction was no longer needed with the addition of his new larger camera, presumably fitted with a lens, nor necessary for attracting custom. Indeed, an engraving made of Beard's own London studio for the *Illustrated London Times* shows that by August 1843 he too was no longer using the Wolcott reflecting mirror camera for which the glass-roofed studio was originally designed. For Beard, however, the studio, as a fixed address and establishment, remained the locus for the experience of photography he and other daguerreotype photographers were offering in more densely populated British cities. As was the case for the bulk of Beard's successful English licensees, custom came to him. The abandonment of the sophisticated glass studio for Goodman, alternatively, signalled a new intensity to his mobility.

Goodman's initial 1842–43 studio – derived from Beard's kit and model – had its detractors irrespective of its English metropolitan connections and the initial flood of commissions Goodman received. When he circled back through Sydney to open a second iteration of his business in January 1845, a journalist for the *Sydney Morning Herald* expressed relief at the absence of Goodman's glass architecture: 'Another advantage is, that the sitter is not now exposed, as under the old system, to a trial of his nerves in the purple glass case'.[38] So persistent was the memory of the glass-roofed studio that it was evoked again in May 1846 when Goodman opened his third business in the city, after a time away practising in Port Philip, Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung Country, and Adelaide, Kaurna Country, South Australia. Spurring readers' memories, this later Sydney journalist recalled:

> We also remember the blue glass case in which unfortunate sitters were enclosed, while the process of decapitation was going on, and the consequent cadaverous, unearthly appearance which their features assumed after being subjected to this disagreeable operation [ … ] The ladies appeared the worst served; the sun was no flatterer [ … ] The sitter was now placed on the ground, the blue glass case was given up; a considerable portion of the body was introduced into the picture; and the specimens produced we thought very creditable for this colony, considering that it is so far removed from the theatre where improvements were going on.[39]

These reviews underline how Goodman's earlier glass studio represented a fastidious translation of the metropolitan experience of photography onto the colonial

28 – 'Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 December 1842, 2.
29 – 'News and Rumours', *Colonial Observer*, Sydney, 14 December 1842, 5.
30 – 'Daguerreotype. By Her Majesty's Letters Patent', *Australasian Chronicle*, Sydney, 18 January 1843, 3.
31 – 'Governor Gipps – News and Rumours', *Colonial Observer*, Sydney, 25 January 1843, 2.
32 – 'Daguerreotype By Her Majesty's Letters Patent', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 January 1843, 3; and Batchen, *Apparitions,* 70.
33 – 'LOCAL/Daguerreotype', *Courier*, Hobart, 25 August 1843, 3.
34 – 'Daguerreotype – to the editor', *Courier*, Hobart, 6 October 1843, 1.
35 – 'Daguerreotype, by Her Majesty's Letters Patent – Mr John Flavelle', *Launceston Examiner*, 2 March 1844, 1.
36 – 'Daguerreotype – Mr Flavelle finally closed his establishment on Monday', *Launceston Examiner*, 4 May 1844, 4; and 'Flavelle and Brush Optician and Watchmakers/Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 October 1846, 3.
37 – In the 1853 edition of the *Journal of the Photographic Society*, Robert Hunt wrote in similar terms about the effects of excessive sunlight on the exposure of daguerreotypes, suggesting this issue was also experienced in the UK, perhaps not to the same severity. Quoted in Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass Culture and the Imagination 1830–1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 351.
38 – 'The Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 January 1845, 2.
39 – 'Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 May 1846, 2.

frontier. The experience his prospective colonial sitters expected, though, was one derived from the latest technologies designed abroad, yet simultaneously adapted for the colonial Australian conditions.

*Goodman, Mobility and the Colonial Family*

The settler family provided the clientele to fuel Goodman's increasing itinerancy and dexterity of practice. When he opened the second iteration of his daguerreotype business in Sydney in early 1845, Goodman received forward subscriptions from a 'guaranteed list of one hundred persons' from the inland New South Wales town of Bathurst, perhaps as word spread about his refreshed, more comfortable studio setup.[40] During the mid 1840s Bathurst did not publish a local newspaper. Rather, it received news and advertised local businesses in the Sydney papers that were subsequently circulated back to the town. Assurances of custom compelled Goodman to make the 200-km trip from Sydney to Bathurst in April 1844. He announced his presence in the town, for two weeks only, on 15 April: 'Mr G.B. Goodman begs to inform the inhabitants of Bathurst and the vicinity that on Monday, the 14th instant, he will commence taking Daguérréotype portraits at Mr. Henry Rotton's [*sic*] Victoria Hotel, everyday, from the hour of 9am, to 5 pm, until the 28th instant'.[41] He ended up staying close to four weeks. Bathurst was settled in 1815 on the unceded land of the Wiradjuri People. Lieutenant William Lawson Snr, William Charles Wentworth and George Blaxland's initial survey of the Blue Mountains range in 1813 propelled the construction of a roadway that led from the base of the mountains west of Sydney through to Bathurst. The region's wealth, prior to the 1850s discovery of gold, was derived largely from agriculture and grazing, made viable through thousands of years of Indigenous cultivation of the grasslands.[42] Bathurst was home to wealthy pioneering pastoralist families, such as the Lawsons, and a westward administrative centre for the colonial government.

The daguerreotypes of the Lawson children and their mother were exposed by Goodman at a time when the family had ascended to the upper echelons of colonial society. Lawson Snr had come to the colonies in 1800 as a surveyor in the New South Wales Corps.[43] He worked in locations including the secondary penal settlement of Norfolk Island, where he met his future wife, Sarah Leadbeater. After his Blue Mountains crossing, Lawson Snr began acquiring significant land holdings through government grants and his own purchasing discretion across Sydney and rural New South Wales.[44] In 1819 his Bathurst estate, Prospect Hill, was featured in the French itinerant artist Alphonse Pellion's ink and watercolour landscape (figure 3). Lawson Snr had guided Pellion across the Blue Mountains at the behest of the New South Wales Governor in the same year. Lawson's residence, presumably the end point of the journey, is depicted neatly carved into a position of vantage on the cleared side of a small elevation of forest. Sweeping down the foreground is cultivated land, fenced off and orderly, rendered in a patched formation. Two figures are centre frame, beginning their ascent up the path to the homestead, one with rifle and top hat, presumably Lawson Snr, pointing the way to a second figure, likely Pellion. William Lawson, Lawson Snr's son and the children's father, would also acquire substantial property in the Bathurst region, which he worked and let out for civic events like the races of 1846.[45] He married Caroline Icely from another significant Bathurst pastoral family, who was pictured by Goodman with the couple's second youngest son, Thomas James. Caroline was on friendly terms with the Governor's wife as an epistolary acquaintance.[46]

The Lawsons would wait three weeks into Goodman's Bathurst visit before having daguerreotypes of their family taken. Their sitting, on 3 May 1845, could

40 – 'Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 February 1845, 2.

41 – 'Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 April 1845, 1.

42 – Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2011), 188, 201.

43 – E. W. Dunlop, 'Lawson, William (1774–1850)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre for Biography, Canberra ⟨https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lawson-william-2338⟩.

44 – Ibid.

45 – 'Bathurst/Races', *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer*, 7 February 1846, 4. For notice of William Lawson's land purchases, see 'Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, 2nd May, 1836/Sale of Land', *New South Wales Government Gazette*, Sydney, 11 May 1836, 382; and 'Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney 5th November, 1839/Grants of Land', *New South Wales Government Gazette*, Sydney, 6 November 1839, 1230.

46 – Letters between Caroline Lawson née Icely and Mary FitzRoy, the wife of Governor FitzRoy; see 'VIII. The Papers of the Lawson Family 1827–1875/Correspondence of Caroline Lawson 1832–1860', MLMSS 1686 ADD-ON 2204/11, The Mitchell Library, The State Library of New South Wales, Sydney; and 'Lawson/Icely Family Tree', MLMSS 8519/Folder 1x, The Mitchell Library, The State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

Figure 3. J. Alphonse Pellion, 'Voyage a Bathurst (nouv. Holl.), Une vue de Prospect Hill, Maison de Camp de M. Lawson', 1819. Watercolour and ink on paper. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, SV/302.

indicate that the young family had delayed their commission until Goodman was less encumbered by subscription sitters and better able to travel to their home to take the daguerreotypes, as he would offer to families at future sites of practice.[47] Regardless of their exact site of exposure, at the family home or the improvised hotel studio, the daguerreotypes were composed in line with what Joanna Gilmour has identified as the use of portraiture in the colony to express pride in the domestic and the burgeoning of upper-middle-class wealth.[48] The archive suggests that two daguerreotypes of each of the girls was made, one placed in a burgundy Wharton case and the other in a pinchbeck Wharton frame. Wharton, a Birmingham-based manufacturer, was one of Beard's key materials suppliers.[49] It is possible, then, that the similar physical appearance between portraits (a) and (b) as well as (d) and (e) in figure 1 indicates that what remains is not a portrait of each of the five daughters but of three, two of which have both a pinchbeck frame and cased daguerreotype represented in the Library's collection.[50] Irrespective of how many of the Lawson offspring are represented, their archive of cased and framed plates shows that Goodman remained connected to Beard-controlled materials in 1845, even when his practice had begun to morph away from the Beard studio-centred model.

Goodman's daguerreotypes of the Lawson children contributed to a controlled consolidation of a visual family archive. The sisters were identically dressed and uniformly positioned to accentuate their family resemblance. Judy Annear has called the daguerreotypes 'beguiling [images] of little girls [ … ] almost hovering in space'.[51] The camera has been moved to a vantage that captured each subject as Goodman earlier advertised: in a 'full length portrait'. However, the absence of backdrops, which would not become available to Goodman's patrons until later in 1845, decontextualised each sister by positioning them in an abstract sense of space.[52] The viewer only gets a sense of each child's relative size in comparison to the side table, the backrest of the chair and the sparse ornamentation of a book or small posy of flowers. Each image was arranged to construct a life cast of its subject, whose juvenile body was memorialised by photography: pictured almost from head to toe, albeit shrouded in dark fabric. We discern in these images the children's

47 – The date of the sitting is recorded in a note placed in the case of Thomas James and Caroline Lawson's sixth-plate daguerreotype.

48 – Joanna Gilmour, 'Picturing People and Portraiture in Australia 1788–1861', in *Colony Australia 1770–1861/Frontier Wars*, ed. by Cathy Leahy et al. (Melbourne: Thames and Hudson & NGV, 2018), 131.

49 – R. Derek Wood, 'Daguerreotype Case Back: Wharton's Design of 1841', *History of Photography*, 4, no. 3 (1980), 251–52.

50 – The Lawson Family Tree held at the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney (MLMSS 8519/Folder 1x) indicates the following ages for each of the daughters in May 1845: Eliza (b. 1830) approximately fifteen years old; Susannah Caroline (b. 1839) approximately eleven years old; Sarah Ann (b. 1838) approximately seven years old; Maria Emily (b. 1839), approximately six years old; and Sophia Rebecca (b. 1840) approximately five years old.

51 – *Photograph and Australia*, ed. by Annear, 112.

52 – As Alan Davies notes in the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, online catalogue for daguerreotype MIN 503, Goodman begun advertising the option of backdrops as a choice in daguerreotype commissions from early 1846.

lack of familiarity with the photographic experience, seen, for example, in the slight blurring of Sarah Ann (Figure 1c) and Maria Emily's (Figure 1e) facial features, betraying their small shifts in movement during the daguerreotype's exposure.[53] Yet the images are beguiling and intriguing for the sense of empowerment communicated by their subjects, in spite of their young age. Despite small quivers of movement, each girl figures not as photography's suspended subject but its interlocutors staring across the frame or directly into the lens, surveying the photographic experience.

The Lawson portraits represent a collaboration in authorship and suggest how Goodman's business bent to the lucrative market of the settler family. The sisters' matching lace-trimmed bertha-neckline dresses, identical dark lace gloves and indistinguishable beaded necklaces were chosen by the family to accentuate the relationship between the sisters separated across discrete frames. After the plates were exposed, developed and toned by Goodman, they were assembled into the Wharton Morocco and pinchbeck frames described earlier. The sitters' sartorial presentation, their uniformity in pose and vantage point of their exposure, and their presentation in standardised cases and frames are decisions behind their creation mediated by both the family and the photographer. It is telling that on arriving back to Sydney from Bathurst on 14 May 1845, Goodman's advertisements were revised once more. They now finished with the notice 'families, comprising more than five, attended at their residence', spelling an almost complete eradication of the fixed studio's centrality to his business model.[54] In the following month, Goodman would leave his Sydney studio again, this time for the town of Windsor on the outskirts of the present-day city. Here he would appeal to the frontier family specifically, as he would continue to do for the rest of his career until his 1847 departure, boasting that his reputation could be gauged against his patronage by 'first families of the district'.[55]

## *Thomas Bock and Another Beginning for Australian Photography*

Thomas Bock (1790–1855) left Portsmouth on the *Asia* in August 1823, a decade and a half before photography's Parisian public unveiling and two decades before George Goodman made the same journey, albeit under markedly different circumstances.[56] Bock was a shackled convict, transported for administering a broth intended to terminate the pregnancy of Anne Yates in Hammerwich.[57] His offence, carried out approximately 24 km from the shopfront of his engraving and miniature painting business on Tower Street, Birmingham, failed to bring on the miscarriage of Yates's child, whom he had reportedly fathered.[58] She acted as the primary witness at his trial in April 1823. The judge at the Warwick Assizes declared he had 'never tried a more wicked and malignant case'.[59] He admonished Bock for seducing the young woman, when he was already married with five children of his own, and then for luring her away from the home of her parents to administer the abortive concoction.[60] Bock and a female accomplice, Mary Day Underhill, were found unworthy of clemency and deported to Hobart and Sydney respectively for the term of fourteen years.[61] While Bock left England disgraced, he did not, as Roger Butler writes, leave without his engraving tools and paint chest.[62]

Bock was one of several convicts whose accreditation in a craft or trade ensured that their reception in the Australian colonies was not matched by the coldness of their departure from England. There is scholarly suggestion that Bock was indentured to Dr E. F. Bromley, former naval surgeon and director of Van Diemen's Land Bank, when he landed in Hobart in January 1824.[63] By December, Bock had engraved a series of note designs for the colony's inaugural currency. His four-pound note-plate was honoured with a silver medal by the Society of Arts and

53 – Geoffrey Batchen, 'A Perfect Likeness', in *Mirror with a Memory: Photographic Portraiture in Australia*, ed. Helen Ennis (Canberra: National Portrait Gallery, 2000), 28. Exposure times for these portraits would have been around twenty seconds.

54 – 'Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 May 1845, 1.

55 – 'Daguerreotype', *Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser*, Windsor, 26 June 1845, 3.

56 – 'Entry 713, Bock, Tho', Convict Department Conduct Registers of Male Convicts Arriving in the Period of the Assignment System', Volume CON31/1/1 – 'Convict Surnames Beginning with A and B 1 Jan 1803–31 Jan 1830', Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office, Hobart.

57 – Ibid.

58 – 'Warwick Assizes', *Oxford Journal*, 19 April 1823, 4; and 'Entry 113, Bock, Tho', Convict Department Conduct Registers of Male Convicts Arriving in the Period of the Assignment System', Volume CON31/1/1.

59 – Ibid.

60 – 'Warwick Assizes', 4; and N. J. B. Plomley, 'Bock, Thomas', in *The Dictionary of Australian Artists: Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870*, ed. by Joan Kerr (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992), 79.

61 – 'Convict Department Assignment Lists and Associate Papers', Hobart, January 1824–31 December 1826, CON13/1/3, page 16, Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office, Hobart.

62 – Roger Butler, 'Thomas Bock, Engraver', in *Thomas Bock: Convict Engraver, Society Portraitist*, ed. by Diane Dunbar (Launceston: Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, 1991), 7–8.

63 – Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, *The Convict Artists* (South Melbourne: Macmillan, 1977), 20.

Commerce during the same year.[64] Bock used his skills as a portraitist to ingratiate himself to the colony's free settlers and colonial elite, despite not receiving a conditional pardon until June 1832.[65] He was commissioned by George Augustus Robinson, the Van Diemen's Land's 'Protector of Aborigines', to make a series of sketches of Aboriginal People systematically being dispossessed by Governor Arthur's genocidal 'Black Line' assault.[66] Bock also received portrait patronage from the subsequent govenor's wife, Lady Franklin, and by the early 1840s was responsible for painting notable Hobart families, among them the Wilsons and the Tileys.[67] Thomas Bock already had a bevy of portrait clients by the time news of photography's invention arrived in the colony.

Much attention has been given to Bock's work in oil, charcoal, pastel and pencil. His signature style of depicting sitters with exaggerated doe eyes makes his portraits instantly recognisable in any exhibition of colonial Australian art. Bock's prolific output, as well as his elite patrons, has ensured the survival of a sizable portion of his oeuvre, reflected in recent solo shows and publications dedicated to his career both in Australia and the UK.[68] Yet within his scholarly and curatorial appraisal, Bock's daguerreotypes have largely been treated as peripheral to his portraits in other media.[69] The circumstances surrounding Bock's education in photography were exceptional. His understanding of light and the entrepreneurial spirit with which he amalgamated the daguerreotype into his existing suite of portrait offerings position him not as the belated recipient and emulator of European photographic practices but as a significant colonial innovator.

### *Bock's Sensitivity for Light and Colour*

From the outset, Thomas Bock demonstrated neither Goodman's sensitivity for the law nor his competitor's predilection for lavish advertisements in the press. He announced the commencement of his daguerreotype commissions with a modest, four-line advertisement in the *Hobart Town Advertiser*.[70] By 1843 Goodman's advertisements had become increasingly elaborate, including a seal and four changes in font in the heading alone, and were printed across several papers.[71]

Bock likely learned of the daguerreotype process through British papers and periodicals which circulated through port towns like Hobart with increasing speed and regularity in the mid nineteenth century. News of the daguerreotype's invention arrived in Hobart, initially, by means of personal correspondence addressed to Governor John Franklin.[72] By March 1840, Hobart's own papers were reporting on the process, albeit as a third-hand account filtered through and reprinted from papers at Cape of Good Hope.[73] We know from handwritten notes Bock made, which were stitched into his 17 July 1841 edition of *The Athenaeum*, that he also sought out transcriptions of lectures on early photography processes delivered in England and read from a selection of early instruction manuals. His notes include an outline for 'preparing paper according to Mr Talbot's Calotype Process'; a recipe for 'Chrysotype paper as described by Sir J. Herschell' [sic] and instruction for mixing chloride iodine, with reference to Claudet's meditations on its use.[74] Pages 10 to 25 of the notes meticulously outline each of the steps for the daguerreotype process, from polishing to iodising the plate, right through to fixing the image, and the temperature and arrangement of the mercury fume box during development. These notes display not only a wide reading of the literature of early photography's luminaries but also a practical execution and testing of this literature's methods. Bock's daguerreotype method was not bought through licence, or obtained by tutelage or indenture in a metropolitan studio, as Goodman and many other early colonial photographers' methods had and would be. His notes are a compilation of literature and learning collected from an

64 – Plomley, 'Bock, Thomas', 79.

65 – 'Entry 113, Bock, Tho'.

66 – Jane Stewart and Jonathan Watkins, *Thomas Bock* (Birmingham: Ikon Gallery, 2018), 64–67.

67 – Diane Dunbar, 'Thomas Bock: Society Portraitist, the Oil Paintings', in *Thomas Bock*, ed. by Dunbar, 42–43, 56.

68 – See *Thomas Bock*, Ikon Gallery, Birmingham, 6 December 2017–11 March 2018; and *Thomas Bock*, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, 17 August 2018–11 November 2018.

69 – See David Hansen's chapter on early 'Art in Van Diemen's Land', which includes a lengthy discussion of Bock's painted and sketched portraits, but does not mention Bock's work as a photographer; David Hansen, 'Art in Van Diemen's Land', in *A Companion to Australian Art*, ed. by Christopher Allen (Chichester: Wiley, 2021), 118–20.

70 – 'Mr Bock', *Hobart Town Advertiser*, 29 September 1843, 3.

71 – 'Daguerreotype /By Her Majesty's Letters Patent', *Courier*, Hobart, 1 September 1843, 1; and 'Daguerreotype', *Hobart Town Advertiser*, 27 October 1843, 1.

72 – Batchen, 'Postscript Antipodean Photography', 261.

73 – 'Cape of Good Hope', *Hobart Town Courier and Van Diemen's Land Gazette*, 27 March 1840, 3.

74 – 'Thomas Bock's Photography Notes', inserted in 17 July 1841 edition of the *Athenaeum*, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart, ALL34, 1–2, 2–4, 9.

accruing transnational conversation about daguerreotype photography happening elsewhere but being transmitted to Hobart.

Bock's notes suggest he had been investigating the daguerreotype process as early as 1841. As early as 1843 he was publicly advertising daguerreotype portraits, but not without challenge and competition. In a fiery letter to the editor of the *Courier* on 6 October 1843, Goodman questioned the legal legitimacy of Bock's practice: 'I cannot think that Mr Bock [ … ] seriously intends rendering himself liable to an action at law for the infringement of a patent'. Goodman questioned whether Bock could possibly have taught himself, in Hobart, the sophisticated chemistry necessary for sensitising and developing plates, and ridiculed his purportedly outdated camera.[75] Historians and curators have implied that Goodman's public outcry spooked Bock, causing him to cease his daguerreotype endeavours until the late 1840s.[76] Yet there is not persuasive evidence that this was the case. Indeed, Bock's notes speak to a continuing refinement of practice. His brief advertisements for his daguerreotype pursuits ran from September to mid-October 1843 in the *Hobart Town Advertiser* but never included his business address, suggesting a presumed familiarity of readers with the location of his studio.[77] A cessation of his press promotion is not a conclusive indication that Bock bowed to Goodman's challenge. The convict artist rarely advertised in the press and indeed Goodman's tenure in Hobart was limited to only the closing months of 1843. Had Bock any conception of patent law, he would have gleaned that as merely a Beard licensee, Goodman was powerless to challenge the legal legitimacy of his business. Litigation could only have been brought down by the patentee, Beard himself, who would never travel to the Australian colonies.

Bock digested knowledge of the daguerreotype process and moulded the process and its aesthetics to the conditions and expectations of his colonial sitters. Page twenty-one of his notes includes a table of exposure times for sixth-plate and quarter-plate daguerreotypes made during various forecasts (figure 4). These calculations may be a recalibration of uncited timings published in England, reflecting Bock's adaptation of exposure durations for the local atmosphere, freer of smog and soot, and with a warmer light found on the 42nd parallel.[78] Conversely, the unreferenced table may also be Bock's own division, formulated from scratch when basic calculations were not shared in the reports he was reading. Bock also painted

75 – 'Daguerreotype – to the Editor', *Courier*, Hobart, 6 October 1843, 1.

76 – Chris Long, *Tasmanian Photographers: 1840–1940, A Directory* (Hobart: Tasmanian Museum and Gallery, 1995), 19; Newton, *Shades of Light*, 7; and Plomley, 'Bock, Thomas', 80.

77 – Bock's last advertisement was printed in the *Hobart Town Advertiser*, 10 October 1843, 3. None of Bock's advertisements printed before or after Goodman's rebuke in the *Courier* include Bock's address, suggesting an assumed local familiarity with, and knowledge of, the location of his studio.

78 – For a broader discussion of the Tasmanian light with reference to Bock's contemporary, the painter John Glover, see Greg Lehman, Carol Westmore, David Hansen and Jane Deeth, 'A Picturesque Colonial Landscape', ABC Radio National, 17 November 2020, ⟨https://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/the-history-listen/a-picturesque-colonial-landscape/12651512⟩; and John McPhee, 'The Symbolic Landscape', in *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, ed. David Hansen (Hobart: Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, 2003), 110.

for 1/6 Plates.
opening of 30 millimetres

| State of the atmosphere | Seconds | Seconds |
| --- | --- | --- |
| The sky cloudless, the Model being sheltered by veils | 2 – 5 | 10 – 15 |
| The sky with White Clouds (the Model being without shelter | 2 . 5 | 10 - 15 |
| with shelter | 5 - 10 | 15 - 30 |
| Sky covered with deep Clouds / not sheltered by veils | 10 – 15 | 30 – 45 |

Remarks.

When the business is, to take views, all the above mentioned precautions are dispensed with, and with the employment of Bromine; indispensible in obtaining a good effect in the nearly instantaneous production of Portraits: But then, the duration in the Camera is from 2 to 3 minutes.

Figure 4. 'Thomas Bock's Photography, including Talbot's calotype process and daguerreotype manipulations' [section]. Page twenty-one, inserted in 17 July 1841 edition of the *Athenaeum*. Tasmanian Archives, Hobart, ALL34/1/1.

Figure 5. Thomas Bock, 'Untitled personal colour chart for watercolour' [section]. (1840–1850) Watercolour on paper, 22.7 × 14.3 cm. Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart, AG1401.

Figure 6. (a) Thomas Bock, 'William Robertson', ca. 1852. Hobart, sixth-plate, cased, coloured daguerreotype. Gift of Fiona Turner (née Robertson) and John Robertson 2011. Donated through the Australian Government's Cultural Gifts Program. National Portrait Gallery, Canberra, 2011.4. (b) Thomas Bock, 'William Robertson Jnr', ca. 1852. Hobart, sixth-plate, cased, coloured daguerreotype. Donated through the Australian Government's Cultural Gifts Program. National Portrait Gallery, Canberra, 2011.6.

backdrops for his daguerreotypes and extensively applied pigment to the clothing and features of his subjects. His colour chart, held at the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, demonstrates not only his painterly prowess in mixing pigment, but the intersection of his knowledge around light and colour (figure 5). It combines pigments and indexes resulting colours for clouds according to their distance from the sun, the hue of horizontal mountains and the appearance of the sky at various times of day.

The application of Bock's colour chart is evident in his daguerreotypes of William Robertson (figure 6a) and William Robertson Jnr (figure 6b). Bock was not unique in applying colour to his daguerreotypes in the 1840s and early 1850s. The notable studios of Claudet and William Edward Kilburn (1818–1891) in London were renowned for the deft use of colour during this early period of studio photography. Beard's studio and a selection of his metropolitan licensees also offered colour accenting, albeit with a cruder, more restricted palette.[79] Bock's daguerreotypes are intermedia objects, much more intricately and idiosyncratically coloured than other daguerreotypists and the majority of his English-based contemporaries. They combine Bock's technical skills as both photographer and painter. His plates are not accented or tinted with colour so much as have a painterly layer of colour

79 – 'Under the Patronage of Her Majesty V and Her Royal Consort: Claudet's Coloured and Non-Inverted Daguerreotypes', *Morning Herald*, London, 18 June 1847, 1; and 'Photographic Miniatures', *Daily News*, London, 23 February 1847, 8. Kilburn notes in the advertisement 'Photographic Miniatures' that he employs the miniature painter M. Mansion 'whose productions an ivory are so celebrated in Paris'. M. Mansion also worked for himself as a daguerreotype colourist, and boasted using a palette of twelve colours, far fewer than Bock. See 'Photographic and Daguerreotype Colours', *Morning Post*, London, 31 July 1847, 1.

applied atop a vast portion of the daguerreotype's developed surface. Only the dark tones are left uncoloured; delicate and varied shades of pigment are applied to the face, clothing, backdrops and studio accoutrements. In offering daguerreotype clients such comprehensive colouring options, Bock was lessening the chance that sitters would find their monochromatic daguerreotyped appearance 'cadaverous', 'unearthly' or 'ghastly', words used to describe the early uncoloured plates of Goodman and others.[80] This practice of painting over photographs became popular in a wide circle of artists internationally, and later in Tasmania (previously, Van Diemen's Land) from the late 1850s.[81]

It is conceivable, however, that Bock also used colour to situate his sitters in the recognisable geography of Hobart. There is a direct relationship in pigment between the mixed colour samples from Bock's chart and those featured in the soft clouds, mountainous horizon and glow of the sunset on the Robertson plates. The city of Hobart is surrounded by the Wellington mountain range. Rather than use generic or plain backdrops, it is conceivable that Bock used paint to place his colonial sitters in the familiar local landscape.[82] Geoffrey Batchen has argued that the inclusion of a painted backdrop depicting schemes of the classical picturesque added 'a sheen of culture to a portrait' but also allowed sitters to figuratively 'claim the landscape as their personal property'.[83] Certainly, Robertson senior, had much less figuratively claimed sizeable tracks of land, fifty thousand acres of Western District grazing land, Palawa Country, as his personal property which he administered, by the late 1840s, from Hobart.[84] The camera is angled to look upward to the Robertson father and son, giving each subject an emboldened, dominating presence in the photographic frame, an attitude reinforced by the cut of the horizon appearing well below shoulder height. The Robertsons hover unnervingly slightly above the mountain range which would otherwise have shadowed the city. These daguerreotypes encapsulate a distilled vision of colonial modernity both in the locally acquired and attuned technique of their creator and the colonial confidence and command over space so palpably projected by their sitters.

### *Bock and Further Examples of Intermedia Daguerreotype Products*

Most daguerreotypists practising in the Australian colonies relied on a volume of clients, often moving from city to city in order to sustain their studios.[85] Bock's studio, however, is evidence of how early colonial Australian photography flourished in a mixed and more lateral media landscape. His price list and advertising card, for example, noted his fusion of artistic credentials as portrait painter and daguerreotypist in its banner. Underneath the extensive list of daguerreotype options, in the various case and size formats, the card reiterated what is evident in its design: his additional skill as an engraver (figure 7).

Certainly, Bock's market was not focused on ambitious colonials with a few shillings to spare but on families who would be returning customers investing in consolidating comprehensive visual biographies. Richard Lewis Esq, his wife Isabella and at least five of their adult sons visited Bock's Campbell Street studio in Hobert on several occasions between the late 1840s and early 1850s. The Lewises, much like the Lawsons, were no strangers to portrait commissions, although their surviving archive suggests that it was portraits of their sons, rather than their daughters, that they prioritised for commission.[86] Richard Lewis had arrived in 1815 as a free settler in Hobart, where he established a store and shipping business that transacted with partners in London.[87] In 1823 he was one of the foundational proprietors of the Van Diemen's Land Bank, which the following year, as discussed earlier, would enlist Bock to engrave plates for its inaugural currency.[88] By the mid

80 – See 'Daguerreotype', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 May 1846, 2; and 'Daguerreotype', *Port Philip Patriot and Morning Advertiser*, 25 November 1845, 2.

81 – John McPhee, *The Painted Portrait Photograph in Tasmania 1850–1900* (Launceston: Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, 2007).

82 – The use of backdrops to backdrops to contextualise likenesses was a common practice and can be seen in some of Bock's contemporaries, including his pupil Robert Dowling; see Humphrey Clegg and Stephen Gilchrist, 'Depictions of Aboriginal People in Colonial Australian Art: Settler and Unsettling Narrative in the Works of Robert Dowling', *Art Journal*, 48 (January 2014), ⟨https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/depictions-of-aboriginal-people-in-colonial-australian-art-settler-and-unsettling-narratives-in-the-works-of-robert-dowling/⟩.

83 – Geoffrey Batchen, *Negative/Positive: A History of Photography* (Abington: Routledge, 2021), 189.

84 – David Hansen, 'William and Margaret Robertson and their Family (1847), attributed to Thomas Bock, oil on cardboard (three panels)', in *Sotheby's Australia, 'Important Australian Art'*, Sotheby's, Sydney 8 May 2012, 32.

85 – See, for example, the studios of J. W. Newland, C. & J. Trood, Issac Polack, the Duryea Brothers or the less itinerant studio of Thomas Glaister, all of whose businesses were contingent on a volume of customers and oriented on photography.

86 – The Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart holds the largest collection of Robertson portraits, with some additional examples held in the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart. The Allport collection includes unattributed daguerreotypes and ambrotypes from the life of Thomas Lewis, Neil Lewis and David Lewis indicating that Thomas Bock was not the only artist who received their patronage.

87 – Richard Lewis travelled from London to Sydney on the *Eliza*, and from Sydney to Hobart on the *Spring*; see '1822 Hobart Town Muster', HO10/18, File 18, Reel 65, page 17, records from the Home Office, London, held in reproduction at the National Library of Australia, Canberra; and 'Mr Richard Lewis', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 2 September 1815, 2. I am thankful to research librarian Steve Pearsall, Launceston Library, for helping me track Lewis's journey.

88 – Hubert C. Lewis, 'Lewis, Richard (1789–1867)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre for Biography, Canberra, ⟨https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lewis-richard-2356⟩.

M^R. BOCK
Portrait Painter &
DAGUERRÉOTYPIST,
22 CAMPBELL S^T.
HOBART TOWN.
LIST OF PRICES FOR DAGUERRÉOTYPES.

| | £ | s | d |
|---|---|---|---|
| Small Portrait for Locket or Brooch | 1 | 1 | . |
| D^o. D^o. in English Case | 1 | 1 | . |
| 2nd. size D^o. in Black frame | 1 | 10 | . |
| D^o. D^o. in English Case | 1 | 10 | . |
| D^o. D^o. in Jenny Lind Case | 1 | 18 | . |
| 3rd. size D^o. in Frame | 2 | 2 | . |
| D^o. D^o. in English Case | 2 | 2 | . |
| D^o. D^o. in American Case | 2 | 5 | . |
| D^o. D^o. in Jenny Lind Case | 2 | 10 | . |
| Two Portraits in D^o. D^o. | 3 | 5 | . |
| D^o. D^o. in Bijou Case | 3 | 3 | . |
| Groups, for every head after first | . | 10 | . |

NB.- ENGRAVING ON COPPER, SILVER, &c, &c,.

Figure 7. Thomas Bock, [Trade list of prices for daguerreotypes], 18–?. 114 × 76 mm. Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart, SD_ILS: 544812.

1840s, Lewis's business ventures had expanded to include his two eldest sons, David and Neil Lewis, as partners. The trio opened a new storehouse at the corner of Collins and Argyle Street in Hobart during January 1845 in a ceremony, flanked by dignitaries, which commenced with a Masonic blessing and the laying of a time capsule in the foundations.[89] The Lewises, however, had been very much occupied in the art market before this commercial milestone.

Richard and Isabella Lewis were familiar with the Bock studio, having commissioned large oil-on-canvas portraits of themselves in the mid 1830s.[90] Isabella would sit for Bock again, around the mid 1840s, for a daguerreotype finished similarly to the Robertsons', comprehensively coloured and taken from the same low angle, which cast her as a compelling force above the sunset-ribboned mountains.[91] By the late 1840s and early 1850s, Richard and Isabella were back at Bock's once more, this time for large-scale portraits of themselves in charcoal and China white.[92] Each of their five sons also sat for a Bock portrait in the same sketched format.[93] These portraits were completed in individual sittings across a period that spanned at least five years from 1848 to 1853. Accompanying each commission was the exposure of a daguerreotype, not taken from life but made from the sketched work. Bock's daguerreotypes of the Robertsons and of Isabella Lewis had been premised on a fusion of media that resulted in a lavish, richly coloured and detailed image. Conversely, the Lewis sons' daguerreotypes, made directly from each charcoal and China white portrait, replicated the sparseness of the parent medium. In the sketched portraits, colour was used sparingly to highlight a cravat or to give the cheeks a rosy appearance (figure 8). China white was used to accentuate how and where the light fell on the subject, such as the sheen of the forehead or the gleam on the bridge of the nose. Bock colour tinted the Lewises' monochrome daguerreotypes to replicate the colour accenting he had originally applied to the sketches, leaving the backgrounds and negative space of the original intact in its photographic copy (figure 9).

Bock made mobile the relatively immobile medium of the large-format framed sketch by reproducing and packaging a facsimile of each portrait as a compact, cased daguerreotype. His act employed a photographic technology predicated on the production of a unique image in the service of providing a surrogate to a portrait in another media. By the 1850s a strong vocabulary had already coalesced globally around photography, using terms including 'likeness' to describe the resulting

89 – 'Local/Foundational Stone', *Courier*, Hobart, 25 January 1845, 2.
90 – Thomas Bock, *Richard Lewis Esq*, ca. 1835, oil on canvas in original Huon Pine frame with gilt slip, 77 × 64 cm, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart; and Thomas Bock, *Mrs Isabella Lewis*, ca. 1835, oil on canvas in original Huon Pine frame with gilt slip, 77 × 64 cm, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart.
91 – Thomas Bock, 'Isabella Lewis', cased and coloured sixth-plate daguerreotype, ca. 1853, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart, FA1358.
92 – Thomas Bock, *Richard Lewis Esq*, 1851, charcoal, China white and watercolour in Huon pine frame, 49 × 56 cm, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart; and Thomas Bock, *Mrs Isabella Lewis*, 1852, China white and watercolour in Huon pine frame, 49 × 56 cm, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart.
93 – Thomas Bock, *Thomas Lewis*, 1848, charcoal, China white and watercolour in Huon pine frame, 49 × 56 cm, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart; Thomas Bock, *Charles Benjamin Lewis*, 1853, charcoal, China white and watercolour in Huon pine frame, 49 × 56 cm, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart; Thomas Bock, *Neil Lewis*, 1853, charcoal, China white and watercolour in Huon pine frame, 49 × 56 cm, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart; Thomas Bock, *David Lewis*, ca. 1848, charcoal, China white and watercolour in Huon pine frame, 49 × 56 cm, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart; and Thomas Bock, *George Richard Lewis*, ca. 1848, charcoal, China white and watercolour in Huon pine frame, 49 × 56 cm, Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart.

Figure 8. Thomas Bock, 'George Richard Lewis', 1851. Hobart, charcoal, pencil, watercolour and China white, 290 × 365 mm (approx.). Allport Library and Museum of Fine Arts, Hobart, FA1351.

Figure 9. Thomas Bock, 'George Richard Lewis', 1851. Hobart, sixth-plate daguerreotype from charcoal, pencil, watercolour and China white sketch. On long-term loan to Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart S243.

image, its clarity and verisimilitude.[94] The etymological roots of the term 'likeness' spanned back to pre-photographic media, but this inheritance had been sidelined by the 1840s, when the word became bound up with the unprecedented indexical realism offered by the daguerreotype.[95] Bock's action of providing daguerreotype copies of sketches problematises the ontological progression of 'likeness', folding back on itself the vocabulary with which portraiture had been described. It imagined more for the medium of photography at a time when its application was otherwise focused on its fidelity in shooting from life. Certainly, Claudet had made daguerreotypes of sculptured busts at London's 1851 Great Exhibition and Geoffrey Batchen's work has uncovered other instances of portrait translations into daguerreotype form, but none quite as sophisticated in terms of colouring and integrated in concept as Bock's at an equivalent time.[96] Bock's mixed-media family-portrait amalgams were entrepreneurial and motivated by profit, but they were also the product of the unregulated colonial market. In England, the cost in licensing a daguerreotype studio focused practitioners' businesses around a single medium.[97] In contrast, Bock's unlicensed daguerreotype practice grew naturally, first as an appendage to, and then as an integrated component of, his broader portrait business.

94 – John Gage, 'Photographic Likeness', in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, ed. by Joanna Woodall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 119–30.

95 – Joanna Woodall, 'Introduction', in *Portraiture*, ed. by Woodall, 5–18. See also Julie Aronson and Marjorie E. Wieseman, *Perfect Likeness: European and American Portrait Miniatures from the Cincinnati Art Museum* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2006); Stephen Bann, *Parallel Lines: Printmakers, Painters, and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001); and Stephen Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King: A Pre-history of Portraiture in Late Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

96 – See Antoine Claudet, 'A Victorian Bust in Greek Style', 1851, stereo-daguerreotype, uncased and uncoloured, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin, 964:0865:0005; and Geoffrey Batchen, 'Inanimate Nature: Pondering the Reproductive Daguerreotype', unpublished manuscript shared with the author on 24 July 2021.

97 – Edwards, 'Beard Patentee', 385–87.

### *Photography, Geography and Reproduction*

The Lawson, Robertson and Lewis families' daguerreotypes demonstrate photography's service in consolidating immediate visual family archives that were kept, if not by the sitters themselves, then within the family in the colonies. However, these case studies only partially represent the experience of early colonial photography. Supporting Bock's practice was a sophisticated postal system that networked Australian colonial ports in a global circuit, which transmitted not just pamphlets, personal correspondence and periodicals, but – ever increasingly by the mid century – cased images. As Helen Ennis has argued, so many settler photographs were sent 'home', making it just as possible to write a history of early colonial Australian photography from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland as it is from the Antipodes.[98] Extant daguerreotypes arrived in the colonies from family members in the northern hemisphere and these offerings where matched by return correspondence that sent colonial daguerreotypes abroad. In this way, the extended family inspired portrait commissions in mid-century Australia, constituting networks of exchange that propelled early Australian photography around the globe.

98 – Ennis, *Photography and Australia*, 14.

An example of this global network in operation can be seen in Emily Ann Hutchison née Wilson's photographic transactions with family in England. Emily Ann Wilson left London in the early 1850s, well after photography's invention but without confirmation of ever having sat for a daguerreotype. She travelled aboard the *Euphrates* under the Assisted Immigration Scheme, arriving in Sydney on 29 May 1852.[99] Wilson began her time in the Australian colonies as a governess to the merchant family of Stephen Nutter who lived in the southeastern New South Wales town of Queanbeyan, Ngunnawal and Ngambri Country. In the early 1850s small quantities of gold had been panned from the Molonglo River, which runs through Queanbeyan, but it was largely through grazing that the community's settlers consolidated wealth.[100] In 1853 Emily married Queanbeyan resident Edward Hutchison. The couple settled permanently in the township, and in 1854 Emily gave birth to their son, Alexander.[101] We know much about Emily's life in Queanbeyan because she was a fastidious and daily letter writer and diarist, pursuits which pronounced her feelings of isolation and her perpetual homesickness for her parents and siblings in the UK.

99 – 'Assisted Immigrants Index 1839–1896', 1852, Reel 2463, [4/4923], New South Wales State Archives and Records, Kingswood.

100 – Errol Lea-Scarlett and Tim Robinson, *First Light on the Limestone Plains: Historic Photographs of Canberra and Queanbeyan* (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1986), 32–34.

101 – 'Marriages', *People's Advocate and New South Wales Vindicator*, Sydney, 20 August 1853, 2; and 'Births', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 June 1854, 8.

Emily's extended family used photography as a panacea for their separation and to forge an imagined sense of closeness otherwise inhibited by distance and

geography. Both her parents mailed daguerreotypes of themselves to Queanbeyan in early 1854. In a letter penned to her mother on 24 April, Emily exclaimed ecstatically:

> Your likeness is splendid, and when we looked thro a magnifying glass it seemed as if it were flesh and blood. If I had a stronger glass we could see Father's features in your brooch. What a pretty cap you had on! Everyone who has seen them says I am the very image of you. I do not see it myself, with the exception of my mouth and chin.[102]

Emily's response indicates this is a layered portrait, consolidating various registers of intimacy. Ann Wilson wears a small daguerreotype brooch, or perhaps a sculpted miniature pin, to visually communicate her affection for and marriage to her husband.[103] The subsequent act of posting this portrait to Emily underscores an extension of affection for her daughter and a desire to use her daguerreotype as a simulacrum to bridge a distance she cannot travel herself. The following month Emily wrote to her father, remarking:

> Your likenesses too I value much and [both daguerreotypes] are daily looked at by me. I did not smile when I looked at you but I saw you were altered somehow and could not tell how till I read your letter.[104]

Emily's letters communicate the value cased photographs had in fostering a sense of familial connection, but it was an imagined connection not achieved by photography alone. As Susan A. Williams writes, daguerreotypes demanded that viewers 'draw' up apparitions from memory, or written descriptions, in their minds.[105] Emily calibrated the tangible daguerreotypes she received against her recollections of her parents, basing her assessment of each plate on an unconscious comparison between daguerreotype and recollection. The passage of time had altered her father's appearance from that of her memory but the photograph alone could not make meaning of this change. It was in Emily's father's letter that explanation was given for his altered state, and this predicament is read back into the daguerreotype. In the same way, while Emily appreciated the 'flesh and blood'-like realism of her mother's daguerreotype, she betrayed the limits of information transmittable by simply looking: 'if I had a stronger glass *we could see* Father's features in your brooch' (my emphasis).[106] This remark, in fact, tells us what Emily could not see, indicating what Williams calls the daguerreotype's 'demand for verbal articulation'.[107] The compilation of the letters and the images make meaning of the Wilson parents' portraits, elevating their daguerreotypes to repositories of updated memories for Emily, albeit memories acquired through correspondence rather than first-hand interaction.

The receipt of daguerreotypes from her parents propelled Emily's desire to have her own immediate family in Queanbeyan photographed. Yet it would take her until late 1855 or the opening days of 1856 to commission a portrait. We can assume Lawson Insley took the family's daguerreotype from press advertisements that place him as arriving in Queanbeyan on 8 December 1855 and as calling for daguerreotype commissions from his improvised studio at Byrne's Hotel.[108] Insley travelled around the Pacific and Indian Oceans in the 1850s, focusing his business on the east Australian colonies and New Zealand.[109] Emily was bitterly dissatisfied with Insley's daguerreotype of her family but mailed it to her parents nevertheless. She described it on 14 January 1856 as 'very inferior', explaining to her mother in a letter that she wore her 'silver-grey [dress] with full lace sleeves but you see nothing of this [detail]'.[110] Emily did not benefit from the advice which later colonial sitters received directing them on how to dress for the camera and what colours to avoid. For example, the 1858 advertising pamphlet for Thomas Glaister's Excelsior

102 – Emily Hutchison, Queanbeyan, to Ann Wilson, Article 06 of 57, London, 24 April 1854 (transcript), Queanbeyan-Palerang Regional Library, Queanbeyan, LH 994.47/HUT.

103 – On daguerreotypes brooches or pins and their emotional currency, see Geoffrey Batchen, *Forget Me Not: Photography and Remembrance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006), 35–36.

104 – Emily Hutchison, Queanbeyan, to Thomas B. Wilson, Article 09 of 57, London, 31 May 1854 (transcript), Queanbeyan-Palerang Regional Library, Queanbeyan, LH 994.47/HUT.

105 – Susan S. Williams, '"The Inconstant Daguerreotype": The Narrative of Early Photography', *Narrative*, 4, no. 2 (1996), 161.

106 – Hutchison, Article 06 of 57.

107 – Williams, 'Inconstant Daguerreotype', 162.

108 – 'Queanbeyan, Daguerreotype Likenesses', *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser*, 8 December 1855, 3.

109 – Marcel Safier, 'Insley, Lawson', in *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, ed. by Hannavy, 746.

110 – Emily Hutchison, Queanbeyan, to Ann and Thomas B. Wilson, Article 36 of 57, London, 14 January 1856 (transcript), Queanbeyan-Palerang Regional Library, Queanbeyan, LH 994.47/HUT.

Figure 10. [Unattributed] 'Edward Barnabas Wesley Hutchison, Emily Ann Hutchison neé Wilson and Edward Hutchison Jnr'. Melbourne, salt print from a collodion negative after Lawson Insley, 'Edward Barnabas Wesley Hutchison, Emily Ann Hutchison neé Wilson and Edward Hutchison Jnr', 1855–56, Queanbeyan, daguerreotype. Held in a private collection.

Photographic Gallery in Sydney clearly stipulated that when sitting for a photographic portrait, light colours were 'not good as they look faded', they lost lustre and definition.[111] Although Emily described her husband's appearance as passable, she remarked that her infant son was captured looking like 'a fat little pudge [ … ] without sense or understanding'.[112] She then accounted for this attitude by explaining that the child had recently woken from a sleep. Emily deflected attention from his expression by informing her mother that his outfit was made from a fetching crimson merino, a colour she was most pleased with but which did not translate in the monochrome daguerreotype.

111 – 'Glaister's Excelsior Photographic Galleries, 100 Pitt Street Sydney', published pamphlet, Sydney, W. L. Ross Printer, 1858, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, MLMSS 9478.
112 – Hutchison, Article 36 of 57.

At her own admission, daguerreotypes were conduits through which Emily's son Alexander knew his grandparents and portals which facilitated her introduction to her brother's wife.[113] Emily's own immediate family's daguerreotype took on increased significance with the premature death of her husband Edward in 1857. Despite her geographic isolation, Emily had a sophisticated understanding of photography and immediately wrote to her parents asking to loan her immediate family's daguerreotype. Her intention was to have the daguerreotype copied so she could keep a likeness of Edward close. It is difficult to ascertain whether Emily intended to keep the original daguerreotype, or its surrogate copy, and how the notion of reproducing what was otherwise described as a unique image occurred to her in rural 1850s New South Wales. Certainly, across the colonial border, on the Victorian goldfields, artists were offering to copy daguerreotypes during 1857, albeit by translating them into miniature paintings. It is possible that Emily was reading

113 – Ibid.; and Emily Hutchison, Queanbeyan, to Ann and Thomas B. Wilson, Article 44 of 57, London, 1 February 1857(transcript), Queanbeyan-Palerang Regional Library, Queanbeyan, LH 994.47/HUT.

the papers where these services were offered.[114] Emily also admired and wrote home about likenesses – specifically, wood engravings translated from daguerreotypes – printed in the *Illustrated London News*, which her parents sent her as clippings.[115] Around the time of Edward's death, descriptions of 'Photogalvanography' were appearing in the Melbourne papers. Here, daguerreotype replication was described as a mechanical, electrical process of engraving that 'multipl[ed] copies of the original [ … ] to last for centuries'.[116] Emily would direct her parents to send her daguerreotype to Melbourne, chaperoned with family friends rather than in the postage system. By the time it arrived in 1860, collodion had come to dominate the photographic market, and it was through this process, and by means of a salt print from a collodion negative, that it was reproduced (figure 10).

114 – 'Miniatures on Ivory, or Cardboard, or Daguerreotypes Copied', *Star*, Ballarat, 21 October 1857, 1.

115 –Emily Hutchison, Queanbeyan, to Ann and Thomas B. Wilson, Article 13 of 57, London, 13 August 1854 (transcript), Queanbeyan-Palerang Regional Library, Queanbeyan, LH 994.47/HUT.

116 – 'Photogalvanography', *Argus*, Melbourne, 28 March 1857, 5.

## *Coda*

The ingenuity, entrepreneurship and trans-media businesses of early colonial Australian photographers highlight an important aspect of the medium's history that diverges from its legal regulation and stylistic development in Britain. This article has emphasised how settler families invested in photography to celebrate their burgeoning pioneering wealth and to forge a sense of intimacy with extended family members overseas. Both of these uses shaped the kinds of photographic products offered in this part of the world. However, these portrait pursuits were not benign. The Wiradjuri land on which the Lawson children's daguerreotypes were taken was screened out of view and replaced by an abstract sense of occupied space, paralleling the colonial reality of dispossession the Wiradjuri were acutely experiencing. Palawa Country was both visually possessed and practically seized by the Robertson father and son in their daguerreotype and through their pastoralist business both outside Hobart and, later, on the traditional lands of the Gulidjan and Gadubanud People in southern Victoria. The same channels that brought Lawson Insley to Queanbeyan, and carried Emily Hutchison's family portrait to England and back again to Melbourne, also carried wheat, wool, cane sugar and gold cultivated on and extracted from stolen land.

The scarcity of surviving early Australian daguerreotypes forces us to reconfigure the experience of photography across archival material and sources. It is from examining these originally sentimentalised family collections of cased images, in accord with a wider archive of art and ephemera, writing and journalism, that we can begin to comprehend the diverse endeavours of early daguerreotypists and the distinctive products they offered to colonial customers. However, family collections also incorporate some of the earliest photographic representations of First Nations Australians. Portraits such as those of Aboriginal woman 'Jemima' with settler boy William T. Mortlock (figure 11), or that of an unidentified Aboriginal woman and another of the Mortlock children (figure 12), were made through commission by settler families. They show how the 'civilising' mission of the colonial project was reified within the institution of the family, where domestic service was racialised and documented in front of the camera's lens. These women were neither the patrons nor custodians of their daguerreotypes and, as a result, much detail around their identity and, importantly, their experience of photography has been lost. The same can be said for the late 1850s calotype of a Aboriginal man and guide, referred to as 'Tiger', who was photographed beside colonial explorer William Landsborough at the Sydney residence of Louisa Elizabeth How. This portrait was

Figure 11. [Unattributed] 'Jemima with W. R. Mortlock', ca. 1859. Cased, quarter-plate daguerreotype, colour applied. Ayres House, Adelaide, 0784.

Figure 12. [Unattributed] 'First Nations woman with child from the Mortlock family', 1850s. Cased sixth-plate daguerreotype. Mill Cottage, Port Lincoln, 2012/1.

subsequently filed in How's personal calotype album, where 'Tiger' lost custodianship of his image as it was assumed into this settler family's keepsake.[117]

Institutional collections of early Australian photography are built from the bequeathed images of settler families. The archival logic of these collections resonates with the cultural and political agency of the settler family, whose identities and experiences are recorded for posterity while those of Aboriginal subjects remain archivally unrepresented. It is not only the content of early photography that was driven by the cultural capital of the settler family, and underscored by the colonising context of its production, but also the knowledge surrounding these now image-artefacts.

117 – Louisa E. How (attributed), *William Landsborough and his Native Guide Tiger*, 1858, calotype, 15.5 × 11.5 cm, in untitled album of [thirty-eight] salt prints from calotype negatives, Sydney, 1858–59, The National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 82.1158.1-38.

## ORCID

Elisa deCourcy http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4802-0097