

**MONTE SCOTT
AND THE GRAPHIC CONSTRUCTION
OF AN AUSTRALIAN IDENTITY**

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INTRODUCTION

The basis for this investigation is an archive of several thousand images, mostly reproduced in the nineteenth-century Australian popular press. It is not just the scope of this archive, spanning a fifty-year period, that makes this output of a single Australian artist unique but also the fact that the artist, Eugene Montagu Scott (1835 - 1909), left almost no other documentary evidence of his thoughts, attitudes or intentions. Apart from a small number of his paintings and photographs along with the massive number of published illustrations and cartoons, no notebooks, letters or other personal papers by Scott can be located and virtually no original drawings have survived.¹ What is more, although Scott was indisputably one of the most prominent artists working in Sydney in the 1870s, there is little reference to him in the secondary literature on Australian art or history. Much of the biographical material that exists is incomplete or incorrect.

This thesis proposes that the body of published graphic work by Montagu Scott maps the prevailing socio-cultural domain in the second half of the nineteenth century in Eastern Australia.² Through an exhaustive survey of this archive and concentrated analysis of selected images using a range of established methodologies that include a close reading of their material properties, iconographic, ideological and semiotic analysis, the thesis charts the formation of a characteristically Australian identity in the last half of the nineteenth century.³ More specifically, the profiling of typically Australian attitudes and sentiments in this study constructs the identity of an artist, born in England, who self-consciously made himself an Australian through the expression or articulation of particular characteristics that he believed defined such a fictive type.

While this is not a conventional art historical study of Montagu Scott or an attempt to retrieve his historical identity or personality, one outcome is inevitably the construction of a convincing fictional character to give agency to the images discussed. The Australian identity that emerges from this fifty-year survey of changing beliefs, developing nationalistic attitudes, prejudices and eccentricities is ineluctably Monte Scott.⁴ What makes this particular hermeneutic recreation possible is the particular nature of the majority of the images used as evidence in the analysis.⁵ These images are mostly cartoons or caricatural illustrations from the popular press and therefore escape the usual polysemy associated with reading images as signs to map the cultural domain in which they were produced.

The term 'archive of Australian cartoons', used in this study, is more a convenient figure of speech since the accumulation of nineteenth-century cartoons are scattered across many different institutions and stored in different forms such as newspapers or on microfilm. The preservation

of these cartoons is mostly an accidental outcome of the archival enterprise to retain printed records, in particular the “memory tool” of the newspaper. ⁶ Archival theory and research privileges written documents almost exclusively and the methods employed to establish the authenticity, authority, validity and meaning of documents has little direct relevance to this study of cartoons.⁷ Cartoons hardly figure at all in archival research and although work has been done on photographic archives, the photograph is an entirely different form of visual evidence to the cartoon.⁸

Press cartoons operate in a most restricted realm of signification where the artist’s intention and audience response are, by necessity, synonymous since however complex the connotative configuration of a particular image, interpretative closure must be effected for it to operate. In popular graphic discourse, artist and audience require common ideological tenets, shared experience and most of all an agreed lexicon of expression or codification. This last aspect of the press cartoon as a logonomic system of social semiotics, crucially dependant on type and stereotype, makes such images particularly open to analysis of ideological formations.⁹ It would appear, in fact, that signification of popular images is regarded as so transparent or banal that the cartoon and caricature are not even mentioned in the most recent survey of *Visual Methodologies* in the expanding fields of visual and cultural studies.¹⁰ However this “cultural blindness” about cartoons in some ways parallels the same exclusion of Australian fashion or dress from serious attention in historical or cultural studies as noted by Margaret Maynard in her study of dress in nineteenth-century Australia.¹¹ Both are seen a trivial or inconsequential to the grand theme of nationalism and the momentous forces of socio-cultural change - so too the popular entertainments of theatre and public spectacles that Anita Callaway retrieved from the shadow of the high arts to highlight their ideological importance and power.¹² These studies by Maynard and Callaway have proved important methodological models for this investigation since they have both managed to shift art historical concerns into the broader field of Australian cultural history.¹³ This is not only in establishing Australian identity within the bounds of cultural production and consumption and the emphasis on “human subjects as agents” but also by the widening of attention “to include the daily life of ordinary people.”¹⁴

In the discussion of individual cartoons in this thesis, a slippage often occurs between connotation and intention. This is because of the close correspondence between ideological intention of the cartoonist and ideological expectation or interpretation of the audience, highlighting the nature of the cartoon to mirror the social and cultural norms in production and reception. Obviously, the clearer the ideological demographic for a particular publication, as with the *Brisbane Worker* for example, the more predictable the ideological connotation and intention

of a cartoon in that publication. Strictly speaking, purposeful signification most often resides in the configuration of established elements or iconographic rules used in a particular popular image. Authorial agency is often dependant on a constellation of editorial, artistic and technical constituents, despite the fact that a cartoon might carry a single signature.¹⁵ For this reason, in discussion of the social or ideological intention of a cartoon, it is common to ascribe authorship to the publication in which it appears. The nationalistic or anti-wowser sentiments of the *Sydney Bulletin* is the most familiar example. It was possible through stylistic inventiveness for a nineteenth-century cartoonist to establish individual artistic identity, as the case of Phil May demonstrates, but it was not until the twentieth century that a cartoonist could attain sufficient popular acclaim to consistently express independent political or social viewpoints, as established later in Chapter Three.

There was a period in the 1870s when Scott's celebrity in Sydney as a cartoonist on *Sydney Punch* probably ensured a fair degree of editorial independence but the ideological spectrum of the publications he worked for spanned the range from the conservative *Melbourne Punch* to the politically radical Brisbane *Boomerang*. When Scott's total output is collated as a panoramic archive the consistency of particular themes, tropes, motifs, ploys and emblems becomes clear. It is therefore possible to measure the constancy of Scott's social or political themes and variations that might defy contingent circumstances.

Chapter One presents a survey of the field of study and establishes the scope of the investigation. As might be demanded in a study so dependent on reading press cartoons, this chapter also interrogates the key terms of "caricature" and "cartoon". The "stereotype" in graphic discourse is also discussed, although this is used as a pretext to introduce the important but often overlooked influence of the American popular press on the formation of Australian racial attitudes and stereotypes. It should be noted that the decision to relegate the important issue of race to a subsidiary chapter topic was governed by the need to avoid repetition of an area comprehensively examined in an earlier study.¹⁶

The material aspects of Scott's published illustrations are examined in Chapter Two. His graphic identity is revealed through examination of both the evolving form and style of his signature and his selective designation of autographed works, including the evidence of a quantitative examination of the total output from his *Melbourne Punch* years. Extended discussion of the technical aspects of Scott's printed work in this chapter clarifies the relationship between engraver and artist and establishes the stylistic relationship between reproductive means and drawn image. In contradiction to all received assessment, it is argued that Scott played a

significant role in the introduction of innovative printing technology in the 1880s in Australia.

Anita Callaway's important critique of high-art constructions of Australian visual history is the point of departure in Chapter Three which examines Scott's depictions of popular entertainments such as transparencies, fancy dress, theatre and depictions of public monuments. As with Callaway's study, the chapter stresses the ideological role of popular art. Chapter Four highlights the centrality of the political cartoon in the popular press at the end of the nineteenth century through analysis of Scott's highly-charged political cartoons from the Brisbane *Boomerang* and *Worker*. The more politically conservative cartoons and illustrations from his Sydney years are examined in Chapter Five, which constructs a biographical picture of Scott during his decade of celebrity in the 1870s. This is the only chapter exclusively devoted to stylistic analysis of his work and a traditional examination of its iconographic origins.

Chapter Six presents a key thematic analysis of Scott's construction of the image of Henry Parkes. This singular topic enables the examination of Scott's particular approach to caricature and cartooning, positioning his work within the graphic conventions of the nineteenth century and the increasingly dominant physiognomic paradigm. Chapters Seven and Eight deal respectively with Scott's demons and his women. The material in Chapter Seven follows the established approach in dealing with cartoons as cultural documents, as used most recently by Joan Kerr, by being divided into thematic areas such as Drink, Gambling, Religion and War.¹⁷ However this thematic arrangement is not used as the usual convenience to bring disparate cartoonists together. Instead, a particular Australian identity is distilled from Scott's singular output on common themes across a broad chronological range. Scott's images of War and Peace link these final chapters since Chapter Eight traces the evolution of Scott's Australian Girl from her origins in the English popular press, European classical ideals and medieval chivalry.

The chapters constitute a balance between longitudinal surveys of Scott's oeuvre and more focussed analysis of particular publications and periods. The totality of the thesis presents a dense field of visual reference as a basis for the concluding picture of Monte Scott as one of the first Australian image makers and therefore one of the first Australians. This ploy, to conflate collective memory and the artifactual traces of an individual artist, is made possible by the nature of popular graphic discourse where "the shared identity that unites a social group" is most emphatically expressed.¹⁸ Reconstructing "the social experiences, taste, and mentality of a specific society" through representations and images has been a methodological aspiration in visual studies since the pioneering work of Aby Warburg.¹⁹ Within the general field of cultural studies and the emerging area of memory studies, this thesis presents an exemplary model for the

use of visual evidence, particularly demonstrating the possibility of extracting an individual or isolated sensibility from the “symbolic universe” of collective identity.²⁰

Endnotes - Introduction

1. There are a number of reasons for the lack of surviving historical documentation on Scott and these are explored in Chapter One. No doubt the dispersal of his personal property through bankruptcy sales in 1870 and again shortly before his death in 1908 had a significant impact. Also, by chance none of the archives have survived for the various papers on which Scott worked over his long career. Four of Scott’s original drawings in pen and ink for illustrations in the *Illustrated Sydney News* are held in the National Library of Australia. Three of these were for an extended pictorial feature on the building of the Garden Palace in Sydney published in the *Illustrated Sydney News*, 22 September 1879. The National Library has made one of these drawings available in an electronic version via the Internet at:

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an5370917-v>

Little can be found on Scott’s career prior to leaving London in 1855. A visit to the Royal Academy in London during 2002 did nothing more than confirm what Marguerite Mahood had already established, that Scott exhibited a portrait at the Royal Academy in 1854. No consistent records of students enrolled in the Royal Academy or associated schools exist so the specific whereabouts and duration of his training cannot be verified. A search for reference to Scott in the archives of the British Library proved futile.

2. The 260 odd images chosen as illustrations in this thesis represent less than five percent of the available archive of Scott’s work but this is a judicious selection. In almost all cases, the images selected for reproduction are front-page, full or double-page illustrations, or supplements, thus ensuring that the choice of images reflects their original significant editorial or ideological status. Wherever possible images were scanned from the original periodicals rather than being copied from microfilm.

3. The semiological approach used is concerned with the nature of images to reflect and construct various ideological patterns and structures. Taking a lead from Michel Foucault, the analysis here also avoids psychoanalytic approaches or assumptions and the emphasis is on the construction of human subjectivity through particular processes, practices and institutions. Because of this, the methodological approach used in this thesis might be situated under the banner of discourse analysis in the broadest sense of the term. Nevertheless, as with most qualitative research using images, the application of visual methodologies is not through the seamless application of a singular approach but through a mixture of various analytic modes

to suit the particular nature of individual images or themes. For a summary of semiology and discourse analysis in relation to visual data see, Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, London: Sage Publications, 2001 pp. 69 - 99 and pp. 135 - 186, respectively.

4. Montagu Scott was always known as Monte Scott and his cartoons or illustrations that include a full signature are almost always so inscribed. Throughout this study I adopt this convention, referring to Scott as Monte Scott. Scott never used Eugene to sign any paintings but only "Montagu Scott". The same applies to the advertising of his Fine Art and Photographic business in Sydney. However, Scott is listed as Montague with an "e" in many public records. This includes one of the birth certificates for his three children born in Melbourne and the hand-written entry in the Burial Register at the Waverley Cemetery.

5. It should be stressed that 'hermeneutic' is not used here in sense of the strict adherence to the specific philosophical tradition or theoretical framework of hermeneutics. Instead it designates the more recent approach described by Heywood and Sandywell as: "an analytic attitude towards the field of experience in which visual experienced is approached as a socio-historical realm of interpretative practices. The emphasis indexed by the term 'hermeneutics' is placed on the role of visual meaning and interpretation in the contexts of meaningful human action." Ian Heywood and Barry Sandywell eds., *Interpreting Visual Culture: explorations in the hermeneutics of the visual*, London: Routledge, 1999 p. xi.

In terms of a methodological exemplar for the type of approach used here to recreate the original meaning and nineteenth-century experience of particular images the recent analysis of Pieter Aertsen's *Meat Stall* by Charlotte Houghton offers a seminal model. Even though she is not dealing with a nineteenth-century image, or indeed an image from popular culture in the more recent sense of that term, Houghton takes no "component of the picture for granted" and painstakingly extracts information from the social and cultural context in which the image originally operated to recreate the original experience of a sixteenth-century viewer. Charlotte Houghton, "This is tomorrow: Pieter Aertsen's Meat Stall as contemporary art" *Art Bulletin*, vol 86, no2 June 2004 pp. 277 - 301.

6. Terry Cook, "What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift" *Archivaria*, no 43, Spring 1997 (17 - 63) p. 18.

7. For example, one of the longest established publications in the field, *Archives: the Journal of the British Records Association*, does not list "cartoon/s" in its cumulative index and only one article on "caricature" has appeared in the last decade of issues.

8. See for example: Joan M. Schwartz, "'We make our tools and our tools make us': Lessons from Photographs for the Practice, Politics, and Poetics of Diplomats" *Archivaria* no 40, Fall 1997 (40 - 74). At the time of publication, Schwartz acknowledged the undermining of the visual authority of the photograph by digital technology (p. 44), but this would now seem a particularly important issue in attempting to pursue diplomacy in treating photographs as documents. A recent study of archival research by historians in the United Kingdom shows a dramatic increase in the use of digital or electronic sources, as it confirms the lack of engagement with objects and artifacts as evidence. Ian G. Anderson, "Are You Being Served? Historians and the Search for Primary Sources" *Archives and Manuscripts*, vol 29, no 1 May 2001 (82 - 129).

9. Hodge and Kress were the first to use the term “logonomic system” to describe social semiotic behaviours governed by prescribed conditions of production and reception of meanings, although their study did not discuss cartoons or popular illustration. R. Hodge and G. Kress, *Social Semiotics*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988, p. 4.
10. Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: and introduction to the interpretation of visual materials*, London: Sage Publications, 2001. Much discussion is devoted to printed advertisements but apart from mention of film this is the only engagement with popular imagery in this survey.
11. Margaret Maynard, *Fashioned from Penury: dress as cultural practice in Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994 p.1.
12. Anita Callaway, *Visual Ephemera: theatrical art in nineteenth-century Australia*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2000.
13. The recent publication by Mimi Colligan has also proved useful in establishing the visual field of popular entertainments in nineteenth-century Australia but the descriptive analysis it contains does not have the weight of interpretation or ideological critique found in Maynard or Callaway. Mimi Colligan, *Canvas Documentaries: panoramic entertainments in Australia and New Zealand*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002. The wide range of literature related specifically to nineteenth-century cartoons and caricature is surveyed in Chapter One.
14. Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White eds., *Cultural History in Australia*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2003, p.13.
15. All recent studies of the degree of editorial independence of cartoonists relate to the twentieth century or the contemporary situation. In *Artists and Cartoonists in Black and White: the most public art*, Sydney: S.H. Ervin Gallery, 1999, Joan Kerr did take a more longitudinal view reaching into the nineteenth century in Australia, although she specifically excluded political satire or cartooning from her study. Even so, Kerr established that press cartoons are often a collaborative effort between artist and editor and this can be at every stage from conception to captioning or punch-line (esp. p. 36). American studies suggest that despite organizational constraints on editorial cartoonists they believe that: “Their cartoons are typically extensions of their personal beliefs. Their professional status and success depend on their freedom and ability to express their opinions.” Christopher Lamb “Perceptions of cartoonists and editors about cartoons” *Newspaper Research Journal*, 17 (3-4) Summer/Fall 1996 pp. 105 - 19. Earlier studies in the United States by Daniel Riffe et. al. established that, despite the perception of freedom held by cartoonists, there was often conflict between cartoonists and their superiors (owners or editors). Daniel Riffe, D. Sneed, and R.L. Van Ommeren, "Behind the Editorial Page Cartoon." *Journalism Quarterly*, 62(2) 1985 pp. 379-383. And, Daniel Riffe, D. Sneed, and R.L. Van Ommeren., "How Editorial Page Editors and Cartoonists See Issues." *Journalism Quarterly* 62(4)1985 pp. 896-99.
- Most recently, Anna Day has suggested that Australian contemporary cartoonists have far greater editorial freedom than their American counterparts. Anna Day “The Wizards of Oz: Aussie Cartoonists Do It Their Way,” *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*

5.3 2000 pp. 96 -101.

16. Ross Woodrow "Darwinism and Images of Race in the Australian Popular Press c.1850 - 1900" The University of Sydney, M Phil 1994.

17. Joan Kerr, *Artists and Cartoonists in Black and White*, 1999.

18. Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method" *The American Historical Review* vol. 102, no. 5 Dec., 1997, (1386-1403) p. 1390.

19. Aby Warburg (1866 - 1929) quoted in Alon Confino, along with analysis of Warburg's approach to the study of collective memory. A brief outline of the reception of Warburg's publications is also cited (1390 n.11).

20. Ibid., p. 1391.

CHAPTER ONE

Defining the Field

The painter, photographer, cartoonist and illustrator Eugene Montagu Scott (1835 - 1909) left a legacy of thousands of images, most in Australian nineteenth-century illustrated papers. His first signed cartoon in Australia appeared in February 19, 1857 in *Melbourne Punch* and his last fifty-two years later on the front page of the *Worker* in January 6, 1909 three months before his death at seventy-four. [figures 1.1 & 1.2] During this long career he produced, at conservative estimate, around three thousand front-page, full-page or double-page illustrations, regularly viewed by significant numbers of the Australian population and making him the most prolific image maker in nineteenth-century Australia, if not for the entire history of European settlement.¹ At one level, the neglect of Scott's published work can be explained by the media chauvinism of art historical scholarship which until recent times saw popular illustration as insignificant compared to the high arts of painting and sculpture. This is exemplified in the treatment of Scott by Daniel Thomas several decades ago in the catalogue survey of "Australian Art in the 1870s."² For Daniel Thomas, the "Art" in his title meant painting. One of Scott's paintings from 1870, "Picnic on Clarke Island," is included but the only mention of Scott in Thomas' catalogue essay is in the context of noting that newspaper illustration was an important source of income for painters.

Since Daniel Thomas makes the judgement that Scott was "never a painter of significance" he is unworthy of extended discussion or analysis.³ The fact that the population in Sydney in the 1870s was more familiar with Monte Scott's images than any other Australian artist working then is not deemed relevant. Moreover, in the 1870s, the *Illustrated Sydney News* regularly published Scott's folio-sized coloured lithographs, suitable for framing, and thousands of these must have graced the walls of middle-class homes in New South Wales and beyond.⁴ Scott's work also featured prominently in the 1870 Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition in Sydney, visited by half the population of the colony. He contributed paintings and mural decorations inside the dome of the Garden Palace for the 1879 International Exhibition in Sydney.⁵ This exhibition was so successful with so many repeat visitations and overseas visitors that statistically 143% of the population attended, in total over a million visitors.⁶ Few could have missed Scott's mural (or murals) on the facets beneath the central dome, since it was "the most prominent feature of the interior of the Garden Palace" which it was noted at the time "elicited general admiration, its beauty being considerably enhanced by the frescoes and tasteful decorations which embellish the walls."⁷ At the time it was not only claimed that these murals, wrongly termed frescoes in the newspapers, were superior to any in South Kensington in London but also that they might

increase the taste for a national decorative style of painting, developing a purer and more artistic taste in the colony.⁸

In the case of the Garden Palace, Scott's work did not enter historical discourse simply because the Garden Palace did not survive, being destroyed by fire two years after the exhibition. If Scott's mural scheme had survived as did the comparable South Kensington frescoes, it is not to say that later audiences or historians would have valued this or the other decorations.⁹ Even so, the South Kensington frescoes from the 1870s were dismissed in the twentieth century as worthless but in more recent times rediscovered and fully restored as a valuable cultural artifact, if not valuable art, demonstrating at least the importance of chance in the formulation of art history. The design scheme for one of Scott's murals still exists, fittingly as an illustration in the popular press. In this context, Scott's images have survived if only in the scattered, often inaccessible newspaper archives in libraries and collections across Australia. So too, on hundreds of scratched and faded microfilm rolls.

Such deposits have been the sources used by historians to construct Australian history but Scott's images, along with images generally, have been mostly overlooked in that enterprise. For art historians the image in the popular press has often been seen as peripheral to the task of analysis and appreciation of "puzzle pictures" as James Elkins provocatively called the complex, difficult or intellectually challenging works favoured by art scholars.¹⁰ Even so, the publication of Anita Callaway's *Visual Ephemera: theatrical art in nineteenth-century Australia* may indicate that the tide is turning against the orthodox history of Australian visual culture (one, that is read as a history of canonical paintings) but at the very least it offers a refreshing alternative.¹¹ Callaway was also a contributor to the earlier *Dictionary of Australian Artists* project convened by Joan Kerr and which, in many ways, initiated a more inclusive view of nineteenth-century Australian art history.¹² The content, conclusions and methodological assumptions of Callaway's history of performance and ephemeral spectacle in nineteenth-century Australia make it a profoundly important study in relation to my investigation and this is not simply because Monte Scott's work is included in its scope.¹³

Scott lived on the cusp of an age, when cartoonists could achieve great celebrity and it seems great wealth¹⁴. Phil May, Will Dyson and David Low became household names in the early part of the twentieth century and, perhaps because all of these artists established fame in London, their reputations have to some degree survived the passage of time.¹⁵ Their work is still avidly collected, republished and exhibited. It is no coincidence that all began their careers with the Sydney *Bulletin* as its enormous success proved a perfect launching stage for celebrity. Livingstone Hopkins after all was always known as "Hop of the *Bulletin*". Monte Scott did

contribute cartoons to the *Bulletin* in its early years. Also, as later demonstrated, Scott's role in the creation of the *Bulletin* style has been significantly underestimated or elided. Yet neither the brevity of his exposure to its audience nor the indisputable fact that his work lacked the stylish flourish of the later illustrations of May or Hopkins fully explains the anonymity of Scott as an historical personality.

Such was Livingstone Hopkins' fame, that when he died in 1927, fourteen years after retiring from the *Bulletin*, the press was filled with generous tributes and the family received letters of condolence from all over Australia, as noted by his daughter in her biography of Hop.¹⁶ By contrast in 1909, only a standard funeral notice¹⁷ marked the death of Eugene Montagu Scott in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the paper that had announced him in his first full-year in Sydney, in 1866, as a "rising young artist."¹⁸ The *Brisbane Worker*, the paper that he had contributed to for over twenty five years, devoted a single paragraph to the death of Monte Scott:

Readers of the "Worker" will regret to learn of the death of Mr. Monte Scott in Sydney this week, at the ripe age of over three score years and ten. The deceased artist, besides being well and favourably known throughout Australia for his drawings, was the personification of kindness to everyone who came in contact with him. It was his pencil that drew the first cartoon for this journal, and he continued to be its chief cartoonist until quite recently. A few months ago Mr. Scott bravely underwent a painful operation, from which he never fully recovered, and now that he has passed away the "Worker" extends its sincere sympathy to his widow in her great loss.¹⁹

Scott's years in the 1880s working for the *Bulletin* were not forgotten completely as his passing did not go unnoticed in that paper, although to the *Bulletin*, Montagu Scott was not famous as a graphic artist but was a "well-known animal painter."

Montagu Scott, the well-known animal painter - he took to that branch of art in his middle age - died at Randwick (N.S.W.) last Saturday, aged 74 years. Though he made horses a study he had some portraits to his credit, notably one of the eminently uninteresting Duke of Edinburgh, which hangs in the vestibule of Sydney Town Hall. Also he toiled for the *Bulletin* in earlier days, and did much good work. He was twice married, and leaves a son and two married daughters. In his time he was a fairly good amateur actor.²⁰

The placement of this paragraph at the top of a right-margin column may compensate to some degree for its relegation to page 18. But it was surely an editorial accident that the *Bulletin* turned the dismissal of Scott's career as a black and white artist into a total eclipse by placing next to this death notice of an "animal painter" a large photograph of Will Dyson with the caption: "Will

Dyson, the black-and-white artist, who is about to exhibit a collection of his drawings in Melbourne prior to his departure for America."²¹ Dyson would ultimately end up in London, not America, where he built upon the fame already established in Australia as a great caricaturist and cartoonist. Therefore this juxtaposition of Dyson and Scott was potentially most opportune to mark the transition of a national black and white tradition to a wider global sphere - the end of Scott's fifty-year parochial contribution, the beginning of a confident, homegrown cosmopolitan outlook. The failure to exploit this fortuitous occasion is indicative of more than a missed opportunity or historical blindness when it comes to popular graphic art. The prejudicial formulation implied by the *Bulletin* is a contribution to the reversal of the historical reality. Scott came to Australia (and New Zealand) as a photographer, portrait and animal painter, and so advertised himself on arrival. He became a cartoonist and although he kept his skills as an animal painter finely honed throughout his career he remained a cartoonist until his death.²²

The three fragments from published records, a funeral notice and two obituaries, are important in signifying the inherent difficulties in retrospectively constructing any biographical entity. Taken individually, it would appear that there were three different entities: Eugene Montagu Scott, as officially designated on his birth and death certificate, Monte Scott, the cartoonist and Montagu Scott, the painter and photographer. What is more, the image of his persona evoked by the *Worker* as being "the personification of kindness to everyone who came in contact with him" seems at odds with the singular construction in art historical discourse that he was the epitome of an English dandy.

Besides magnifying the obvious irony in the comparison, it is revealing to examine more closely the contrast in the reaction to the death of Scott and that of Hopkins. Livingstone Hopkins once said (or so his daughter claims): "When the time comes for Australia to take her place among the nations that make history and jokes, when she shall come to possess a humour that is racy of the soil, its high priests shall spring from that soil and their devotees shall sit at their feet."²³ Monte Scott's cartoons and illustrations were distinguished by a particular spirit of nationalism and his inclination was for sardonic, black humour. His weekly front-page cartoon for the Brisbane *Boomerang* was placed below the paper's proclamation that it was a "Live Newspaper, Racy of the Soil." It can be said and certainly will be implied in this study that Scott's output was the first consistent expression of an Australian identity if not humour. What particularly distinguishes his output is its heterogeneous and eclectic character, often shot through with contradictions: grandeur undercut by banality, sensuality expressed in crass or crude terms, or brutality domesticated by sentiment. The attitudes Scott expressed were in many ways the antitheses of the approach of most of his contemporaries including Livingstone Hopkins. If we overlook Hop's racism, Dorothy Hopkins is accurate enough in claiming that Hopkins "never drew, wrote, or said

anything that was indecent, vulgar, or ‘suggestive.’”²⁴ The same cannot be said of Monte Scott. Scott produced some of the most indecent, vulgar and suggestive images in the nineteenth-century Australian press, not to mention some of the most violent, vicious and menacing. The implication in their historical erasure, that many of these images are best forgotten, is a denial of their significance in expressing and shaping the attitudes of their contemporary audience. These are the examples that Jonathan King was thinking of when he said that Scott’s cartoons “never lacked bite.”²⁵ On the contrary, such works are only one aspect of his output, as Scott’s cartoons and illustrations often lacked bite and were sometimes inconsequentially facile, excruciatingly sweet and appallingly conventional. This means that the removal of the ideologically charged images from Scott’s total output has had more of a debilitating, rather than diluting, effect on the construction of his reputation. On the rare occasions when Scott’s biting critiques enter mainstream historical or art historical discourse, as in for example Terry Smith’s highly regarded essay on Tom Robert’s *Shearing the Rams*, Scott’s authorship is not acknowledged.²⁶ In his commentary of the period 1888 to 1891 Smith notes: “It was possible to produce images of this period of strained social relationships, and to do so well, with a sharp critical eye.”²⁷ He exemplifies this with reference to the illustrators of the labour movement publications and singles out for reproduction Monte Scott’s “The Real Anarchist - The Squatter” from the *Brisbane Worker* 21 July, 1894. Scott is not mentioned in the text or caption.

This cartoon (along with three others by Scott) is also reproduced in Brian McKinlay’s three-volume compilation of documents illustrating Australian Labor history.²⁸ Since Scott was the foundation cartoonist for that most important organ of the Labor movement, the *Brisbane Worker*, and remained its chief cartoonist during its formative decade, it might be expected that he would be given due recognition in any documentation of the history of the Labor Party, Trade-Union Movement or radical left. This is not the case, however, as the full-page illustrations by Scott that are reproduced in Brian McKinlay’s compilation give no acknowledgement of authorship and Monte Scott is not mentioned in any context in this definitive collection. Revealingly, none of the cartoons reproduced in the Labor anthology by McKinlay, and there are a significant number, are given individual authorship beyond the title of the publication in which they appeared. The cartoons are used to literally illustrate the primary documents or newspaper extracts that make up the bulk of the volumes, with no analysis of the role played by these images in the ideological formation of Labor or leftist thinking in Australia. This dismissive bias not only negates the significance of the visual image in the crystallization of polarities through the invention of types, stereotypes and allegorical scenarios but denies the fact that publications such as the *Worker* acknowledged the cartoon illustration as its most potent ideological weapon. Throughout the 1890s and well into the twentieth century the cover of almost every issue featured a full-page cartoon illustration by Scott and most issues included at least one other full-page illustration,

often its biting polemical tone aimed at defining the general conditions of Capital versus Labor or highlighting topical injustice enacted upon working people. Given the axiomatic understanding that the image of a contemporary politician, if not political parties, is created primarily on television it seems paradoxical that the key role of the graphic image in the popular press at the end of the nineteenth century has often been disregarded or downplayed in historical reconstruction.

Historians have not completely ignored the potential of nineteenth-century cartoon images as illustrative support for documentary analysis. In fact, the paperback edition of Andrew Markus's *Fear and Hatred: purifying Australia and California 1850 - 1901* features a detail of one of Scott's cartoons on the cover and ten more of his images are used as illustrations throughout the text, although without any mention of Scott in caption or text.²⁹ More recently, one of Scott's images is reproduced, with caption acknowledgement, in Ian McLean's acclaimed investigation of the construction of Australian identities, *White Aborigines*.³⁰ Yet when McLean discusses Scott's personification of the new independent Australia as an Aborigine and a specific political allegory, authorship is attributed to the generic source of the paper Scott worked for, the *Boomerang*.³¹ McLean makes it clear that the focus of his study is on the high art of painting rather than the transgressive form of comic discourse. Nevertheless, he does not accord Livingstone Hopkins the same treatment as Scott, since cartoons by Hopkins from the *Bulletin* are discussed in terms of their authorship by Hopkins not the *Bulletin*.³²

When Scott's total output is viewed as a single evidential archive it presents a vast and various mosaic of melodious and venomous character. Given the quantity of images and the repetitious themes and subjects they contain, much can be gleaned in relation to Scott's taste and interests. His facility in representing animals is obvious, as is his interest in theatre, fashion and the foibles of photographers. However, the aim in this study is not to construct the essence of Scott's historical being. That is beyond reach. Instead the thesis seeks to extract the ideological implications or imperatives from selected images to suggest a fictive historical type that can be read behind or through the images. This approach builds on the methodological assumption made in my earlier study of Australian nineteenth-century popular illustration that art, and in particular popular illustration, both reflects and produces ideology.³³ Across a number of studies there is general agreement that media imagery is ideologically both prescriptive and descriptive, although when it comes to popular media depictions of race and gender the consensus is that the prescriptive power of the stereotype dominates, bearing no relation to actual life experience.³⁴

Historical or cultural studies have seen a recent shift "back to human subjects as agents,"³⁵ but the fictional construction of Monte Scott in this study differs from those based on textual

documents such as letters, speeches and books. In a limited sense, the images used here are more actively expressive than other historical documents. Ultimately, the evidential value of the visual images used here is vindicated since the evidence extracted from them contradicts or corrects almost all the received information on Scott taken from traditional historical sources.

In giving absolute primacy to the visual evidence, Scott's paintings are not overlooked, but my main focus is on Scott's published graphic work and the analysis of this includes statistical overview and close reading of individual works taking this to the level of examination of their material production and technique. Traditionally, the construction of an historical personality depends on accepting the documented assessment of the person's contemporaries. In the case of Monte Scott, an absolute view that he was a "formal Englishman" has resulted from a singular line of retrospective reference by William Moore in 1934 to Scott's time as the chief cartoonist on *Sydney Punch*: "Wearing a frock coat and silk hat, [Scott's] 'by gad, sir' manner, it is said, was rather imposing."³⁶ It would appear that Moore's informant was Scott's fellow cartoonist on *Sydney Punch*, Alfred Clint (1843 - 1923).³⁷ If, as it appears, this recollection of Scott is by Clint and was meant to indicate he affected or presented an aristocratic English character it might not be surprising that in 1934 Moore invented the "by gad, sir" phrase to give contemporary substance to Clint's image, since it is in the early 1930s that David Low develops his archetypal aristocratic Englishman in Colonel Blimp with his signature opening line "Gad, sir."³⁸ This phrase was certainly more evocatively dismissive in 1934 than it would have ever been in the 1870s. Not forgetting that Clint had been dead for ten years when Moore wrote, so it can hardly be seen as a literal reportage of Clint's view. Whatever the source, written sixty years after the event, this anecdotal recollection should be treated with particular caution, especially considering Moore's unreliable claims that Monte Scott was for two years the cartoonist on *Melbourne Punch*³⁹ and his misinformation on Scott's involvement with the *Sydney Mail*.⁴⁰ On the contrary, variations of the "gad sir manner" phrase are repeated in almost every recent reference to Scott, including the entries in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* and the *Dictionary of Australian Artists* which include reference to, or reproduction of, his presumed portrait as "our cartoonist" by Alfred Clint from *Sydney Punch* (December 1878).⁴¹ [figure 1.3] In all of these references, no author noticed the obvious; that the stocky, slightly unkempt appearance of the cartoonist bore no resemblance to an English gentleman. Also, it would seem surprising, since there exists a documented photograph of Scott from close to the same date as the cartoon, which was reproduced in Joan Kerr's *Dictionary* (under the entry for the Freeman Brothers), that no author noticed, or at least commented on, the fact that the caricature looked nothing like Scott's photograph.⁴² [figure 1.4]

Most recently, with the discovery of the original annotated drawing for the cartoon, it has been

confirmed that the portrait caricature is not Scott but actually represents Gustavus Wangenheim a Sydney cartoonist, painter and publican.⁴³ All of which demonstrates the power of text over image in that the obvious lack of correspondence between image and text was elided. It should be acknowledged that Joan Kerr later noted that she always had suspicions of a mismatch between the image and the conventional view of Scott. She thought “the heavy Germanic appearance of the man never seemed convincing for the 'gad sir', English dandy that Scott was said to be.”⁴⁴ To emphasize the richness of the visual archive, if not to show how little account it is given, it should be mentioned that the portrait by Clint of “our cartoonist” in 1878 is not the only time he represented Gustavus Wangenheim. A portrait caricature of “Our Friend G.” features in a half-page cartoon by Clint in 1881 (including his Germanic exclamation) and since it is a perfect match for the 1878 portrait it easily eliminates Mahood’s reading of the earlier portrait as Scott.⁴⁵ [figure 1.5] What is more, the misattribution would not have occurred except for lack of an exhaustive or all inclusive survey of the imagery in *Sydney Punch*.

Since history thrives on points of origin, the cartoon of Wangenheim (as Scott) was identified by Mahood and many following authors as the first caricature of a cartoonist in the Australian press. This point too, would seem to be inaccurate. An earlier cartoon in *Melbourne Punch* of February, 1862 comments on the depressed state of the fine arts in Victoria with “our artist” (a term almost exclusively used by newspapers for their resident illustrators) finding his belt far too large for his thin condition.[figure 1.6] The cartoon is unsigned but produced when Scott was the chief cartoonist for *Melbourne Punch*, the features of the artist correspond with the later photograph of Scott and the puff-sleeved shirt and stylish tights would befit a fashion-conscious artist, if not someone with pretensions towards Shakespearean acting. This may well be a self-caricature by Monte Scott, although he represents himself in his other role as a painter. Even so, it would only qualify as the first caricature of a cartoonist in the Australian press if limited to a restricted definition of single portrait caricature, since Chevalier’s representation of himself and Sam Calvert in a *Melbourne Punch* cartoon of 1856 predates this by six years.⁴⁶ [figure 1.7]

There is no doubt that the 1875 caricature in *Sydney Punch* captioned “Our Caricaturist,” represents Scott.⁴⁷ The only doubt is to its authorship. Since it is essentially a piece of advertising puffery for Scott’s theatre performance of his “Phantasmagoria of Celebrities” it may well be a self-portrait, although this appears one month before William Macleod takes up a short stint on *Sydney Punch*, leaving open the faint possibility that it is by Macleod. [figure 1.8] In 1880, Scott produced a caricature of a cartoonist in *Sydney Punch* in response to an advertisement by *Adelaide Punch* for a cartoonist. Under the heading “A Correct Likeness” he drew a stylishly dressed dandy presenting “cut-price” stick figures as examples from his portfolio. [figure 1.9]

This figure does bear some physiognomic correspondence to the Freeman Brothers' photograph and is much closer in date to the photograph than the possible *Melbourne Punch* self-portrait. However using the same photograph as a point of reference, it would appear beyond doubt that the caricature by Alfred Clint of "The Comic Artist Who Made Sketches in Court" from 1880 in the *Illustrated Sydney News* represents Monte Scott. [figure 1.10] A full page illustration "Our Artist's Dream" from the *Worker* of 1897 makes it possible to complete this sequence of comic representations of Scott. [figure 1.11] It shows an elderly destitute and dejected artist in his studio (presumably, the sixty-two year old Scott) above an imaginary jolly scene of Christmas cheer in which his unsold pictures become "animated (sic) with life."⁴⁸

Monte Scott was a journalistic draughtsman of a type peculiar to the latter half of the nineteenth century. Almost all of his vast output was so characteristically representative of his time that it appears to have been, like Baudelaire's flysheets of journalism, "swept out of sight by the same tireless breeze which supplies us with new ones."⁴⁹ None of Scott's works were reproduced in the most recent survey of Australian popular graphic art, even though he was for almost twenty years chief cartoonist on *Sydney Punch* and for five years chief cartoonist on *Melbourne Punch*.⁵⁰ He worked for the *Queensland Boomerang* and for over twenty years was chief cartoonist for the *Brisbane Worker* and was a significant contributor to the *Bulletin*, the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* and the *Illustrated Sydney News*. Despite the often repeated claim, he was not, as I will later demonstrate, the first artist appointed by the *Sydney Mail* but was certainly the first major contributor to that paper as well as making occasional contributions to other illustrated papers.⁵¹

This omission from art history might be explained by again making reference to Baudelaire. In his essay the *Essence of Laughter* he suggested that the only comic work that would break free of its temporal journalistic anchor would contain an indefinable or mysterious element of beauty, thus making it worthy of the attention of the artist rather than the historian or archaeologist.⁵² If indeed Scott only produced journalistic comment which was inconsequentially mysterious, then this does not explain the lack of interest in his output by social historians or historians in general. Putting this aside, most contemporary art historians would more comfortably fit into a category of archaeologists of the visual and would abhor any suggestion that their enterprise was guided by criteria of beauty or truth. As already noted, Scott's popular illustration has only been used, often unacknowledged, in a limited number of twentieth-century accounts of Australian nineteenth-century history.⁵³ And the single popular survey of Australian comic art does not include Scott's work.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the issue of the quality of Scott's work was raised by Marguerite Mahood in the only sustained analysis of his output, written almost thirty years ago.⁵⁵ She says he was a good portraitist but sees his caricatures of politicians as photographically insipid and dull, although Mahood acknowledges his animal representations are vivacious and

comically engaging: prompting the conclusion that he must have liked animals.⁵⁶

Her assessment is projected to more recent times with her co-authored entry in the *Dictionary of Australian Artists*.⁵⁷ Seemingly evoking Baudelaire's division of the comic into the temporal and eternal, the comment on his *Melbourne Punch* work reads: "Although lively and topical, his cartoons lack the innate humour of Chevalier or the satirical gift of his more famous successor, Tom Carrington."⁵⁸ Further, on his output for *Sydney Punch*: "Although he lacked the psychological insight of the true caricaturist, some of his large double-page cartoons achieve a certain grandeur."⁵⁹

The inescapable conclusion from this is that there was something lacking in Monte Scott's work. This qualified assessment of his graphic output has also been applied to his paintings and some have suggested that the mixed reception of his paintings extended to his contemporaries.⁶⁰ Whatever the quality of his paintings, or photographs for that matter, the Mahood/Kerr *Dictionary* entry is significant in relation to defining Scott's graphic illustration. The terms caricaturist and cartoonist are conflated in the usual way equivocating on the issue of how Scott's work might be best described by implying caricature and cartoons are one and the same. Yet Scott was a newspaper cartoonist working in an idiom new to the second-half of the nineteenth century. This graphic form was so radically different to English eighteenth-century conceptions of caricature that its audience, by necessity, appropriated the traditional high-art term cartoon to describe it. This is not to make a pedantic point on definition but to highlight the misguided judgement of Scott's graphic work. The meaning and importance of his published output can only be fully appreciated outside of judgements based on the psychological insights of his caricatures, the stiffness or otherwise of his line, the originality or stylishness of his drawings, his humour or even his attitude to animals. For Scott was the consummate Australian exponent of the new form of social caricature identified by Judith Wechsler in her study of caricature in nineteenth-century France.⁶¹ What is more, he developed an idiosyncratic interest in anthropomorphism which was a fundamental element in iconographic physiognomic expression. Perhaps more than any other Australian graphic artist, Scott absorbed and transformed the nineteenth-century European traditions of emblematic representation and classification and codification of human types, gestures and behaviors. He adapted this "silent vocabulary" of physiognomics, as Wechsler described it, to an Australian context and helped shape the construction of Australian attitudes and identities with images that both forged and were formed by a complex of social and scientific ideological constructions in relation to race, gender and class. It is also his singular adaption of the emblematic conventions with this dissolved lexicon of "physiognomy and the meaning of expression" that partly explains his disappearance from contemporary analysis.⁶² By locating him within these traditions and through framing his approach against the physiognomic paradigm that

dominates the nineteenth century, this study demonstrates that the semiotic of graphic types and the theories of expression that Scott employed, especially in his treatment of allegorical or emblematic figures, makes him a key figure in Australian visual culture.

It was no doubt the study by Perry Curtis of comic and caricatural illustration of the Irish that first established the important scientific ratification through nineteenth-century physiognomics of racial codes in popular illustration.⁶³ Wechsler continued this investigation with her study of nineteenth-century French caricature and the impact of Johann Caspar Lavater's theories on the work of key comic artists and authors. In the nineteenth-century high art context, Mary Cowling has demonstrated the penetration of physiognomy, via its domesticated form of anthropology, into the production of selected British painters.⁶⁴ And James Colbert has surveyed the influence of the more discredited manifestation of physiognomic science, phrenology, on nineteenth-century painters and sculptors in the United States.⁶⁵ However, the recent study of the intersection of physiognomic science and the visual arts by Lucy Hartley is the most relevant to my undertaking. Hartley exclusively focuses on the high arts, in particular the Pre-Raphaelite painters, although she develops the important conjunction of physiognomic traditions of expression with the theories of Charles Darwin and the development of late nineteenth-century forms of popular psychology. My own minor contribution to this field, in my M Phil, demonstrated the pragmatic mechanisms by which the ideas of Darwin were translated into a graphic idiom in the illustrated papers in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane in the late nineteenth century.⁶⁶ Perhaps a major deficiency in all the above investigations, was to underestimate the significant influence of the writings or theories of Johann Lavater on graphic discourse in the nineteenth century in Europe and more widely. Recently this has been partly rectified with a study of "Lavater and the Drawing Manual" which not only demonstrates the significance of Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* for nineteenth-century artists but also shows the mechanism by which his ideas infiltrated art practice via the drawing manual.⁶⁷

Since the primary documents in this study are the visual images Scott produced, the emphasis is on the development of a semiology of types and forms by which his work can be read or interpreted. Not that the methodology used is a rigid application of linguistic, literary or even visual semiotics (as envisaged by O'Toole for example)⁶⁸. For the use of visual correspondences and connections shows clear sympathies with the traditions of iconology developed by Aby Warburg or more specifically Erwin Panofsky, and owes some debt to the pioneering work of Barbara Maria Stafford with her intensive focus on reading visual documents from the eighteenth century into a constellation of ideological meaning.⁶⁹ The approach here has also been informed by the recent writing of James Elkins, or more particularly the *Domain of Images*, with examples of close reading of visual images outside of established art historical models.⁷⁰

Cartoon and Caricature

In almost every book on the nature and history of caricature and cartoons there is an obvious delight in the ease with which a meaning of these terms can be located through their etymology. The results are as limiting as dictionary definitions. The originating point of the common meaning of *cartoon* can be most precisely charted. For before 1843, the term *cartoon* signified a full-scale drawing or design for transfer to a mural or tapestry; taking its meaning in turn from the Italian name for the heavy paper, *cartone*, on which such preliminary drawings were often produced. In 1843, John Leech (1817 - 1864) produced a series of satirical comments on a Royal Academy exhibition of the cartoons for the proposed interior murals for the newly rebuilt British Houses of Parliament. As Marguerite Mahood recounts: “the 26-year-old artist who drew caricatures for the new radical paper London *Punch*, decided to apply the term ‘cartoon’ to his next half-dozen full-page drawings on the conditions of England’s poor, a subject which in his opinion merited more attention than the murals. The readers of *Punch* thought the application amusing for pomposity has always tickled the British sense of humour, and though *Punch* itself dropped the term for a while, the public did not.”⁷¹

Unlike countless others, Mahood’s account at least acknowledges the role played by the audience in the adoption of cartoon into common usage for comic illustration. Even so, she privileges the role of Leech by excluding the powerful editorial contribution of *Punch* in the equation. In the issues in which Leech’s drawings labeled “Cartoon” appeared *Punch* ran a campaign regularly advising readers that the cartoons would be judged and prizes would be awarded. So orchestrated was this campaign that in the last June issue of *Punch* it was advised “that in an early number of the ensuing Volume [*Punch*] will astonish the Parliamentary Committee by the publication of several designs, to be called **PUNCH’S CARTOONS!**”⁷² [Bold emphasis in original]. In the second week of July, opposite “Cartoon no. IV,” *Punch* reproduced another six suggested cartoons by a different artist ⁷³ and did finally publish a fictitious summary of artists and prizes for the six cartoons by Leech ⁷⁴. It is also worth noting that Leech’s (or *Punch*’s) critique of the state of the poor predates the drawings labeled cartoons and is the subject of a number of *Punch*’s *Pencillings* as the full-page drawings were called before July 1843. Significantly perhaps, Leech’s two drawings prior to “Cartoon No I” in the July issues of *Punch* are not labeled in the usual way as “Punch’s Pencillings,” in preparation for the impact of the first “Cartoon” but also suggesting *Punch* had tired of the nomenclature for the long running numbered sequence of “Pencillings”: the last being “No LXXXII”.⁷⁵ *Punch* does not take up the “Pencillings” descriptor after August and leaves the weekly full-page illustration free of a heading, with only a caption when required. What is clear from all this, is that there was the need for a terminology to fit the new category of satirical illustration. Few have made the equally obvious point that “caricature” was a term outside of *Mr Punch*’s lexicon - a term with redundant descriptive connotation.

Also, it should be mentioned that there is a particular omission in the numerous accounts that locate the originating point of the new meaning for “cartoon” to the pages of *Punch*. That is the contribution of George Cruikshank (1792 - 1878) and the *Comic Almanack* to creating a new comic association for the high-art usage of “cartoon”. Soon after John Leech’s ironic *Punch* “cartoons”, the *Comic Almanack* in both text and image speculated on a new definition for cartoon offered by the Westminster exhibition; suggesting that the “Commissioners of the fine arts shot at a pigeon, and killed a crow.”⁷⁶ What is particularly significant about the contributions in the *Comic Almanack* is that the focus is on a parody of the actual or exhibited cartoons. So humorous, monstrous and caricatural was the submitted work that the *Almanack’s* May 1844 “Critical Essay on the Prize Cartoons” claimed:

The late competition for Cartoons must cause some alteration in the next edition of Johnson’s Dictionary; for what is meant by the work Cartoon will require considerable explanation, after the very extraordinary collection recently exhibited at Westminster. According to some of the artists, Cartoon signifies anything brought in a cart; for such is the only claim to be called a Cartoon that many of the specimens can pretend to.⁷⁷

In another illustrated essay, George Cruikshank presented a reproduction of his unexhibited cartoon of Guy Fawkes and an explanation of why it had not be exhibited in Westminster.⁷⁸ Although it lacks the biting political satire of Leech’s “Cartoon No 1,” with the implied mockery of the notion of a beneficial free viewing for the poor, Cruikshank’s illustration of an “Unexhibited Cartoon” does actually represent a “cartoon” as a comic drawing and must have therefore made some contribution to solidifying the new terminology.

The term may have been an anachronism by the 1850s, but caricature nevertheless retained particular potency as a graphic descriptor until at least the 1920s. Certainly, the only major nineteenth-century study of English caricature, published in 1886, was unequivocal on the role of *Punch* artists John Leech and John Tenniel in the development of a new idiom. “So completely was the style of comic art changed under the auspices of these clever men, that the very name “caricature” disappeared, and the modern word “cartoon” assumed its place.”⁷⁹ Also published in 1886, Cassell’s popular *Encyclopaedic Dictionary* indicates that by then, in popular usage, the word “cartoon” had already assumed a generic meaning of any large scale drawing in the illustrated press. After listing the original meaning and derivation from the Italian for paper, the Dictionary entry reads: “A drawing of a larger size than usual in a paper or periodical.”⁸⁰ In the same source, “caricature” is defined as both: “A drawing or picture of a person in which certain points are so exaggerated as to give a ludicrous effect to the whole,” and “A parody of a book.” Further to this, although the derivation from the Italian *caricatura* (“a satirical picture, one overloaded with exaggeration”) was noted, it was felt necessary to explain a new compound term

“caricature-likeness” meaning: “A representation of a person which is a likeness and yet a caricature,” as in the example of “the prominent political personages as represented in the comic papers.”⁸¹ In an expanded quotation from *The Times* of 1878, which followed the Dictionary entry for “caricaturist,” it was also noted that Cruikshank and Hogarth were “the two greatest caricaturists that England has possessed.”⁸² All of which indicates that in popular English usage by 1890 or so, the term “cartoon” signified large graphic illustration in the popular press and “caricature” has moved to more general usage outside of illustration. When used in the visual arts it was not only faintly anachronistic, but also confined to the comic targeting of individual prominent figures. On the other hand at the beginning of the nineteenth century in popular English encyclopedic reference, both the definition of “cartoon” and “caricature” have singular or specific reference. “Cartoon” signifies a preliminary design on paper and for “caricature” the Italian “*caricatura*” is adopted with specific reference to painting and an emphasis on the unattractive. To quote from William Nicholson’s *British Encyclopedia* of 1809: “*Caricatura*, in painting, denotes the concealment of real beauties, and the exaggeration of blemishes, but still so as to preserve a resemblance of the object.”⁸³

Twentieth-century definitions of caricature generally always make recourse to meaning from derivation. An example from Bohun Lynch in 1926: “Caricature is an adaption of the Italian *caricare* to load, so that to define the art as “overloaded representation” has the merit of age and the convenience of brevity: but the actual word *Caricatura* was not used in Italy until the second half of the seventeenth century.”⁸⁴ Lynch, as with the majority of other sources, subjoins to this description the suggestion that caricature is essentially a visual phenomenon which escapes definitive articulation into words. Nevertheless there is across most sources a rare unanimity of agreement that morphological exaggeration or distortion is the defining feature of caricature. Rudolf Arnheim even attempts to develop a system for measuring distortion from perceptual norms for various objects to help schematize identification of caricature.⁸⁵ Such seemingly absolute denotation of the subject would suggest a history of caricature is not only theoretically possible but methodologically valid. In the few histories of caricature written in the last two hundred years, it is only when they select inscrutable examples from beyond the seventeenth century or outside of western visual culture that they find any agreement.⁸⁶ Identifying the characteristic of exaggeration is difficult enough when it is expressed as varieties of mockery, parody, burlesque, satire or just for emphasis or for no known reason (as with many quoted pre-Classical or non-western examples) but the nature of the artifact in which the distortion is expressed would need to be first agreed upon. The history of caricature is a phantom created by the premise of an absolute taxonomy and dissolved by the assumption that, if caricature is essentially located in the visual register, we will know it when we see it.

Further complicating the issue, caricature can be analyzed as a technical skill or, using Baudelaire's suggestion from the nineteenth century, as a genre indicative of modernism. In post-Freudian writing, notably by Gombrich and Kris, it can be investigated as a psychological process related to the comic impulse.⁸⁷ Naturally enough, none of these approaches help locate the specific subject of study and could be applied to any form of comic illustration. Locating the artifact as a graphic representation of an individual and limiting the defining characteristic to physiognomic distortion or exaggeration applied to selected features for satirical or comic effect, does in fact establish a tradition and linear history in western art from Townsend to the present day. Bohun Lynch correctly, if a little pompously, makes claims that his history is the only genuine chronicle of this restricted form of caricature.⁸⁸ William Feaver, in his more recent historical survey of caricature restricts the field of investigation to "mean the art of the distorted representation of particular people rather than of general types."⁸⁹ Lynch was writing during the era of what could be described as the golden age of this bounded form of caricature: the age of Max Beerholm and William Dyson and few illustrated papers or magazines today publish the sort of portrait caricature found so amusing in the first decades of the twentieth century, although the practice flourishes outside of main stream publications, as attested by the large listing of Internet sites advertising caricature from photographs for festive gifts or for general frivolity.

Caricature makes most sense as a descriptor for graphic satire historically located in the eighteenth century. This extends beyond the framework of this study because there is general agreement across recent and past eighteenth-century scholarship that this is the "Age of Caricature."⁹⁰ In the context of how we might describe and understand the work of a late nineteenth-century Anglo-Australian graphic illustrator like Monte Scott as opposed to a popular eighteenth-century English graphic artist such as James Gillray (1756 - 1815) the application of the term caricature becomes most significant. To say Gillray was a caricaturist and Scott was a cartoonist has epistemological consequence since these terms signify a paradigm shift which occurs not only in nineteenth-century graphic representation but within the broader sphere of socio-scientific representation.

Monte Scott's career as a cartoonist is most significant in the Australian context as much for the chronological range across which he worked as the developing scope and character of his audience. When he worked for *Melbourne Punch* in the early 1860s, Scott's middle-class audience could be measured in the hundreds, with a minority of native-born readers, whereas at the end of the nineteenth century the audience for his cartoons could be measured in the tens of thousands and included the working-class as well as established and emerging middle-class readers, with the majority being native-born Australians. Since the success of satirical or political cartooning in the popular press is solely dependent on the cartoonist's sensitivity to the

ideological imperatives of the audience it is not surprising that Scott's output over the last fifty years of the nineteenth century in Australia charts the formation of specific nationalistic attitudes and sentiments. But this study of Scott's cartoons does not chart a clear development of graphic expression from Anglo-centric types and stereotypes to a unique home-grown graphic idiom or lexicon. On the contrary it demonstrates that during the late decades of the nineteenth century the popular press in Australia increasingly became part of a global socio-political discourse on matters of class, gender, and most importantly race.

Later in this study (in Chapter Four) the ideological mechanisms involved in the cartoonist's enterprise are elaborated as well as the use of caricature, emblem and type (in Chapter Six) but a brief survey of the racial stereotype is introduced here as this establishes that Scott worked within a global field of influence, highlighting particularly the important influence of American graphic imagery, especially on Australian racial representation.

Stereotypes

The mechanisms and ideological impulse to create racial stereotypes have been well examined in general terms, most recently by Michael Pickering.⁹¹ Monte Scott played a significant role in creating and reinforcing particular graphic stereotypes of indigenous Australians and Pacific Island peoples. But when it came to defining otherness on racial grounds in the late nineteenth century no single artist could operate independently of the global structures and networks that created images of "surfeit and disorder."⁹² Examining stereotypes of Aborigines, Polynesian and Melanesian Islanders is usually done in the context of an insular study, revealing only the eccentric features of that variant of colonial nationalism the "White Australia Policy" that was fully developed at the beginning of the twentieth century. The aim here is to demonstrate that Monte Scott's racial representations were also part of a global discourse and the ideological powerhouses were situated in Britain and the United States.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century images of Aborigines and Pacific Islanders (often from Melanesia) in the popular press become particularly crude and demeaning. Three images by Monte Scott produced over thirty years will be sufficient to illustrate the point: *Melbourne Punch* 1861 [figure 1.12], the *Bulletin* 1886 [figure 1.13] and the *Boomerang* 1890 [figure 1.14]. As a result of the pervasive influence of American stereotypes of African Americans at the end of the nineteenth century, this last image could in fact be read as a representation of a Southern United States plantation. The savage types developed in the United States during this so called era of "coon caricature" [figure 1.15] become one of the defining models for Australian stereotypes of Aborigines and particularly Pacific Island peoples.⁹³

All vision may be ideologically framed to some degree but the racial stereotype is purely ideologically motivated and in Melbourne in 1861 there was no compelling imperative to develop a particular stereotype for Aboriginals as this illustration by Monte Scott demonstrates [figure 1.16]. The suggestion that Aborigines might raise an army is itself the faintly absurd proposition for this joke. Besides this, the vaguely caricatured features of the Aborigines in this cartoon by Scott are potentially based on actual physiognomy.

In 1855, soon after Monte Scott arrived in Australia from England, after a brief stay in Auckland, New Zealand, he took the opportunity to become familiar with Aboriginal Australians from first-hand contact. He travelled to various Victorian properties and made photographic records of individuals and also produced the earliest surviving photograph of a corroboree.⁹⁴ [figures 1.17, 1.18 & 1.19] Oddly enough Scott hardly ever used these photographs as direct physiognomic reference in his later drawings of Aborigines although he did over forty years adapt the white ochre body patterns and poses when drawing corroboree related themes.

Throughout Scott's career it is possible to find images from his high-art production and popular graphic art, that defy the usual stereotypical representations of Aborigines. Some of these images might selectively be used to argue that Scott was not inherently racist in a conventional sense but the point here is to show Scott was dealing in a complex economy of representation where the socio-political context was all important. A few examples will reinforce the point. A large image from the *Illustrated Sydney News* of 1864 [figure 1.20] is a unique representation of Aboriginal people from nineteenth-century Australia in that it shows a relationship of trade not dependence between European and Aborigine in the remote regions of Australia. The Squatter examining the artwork on the Aboriginal shield must certainly be the first visual evidence of white appreciation of indigenous art. Scott painted a number of popular works featuring Aboriginal people in a purely narrative context [figure 1.21] and these at least measure his attempts at naturalistic representation. On several occasions Scott acknowledged the role of Aboriginal stockman by literally placing them at the centre of the picture of station life. This now lost painting "The Last Match" was reproduced in the *Illustrated Sydney News* as a large supplement for framing and not only is the Black stockman given absolute prominence but also ironic superiority over the "civilized" European whose survival imperatives are reduced to lighting his pipe. [figure 1.22] In other graphic depictions such an example from *Illustrated Sydney News*, an Aboriginal stockman is brought into the centre of homestead life.⁹⁵ None of the individual representations in these images could be described as idealizations but they certainly fall short of savage caricature or stereotype. Another large lithographic supplement for the *Illustrated Sydney News* shows an Aboriginal woman, although here the salacious intention of this "pin-up" explains the sympathetic depiction [figure 1.23]. Also, like many other Australian artists, Scott often used

idealised Aboriginal warriors to represent justice or other abstract qualities or virtues and personifications of States or Australia. [figures 1.24 and 1.25] These are of course also stereotypes and perhaps more potent since they seem benign.

By the 1860s Australian graphic and comic artists had developed the Aboriginal types of Bungaree and King Billy. A little later Jacky Jacky would become a the generic comic type but none of these had solidified enough to have a distinctive costume or physiognomic form. The first global ethnic stereotype was invented in America. Jim Crow and the many minstrel or black-face variations that followed were quickly adopted in Australia. The signature song and dance of Thomas Dartmouth Rice (1808-60) was first performed in 1830, in Louisville, Kentucky. By early the next year "Jim Crow" was established as an audience favourite, a song that propelled Rice to immense stardom in New York in 1832 and a career as one of the best-known and most-loved theatrical personalities of his day, both in the United States and in Great Britain, having toured with great success through England and Ireland. The *Boston Post* best expressed contemporary sentiment: "The two most popular characters in the world at the present time are [Queen] Victoria and Jim Crow." (*Boston Post*, July 22, 1838).⁹⁶ As early as 1837 Jim Crow routines were performed as songs or plays in the Royal Victoria Theatre in Sydney by local artists.⁹⁷

The widespread popularity of the resulting minstrel and Jim Crow graphic types has been discussed at length in a number of sources, although none include detail on Australia in the analysis. Joseph Boskin has speculated on the specific conjunction in the minstrel type of source and object of mirth.⁹⁸ There is however general agreement on the developed American stereotypes: the Sambo, fool or jester of early in the nineteenth century is the basis for the Jim Crow minstrel which in turn hardens into the "coon" or "stupid type". Parallel with this there develops the minstrel type of a "tom" or "Uncle Tom"- the contented slave usually represented in old age reflecting on the good old days. There are of course others, such as the good cook and arch-mother - the "mammie," the "brute nigger" or "buck" representing bestial superstud and the tragic mulatto which had less relevance to the Australian context.⁹⁹

Black-face minstrel shows regularly toured Australia from at least the 1850s and by 1865 Minstrel shows were common enough for Monte Scott to use this as the scenario for this political cartoon [figure 1.26]. Not that this was Scott being particularly original, but more a case of falling into line with global trends, since by that time the same ploy was being used in British comic papers. This example from *London Fun* [figure 1.27] was produced two years before Scott's cartoon. In Chapter Six another example of Scott's use of the characteristic American black-face minstrel variety of the Jim Crow stereotype is examined in relation to the depiction of Henry Parkes.

Scott was an aficionado of the theatre and popular entertainment and through quotation in his illustrations demonstrated he was familiar with the various touring Minstrel shows. He also sourced a wide range of popular graphic art that was international in scope.¹⁰⁰ The 1870s and 80s saw a massive increase in the number of popular periodicals published around the world—but this is especially so for America. Frank Luther Mott in his magisterial study of the history of American magazines estimated that in the period 1865 to 1885 in the United States there were some eight to nine thousand periodical publications issued, other than newspapers, that is.¹⁰¹ From 1885 to 1905 nearly 11,000 different periodicals were published.¹⁰² Most of these were short lived, four years was the average, but some prospered. Circulation figures of 100,000 were common for a full range of high and low-brow magazines.¹⁰³ As early as 1874 the *New York Weekly* had reached 350,000 and the *Ladies' Home Journal* 270,000, managing to break the half-million at the end of the century. The *Saturday Evening Post* would break the million figure into the early twentieth century.¹⁰⁴ As staggering as these figures are many of the sales were by mail-order subscription meaning the circulation was extremely broad, presumably including Australia. It was noted in the London journal the *Author* in 1894 that the American magazines were a great success in London - more popular than their English rivals.¹⁰⁵ Illustrators such as Joseph Pennell worked across English and American magazines as did political cartoonists such as Matt Morgan. American artists including Charles Dana Gibson became famous in Europe and most relevant to racial stereotypes, Kenyon Cox, Arthur B. Frost and above all Edward W. Kemble were widely recognized among “the highest rank for their illustrations of Negro life” as Mott put it.¹⁰⁶

Lurline Stuart, in her study of Australian nineteenth-century periodicals, has noted that British illustrated papers such as *Illustrated London News*, the *English Family Herald* and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* were among the weekly papers and monthly magazines imported in large numbers and widely available in nineteenth-century Australia as single issues or through subscription.¹⁰⁷ There is definitive evidence as to the wide circulation in Australia from mid-nineteenth century of the *Illustrated London News*.¹⁰⁸ However, apart from reported complaints from local publishers about the arrival of imported American illustrated papers in the 1880s and 90s, there is little direct evidence as to the extent of the circulation of American illustrated papers in Australia. Nevertheless, it is easy to demonstrate the infiltration of American stereotypes by Kemble and other artists from the United States press by selecting some of the actual examples regularly reproduced in Australian papers. These particular examples [figures 1.28, 1.29 & 1.30] are from Queensland papers in the 1890s.¹⁰⁹ Sometimes the sources were acknowledged as in the *Worker* during the years Monte Scott worked on the paper (in the late years of the nineteenth century and during the first years of the twentieth) where full-page collections of cartoons from around the world would be printed. The United States dominates the collections but other countries such as Germany and even India are included.

The influence of American graphic humour on Australia at the end of the nineteenth-century cannot be overemphasized in relation to ethnic or racial caricature and stereotyping. William Murrell in the first serious survey of American graphic humour published in 1939 stated that the graphic humour of a people is in essence a vernacular record of the social and political history of that people. This may be true for America as he claimed but the language and types developed in America also became part of the Australian experience.

Another major direct influence on the importation of racial caricature was via the conduit of Livingstone Hopkins who came to Sydney to be chief cartoonist on the *Bulletin* in 1883 after working on a number of the major American illustrated papers such as the *New York Graphic*. Figure 1.31, a cartoon drawn in 1884 soon after his arrival, shows that although he attempts an indigenous physiognomy for the foreground figure the group, in the background are generic “Sambo” American types.¹¹⁰ With New Guinea natives he simply applied the American stereotypes directly.¹¹¹ Hop soon adapts the American stereotypes for African Americans to the Australian climate and indeed establishes the “Nigger in the Woodpile” as the personification of Queensland during the Federation debates [figure 1.32].¹¹² Such is the nature of the lexicon of graphic types that once established other artists must conform to using the stereotype and Monte Scott is forced to adopt Hop’s version of Queensland in the 1890s, although the audience familiar with Scott’s types would not be confused by the signification in this example as it is meant to specifically represent a South Sea Islander or Kanaka labour.¹¹³ [figure 1.33]

Increasingly, after the 1870s, Social Darwinist ideas had such global influence on racial depiction in the popular press that two illustrations (not by Scott) from Queensland papers in the 1880s could be from almost any country exploiting Black labour.¹¹⁴ [figure 1.34 and 1.35] The second example seems especially absurd for an Australian context considering the use of a bear to make the pun. Nevertheless the trends in Australia are a mirror of the pattern of racial caricature in America in both popular entertainment and graphic discourse where in the late nineteenth century the droll mockery of the mid-century black-face minstrel hardened into fixed identity inscribed by racial essentialism.¹¹⁵ One of the above examples at least is a representation of Kanakas or Pacific Islanders and here too Livingstone Hopkins, using the platform offered by the immensely popular *Bulletin*, played a key role in translating to the Australian context the American cannibal variant of the “coon” used in the popular press of the United States for dark-skinned peoples from Haiti to Hawaii. When imported Islander labour became a vexed issue in the late 1880s in Australia, Monte Scott did invent a particularly potent anthropoid Polynesian type developed interestingly from the British Caliban monster used for the Irish.¹¹⁶ Here it is compared with a Polynesian example of Scott’s from the 1870s when there was absolutely no ideological imperative to stereotype Pacific Island people. [figures 1.36 and 1.37] But it was Hop’s

Americanized version of the Polynesian as both savage and swell that became the universal Australian type. [figure 1.38]

The origins of the type in American late nineteenth-century “coon caricature” are all too obvious in a Queensland example [figure 1.39] with direct reference to the Jim Crow dance posture and “sambo” emblazoned on (“Sir Sambo”) the Premier’s breastplate.

The American stereotypes of African Americans operated outside of graphic comic discourse especially in popular theatre and fiction. A “faithful Aborigine became a stock character of Australian melodrama” after popular versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, with minstrel and other black-face entertainments included in the production, were staged regularly in Australia from 1854.¹¹⁷ It seems Tom was almost always played by blacked-up white actors, although no doubt partly under the influence of visiting “genuine” black minstrel shows, Aboriginal actors did begin to play black roles in other plays by 1890. Jo-Ann Morgan has traced the transformation of Tom in the enormously popular stage variations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* into a minstrel or Jim Crow stereotype.¹¹⁸ It might be argued a similar pattern follows here in Australia since it would appear that the *Bulletin* favourite of King Billy [figure 1.40] owes a great deal to the later American variants of Uncle Tom such as depicted here on the front page of *Harper's Weekly*. [figure 1.41]

Ultimately the impact of the importation of American stereotypes can be measured by two related illustrations spanning seventy years. [figure 1.42 & 1.43] Both use similar bad puns yet the first, unsigned but almost certainly by Scott, is based on physiognomic observation (it might even be claimed to be a little enticing like the drink it puns) while the second is abhorrent at every level - a grotesque version of the sexless mammie - such is the inexorably reductive nature of graphic stereotypes. When Patricia Rolfe reproduced this later image in her 1979 survey of the *Bulletin* graphic art it was supported with the following quotation:

‘Only a blackfellow’ was a repeated, ironic heading in the early days of the *Bulletin*, generally above an anecdote about careless or cruel treatment of Aborigines. Later, there were almost weekly for 40 years the cartoons and straight portraits of Benjamin Edwin Minns, often tough by the standards of today, but done with intimate knowledge and, it seems, a great deal of affection.¹¹⁹

The contention of affection is easily dismissed but much of the intimate knowledge that is claimed here for Minns did not come from social or lived experience but from stereotypes created by artists and writers in the United States and adapted to Australian contexts by Livingstone Hopkins, Monte Scott and others. What makes Rolfe’s assessment revealing is that Minns’ use of stereotypes is naturalized and his racism is converted to characteristically Australian boisterous jocosity. This claimed mixture of affection and hard-hitting drollery were the particular features

of Monte Scott's, and indeed the *Bulletin* artists' attitudes, to the depiction of Australian Aborigines. In short, Monte Scott may have been but one player in a global racial discourse in the popular graphic arts but the singularity of his contribution in Australia is as the trigger for the dramatic racist contrast between these thematically similar images from 1861 and 1929.

The global exchange of popular racial stereotypes in the graphic arts highlights the most significant imperative in the formation of identity in the nineteenth century. When it came to race, the concretion of an Australian identity in Scott's cartoons, or in the work of any other nineteenth-century cartoonist, is at its most transparent. Many of the negative determinations or fabrications in relation to Aboriginal Australians survive in contemporary racist thinking since cultural memory is always selective in its "identificatory appropriation" of the past.¹²⁰ Because of this aspect of "racial memory," racist images are probably the only reusable cartoons from the nineteenth century.¹²¹ Outside of these obvious examples, the majority of the images selected in this study explore the potentiality of the accumulated images from the archive of the nineteenth-century popular press to reveal "collectively shared knowledge" in relation to the construction of an Australian identity. Even though it is almost exclusively the work of a single artist that features throughout this study, the chapters do not follow a chronological sequence or 'story' since they aim to outline formations of collective social and cultural attitudes. There is, however, a general development in sequence from Chapter Two to Chapter Eight that might be characterized as deduction from material evidence moving towards inductive or more speculative assumptions. The next chapter deals with the autographic character of Scott's work by engagement with the material evidence in the printed images and cartoons.

1. This is not forgetting that Livingstone Hopkins claimed to have produced 19,000 creations for the *Bulletin*. (Dorothy June Hopkins, *Hop of the "Bulletin,"* Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1929 p. 22) However, this included numerous cartoonlets as well as illustrative elements such as colophons and other decorative embellishments. His production of front and full-page illustrations cannot compete with Scott's output. Besides, unlike Hopkins, Scott also produced a body of photographic work and a significant number of paintings and portraits.

From an international perspective, Scott's only rival for the claim to the World's most productive nineteenth-century cartoonist would be John Tenniel who worked for London *Punch* for fifty years (from 1851 - 1901), as chief cartoonist for forty of those, and produced about two thousand full-page and double-page cartoons as well as many smaller illustrations. This is quoted in a number of sources, for example: Arthur Payer, *The Mahogany Tree: an informal history of Punch*, New York: Hawthorn, 1979 p. 109. In the generation before Tenniel in Britain the most impressively prodigious satirist is George Cruikshank who produced about 10,000 individual designs for prints and illustrations. Cruikshank was not, however, a newspaper cartoonist in the same manner as Tenniel, Hopkins or Scott. Robert Upstone, *George Cruikshank's the Worship of Bacchus in focus* London: Tate Publishing, 2001 p. 14.

2. Daniel Thomas, *Australian Art in the 1870s*, Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1976.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

4. The *Illustrated Sydney News* would promote upcoming colour supplements with the phrase "suitable for framing." These colour supplements are often missing from bound volumes compiled from accumulated single issues such as in the State Library of New South Wales. The publisher Gibbs and Shallard also included the colour supplements in the annual bound volumes and even here they are often removed, presumably for display, if not framing. Scott's production of these large display images, in the form of newspaper supplements, was not confined to his work in Sydney as the Brisbane *Boomerang* also published Christmas and other supplements by Scott. (For example: "In the Nick of Time," "Mates," "Celebrating the 'Merry Christmas,'" in *Boomerang* Christmas Supplement, 28 Dec. 1889, unpaginated; and "Australia First," *Boomerang* 1 Feb. 1890, unpaginated.)

5. The International Exhibition in Sydney ran from 17 September 1879 until 20 April 1880. The most recent comprehensive source on the Garden Palace exhibition is: Peter Proudfoot et. al., (eds) *Colonial City Global City: Sydney's International Exhibition 1879*, Darlinghurst NSW: Crossing Press, 2000. On the visitation to the Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition, 1870 in the Prince Alfred Park Exhibition Building, see, Linda Young, "Let Them See How Like England We Can Be: an account of the Sydney International Exhibition 1879," MA University of Sydney, 1983 p.28.

6. The *Official Record of The Sydney International Exhibition, 1879* Sydney: Government Printer, 1881 (p. cxviii) noted 1,117, 536 visitors. The *Illustrated Sydney News* (15 May 1880

p. 6) listed the visitation to the exhibition at 1,045,898 and published a full statistical analysis of attendance at the exhibition including a comparative chart showing percentage of visitors to population for all the main exhibitions held since the first International Exhibition in London in 1851. Some examples: London(1851) 6,170,000 - 22.5%; Paris(1855) 4,533,464 - 12.5%; Philadelphia(1876) 10,164,489 - 22.5%; Paris(1878) 16,032,725 - 43%.

7. *Illustrated Sydney News* 4 October 1879 p. 6.

8. Ibid.

9. Current opinion is that the mural for Europe was designed by Giulio Anniventi, America by Nicholas Habbe, Africa by William McLeod and Asia by Scott - I will later dispute this. (eg. p. 183 in Maryanne Dever ed., *Australia and Asia: cultural transactions*, 1997)

10. James Elkins, *Why Are Our Pictures Puzzles? : on the modern origin of visual complexity*, New York: Routledge, 1999. Most relevant is Elkins' statistical and other data suggesting that the massively expanding literature in art history is the result of "intensive" research on canonical figures or works. And in some cases, the writing on these works or artists is now so vast as to be beyond the physical reading capacity, let alone grasp, of a single scholar. (See esp: pp. 20, 21 & 123 -126)

11. Anita Callaway, *Visual Ephemera: theatrical art in nineteenth-century Australia*, Sydney: UNSW Press, 2000. I explore the implications of this study later in this thesis.

12. Joan Kerr ed., *The Dictionary of Australian Artists: painters, sketchers, photographers and engravers to 1870*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992.

13. In Chapter Three I make direct reference to the thematic content and methodological assumptions in Callaway's study.

14. As often noted, Livingstone Hopkins became a millionaire, although this was no doubt due to his investment in the paper he worked for.

15. After the first World War, the cartoonist for the *Daily Express* in London, Sidney Strube, was paid 10,000 pounds a year, making him the highest paid employee on the paper, above even the editor. Rod Brookes, "'Everything in the Garden is Lovely': the Representation of National Identity in Sidney Strube's *Daily Express* Cartoons in the 1930s," *Oxford Art Journal* vol. 13, no. 2 1990 (pp. 31 - 43) p. 35.

16. Dorothy June Hopkins, *Hop of the "Bulletin"* Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1929 p. 2.

17. *Sydney Morning Herald* 17 May 1909 p. 12.

18. "Portrait of Archbishop Polling" *Sydney Morning Herald* 20 April 1866 p. 4

19. *Worker* (Bris.) 22 May 1909 p. 9.

20. *Bulletin* 20 May 1909 p. 18.

21. Ibid.

22. Mahood & Kerr, (*Dictionary of Australian Artists etc.*) p.704.
23. Hopkins, (*Hop of the "Bulletin"*) p. 9.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
25. Jonathan King, *The Other Side of the Coin: a cartoon history of Australia*, Stanmore: Cassell Australia, 1979 (revised edition) p. 37.
26. Terry Smith, "The Divided Meaning of Shearing the Rams: Artists and Nationalism, 1888 - 1891" in Anthony Bradley and Terry Smith eds., *Australian Art and Architecture: Essays presented to Bernard Smith*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980 pp. 99 - 123.
27. *Ibid.*, p.119. Scott's unacknowledged work is reproduced on page 118.
28. Brian McKinlay, *Australian Labor History in Documents* (3 Vols.) Melbourne: Collins Dove, 1990 (second edition, first 1979). Scott's "The Real Anarchist.." is reproduced in Vol. 1, p. 70 and other works by Scott: Vol. 1, p. 58; Vol. 2, p. 4 and Vol. 2, p. 15.
29. Andrew Markus, *Fear and Hatred: purifying Australia and California 1850 - 1901*, Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1979. Apart from the example on the cover, Monte Scott's cartoons, a number with signature or initials visible, are reproduced on pages: xx, 201, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 220, 230. Two cartoons signed using the pseudonym "The Goanna" may also be by Scott (pp.208, 209).
30. Ian McLean, *White Aborigines: identity politics in Australian art*, Melbourne: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998 p.65.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 70.
32. *Ibid.*, pp 64 & 70. Needless to say Scott is not listed in the index of McLean's study.
33. My earlier thesis investigated the broad range of racial depiction in the nineteenth-century Australian illustrated press, including images of Chinese, Aborigines, South Sea Islanders and the Irish. Ross Woodrow, "Darwinism and Images of Race in the Australian Popular Press c1850 - 1900" The University of Sydney, M Phil. 1994.
34. For a summary of various studies examining the popular media creation and reflection of reality, see, Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: the origins of visual stereotypes in American mass media*, Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001 pp.2 - 4.
35. Hsu-Ming Teo and Richard White eds., *Cultural History in Australia* Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003 p. 13.
36. William Moore, *The Story of Australian Art*, (2 Vols.) Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1934 vol. 2, p. 108.
37. Although Moore does not explicitly mention his source for this observation, in the following paragraph he notes: "Alfred Clint, the second cartoonist on *Punch* in the seventies,

told me that he and Scott used to discuss the subjects for the cartoons as they travelled by bus to Black Wattle Swamp, Glebe Point, where the editor, Mr Neville Montagu, resided.” (Ibid.)

38. On Low’s Colonel Blimp, see Colin Seymour-Ure and Jim Schoff, *David Low* London: Secker & Warburg, 1985 pp 58-60, 93, 94.
39. Moore, p. 106. Scott was chief cartoonist on *Melbourne Punch* for four years: from March 1861 to March 1865 as well as contributing cartoons before this.
40. On Moore’s claims in relation to Scott’s role on *Sydney Mail* see Chapter Five.
41. Marguerite Mahood, *The Loaded Line: Australian Political caricature 1788 - 1901*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973, p.131. The claim is also made in her coauthored entry on Scott in: Joan Kerr ed., *Dictionary of Australian Artists*, p. 705. It should be noted that although almost all later sources also repeat Moore’s information that Scott’s portrait of the Duke of Edinburgh sold for “250 guineas, the highest price paid for such a work, in those days”, none take up Moore’s assessment that Scott “was a skilful painter as well as a black-and-white artist.” (Moore p. 108)
42. This photographic portrait of Scott was also reproduced as the front cover of *Art Monthly Australia*, No. 54, October 1992.
43. Information supplied by Joan Kerr along with unpublished entry on Wangenheim from her incomplete project *Dictionary of Australian Cartoonists*. (Supplied in email correspondence with Joan Kerr, 1/10/02)
44. Joan Kerr, email correspondence 1/10/02.
45. “Oh! Mein Gott!” *Sydney Punch* 11 June p. 84.
46. “Punch Migrants” *Melbourne Punch*, 8 May 1856 p. 108.
47. “Our Caricaturist, as he appeared in his Phantasmagoria of Celebrities - in his new Studio at the Victoria Theatre on Monday Evening.” *Sydney Punch* 5 March 1875 p. 64. (Unsigned)
48. “Our Artist’s Dream” *Worker*, 25 Dec. 1897 p. 18.
49. Charles Baudelaire, “On the Essence of Laughter, and in general, on the comic in the plastic arts,” in: Jonathan Mayne trans. & ed., *The Mirror of Art: critical studies by Charles Baudelaire*, London: Phaidon Press, 1955 p. 133.
50. Joan Kerr, *Artists and Cartoonists in Black and White: the most public art*, Sydney: S.H. Ervin Gallery, 1999. This survey of black and white art singularly focussed on original drawings rather than published cartoons. Also, Scott is not even mentioned in the 1994 history of the Australian black and white tradition but presumably this can be explained by the fact that he was never a member of the Black and White Artists’ Club - the focus of this history. Vane Lindesay, *Drawing from Life: a history of the Australian Black and White Artists’ Club* Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press 1994.

51. Joan Kerr, *Artists and Cartoonists in Black and White: the most public art*, S.H. Ervin Gallery, Sydney, 1999; and, Craig Judd (Introduction by Joan Kerr), *Australians in Black and White: the most public art*, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, 1999. For extended critique of these catalogues and exhibitions see: Ross Woodrow, "Artists and Cartoonists in Black and White: the most public art", *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art*, V.1, No. 1, 2000 pp. 228 - 232.

52. op. cit. Baudelaire, p. 134.

53. For example: Ian McLean, *White Aborigines* and Andrew Markus *Fear and Hatred* (both mentioned above); also, Brian McKinlay, *The First Royal Tour 1867-1868*, Melbourne: Rigby Limited, 1970 pp. 132, 180 (Scott's illustrations unacknowledged); John Fairfax and Sons ed., *A Century of Journalism: the Sydney Morning Herald and its record of Australian life 1831 - 1931*, Sydney: John Fairfax and Sons Limited, 1931 p. 187 (Illustration unacknowledged); The same illustration is reproduced in, Lindsey Arkley, *The Hated Protector: the story of Charles Wightman Siewright, Protector of the Aborigines 1839 - 42*, Mentone, Victoria: Orbit Press, 2000 p. 95. The "marvellously illustrated" popular series by Michael Cannon on Australia in the Victorian Age make fairly extensive use of Scott's images, although Scott is not acknowledged in captions or index: Michael Cannon, *Who's Master? Who's Man?*, Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1971 (examples on pp. 176, 237), *Life in the Country*, 1973, (example p. 213), *Life in the Cities*, 1975 (examples pp. 45, 59, 80, 157, 170, 196, 282). Patricia Rolfe, *The Journalistic Javelin: and illustrated history of the Bulletin 1880 - 1980*, Sydney: Wildcat Press, 1979 p. 77 (Illustration unacknowledged, Scott is mentioned once in a list of freelance artists, p. 44.). The published histories of Australia using cartoons all include Scott's work but again often without acknowledgment. In Coleman and Tanner's book, Scott is not even mentioned although his work is used fairly extensively. Peter Coleman and Les Tanner, *Cartoons of Australian History*, Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1967 (enlarged edition 1978) (Examples on pp.24, 57, 59, 62, 77, 79, 81, 94, 117, 118, 144, 156, 162, 179, 186). Nor is Scott acknowledged in: Susan Fabian ed., *Mr. Punch Down Under: a social history of the colony from 1856 to 1900 via cartoons and extracts from Melbourne Punch*. Richmond, Vic.: Greenhouse Publications, 1982 (Reproductions on pp. 23, 24,53, 65, 98, 104, 114, 148, 149). The reproductions of Scott's work are mostly acknowledged in Jonathan King's two publications: Jonathan King, *Stop Laughing This is Serious: a social history of Australia in cartoons*, Stanmore, NSW: Cassell Australia, 1978. Jonathan King, *The Other Side of the Coin: a cartoon history of Australia*. Stanmore, N.S.W.: Cassell, Australia, 1976. Montagu Scott, misspelled as "Montague" is given two sentences, and one of his illustrations reproduced (unacknowledged) in Geoffrey Caban, *A Fine Line: a history of Australian commercial art*, Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1983 pp. 11,12.

54. Vane Lindesay, *The Inked in Image: a survey of Australian comic art*, Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1970.

55. Marguerite Mahood, *The Loaded Line: Australian Political caricature 1788 - 1901*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973. (The book is based on Mahood's Thesis: "Australian Political Caricature 1788 - 1901; a Study of the 'Loaded Line', in Colonial Political Propaganda", PhD, University of Melbourne, 1970.)

56. Ibid., pp. 64, 65.

57. Marguerite Mahood and Joan Kerr, in: Kerr ed., (*Dictionary of Australian Artists*) pp. 704 - 706.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 704.
59. *Ibid.*
To be fair, it should be acknowledged that Mahood notes that Monte Scott's cartoons in the *Worker* are some of the most memorable in colonial history and apologized for not giving them more space in her study. (Mahood, *The Loaded Line*, p. 238.)
60. *Ibid.*, p. 705. The critique of Scott's "Picnic at Clarke Island" presented in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1870 can hardly be seen as an objective judgement of Scott since the *Herald* had sometimes been a target of Scott's derogatory cartoons in *Sydney Punch*. However, despite some glowing reviews, both the *Sydney Mail* and *Bulletin* at different times were dismissive of Scott's paintings.
61. Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: physiognomy and caricature in 19th century Paris*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1982 esp. pp.14, 15.
62. This phrase is from the title of Lucy Hartley's recent study in which she asserts the importance of nineteenth-century physiognomy to both artistic production and scientific theories of expression. Lucy Hartley, *Physiognomy and the Meaning of Expression in Nineteenth-Century Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
63. L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels: the Irishman in Victorian caricature*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, (Rev. ed.) 1997.
64. Mary Cowling, *The Artist as Anthropologist: the representation of type and character in Victorian art*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989.
65. Charles Colbert, *A Measure of Perfection: phrenology and the fine arts in America*. Chapel Hill & London: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1997.
66. Ross Woodrow, "Darwinism and Images of Race in the Australian Popular Press c.1850 - 1900" The University of Sydney, M Phil 1994.
67. Ross Woodrow, "Lavater and the Drawing Manual" in Melissa Percival and Graeme Tytler eds., *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's influence on European culture*, Delaware: Univ. of Delaware Press, 2005 (pp. 127 - 155).
68. Michael O'Toole, *The Language of Displayed Art*, London: Leicester Univ. Press, 1994.
69. Her most important study being: Barbara Maria Stafford, *Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991.
70. Obviously, my sympathies with Elkins' approach do not extend to all his writing. For a broad critique of Elkins' approach: Ross Woodrow "The Hand of James Elkins" *Art Monthly Australia* November 2003 pp 5 -7.

71. Marguerite Mahood, *The Loaded Line: Australian political caricature 1788 - 1901*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973, p. 4.
72. *London Punch*, 24 June. 1843, vol 4, no. 102, p. 258.
73. *London Punch*, 29 July 1843, vol 5, no. 107, p. 38.
74. *London Punch*, 12 Aug. 1843, vol 5, no. 109, p. 68.
75. *London Punch*, 17 June. 1843, vol 4, no. 101, p. 247.
76. Albert Smith et. al., *The Comic Almanack* (Second Series, 1844 - 1853) London: Chatto and Windus, May 1844 p.19.
77. Ibid.
78. George Cruikshank, "The Unexhibited Cartoon of Guy Fawkes" *Comic Almanack* 1844 pp. 25, 26. The engraving by Cruikshank illustrating the text is reproduced opposite p. 25.
79. Graham Everitt, (pseudonym for William Rodgers Richardson) *English caricaturists and graphic humourists of the nineteenth century : how they illustrated and interpreted their times*. London: Swan Sonnenschein, Le Bas & Lowrey, 1886 p. 5.
80. John Williams ed., *The Encyclopaedic Dictionary: a new and original work of reference to all the words in the English language*, (7 vols.) London: Cassell & Co., 1886 - 90, vol. 2, p. 80. Cassell's publishing company also had an office in Melbourne and like many of their other popular educational volumes, this *Dictionary* circulated in Australia.
81. Ibid., p.68.
82. Ibid.
83. William Nicholson, *The British Encyclopedia or Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, (6 vols) London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1809 vol. 2, unpaginated.
84. Bohun Lynch, *A History of Caricature*, London: Faber and Gwyer, 1926, p.1.
85. Rudolf Arnheim, "Caricature: the rationale of deformation" in: *To The Rescue of Art: twenty-six essays*, Berkeley: Univ. of Cal. Press, 1992 pp. 101 - 114.
86. There are only two recent general historical surveys of caricature. One is the popular publication by Edward Lucie-Smith, *The Art of Caricature*, London: Orbis Publishing, 1981. In this, Lucie-Smith quotes the *Oxford English Dictionary* to claim there is little difference between caricature and cartoon and therefore regards the two words as exactly synonymous (pp.8, 9). The other is the authoritative survey by William Feaver, *Masters of Caricature: from Hogarth and Gillray to Scarfe and Levine*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1981. The other general surveys are:
C. R. Ashbee, *Caricature*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928; Bohun Lynch, *A History of Caricature*. London: Faber and Gwyer, 1926; Eduard Fuchs, *Die Karikatur der Europäischen Völker*, (2 Vols) Munich: A. Langen, 1901 and 1921; Thomas Wright, *A*

- History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1875 (first published 1865);
- James Parton, *Caricature and other Comic Art in all times and many lands*, New York: Harper Brothers, 1877 - this is a collection of articles previously published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, the parts being: "Caricature among the Ancients." 50, no. No 297, Feb. 1875, 323 -337. "Caricature in the Middle Ages." 50, no. No 298, March. 1875, 474 - 488. "Caricature in the Puritan Period." 50, no. No 300, May. 1875, 806 - 820. "Caricature of the Reformation." 50, no. No 299, April. 1875, 637 - 652 and "Caricature in the United States." 52, no. No. 307, Dec. 1875, 25 - 43; Series by Jules Fleury Champfleury all published Paris: Libraire de la Société des gens de lettres - *Histoire de la Caricature Antique*, 1865. *Histoire de la Caricature Moyen Age*, 1871. *Histoire de la Caricature sous la République*, 1874. *Histoire de la Caricature la Réforme et la Ligue*, 1880, *Histoire de la Caricature Moderne*, 1865; James Peller Malcolm, *Historical Sketch of the Art of Caricaturing*, 1813.
- A number of journals have published special issues on caricature and, although none of these include a history of caricature, the most comprehensive in terms of dealing with issues across wide historical contexts is: Judith Wechsler ed., *Art Journal* vol. 43, no.4 winter 1983.
87. Ernst H. Gombrich and Ernst Kris, *Caricature*, King Penguin books. Harmondsworth, Mddx.: Penguin Books, 1940.
88. Bohun Lynch, *A History of Caricature*, London: Faber and Gwyer, 1926 p. 1.
89. William Feaver, *Masters of Caricature: from Hogarth and Gillray to Scarfe and Levine*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1981 p.5. Feaver goes on to add that although many cartoons include some element of caricature, his focus is strictly on practitioners of the art of portrait caricature or *portrait-charge*.
90. In particular: Thomas Wright, *A History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1875. Wright acknowledges that the "school of caricature" during the reigns of the three Georges contained the greatest talents and carried caricature to "its highest degree of perfection" (p. 450).
- Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature : satirical prints in the reign of George III* New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1996.
- Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: graphic satire in the age of Hogarth*, New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1999. Hallett gives fulsome analysis to the particular hybrid nature of eighteenth-century pictorial satire. He aligns its peculiar nature to notions of 'politeness' and attitudes of the audience to entertainment and consumption (summarized on p. 2).
91. Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping: the politics of representation*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001. In my M Phil I extensively elaborated the distinction between *type* and *stereotype* and expounded on the particular status given to nineteenth-century ethnology for classification of *Otherness* by Michel Foucault and Sander L. Gilman's use of psychoanalytic theory to explain the construction of a representational system for the *Other* based on anatomical signs of difference as in racial stereotyping. Pickering mounts a sustained critique of the deterministic nature of Gilman's theory (pp. 38 - 42).

92. Pickering, (*Stereotyping*) p. 7.
93. Henry B. Wonham, "I Want a Real Coon': Mark Twain and Late-Nineteenth-Century Ethnic Caricature" *American Literature* vol. 72 no. 1 2000 (pp. 117 - 152) pp. 119, 120. Wonham identifies "the late nineteenth century's increasingly rigid approach to ethnic misrepresentation" as the "'coon' era (roughly from 1885 to 1910)" p. 119. The cartoon illustrated here, by R. F. Outcault, from the New York *Herald* in 1901 is not among the more savage examples. It is reproduced in, Jerry Robinson, *The Comics: an illustrated history of the comic strip*, New York: Berkley Publishing, 1974, where it is described as a "sympathetic portrayal of the black for its time" (p. 33).
94. Michael Cannon ed., *Historical Records of Victoria* Melbourne: Vict. Gov. Printing Office, 1982 Vol 2A p. 295. The photograph is reproduced with the caption "possibly the earliest authentic photograph of a corroboree in Port Phillip." This along with the photograph reproduced here as fig. 1.19 and another image of a female are held in the Royal Historical Society of Victoria collection. The photographs were taken on John Hunter Kerr's Loddon Valley property 'Ferryhirst'. They are printed on paper mounted on card with elaborately scripted ink captions and signature by Scott.
95. *Illustrated Sydney News* 6 September 1879 p. 13. Illustrated in Chapter Four as [figure 4.11]
96. Dale Cockrell, "Jim Crow, demon of disorder," *American Music*, Summer 1996 vol.14 no. 2 pp.161 - 185.
97. Katharine Brisbane ed., *Entertaining Australia*, Sydney: Currency Press, 1991 p. 45.
98. Joseph Boskin, *Sambo: the rise and demise of an American jester* New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986 esp. p. 10.
99. On a wide range of representations of minstrel types and Jim Crow in western popular culture, see, Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *White on Black: images of Africa and Blacks in western popular culture*, New Haven & London: Yale Univ. Press, 1992 pp. 132 - 156.
100. Evidence for the range and type of graphic material Scott collected or had access to, including American illustrated periodicals, is presented in Chapter Three.
101. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1865 - 1885* (Volume 3) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1938 p. 5.
102. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1885 - 1905* (Volume 4) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1957 p. 12.
103. The sensational *Police Gazette* reached 100,000 by 1885 and the more conservative *Harpers Weekly* and much more literary *Monthly* regularly sold well over that figure. *Scribner's Monthly*, the *Century Magazine*, *Godey's*, *Peterson's*, and *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* all exceeded 100,000 circulation.
104. All figures are from Mott, (Vol. 3) pp.7 - 8.

105. Mott, (Vol. 4) p. 12.

106. Mott, (Vol. 4) p. 151.

107. Lurline Stuart, *Nineteenth Century Australian Periodicals: an annotated bibliography*, Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1979 p. 1. The *Illustrated London News*, *Graphic* and *London Punch* were all advertised for sale at YEO'S of Pitt Street in Sydney in the 1870s as well many European fashion magazines and family readers. For example: *Sydney Morning Herald* 20 August 1879 p. 8.

108. Under the heading "What is a Newspaper?" the *Illustrated London News* (Feb. 17, 1855 p. 162) gave details on a successful petition to the Legislative Council of New South Wales to lift the stamp duty on the *Illustrated London News*. Quoting Henry Parkes, then a member, speaking in support for the petition, it was noted that 600 copies of the *Illustrated London News* were regularly circulated throughout the colony. "[I]t appeared to him that they were not only bound to remove the impediments at present affecting its circulation, but that they ought to show every desire, if possible, to increase that circulation. This was the more desirable, seeing that the information disseminated through this Journal was of a very high character, and such as could not fail to have a beneficial effect on the moral and social condition of the community. From what he had seen and heard of this matter, he had not the slightest doubt in his own mind that the *Illustrated London News* had a very large circulation in the colony; so much so that he believed that it went to nearly every respectable family in the interior."

The issue was over the imposition of a 10 pence tax on the monthly compilations of the *ILN*. It is stated that the 1 penny tax per issue had been applied for the seven years up to 1853. The petitioners wanted the bundle of issues stitched together still treated as a newspaper.

109. The examples in Figs. 1.29 - 1.31 are respectively: *North Queensland Register*, 1 February 1893 p. 28; *North Queensland Register* 4 March 1892 p. 28 (original from *New York Judge*) and *Queensland Figaro* 28 September 1889 p. 469 (original from *Siftings*). It was also common to use American comic black characters such as "Rastus". For example: "How Rastus Fooled the Old Woman and Her Turkey" *North Queensland Register* 26 April 1893 p. 28. In 1904 Monte Scott used a variant of Rastus to depict a Queensland politician as an old black preacher, "Brudder Routledge". "A Pious Prayer," *Worker* 25 June 1904 cover.

110. "Hanlan's Latest Challenge" *Bulletin* 14 June 1884 p. 17. Even two years after his arrival some of Hop's cartoons featuring Aborigines could easily be taken for American scenes. An example: "The Blacks are Making Preparations for a Great Flood" *Bulletin* 9 January 1886 p. 11.

111. A typical example from soon after his arrival is, "the New Guinea Protectorate" *Bulletin* 29 November 1884 p. 10.

112. "The Situation in Queensland: a Study in Black and White" *Bulletin* 12 August 1899 cover.

113. "The Curse of Queensland" *Worker* 12 January 1901 p. 4. On the necessity of artists adopting stereotypes see for example, Roy Paul Nelson, *Cartooning*, Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1975. On page 105, Nelson states: "Once a symbol is established in the public's mind, an

editorial cartoonist almost has to use it.” Further to this he quotes Rollin Kirby (*Highlights: a cartoon history of the nineteen twenties*, New York: William Farquhar Payson, 1931):

“Through repetition the various devices become worn and threadbare; yet there is no escape from them for they have become established in the public’s mind, and any variant would change or obscure the meaning of the message the cartoonist wishes to express”.

114. *Queensland Figaro* 21 September 1889 p. 217 and *Queensland Punch* 1 January 1882 p. 60. (Both are unsigned but neither is by Scott)

115. Wonham, (“I Want a Real Coon”) pp. 119, 120. Wonham identifies “the late nineteenth century’s increasingly rigid approach to ethnic misrepresentation” as the “‘coon’ era (roughly from 1885 to 1910)” p. 119.

116. The characteristics and development of this type are comprehensively charted in, Ross Woodrow “Darwinism and Images of Race in the Australian Popular Press c.1850 - 1900” The University of Sydney, M Phil 1994 pp. 243 - 276.

117. Katharine Brisbane ed., *Entertaining Australia: the performing arts as cultural history*, Sydney: Currency Press, 1991 p.113. Brisbane’s view is that the portrayals of black Americans in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and Boucicault’s *The Octoroon* were sympathetic and therefore a positive influence on white Australian attitudes to Aborigines.

118. Jo-Ann Morgan, “Picturing Uncle Tom with Little Eva - reproduction as legacy”, *Journal of American Culture* (Malden, MA) 27, 1, March 2004 pp 1 - 24. (Available online, Expanded Academic, article no: A114990690).

119. Patricia Rolfe, *The Journalistic Javelin: an illustrated history of the Bulletin*, Sydney: Wildcat Press, 1979, p. 196



120. Jan Assmann; (trans. John Czaplicka) “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity” *New German Critique* no. 65, Spring 1995, (125-133) p. 125.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

CHAPTER TWO

Scott's Graphic Identity

This chapter examines Monte Scott's autograph and technique to establish his graphic identity and his position in the developing black and white tradition in late nineteenth-century Australia. Initial discussion of Scott's signature or monogram is not to aid identification of his work. Instead, the style or form of his signature or monogram and its change over time is used as evidence for his outlook on the role of cartoonist. These patterns, along with the absence or presence of an autograph on particular images, are also used to indicate Scott's attitude toward individual graphic works. The bulk of the chapter is, however, devoted to a close examination of the technical production of Scott's wood engravings, lithographs and process engravings. This is not to simply demonstrate his innovative grasp of the characteristics of all these printing methods but to clarify the rather confused understanding of the impact of new reproductive technologies on the illustrated popular press in late nineteenth-century Australia. Monte Scott was a key player in the introduction of innovative printing methods during the early 1880s, in contradiction to the popular mythology associated with the birth of the *Sydney Bulletin* and the importation into Australia of technical and stylistic innovation via Livingstone Hopkins.¹

Monte Scott used a far greater variety of identifying monograms or cyphers than is suggested by Marguerite Mahood.² Although the role of *Melbourne Punch*'s chief cartoonist passed from Nicholas Chevalier (1828 - 1902) to Scott in February 1861, Scott was a contributor long before this date. Scott's first signed work appears in 1857 during the period when Chevalier's cartoons dominate the magazine.³ The fact that Scott (as with Chevalier) often neglected to sign his work makes certain attribution difficult.⁴ Also, there is little consistency in the use of the variations used for his signature: "S", "M S", "Scott" and more usually a cipher or monogram with the "S" laid over the "M", usually turned on its side, thus . As well, he experimented with a complex intertwined scroll script from May 1861 through to the middle of 1862.⁵  Scott's equivocation on the form or presence of a signature on his work does offer a possible insight into his attitude toward his task as a cartoonist on *Melbourne Punch*. Clearly, during this period (and later at *Sydney Punch*) Scott did not see this work as the primary showcase for his talent. Establishing a consistent monogram or cypher was of singular importance in establishing a graphic personality or character as evidenced by the established greats such as John Tenniel or later artists such as Livingstone Hopkins - not to mention the preceding example of Chevalier.

It might naturally be expected that so many of Scott's hastily drawn, poorly conceived cartoons, derided by Mahood as "distressing", are without a signature. Yet, it is surely not coincidental that

on almost all of his highly finished drawings or grandly conceived allegories he took particular care to display authorship with the full surname "Scott," with or without the initial "M," or clear initials "M. S." This suggests that Scott felt some guilt for his hack work as well as reinforcing his pretensions towards the other aspects of his career as a painter and portrait artist. When Scott took up the role of chief cartoonist on *Sydney Punch* he continued to vary his signature with a brief flirtation with the use of an anchor cypher.

Scott's work first appears in *Sydney Punch* in February 1865. For the first few months, all Scott's cartoons are signed using an anchor, almost always on the lower left opposite the engraver Mason's "M" monogram on the right.⁶ In these early months at *Sydney Punch*, on one occasion for a full-page cartoon in April 1865, Scott used the initials "MS,"⁷ then introduced a single "S" to sign both a quarter block and full-page cartoon.⁸ During the period August to October 1865 he experimented with intertwining a large "S" and the anchor, shifting the orientation of the anchor through ninety degrees without finding a satisfactory cypher - or at least without finding any to settle on.⁹ The results are certainly visually discordant, but Scott does later, in July and August of 1866, make several further attempts at developing the "S" anchor monogram.¹⁰ In January 1866 Scott returns to the anchor signature, although to dispel any suggestion of a consistent pattern here, it should be noted that on a number of occasions Scott did return to the signature of the "S" overlaid on the horizontal "M" that he had used in *Melbourne Punch*.¹¹ As well, several quarter-page and full-page cartoons which are undisputedly by Scott have no signature except for Mason's "M".¹² Nevertheless, the most consistent or persistent signature deployed by Scott during his first three years in Sydney is the anchor cypher.¹³ He also used the anchor on a number of full-page illustrations and many small block illustrations in the *Illustrated Sydney News* from 1865 until 1867.¹⁴ Not only during this period but throughout Scott's tenure at *Sydney Punch*, smaller cartoons obviously by Scott are not signed in any way and others with only the engraver Mason's initial "M," or after April 1867, the engraver A. L. Jackson's characteristic cypher. The same is true for several full-page cartoons showing only the engraver's signature, or less rarely, no signatures at all.¹⁵ As with *Melbourne Punch* it is clear that the more impressive the cartoon, the more likely it was that Scott added a signature.¹⁶ In a number of cases for engravings by both Mason and Jackson, Scott did acknowledge authorship of full-page cartoons with the signature "Scott".¹⁷ Occasionally Scott would use a double outlined monogram "M.S" and its use seems to be reserved for valued images. One of these is a dramatic full-page cartoon showing an angry confrontation between rival Church leaders.¹⁸ Another is far less pungent or political in tone, being an illustration of the impact of an influenza epidemic in which New South Wales, as a nurse, expresses great concern for the health of Mr Punch and Toby.¹⁹ By the beginning of 1868, the use of the anchor is abandoned. In November and December 1867,

Scott signed full-page cartoons with “M. S” in a monogram or as initials. One of these heralds the arrival of Prince Alfred and Scott’s elaborate double page welcome in January 25, 1868 (pp. 66, 67) is signed “M. Scott”. For the full-page drawing on 14 March (p. 123) he simply signs “Scott” as he does for the double-page spread after the assassination attempt on Alfred, *Australia Vindex* of March 21 and similarly with the obsequious full-page *Australia Supplex* produced after Alfred’s recovery 28 March (p. 139). Other unsigned cartoons appear after this date which are clearly by Scott and he resumes the use of an intertwined upright “S” and horizontal “M” in 15 August 1868 p. 98. Supporting the view that he did not neglect the addition of a signature for works he prized is the care he took in creating a strong monogram version of his intertwined S and M for an impressive double-page spread in 7 January 1871. In 1873 Scott begins to use a more conventional and recognizable “M S” monogram and by 1878 Scott settles on a more schematized monogram using the “S” and “M” with the last leg of the “M” looping up around the letter to form the top of the “S” and the tail of the “S” forming a cross by intersecting the extended first leg of the “M” (eg: 24 August 1878, p. 165) and he keeps this until 1883. But again in the late 70s and early 80s there are a number of cartoons in *Sydney Punch* that are clearly attributable on stylistic grounds that bear no signature of Scott or Alfred Clint.

It is worth noting that below the three monogrammed lithographs by Scott in the book collection of *Punch Papers* (1872) is added, presumably by the editor, “Drawn by Montagu Scott.” On the number of instances when the *Illustrated Sydney News* reproduced Scott’s paintings he was also described as Montagu Scott but there are only two or three instances of Scott using the full version of his Christian name on published graphic work. For his press work he was always “Monte.” By contrast, when he advertised himself as a photographer he uses “Montagu Scott.”²⁰

His relatively few freelance contributions to the *Bulletin* in the 1880s, totalling about seventy, are fairly consistently signed.²¹ In the earliest signed contributions in 1881 he uses the intertwined monogram developed in *Sydney Punch*²² (26 September 1886 p. 20) and with minor variations follows this through to 1886 when he signs as “Monte S.”²³ In the first months working for the *Brisbane Boomerang* he signs his front covers and full-page illustrations with “Scott” characterised by a slash through the “S”²⁴. This leads to the brief use of the slashed “S” on a number of full-page works.²⁵ He soon adopts the full signature “Monte Scott” or less regularly “M. Scott.” For the next twenty years during his time at the *Brisbane Worker* he most consistently follows the signature “Monte Scott” or “M Scott”. This excludes the period from April 1892 through to early January 1893 when provocative pseudonyms are used in the *Worker*.²⁶ Even at this late stage, however, he is not exclusively consistent and occasionally resorts to the initials “M S” or a monogram with the “S” laid over the “M.” His last work is so signed.

This seeming lack of commitment to a regular autograph might be seen as indicative of a careless or restless spirit. It could also be argued, since the only period of consistency parallels his most committed cartoon output, that the earlier variations reflect some apathy toward his role as a cartoonist. Even so, over a fifty-year working life, it might be expected that there would be considerable variation in an artist's signature. The pattern of development or change his autograph followed from cryptic cypher in the middle of the century to bold signature at the end is indicative of a massive historical shift in graphic discourse during this period. Having been trained in the first half of the nineteenth century, Scott was steeped in the traditions of eighteenth-century engraving, calligraphy and classical pattern books. The elaborate, classically inspired set pieces he developed for special occasions, such as Christmas numbers of the journals he worked for, have the distinct stamp of eighteenth-century pattern books such as George Bickham's "The Universal Penman."²⁷ At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it came to a signature, one of the key indicators of the quality of a gentleman's standing was the elaborate nature of his seal or mark. Engravers in Australia imported pattern books from England such as *Knight's Book of Plain Ornamented and Reversed Cyphers* with great varieties of cyphers suitable for engraving on metal or for making up stamps.²⁸ It would seem from the examples in such books that there was a direct relationship between their complexity and cryptic nature. The intricacy and flourish of a cypher did not only demonstrate the skill of pen or engraving tool but the result was meant to be as authoritative as it was distinctive. By the time Scott was working in Brisbane, the idea of an elaborate monogram or cypher was distinctly untenable. Such ostentation looked stylistically anachronistic by the end of the nineteenth-century as no doubt its pomposity was ideologically unacceptable in the colonies seeking an independent voice. The style of the modern American illustrated papers and the later issues of the *Sydney Bulletin* consisted of bold and simple design with the only hint of classically inspired decoration in the advertisements. When embellishment through line returns around 1900 in Europe, America and Australia it is in the serpentine form of Art Nouveau, much diluted in the Australian examples.

The nineteenth-century shift of signature from cypher to autograph in graphic discourse is most significant in helping to explain the current relative anonymity of Monte Scott. Scott's equivocations on a signature demonstrates how he was caught between the demands of an established paradigm exemplified by *London Punch* and the developing cult of personality that would signify the modern attitude to the artist, graphic or otherwise, and was typified in Australia by the *Bulletin*. Almost all the early graphic artists for *London Punch* favoured a cypher for a signature.²⁹ This was for a complex of reasons, some social as I have suggested, but also because the essential political nature of graphic discourse demanded not so much anonymity as submersion of personal prejudice into the role of giving voice to wider moral truth or justice. As a cypher or monogram, the artist denoted their role as gentleman, jester and social critic. Late

nineteenth-century graphic artists in Australia, such as Livingstone Hopkins and Phil May, inherited this tradition but with a very different shift towards the individuality and ultimately celebrity of the artist. Graphic artists working in the late nineteenth century for Australian and British papers (including *London Punch*) needed to establish their identity not by identification with a political or social cause but as above or outside of conventional viewpoints. For example, the authority of Phil May, George du Maurier, Harry Furness, David Low or Norman Lindsay was based on their ability as artists, an ability that was understood in opposition to their moral or ideological inclination.

Scott's twenty years of work for *Sydney Punch* is generally seen as a colonial variation of the style of *London Punch* of the 1850s and 1860s. It would appear that Scott saw his satirical work in *Sydney Punch* as a secondary activity to his career as a painter and illustrator. However in the 1880s Scott fully embraced the ideological potential for his graphic production when he was employed by the *Brisbane Boomerang* and later in the 1890s the *Brisbane Worker*. Both these papers, founded by William Lane, were exceptional in Australian publishing in that they expressed the views of the radical left and ultimately the founding policies of the Labor party. The fact that Scott's signature is emblazoned on almost every front -page image from 1890 to 1909 is irrelevant to the fact that the images appear under the banner heading "The Worker: official organ of the Federated Workers of Queensland." In other words, in the age when a signed cartoon by Norman Lindsay in the *Bulletin* could elicit admiration for the ability of the artist, a biting anti-Boer war cartoon by Monte Scott could be seen only as the expression of the *Worker's* ideological position. This is why, no doubt, that in the numerous examples quoted in the Chapter One, when Scott's cartoons from the *Worker* or *Boomerang* are reproduced in contemporary historical writing they are not attributed to Scott but to the generic source of the paper.

Technical background to Scott's published work.

Before the advent of photomechanical forms of reproduction, the relationship between artist and engraver was crucial in determining the quality of published illustrations. The evidence presented here demonstrates that the engraver played a greater role in the realization of an engraved image in the Australian press than has previously been acknowledged and this accounts for some of the variation in quality of Monte Scott's across different periods and publications.

In the years in Melbourne and later in Sydney, Scott worked with a number of engravers including Samuel Calvert, A. L. Jackson and the Masons. Calvert and Walter George Mason at least were steeped in the traditions of British wood engraving. Calvert's father Edward had worked for two years under William Blake's tutelage and, before emigrating to Australia in 1852,

Walter Mason had been employed by the leading illustrated papers in London including the *Illustrated London News*, *Punch* and the *Art Journal*.³⁰ Walter Mason's sons Edward and Fred took over his business and signature monogram "M" after his death in 1866 and consequently most of Scott's engraved cartoons and portraits that share the Mason signature are engraved by one of Walter's sons.³¹ Nevertheless it is clear that A. L. Jackson was a superior technician since he produced some of Scott's most impressive engravings.

It is also obvious, considering the enormous variation in the quality of the engraving, that many of Scott's drawings in *Melbourne* and *Sydney Punch* were produced by inexperienced or less competent workshop-staff. This is not to fully abrogate Scott's draughting skill from the equation but to make the point that he did not have access to the comprehensively staffed engraving shops available in London with their vast pools of specialists. It is not surprising with the time demand of a weekly paper, that some of his drawings were less than realised; just as no doubt the same demand on the engraver resulted in some brutalized results. When Scott did have access to a more extensive and professional engraving workshop, at Gibbs, Shallard, and Company in the 1870s, the quality of his published work improved immeasurably compared to the results in Melbourne. And later even more so, at the *Bulletin*, *Boomerang* and *Worker* when he was freed from any dependence on the wood engraver.

For wood engraving, drawing directly onto a prepared boxwood block was the usual method employed by an artist working for an illustrated paper in the nineteenth century. This is the method used on *London Punch* and described in the standard wood engraver's manual by Jackson and Chatto (published 1838 and 1861)³². In 1870, the *Illustrated Sydney News* wrote a fulsome description of the production of the wood engravings for that paper and the technique described conforms to this usual method.³³ Since the same issue of the *News* included a large engraving by Scott, it might be safely assumed that at this time at least he followed the convention of drawing directly onto the block.³⁴ It would also appear from the evidence of one of Scott's full-page illustrations in the *Illustrated Sydney News* that the subsidiary wood blocks were separated and worked independently or by different engravers as was usually the case in the illustrated London papers.³⁵ On rare occasions during Scott's years at *Melbourne Punch* the component blocks were also worked independently before reassembly and printing. This is clearly demonstrated by an example from 13 November 1862 (p.125) in which the lines making up the complex linear detailing of a boat's sail do not match at the obvious join of the blocks. Nevertheless, the often highly finished engravings that Scott produced for the *Illustrated Sydney News* allowed much more production time than his usual limit for the weekly *Sydney Punch* - according to the paper, three weeks work on a full-page illustration was common.

Importantly, since the *Illustrated Sydney News* also reproduced engravings from several of Scott's paintings, without reversal, their team of engravers also employed the use of a mirror to translate image to block.³⁶ Such technique was long established for copperplate engravings derived from drawings and paintings and the "looking-glass" was a standard item in the kit of a professional etcher.³⁷ This means that it was entirely possible for an engraver, competent as a copyist, to translate an artist's drawing onto the block before engraving. In fact, when text was to be embedded in the finished cartoon or illustration it would have been a distinct advantage to copy from a mirror image of a preliminary drawing onto the block in preparation for engraving, although a mirror was not always necessary for the transfer and reversal of the drawing. Given the relatively elementary design of a cartoon as well as size equivalence it would have been much easier and more logical to use one of the proven transfer methods using tracing paper.³⁸

These methods were mostly designed for transfer to copperplate but a pencil drawing on paper could be similarly dampened at the back, laid on the block and placed under pressure, as in a proofing press, to transfer an outline to the wood block. The London *Graphic* in the 1870s used the process of zincography, developed in France, in which the drawing was transferred to a zinc plate that was acid etched to produce an engraving in relief.³⁹ A sophisticated version of this process using glass and fluoric acid was invented and developed in Australia in the 1880s and used in Sydney to produce the short-lived *Australian Graphic*. The implications of this seem to have been overlooked in discussion of the technical developments at the *Bulletin* in the 1880s. This omission is particularly difficult to understand as William Macleod appears to be the most significant contributor of illustrations to the first issue of the *Australian Graphic*.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it was not until the 1880s that a drawing could be photographed and transferred to the wood block using the method of photo-xylography.⁴¹

The introduction of direct photographic reproduction in publishing was an incremental process which can be traced from the tipping in of original photographs in books from 1840s to the 1870s and the early development of genuine "inkphoto" processes in the 1860s.⁴² Also, the invention of halftone processes in the 1880s undoubtedly transformed the nature and growth of illustrated periodical publishing over the next ten years, but it should be noted that wood engraving still held a significant place in black and white illustration well into the 1890s. In 1893, the journal *The British Printer* published a full description of the processes involved in printing *Black and White* magazine and although the ultimate dominance of photographic processes in illustration is predicted in the article, it does demonstrate two often overlooked aspects of the role of wood engraving in the late 1880s and early 90s. Firstly it is accepted as normal practice to transfer a photograph onto the wood block before engraving begins and secondly it is assumed that printing directly from the block is an impractical anachronism. Instead the wood block is composited with

type and the assemblage is electrotyped or stereotyped to create copper plates for printing.⁴³

Presumably, electrotyping of the wood block for printing negated the need to reverse the orientation of the intended printed image on the block. This inherent reversal of the engraved image to its printed equivalent had been a defining feature of wood engraving, and created obvious difficulties when text was involved, but also presented problems for representing fixed right to left orientations such as illustrating right-handed activity. Ironically, both the issues of right-handed reversal and embedded text are elucidated in what are probably the only two illustrations of single wood-engravers at work in the Australian illustrated press.⁴⁴ The more recent of these is from the *Sydney Bulletin* in 1880. Captioned “Our Artist At Work” the sketch shows the process of engraving or what the paper says is “a very important feature in the life of any newspaper”.⁴⁵ [figure 2.1]

An engraver is shown working right-handed on the mast-head of the *Bulletin*. No doubt to avoid confusing the viewer, the heading is shown on the wood block in correct orientation creating a block that would print the heading in reverse. This small work demonstrates the ease with which the engraver understood the difficulties of image reversal since to maintain the right-handed orientation, the figure was drawn on the block in reverse, as left-handed and the mast-head text had to be also drawn on the block in reverse to print in correct orientation. There is of course another possible explanation. The original drawing was of a left-handed engraver working on the mast-head block in its correct reversed orientation. If drawn directly onto the block, cut and printed the result would be as it appears in published form.

While this does highlight the disorienting relationship between matrix and print in all planographic printing processes the second illustration of an engraver [figure 2.2] raises more important issues. Reproduced in *Melbourne Punch* in 1855 it shows Sam Calvert at work on one of Nicholas Chevalier’s cartoon blocks. Marguerite Mahood reproduced this work in *The Loaded Line*, interpreting it as a jolly tribute by Chevalier to his engraver and noted its contradiction of the usual contemptuous relationship between artist and engraver.⁴⁶ Mahood supports the hypothesis of the artist’s respect for his engraver with reference to two other cartoons from May and June 1856 in which Chevalier represents Calvert as his companion. More can be deduced from this in relation to the contribution of the engraver to the finished image.

Chevalier’s first cartoons in *Melbourne Punch* were engraved by Frederic Grosse who had also engraved the first issue when Quiz (Mr Gill) produced the cartoons.⁴⁷ What is immediately obvious in a comparison of the Chevalier cartoons engraved by Grosse with the later work engraved by Calvert is the dramatic improvement in quality of design and drawing as well as the clarity of the cutting. The work engraved by Grosse always features his signature along with

Chevalier's initial monogram. In some cases the Grosse signature is the most prominent and in two cases the "N" within Chevalier's monogram is reversed.⁴⁸ One of these instances is a cartoon with much imbedded text and Grosse's full signature also appears.⁴⁹ It is difficult to imagine that Chevalier drew correctly on the block, in reverse, seven instances of text in the cartoon added the "C" of his monogram in reverse but neglected to reverse the "N" within it. A more probable explanation is that Chevalier simply presented Grosse with his finished correctly monogrammed drawing and left it to him to enact the reversal in transferring it to the block. Grosse's interpretation of the monogram was simply cursory or he may have had a problem with the "n" in reverse. Certainly both the letter "n's" appearing in his first cartoon with *Melbourne Punch* are reversed, although Mahood blames this on "Quiz," the artist for the first cartoon.⁵⁰

If the engraver often transferred the drawing to the block it would naturally increase their input in the final production, elevating the engraver's collaborative roll as translator. From this perspective, Chevalier's threefold acknowledgment of Calvert as collaborator takes on a different complexion. What is more, the boldly cut portrait of Calvert is signed only by Calvert in prominent heavy capitals and does not bear Chevalier's monogram. When Mahood says that Chevalier "gave Calvert [this] half-page cartoon to himself,"⁵¹ she does not make it clear if she presumes sole authorship by Calvert. It is surely highly possible that this image is a self-portrait, especially since Calvert went on to both draw and engrave some of the most competent works in the *Illustrated Sydney News* and the *Illustrated Melbourne Post*. Certainly, this is the only instance in *Melbourne Punch* of the singular signature by Calvert and he does not add his signature on any of the rare instances after 1855 when the cartoons are signed by Chevalier. Naturally enough, Chevalier's signature when engraved by Calvert is crisp and clear and never reversed. It may well have been that Calvert was the model of the perfect engraver who was willing to translate not simply transcribe the artist's design yet also willing to remain an anonymous technician. The fact that hardly any of Chevalier's full-page cartoons from 1855 until his departure as chief cartoonist in 1861 bear any signature might be read as his acknowledgment of their lack of singular authorship. The same circumstance might explain why Scott often did not sign his work after taking over from Chevalier, implying that Calvert played a significant role in their production. The only instances of an engraver's signature added with Scott's in his Melbourne cartoons are a few occasions when Grosse adds his signature. When Chevalier reappears in *Melbourne Punch* as a freelance artist for a five-month period from July 24, 1862, his joke blocks and full-page cartoons are consistently signed.

The illustration of Calvert at work confirms several technical aspects of the production of the engravings in *Melbourne Punch*. The large amount of wood residue evident on and around the leather cushion is indicative of the course open style of the "cuts" in the early years of *Melbourne*

Punch. They are technically closer to the Japanese wood-cut in the amount of wood relieved from the block than they are to the classical linear use of the graver by model wood engraving technicians such as Thomas Bewick. On a number of instances in *Punch* cartoons, the remaining mounds of roughly removed wood from relieved white areas have printed, giving a textured effect not unfamiliar to connoisseurs of contemporary wood-cuts.

Calvert is working on a block of about 120 x 170mm and is surrounded by blocks of similar size. This would appear to be the standard maximum size of prepared blocks used by *Melbourne Punch* artists and engravers. This block would no doubt have been made up of smaller component blocks but this standard prepared block accommodated all the half-page cartoon illustrations, with two pieced together for the full-page cartoons. The join of the two blocks is often evident in the printed full-page illustrations during the 1850s and 60s. Apart from a common, and sometimes intrusively large, single joining line in the full-page cartoons in *Melbourne Punch* it is rare to see any evidence of the joining of subsidiary blocks. This indicates that the prepared halves were made up of well glued and screwed elements which were then carefully prepared and surfaced for drawing and engraving. When two prepared blocks were joined to meet the size demand of a full-page, problems arose if this process was too hastily or carelessly carried out, since the centre of the block took maximum pressure in the printing press.

In making up the large wood blocks for the title page of the early editions of *Melbourne Punch* at least nine separate blocks were screwed together. After months of printing runs, the inevitable separation and splitting of the subsidiary blocks is clearly revealed as in, for example, the cover of January 3, 1861. It can be seen that the component boxwood blocks were no larger than usual at about 500 x 800 mm. Because of the limited width available using boxwood with an end-grain orientation, this was close to the largest possible single block size.⁵² Even the relatively small wood engravings in the early editions of the *Bulletin* are made up from at least six subsidiary, joined blocks. An example from 1882 demonstrates this, and more besides, since it is an example of not only a reprinting of the wood block (the second printing loosening the joins) but the block was also reworked to change the meaning of its subject. As well, strips of type-face were inserted in a cavity cut in the block.⁵³ [See comparison: figures 2.3 and 2.4]

The effort and inventiveness involved in this particular example of recycling demonstrates the economic value placed on the production of a wood block. This is also indicated by an example from the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1876 which incorporates part of a wood block used ten years before in the same newspaper. [figures 2.5 and 2.6] Given the perfect match of the water in the foreground there is no question this is not a tracing but reprint of the earlier block. The beard has been cut from the rower's face and his hair remodelled in the later print, which has been joined seamlessly to a new block, to cut the top portion of the new picture. Mason's monogram has also

been removed in the second print, which is not surprising since the print is produced at Gibbs and Shallard.⁵⁴ This is not the only example which demonstrates that blocks were stored for a considerable length of time for potential reuse. When *Sydney Punch* was in obvious decline in 1883, attempts were made to allay costs by recycling old wood blocks, even though pen and chalk lithographs had been the usual method for illustration throughout the 1870s in *Punch*. A battered and splitting block by Scott from 1866 was re-captioned and printed seventeen years later in the issue of 31 March 1883 (p.128).⁵⁵ In this case of recycling and many others, only editorial invention was needed to add a new or topical caption. However, in combination, the two examples from 1882 and 1876 offer definitive proof of the considerable involvement of the wood engraver in both the conception and production of the image. In both cases the conception of second image is entirely dependent on the engravers expert knowledge of the potential to reconfigure the block. The great advantage of wood engraving over etching and lithography in the illustrated papers of mid-nineteenth century, was the fact that the illustrations could be set and inked with printing type and printed in a single action. Even in the case of the full-page illustrations in *Melbourne Punch* the engraved wood block was set into a prepared matrix with the caption and date/page headings set in typeface and the border outlines already in place. A careful examination of sequential issues for 1860, for example, indicates that the same border framework (presumably brass strips, on edge) is used for several months for each of the full-page cartoons and only the page and date typeface are changed with the addition of each new engraved block.

When single illustrated sheets were to be printed, lithography offered significant advantages for speed and cost in that the intermediary of engraver could be removed from the equation. When the artist had completed their design on the stone the work was ready for printing. Nevertheless the bulky stone and complex preparation of ink and handling of paper meant that lithography was used in a limited way by *Melbourne Punch* (for unbacked single and double sheets and supplements) and never during the years that Scott worked there. *Sydney Punch* also made limited use of lithography for full-page cartoons and supplements up to the end of the 1860s. But around 1870, in Sydney the printing house that produced both *Sydney Punch* and the *Illustrated Sydney News*, Gibbs, Shallard, and Company, made significant advances in lithographic printing. Monte Scott was the artist at the centre of this printing revolution. Throughout the 1870s and 1880s almost all of the full-page cartoons in *Sydney Punch* are unbacked lithographs and from 1869 the majority of the in-text joke blocks are also pen lithographs.

The first full-page pen lithograph in *Sydney Punch* is by Scott in the issue 23 January 1879 (p.75). In fact all of the cartoons in this issue are lithographs and the thin, vigorous and sometimes probing linearity of the drawings create a dramatic contrast with the wood engravings in the previous issues.⁵⁶ They seem insubstantial without the dense tonal mesh of the engraver

and must also have appeared anaemic to contemporary viewers with only essential thin lines against so much white paper. No doubt this is why soon after the introduction of the lithographic process, *Sydney Punch* attempted to first print a single colour block before the pen lithograph. This was tried with half-block cartoons as well as full and double-page spreads.⁵⁷ In several cases two-colour prints were also attempted although the registration is generally unsightly to say the least.⁵⁸ While the cost and time saving in removing the wood engraver from the printing process must have been substantial there was the added cost and difficulty of printing the illustrations prior to the typeface. Initially, this clearly proved a problem with alignment or registration as a number of illustrations are overprinted by border or text.⁵⁹ The cost of printing and handling pages for several runs through the press must have ultimately been prohibitive as *Punch* did not continue the colour printing of in-text illustrations with any consistency and reserved multi-colour lithographs for supplements or spreads that could be inserted after printing.

From before Scott arrived in Sydney in 1865 he was a contributor to the *Illustrated Sydney News*.⁶⁰ In 1865, coloured supplements were introduced by the *Illustrated Sydney News* and these expanded in number, scale and quality during the 1860s and 70s. By 1867, these large supplements were almost exclusively lithographed.⁶¹ And from this date until at least 1876 Monte Scott was called on to produce the images for these lithographs more often than any other artist. Here Scott experimented with chalk, pen and brush to produce a wide variety of results in terms of both subject and quality. These were mostly designs of his own invention but also included acknowledged translations of English painting.⁶² The descriptive article on the Gibbs and Shallard printing and publishing house in the *Illustrated Sydney News* of November 1870 is accompanied by a full-page of images. Unsigned, these were obviously produced by the in-house engravers, no doubt working from photographs. And these very same five engravers are shown at work in the top centre illustration captioned “Artists’ and Engravers’ Rooms.” [figure 2.7] This is a particularly revealing image and not only because the close proximity of the artists and engravers confirms the interdependency of their roles. More than likely, Monte Scott is one of the artists sitting at work at the table in the centre back of the room - presumably the artist on the right. At this time he was chief cartoonist for *Sydney Punch* and regularly contributed to the *Illustrated Sydney News* and since it was noted in the description that both these papers were published in the establishment and that “everything connected with their weekly or monthly appearance being prepared and executed on the premises” it can safely be assumed that he worked in these rooms.⁶³

This is not to claim he worked directly on the stones here. The production of wood engravings allowed the artists to conceivably take the wood block away to a domestic studio but this would have been entirely impractical with the large lithographic stones. Nevertheless, more commonly than with wood engraving, it was possible to simply transfer a drawing on paper onto the stone

by running it through a proofing press face down.⁶⁴ Also it is hardly ever possible to tell from the printed result if the stone was worked directly, or transfer printed. The fact that the lithographic drawing, by direct or transfer method, for the *Illustrated Sydney News* and *Sydney Punch* was done on the stones in this room or at least on the premises is confirmed in the illustration. Defying their usual and recommended storage, three lithographic stones have been carefully arranged standing on edge on the floor, with two facing the viewer. After about 1867, full or double-page lithographs were used in *Sydney Punch* and the right-hand stone presents a crude representation of *Mr Punch*.

The already quoted photograph of Scott at the easel in Freeman Brother's studio from the mid-1870s may offer evidence that Scott did transfer drawings from paper to lithographic stone. Joan Kerr has presented an explanation for this photograph, suggesting it may show Scott "replicating part of an act."⁶⁵ A number of black and white artists during the early years of the twentieth century did give illustrated lectures and certainly there is a record that in 1878 Scott did a stage act in Melbourne in which he presented sketches of well-known celebrities.⁶⁶ This may well have been a variant of the act he performed in Sydney in 1875.⁶⁷ However, close examination of the photograph indicates that Scott may be taking a tracing from the drawn image on the easel or less likely generating the drawing from a tracing. Either way there appears to be a sheet with lines only drawn upon it, overlaid on the larger more tonal drawing on the easel. It is difficult to imagine this is Scott demonstrating the use of a preliminary sketch to generate a painting. If indeed the large drawing is on canvas not paper it is odd that the canvas is pinned at each corner to a board and not stretched over a frame. The fact that the drawing of Parkes is on an easel is hardly significant since the easel was a standard photographic studio prop. Besides, Freeman Brothers earlier, larger photographic studio in the 1860s incorporated a painting studio as well (the same premises, in fact, that were occupied in the late 1860s by the Sydney and Melbourne Photographic Company, managed by Scott). The image of Parkes on the easel seems to be the portrait by Scott reproduced as a special supplement in the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1874. It was also noted by the *News* that Scott produced the image of Parkes from a photograph. By taking a digital facsimile of the portrait on the easel in the Freeman photograph, correcting the perspective distortion, and overlaying it on the *Illustrated Sydney News* image, I have produced a close match. At least by 1866, Scott had developed a method of projecting photographic portraits onto paper or canvas for tracing but by 1874 he would no longer have had access to his photographic equipment since it was sold during his bankruptcy clearance in the middle of 1870.⁶⁸ It would be perfectly logical that Scott would visit an established studio to project the portrait onto paper and while there Freeman took the portrait with him posing next to the drawing and framed by the standard studio curtain. There is no doubt, that this is Freeman's studio as the carpet matches that shown in another Freeman Brothers Studio photograph.⁶⁹

The use of lithography may have removed the costs for an engraver but there was an economic downside to the increasing use of lithography for large images because the grinding of the stone after printing destroyed any possible republication of the image. With wood engravings the image could be recycled later or in different contexts. In the case of Scott's engraved blocks for *Sydney Punch* the publisher/printer did not resist the temptation to reuse them in the *Illustrated News* and from May 1867 until December 1868 regularly ran a full page of "Selections from *Sydney Punch*" by reprinting the wood blocks. This of course was a considerable cost saving since each of the full-page *Punch* blocks cost 8 to 10 pounds to produce in payment to artist and engraver. What is more, the *Illustrated Sydney News* often passed on wood-blocks to other publishers of illustrated journals, presumably attracting a fee in the same manner adopted with press photographs later in the century. This practice of exchange of blocks was not limited to the *Sydney News* and deserves wider study to ascertain if any of the resulting residual profits were distributed to engravers or artists. The tracking of the engraved blocks of Scott's work at least gives an indication of the scale of this practice and more importantly, indicates the imposing scope of the nineteenth-century audience for his images.

As noted with the case of the *Illustrated Sydney News* and *Sydney Punch* it might be expected that publications from the same stable would exchange engraved blocks. But where his images were intensely topical or of general picturesque value Scott's work for the *Illustrated Sydney News* was sometimes reprinted in the Melbourne illustrated press. For example, Scott's portraits of the various players in the "Kinder Murders" had been reproduced on the cover of the *Illustrated Sydney News* (16 Dec. 1865) and two of these portraits are reprinted in the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* (25 January 1866). His dramatic full-page "The Flood on the Hawkesbury-the drowning of the families of William and Thomas Eather" published in the *Illustrated Sydney News* (16 July, 1867 p. 200) was also reproduced in *Illustrated Melbourne Post* (27 July 1867). And the same paper (27 August 1867) reprinted the full-page block of his sensationally titillating "Alligator Seizing Native Girl in Queensland" originally published in the *Illustrated Sydney News* (16 July 1867, p. 197). Wood blocks engraved with portraits of the celebrated, worthy and infamous were obviously the most widely circulated. And as a portrait painter and photographer, Scott participated extensively in this trade. Engravings were not only made from his preparatory drawings but directly from his painted portraits and photographs. Most often, however, it appears he developed his photograph into a finished drawing before presenting it to the engraver. A highly finished example, boldly monogrammed, is "The Late Dr. Woolley: Principal of the Sydney University" printed in *Illustrated Sydney News* (16 April 1866 p. 8) and reprinted with contracted title in the *Australian News for Home Readers* (25 April 1866). Bushrangers were naturally primary subjects in the illustrated press and Scott managed to get an exclusive head and shoulders portrait of Gilbert placed in the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* (24 June 1865) rather than have a repeat of his almost full-length engraving "Portrait of Gilbert, the Bushranger" which

appeared on the cover of the *Illustrated Sydney News* in the same month (16 June 1865). This may indicate that exchange of engraving blocks did not extend to that still most valuable commodity in the press, the image of the notorious or celebrity criminal. Supporting this assumption is another case where Scott produced a new portrait of Daniel Morgan for the *Illustrated Sydney News* (16 May 1865 p. 9) rather than reprinting a very similar engraving of Morgan, the bushranger, from the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* (25 July 1864).

When Scott worked in Melbourne his blocks from *Melbourne Punch* were also reprinted in other papers, mostly soon after their first publication, but not always. "An Australian Gin Palace" which appeared in *Melbourne Punch* (27 June 1861, p. 128) was reprinted almost a year later, with the same bad pun as title, in *The Illustrated Australian Mail* (March 1862). Scott's "The Eleven - with spears and pond" *Melbourne Punch* (20 Feb. 1862 p. 28) was printed in the same paper as a "straight" or descriptive image with a new caption "Group of Aborigines Fishing with Spears" (*The Illustrated Australian Mail*, March 1862). This cricket joke, like many of *Punch's* cartoons required familiarity with sport and gaming and did not travel well to other papers whose wider audience often lacked specialist knowledge. Politics, *Punch's* absolute staple fare, was of course mostly shunned by illustrated monthlies where the menu of news, information, entertainment and education approached the magazine style we know today in television as "infotainment." Cartoons or drawings from *Melbourne Punch* that offered gentle parody of fashion extremes could be appropriated into the more general illustrated press and a perfect example is Scott's "Evening dress in Victoria, as it is, and as it should be," which the *Illustrated Australian Mail* (22 February 1862) took from *Melbourne Punch* (23 Jan. 1861 p. 365). Another of Scott's specialities, the representation of progress in the colonies through an allegorical fantasy or dramatic contrast of new and old worlds had wide audience appeal. And it is not surprising that his two full-page images making up "Illustrated Summary for the Mail: Antipodean Contrasts" from *Melbourne Punch* (23 May 1861 pp. 84, 85) were printed much later in the *Illustrated Australian Mail* (March 1862), each image with its individual caption "Saturday night in Melbourne" and "And In London." Only on one occasion was an image by Scott broadly topical enough to gain international circulation in the London press. This was a wood engraving after his painting of the "Death of William John Wills" in the *Illustrated London News* in 1862.⁷⁰

The major illustrated monthlies in Sydney and Melbourne considered themselves as national publishers to Australia or Australasia although the majority of their readership was located in their colony of origin and the bias of the content follows this presumption. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the circulation of Scott's images in the 1860s and 70s was not limited to Sydney and Melbourne. Some of Scott's illustrated work for the *Illustrated Melbourne Post* was also reproduced in the Adelaide edition.⁷¹ And on at least one occasion the theme he chose "The Old Gum Tree, Glenelg, Adelaide" was aimed at the Adelaide audience and printed first in that

edition.⁷² All of which demonstrates that in the period when wood-engraving dominated the illustrated press, engravings after Scott's work were among the most ubiquitous images circulating in colonial Australia. With the gradual demise of wood-engraving and the ascendancy of photo-engraving the number of papers that included illustrations, and certainly their circulation figures, increased dramatically. In this newly image-rich environment, Scott's influence did not diminish.

The process of photo-engraving was introduced to the illustrated press in Australia in the 1880s. The development of photo-engraving has been well documented with Livingstone Hopkins being given a key role in its development.⁷³ However, Monte Scott was a major contributor to the *Bulletin* during this transition from wood-engraving to photo-etching. While the editorial policy of *Sydney Punch* was antagonistic toward the introduction of American process engraving methods this did not necessarily reflect the views of Scott, their cartoonist. In fact, Scott does not become a major contributor to the *Bulletin* until after the issue of the New Series on 19 May 1883 and a year after the arrival of Livingstone Hopkins from America: at the stage, in other words, of the adoption and development of the new process for illustrations. Scott's large signed drawings begin to appear in 1884 at the same time as the appearance of extensive advertisements by the Australian Photo-Engraving Company, the *Bulletin's* engraver, having replaced the old wood-engraving firm of Mason Brothers.⁷⁴ During the period in 1885-7 when the logo of the "Aust Photo-Eng Co" is first added to some cartoons, Scott's contributions to the *Bulletin* increase in number and scale. This is important in contradicting the common view that the arrival of Livingstone Hopkins marked the demise of the artist illustrators skilled in working for wood engraving (besides, Hopkins had been so trained). In fact Scott may have been called upon because of his knowledge of graphic printing techniques developed working with Gibbs and Shallard. Besides this, direct pen drawing for process work is little different to pen lithography and Scott had behind him over a decade of experience in producing pen lithographs at *Sydney Punch*. Whatever the case, Scott more than adapted to the new direct method of illustration, finding it perfectly suited to his meandering, linear style and eye for detail. For the last half of 1885, Scott's full-page drawing is often paired opposite Hopkins' work and does not suffer by the comparison.⁷⁵ In some issues during this period Scott is the major contributor.⁷⁶

It is possible to demonstrate how liberating Scott found the method of unmediated drawing offered by process engraving compared to the restrictive demand of wood engraving or even pen lithographs. In his first year working at *Melbourne Punch* he began his first series of serial cartoons with a variation on the general theme already made popular by Chevalier of the "new chum" but, in homage to John Leech who had invented the character "Mr Briggs" in *London Punch*, he used the title "Mr Briggs in Australia - No. 1."⁷⁷ The serial continued through seven numbered cartoons beginning with Mr Briggs, after dining with a party of Australians in London,

dreaming of “visions of kangaroo hunting, flying does, and the wild sports of the South.” The second cartoon shows Briggs at an outfitter being rigged out “A La Mode Australienne,” including a bright red shirt and a sampling of weapons hanging from his belt. There follows Briggs on the landing stage with his mass of luggage and his adventures during his passage to Melbourne. The series ends abruptly at “Mr Briggs in Australia - No. 7.” with Briggs still on board ship and amusing his fellow passengers by falling on his rump on the deck. The title never reaches its point of justification as we never see Briggs in Australia. Nor does Mr Briggs appear in the following years that Scott worked on *Melbourne Punch*. At *Sydney Punch* Scott did produce comic scenes of the “Station Experiences” of “Mr Blowhard” or “Mr B” and these must have been popular as a three-panel sequence of these was reproduced by the *Illustrated Sydney News* in one of its “Selections from ‘Sydney Punch’” pages.⁷⁸ However, in the *Bulletin* Scott again takes up the story of Mr Briggs which he had begun twenty-five years earlier in *Melbourne Punch*.

“The Experiences of a ‘New Chum’” by Scott in the *Bulletin* illustrates Briggs, chinless, snub-nosed and grotesquely rotund as before, negotiating the rigours of Australian bush life.⁷⁹ [figure 2.8] This time there are six individual captioned vignettes in the story. The scenarios in the second part of the narrative are as unfunny to contemporary eyes as the first, and two scenes are recycled from *Sydney Punch*, with appropriate modification of Mr Blowhard’s hat and coat to keep up with fashion. Nevertheless, because they are presented by process engraving or photo-etching they offer a unique opportunity for comparison with the first wood-engraved images. Several striking differences are obvious. The use of single fine line and script captioning within the body of the printed drawing means that the equivalent information that required seven blocks and seven issues to reach the audience in *Melbourne Punch* can be presented here on a single page.⁸⁰ The direct drawing in the *Bulletin* illustration is loose and lively creating a sense of action suggestive of a burlesque sight gag and operating independently of the captions. In the early *Melbourne Punch* cartoons the only visual comedy derives from the buffoonery of Briggs’ costumes and comic features, apart from his awkward moment upended on the deck. For in these highly static and contrived scenarios the captions are essential to make the joke block operational. It is impossible to read from one image, for example, that the birdcage hanging by his top bunk belongs to the passenger below and that water has spilled on his nightshirt guaranteeing him an uncomfortable night. [figure 2.9] So too with the morning-after image, without the information in the caption, his gloomy appearance, given the angle of the bunks in the cartoon would be interpreted as the result of sea sickness alone. [figure 2.10]

Even though the individual cartoonlets in the *Bulletin* are much smaller than the *Melbourne Punch* joke blocks, the delicacy of the photo-etching allows more precise description of Briggs’ encounters with Australian bush horses and bulls. It is impossible to imagine Scott presenting

a wood engraver with the vignette of Briggs attempt at using a stockwhip and the resulting tangle, since it is dependent on a single sweeping or looping line against a clean white ground.

Nor is this the first collage of multiple, captioned images on a single page that Scott produced for the *Bulletin*. Among his earliest contributions in March 1884, as well as his more characteristic full-page work, he produced a number of large illustrations crammed full of discrete vignettes with individual captioning. In the enclosing rectangular border he managed to crowd as many as thirteen drawings and although these may appear to have been inspired by Hop's penchant for a cluster of fragmentary chapters making up a single illustration Scott and Alfred Clint had long before pioneered this ploy in the cartoon page of the *Illustrated Sydney News*.⁸¹ As crowded and confusing as it appears, Scott's "Topics of the Time" in the *Bulletin* July 1885 with a dozen drawings, variously captioned with horizontal and angled written script and typeface is a contributing prototype for the later regular cartoonlets page of current events by Hop and the "Melbournia" page by Tom Durkins.⁸²

Obviously, Scott quickly mastered the new medium but it would appear that he also understood the need to satisfy the demands of an audience accustomed to the aesthetic of fine wood-engraving. By the 1880s the audience for the illustrated papers in Sydney had the experience of viewing twenty years of high quality local and imported wood-engraved images. Sophisticated techniques of overprinting coloured grounds, relieving parts of the wood-blocks and manipulating the points of pressure on the block during printing were used to create images of great clarity with sumptuous effects of density and tonal detail. This meant that the readers of illustrated papers in Britain, Australia and the United States had developed by the 1880s a keen pictorial sense and appreciation of the medium. Not only were the first attempts at process engraving often crude by comparison to the highly developed medium of wood engraving but they had to compete with this particular aesthetic or "convention that grew out of the wood-engraver's imposed limits"⁸³. At the end of the nineteenth century, Charles G. Harper in his *Practical Hand-Book of Drawing for Modern Methods of Reproduction* summarised this aesthetic:

There is a certain sweetness and grace to those old illustrations that seems to increase with the widening of the gulf between our day and the day of their production. It is not for the sake of their draughtsmanship alone (though that is excellent), but chiefly for their technical qualities, and their fine character-drawing, that those monumental achievements in illustration appeal so strongly to the artistic eye today.⁸⁴

One of the major reasons that it would take twenty years for photographic reproductions to gain a strangle hold in illustrated papers was not only because of the technical difficulties in printing photographs, but because the audience saw engraved images in a photographic sense. More than

that, they read them as record and aesthetic object.⁸⁵ This is not meant in a highbrow sense as demonstrated by the enormous success of the *National Illustrated Police Gazette* in New York. The popularity of this mother of all tabloids was built on commitment to the highest quality wood engraving by the best artists to produce images of the most sensational and shallow content as well as portraits of boxers and show-girls.⁸⁶ In the United States the rapid demise of wood engraving in the last decade of the nineteenth century resulted from the innovative use of halftone photographs in illustrated papers. For some major American journals in 1890 wood engravings made up 90% of the illustrations but by 1900 the use of wood engraving in the same journals had diminished to a mere 18%.⁸⁷ This was not the case in Australian papers, however. For although isolated halftone photographic images appear in the late 1880s and 1890s, the full integration of linotype and halftone does not revolutionize the illustrated papers in Australia until the twentieth century.

In developing his style to suit the new medium of photo-etching Monte Scott experimented with the incorporation of elements associated with the graver particularly the characteristic parallel linear treatment of half-tone areas and the contour grid to highlight facial features in caricature. This is demonstrated in several full-page works from late 1885 that comfortably read as a median point between free drawing and line engraving.⁸⁸ [figures 2.11 and 2.12] So successful are they in retaining the immediacy of drawing and the authority of engraving that it would appear that Livingstone Hopkins was influenced by them in his works during this period and for the next few years.⁸⁹ Hopkins, nevertheless stayed committed to developing the use of flat tonal planes to replace the linear grid and ultimately this becomes one of the signifying elements of modern illustration. On the other hand, even into the twentieth century, Scott retained the use of line as his primary vehicle for establishing contour and tone - at least when it came to his cartoon work.

The reason Scott and Hopkins did not continue as joint collaborators in developing a graphic style for the new printing techniques was due no doubt to the arrival of Phil May. Scott's drawing skills could at his best match Hopkins as the comparison of their contemporaneous works shows. However a scan through the *Bulletin* issues at the end of 1885 and the first half of 1886 shows why Scott did not find a place on its staff. Phil May's drawings first appear in this period and the example of one of his earliest full-page illustrations from February 1886 demonstrates not only his consummate drawing skills but his keen sense of graphic design.⁹⁰ From the end of February 1896 Phil May's cartoons dominate the *Bulletin* and begin to eclipse Hopkins in quantity as well as quality. As the resident artist, Hopkins had the opportunity to absorb the influence of the young arrival and his work shows noticeable development from 1886.⁹¹ Such was his graphic intelligence and skill, that Phil May could take established themes and revitalize them through the brilliance of his technique. His "The Sorcerer" from April 1886 in a single page dissipates years of effort by William Macleod to conjure up Parkes' nemesis, the Kiama Ghost,⁹² a spectre

that had been Monte Scott's invention in *Sydney Punch*.⁹³

Scott's last full-page illustration for the *Bulletin* appears in July 1886, one of his specialities "Scenes from the Sydney Jubilee Ball" and the effort he took to thrill the eye with detail, by drawing more than forty individual characters, only adds to the anachronistic busyness of his drawing compared to the stunning, seemingly effortless, clarity of the work of Phil May at this time.⁹⁴ Scott did produce some final joke blocks and one large cartoon in two August issues of the *Bulletin*.⁹⁵ Ironically his last illustrations appear in the issue before May produces his double-page spread of the "Mongolian Octopus" that would become an iconic *Bulletin* image and one of the most reproduced cartoons in Australian history.⁹⁶ In other words, Scott's work does not appear after the old masthead is replaced by the new simple, single script *Bulletin* head in September 1896 and cartoons take over the full front page.⁹⁷ Hopkins and May share the first full-cover illustrations and this plays no small part in the beginning of their respective paths to fame. Scott's work was never to appear on the cover of the *Bulletin* but he did from 1887 get the opportunity to command the cover of an equally nationalistic paper, the Brisbane *Boomerang* and from 1891 the even more radical Brisbane *Worker*. In both of these cases Scott's illustrations were photo-process printed and his idiosyncratic drawing style, as Mahood described it, proved perfectly adapted to the new processes. There was of course significant difference between the display platform offered to Scott by the *Worker* and the artists working for the *Bulletin*. The 20,000 circulation of the *Worker* was significant but far less than the *Bulletin* and for the early years with the *Worker* Scott's front-page illustration often played a subsidiary role to extensive columns of text, although this was not the case during the four-year period with the *Boomerang*. The full-page or front-page publication of an isolated cartoon as opposed to a cartoon buried in columns of type or advertisements has more than artistic implications for understanding editorial attitude and audience reception. In the radical press in the nineteenth-century, and not only in Australia, such placement was acknowledgment and exploitation of the ideological importance of the cartoon. This will be explored in Chapter Four, where Scott's highly charged political cartoons from late in the nineteenth century will be surveyed within the broader contemporary and historical context. The next chapter, however, deals with the ideological implications of particular themes that Scott favoured.

1. Emphasizing the usual link between stylish and technical innovation in the early years of the *Bulletin*, Marguerite Mahood gave her chapter on Livingstone Hopkins and Phil May the title "New Men and Methods". Marguerite Mahood, *The Loaded Line: Australian Political caricature 1788 - 1901*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973 pp. 172 - 196.
2. Mahood, (*The Loaded Line*) p. 288. The four monograms presented in Mahood's Appendix II are among the least characteristic of Scott's signatures. One of these, the "S" above an anchor, was used briefly for only a handful of his cartoons and "Monte" was hardly ever used.
3. Monte Scott's first signed full-page cartoon in *Melbourne Punch* appears on March 14, 1861 but a number of unsigned drawings prior to this date are closely related to Scott's signed work. The issues following March 14 are dominated by signed examples by Scott, but Chevalier's work by no means disappears. From July 24, 1862 Chevalier's signature again dominates the pages of *Melbourne Punch* including the full-page cartoons, or those that are signed, that is. Certainly, no signed work by Scott appears for five months, from that date until December 25, 1862. This could be explained by Chevalier temporarily taking up his old role while Scott was taking a leave of absence.
4. The total number of cartoons produced by Scott during his tenure at *Melbourne Punch* number about 632, and only 118 of these, or 17 percent, are signed. This total of 632 includes all unsigned cartoons and those with Scott's signature. Of these, only about 23 would be difficult to attribute to Scott on stylistic or thematic grounds. Even excluding these from the equation it would still leave a figure of nineteen percent of signed cartoons by Scott. It might be added that during his tenure as chief cartoonist at *Melbourne Punch*, Scott produced 185 full or double-page illustrations and thirty-seven percent of these are signed. See Appendix I.
5. During this period in the early 1860s, another unidentified signature appears on some cartoons in *Melbourne Punch*. First appearing on April 10, 1862 (p. 84), it could read as a "C U", "C H", "C W" or indeed some other initials. To further complicate the situation it would appear that besides Calvert or regular engravers, contract engravers were employed who were unfamiliar with the artist's signatures. On two occasions at least Scott's initials or monogram are not reversed in the cutting of the block. This may be understandable if it occurred early in Scott's tenure but it happens after a year of employment. The same cannot be said for the case of the mysterious signature which soon after its appearance is printed in a reverse version (17 April 1862, p. 96).
6. The first appearance of Scott's signed work (using the anchor) in *Sydney Punch* is 18 February 1865 p. 312 and p. 313, both quarter-page cartoons. Three quarter-block cartoons appear in the 11 March issue (pp. 328, 329) and the first full-page cartoon on 25 March 1865 p. 349. This debut full-page cartoon, signed by Scott with an anchor, also includes Mason's full signature "W. Mason"
7. *Sydney Punch* 22 April 1865 p. 381.
8. Quarter-page cartoon, *Sydney Punch* May 20 1865 p. 416 and full page, 12 Aug. 1865 p. 509.

9. Examples using the “S” over anchor are: *Sydney Punch* 26 August 1865 p 525; 2 September 1865 p.533; 16 September 1865 p. 548 and p. 549; 14 October 1865 p. 581; 28 October 1865 p. 597.
10. *Sydney Punch* 28 July 1866 p. 77 (full-page) and a double-page cartoon, 25 August 1866 pp. 108, 109.
11. For example: *Sydney Punch* 29 July 1865 p. 493 and 13 January 1866 p. 684, both full-page cartoons.
12. For example: *Sydney Punch* 14 October 1865 p. 580 and 13 January 1865 p. 685
13. The orientation of the anchor varies considerably, with at least one example where the anchor is turned upside down, *Sydney Punch* 23 June 1866 p. 36.
14. For example: *Illustrated Sydney News* 16 June 1865 p. 4. On one occasion in the ISN (16 Oct. 1865 p.4) Scott follows the pattern in *Sydney Punch* and turns the anchor on the side and intersects it with an “S”.
15. For example: *Sydney Punch* 30 March 1867 p. 145 - with Mason’s “M” and 3 August 1867 p. 83; 18 April 1868 p. 163 with Jackson’s monogram only. Examples without any signature at all: *Sydney Punch* 16 November 1867 p.203; 23 November 1867 p.211; 7 December 1867 p. 11; 8 February 1868 p. 83.
16. As in, for example, *Sydney Punch* 11 May 1867 p. 193 which displays the anchor as well as a carefully crafted monogram of Jackson.
17. *Sydney Punch* 9 March 1867 p. 121 (also signed by Mason) and 25 May 1867 p. 5 (also signed by Jackson). In this latter cartoon, Scott uses an interesting ploy to link his signature to the anchor cypher he had been using. Above Scott’s signature, an anchor below a crown design is drawn as a decoration on the side of a ships gangway.
18. *Sydney Punch* 22 August 1868 p. 107.
19. *Sydney Punch* 25 July 1868 p. 75.
20. For example, in the series of advertisements for the Sydney and Melbourne Fine Art and Photographic Company. *Sydney Illustrated News*: 16 June 1867, p.191; 16 July 1867, p. 207; 16 August 1867, p. 223.
21. Although Scott’s contributions to the *Bulletin* in no way approach his work on the other Sydney and Brisbane papers they are not numerically insignificant. He produced in excess of seventy cartoons or illustrations for the *Bulletin* and many of these contained several individual drawings.
22. For example: *Sydney Punch* 26 Sept. 1886 p. 20.
23. For example: *Bulletin* (Sydney) 16 Aug. 1886 p. 22. On a single occasion in the *Bulletin* he experiments with a version of his signature where the first capital of Monte loops under the rest of the name to form a large “S” (*Bulletin* 7 August 1886 p.19).

24. For example: 25 Aug. 1888, front page; 1 Sept. 1888, front page; 8 Sept. 1888, p. 18.
25. For example: 18 Aug. 1888, pp. 8, 9; 24 Aug. 1888 p. 11; 1 Sept. 1888, p. 3.
26. The pseudonyms used are: "The Axe", "The Goanna", "N.B. Gammon", "Daniel Godfrey", "Mary Ann Disney" (MAD), "Rumtifo", "Binghie", "S. W. Grifelwaite" and "Demonio". Mahood attributes the work of "The Axe" and "The Goanna" to E. H. Murray (p. 237), but on stylistic grounds it seems obvious that Scott and Murray shared the use of the *Goanna* and *Axe* pseudonym, however illogical that may sound. Later, I demonstrate that in later years, and long after Murray left, when the Worker compiled selections of earlier cartoons, the *Goanna* cartoons are often included in what are essentially anthologies of Scott's cartoons.
27. George Bickham, *The Universal Penman*, London 1740 - 41. Originally published in fifty-two parts. (Dover: New York, published a facsimile with introduction by Philip Hofer in 1941, reprinted 1968). It was one of many such pattern books which circulated widely during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Britain.
28. The particular copy of this book that I examined is an undated but early nineteenth-century edition with an inscription dated 1890 "Hobart, Tas" inside the cover.
29. For a listing of the signatures used by the early artists of *Punch* see, Susan and Asa Briggs *Cap and Bell: Punch's chronicle of English history in the making, 1841 - 61*, London: Macdonald, 1971, p.xxxvi
30. On Edward Calvert: Douglas Percy Bliss, *A History of Wood-Engraving*, London: Spring Books, 1964 (First ed. 1928), pp. 204 - 207 and Daniel Thomas *Australian Art in the 1870s*, Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1976, p. 32 . On George Walter Mason: Kevin Quinlan, in Joan Kerr ed., *Dictionary of Australian Artists*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 520 - 521.
31. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 84.
32. William Andrew Chatto, *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*, 1861 pp. 568 -569 . First published in 1838 by John Jackson.
33. Anon., "Gibbs, Shallard, and Co.'s Printing and Publishing Establishment" *Illustrated Sydney News*, 24 Nov.1870 p. 83 (full-page of related illustrations p. 85)
34. *Ibid.*, p.84.
35. *Illustrated Sydney News* 16 July 1867 p. 200. In Scott's illustration, the junction of the blocks are clearly visible and the treatment of the sky does not match at the join of the blocks. It is also interesting to compare the treatment and engraving of Scott's record of regional flooding with the examples by other artists on the facing page. There is not only considerable variation in the style of illustration but also in the engraving technique.
36. For example: "A Day's Picnic on Clarke Island" *Illustrated Sydney News* 6 September 1870 p. 44.

37. See for example: Robert Scott Burns, *The Illustrated Drawing Book*, London: Ward, Lock and Tyler, c. 1860 (standard text, used in schools in the mid-century). Pages 132, 133 describe and illustrate the necessary tools and implements for etching and includes the looking-glass. Susan Lambert, *The Image Multiplied: five centuries of printed reproductions of paintings and drawings*, New York: Abaris Books, 1987 p. 49 - reproduces illustrations of a British engraver using a mirror from 1805 and an example of a French apparatus for using a mirror to reverse images in preparation for lithography.

38. Lambert, *The Image Multiplied*. Lambert details the methods used and notes the procedures varied little over two hundred years (p.48). See also: John Gadsby Chapman, *The American Drawing Book: A Manual for the Amateur, and Basis of Study for the Professional Artist: especially adapted to the use of public and private schools, as well as home instruction*, New York, W. J. Widdleton, 1864 (first edition, 1847; last 1877) p. 259 . In mid-century the Introduction and Chapters 1- 4 were published in London, under title: *The Elements of Art*.

39. Pierre Albert and Gilles Feyel, "Photography and the Media: changes in the illustrated press" (pp 359 - 369) in Michel Frizot ed. *A New History of Photography* Köln: Könemann, 1998 [First French edition 1994] pp. 360, 361.

40. Volume 1, number 1 of the *Australian Graphic* was issued 14 Nov. 1883. This is the only issue I have been able to locate, although Lurline Stuart notes it was issued from 24 November [sic] 1883 - 19 April 1884. (Stuart, *Nineteenth Century Australian Periodicals*, Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1979 p. 31.) For a full description of the *Australian Graphic* process of engraving, see Appendix II.

41. This process was first used by *Melbourne Punch* in 1886, long after Scott's departure. (Mahood *Loaded Line* p. 286.) In Britain, photography had been used with varying degrees of success to transfer drawings to wood blocks from as early as 1839 and from 1869 in America. See: Geoffrey Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration: the technical revolution*, Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973 pp. 76 - 79.

An example from c.1900 of a boxwood block with an image in gelatin silver-bromide transferred onto it and partly hand-engraved is reproduced in Michel Frizot ed., *A New History of Photography*, p. 363.

42. I'm speaking here of Europe and the United States. A concise history of the early development of inkphoto processes is, Alex Sweetman, "Photographic Book to Photobookwork: 140 years of photography in publication" *CMP Bulletin* (California Museum of Photography, University of Cal., Riverside) v 8, no. 2, 1986, esp. pp. 3 - 11.

43. See: Robert Hilton ed., "The Printer of 'Black and White'" *The British Printer* v 6, no. 36, Nov/Dec., 1893 pp. 401 - 414. This journal has proved an important source for understanding the state of technical innovation in the printing trades in the late nineteenth-century, and not only in Britain. Apart from illustrated technical notes and actual examples of colour printing processes, the journal regularly published reports on the printing trades in Australia, America and European countries.

44. There is also an illustration of a group of wood-engravers in the *Illustrated Sydney News* of 1870 but this is examined later, see figure 2.7.

45. *Bulletin* 28 Feb. 1880 p. 4.
46. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, pp. 51, 52
47. This is not Samuel Thomas Gill, although S. T. Gill did produce several particularly unrefined, signed cartoon blocks in *Melbourne Punch* in the 1860s as well as a number of undistinguished illustrations in the *Illustrated Sydney News* in the early 1870s.
48. *Melbourne Punch* (Vol 1) 1855 p. 9 and p. 22.
49. "Young Australia Commercial Operations" *Melbourne Punch* (Vol 1) 1855, p. 22.
50. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 47. The first cartoon was "The Right Man for the Right Place" *Melbourne Punch* Vol 1 August 1855 p.5.
51. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 51.
52. The extended explication of the wood engraving technique below (from "Gibbs, Shalland, and Co.'s Printing and Publishing Establishment" *Illustrated Sydney News*, Nov. 24, 1870 p. 83) follows closely the description in Chatto's *A Treatise on Wood Engraving*, 1861 pp. 568 - 569.
- The only wood with sufficient toughness and closeness of grain for fine engraving is boxwood. Of this it is difficult to procure pieces more than five inches square; for larger pictures the block is composed of several pieces accurately fitted together, and fastened with bolts and screws. A full-page picture in the *Illustrated Sydney News* will be composed of twelve separate pieces. The upper surface of the block is polished, and upon it the artist, 'with a fine lead pencil, makes a drawing precisely as though he were making one upon paper, only the reverse way, giving every line just as he wishes it to appear. This block is given to the engraver, who cuts away every part of the wood not covered by the artist's lines, which are thus left standing in relief. It must not be supposed, however, that the skill of the wood engraver is limited to the mere mechanical task of following the exact lines traced by the artist. In many parts of a drawing the artist does not actually draw all the lines. Thus he paints in a sky in India ink, giving the general form of the cloud and the gradations of tone and color, the engraver translating this into lines of different forms and sizes, the difference in tone being given by making the lines finer or coarser, or nearer or farther apart. Wood engraving is an expensive operation, each of the half-page blocks in the *News* costs for drawing and engraving from 8pounds to 10pounds, and each issue contains about eight or these blocks, or an equivalent to other shapes and sizes, besides the usual lithograph. It will be thus seen that the illustrations alone form a no small item of expense.
53. The engraving of a William Macleod drawing first appears in the *Bulletin* 26 August 1882 as "Thrown to the Wolves!" showing Henry Parkes riding in a donkey-pulled sleigh and throwing his "baby," the licensing Bench, to the opposition wolves chasing the sleigh. In a second printing as "A Good Idea - Off to Sherwood Heights!" (11 November 1882 p.3) the block was recut to remove the wolves and baby and a flag is created by removing part of the block to accommodate the type advertising an estate sale. The fact that the block was recut is clearly evident in the remaining shading of the wolves neck that makes up the back runner of the sleigh.

54. The first print is "The Champion Sculling Match between Green and Hickey, on the Parramatta River, January 20th" *Illustrated Sydney News* 16 February 1866 p.9. The second print in which Green is turned into Trickett and Hickey is removed from the block is "Grand Sculling Match. - Passing Hammersmith Bridge. Trickett Three Lengths Ahead." *Illustrated Sydney News* 10 August 1876 p. 21.
55. The early appearance was part of a full-page cartoon in support of State Aid (*Sydney Punch* 10 March 1866 p749).
56. There is no question that the previous full-page illustrations are wood engravings as the joint line of the two wood blocks clearly appears in the printed copy in two of the previous issues: *Sydney Punch* 16 January 1869 p. 67 and 12 December 1868 p. 27 (at least in the copies held in Dixon Library, Sydney).
57. A double-page pen lithograph 8 May 1869 (pp. 194,195) is overprinted on an ochre coloured block. The first half-block to be printed on a coloured block, in this case green, is 5 June 1869 p.20 and in the same issue the full-page cartoon (p. 21) is similarly printed. Other colour half blocks are printed in the issues of 23 October 1869 p. 180 and 30 October 1869 p.188.
58. Two-colour printings are attempted in *Sydney Punch* for full-page cartoons on 21 August 1869 (p.109) and 28 August 1869 (p.117) with the colour registration in the latter being particularly poor in the Dixon Library copy, missing the black border by almost a centimetre.
59. Examples: *Sydney Punch* 3 April 1869 p. 155 and 1 May 1869 p. 186. (The latter example is one of the very few full-page cartoons in *Sydney Punch* to be backed with text. Unsigned, it does not bear a close stylistic affinity to Scott's work.)
60. For example "Blacks Visiting Out-Stations" *Illustrated Sydney News* 15 Oct. 1864 p. 13.
61. It should also be noted that the *Illustrated London News* imported to Australia in relatively large numbers in mid to late century included large sumptuous full-colour lithographic supplements as early as the 1850s. See, for example, "Fox-Hunting in 'Full Cry'" *Illustrated London News* 10 November 1859.
62. For example: "A Clear Case" *Illustrated Sydney News*, 17 Sept. 1873 supplement.
63. Anon., "Gibbs, Shalland, and Co.'s Printing and Publishing Establishment" *Illustrated Sydney News*, 24 Nov. 1870 p. 83.
64. Geoffrey Wakeman, *Victorian Book Illustration: the technical revolution*, Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973 p.51. Wakeman makes the point that from its invention in the early nineteenth century transfer from drawing on paper was possible in Lithography; noting that Senefelder had described the methods of transfer in 1819.
65. Joan Kerr, *Artists and Cartoonists in Black and White*, 1999 p. 15
66. Harry Furniss, the British cartoonist, is one example. Scott's performance of his caricature act in Melbourne was on 7 October 1878 and was advertised in *Lorgnette* on 26 September and 17 October: 'Academy of Music. The greatest caricaturist of the age, Mr

Montagu Scott will have the honor of making his first appearance and introducing his wondrous entertainment'. On 7 October 1878, *Lorgnette* added, regarding the play *Never Forgotten* produced at Melbourne's Bijou Theatre from 7 October: 'Between the second and third acts of the comedy Mr Montagu Scott will present four sketches of well-known Celebrities of the Day'. Information supplied by Joan Kerr from notes for her incomplete project "Dictionary of Australian Black and White Artists" - the original source of the information was Juliet Peers.

67. Illustrated in, *Sydney Punch* 5 March 1875 p. 64.

68. Scott's new method is described in the context of praising a portrait of Captain Hixon by Scott in *Sydney Morning Herald* 23 March 1867 p. 4.

"The difficulty of the limning has been increased by the adoption of the comparatively new process of tracing in pencil from the enlarged shadow of a smaller portrait; but by this means an important advantage is gained in the preservation of the colours, which it is known are liable to deterioration by the other mode, sometimes adopted, of fixing the shadow upon a chemically prepared ground." This process may have simply been the use of a magic lantern which were available in Sydney in the 1860s. Illustrated advertisements appear in the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1868 (for example: 22 Feb. 1868 p. 318).

Scott was first declared bankrupt in June 1870 when "he was forced to sell his photographic equipment to meet his creditors." (Suzanne Edgar *Aust. Dictionary of Biography* p. 95)

69. Wet-plate photograph of Charles Dalton, reproduced in Davies and Stanbury, *Mechanical Eye*, (1985) p.67.

70. *Illustrated London News* vol. 40 1862 p. 127. (See, Rex Nan Kivell and Sydney Spence *Portraits of the Famous and Infamous: Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific 1492 - 1970*, London, 1970 pp. 270 & 321.)

71. For example: "Christmas in Australia" *Illustrated Melbourne Post* 24 Dec. 1864 is reproduced in the Adelaide edition (22 Dec. 1864 pp. 8-9.)

72. "The Old Gum Tree, Glenelg, Adelaide" *Illustrated Melbourne Post* 25 Aug. 1864 was printed first in the Adelaide edition (20 Aug. 1864 p.13).

73. There are a number of accounts of the introduction of process engraving at the *Bulletin*. For example: Patricia Rolfe, *The Journalistic Javelin: an illustrated history of the Bulletin*, Sydney: Wildcat Press, 1979, pp. 44, 45; and Mahood *Loaded Line*, pp.177, 178

74. An example of the advertisement (18 Oct. 1884, p. 8) and large illustration by Scott (19 July 1884, p. 11) The advertisement for the Australian Photo-Engraving Company is worth quoting not only because of its claims but because in a photo-engraved, elaborate script it outlines the process.

"All Classes of Illustrations Undertaken: fac-similies of handwriting for circulars, music plates prepared. This company having specially engaged a number of first-class experts from London, New York, and San Francisco, in addition to staff locally trained, is now in a position to undertake work in any quantity, and of quality not surpassed by any establishment in the world. [the description of the process follows] A Photo Engraving is a cut engraved on type metal by photo-chemical means. It is mounted type high and can be set in forms of type and printed from on any ordinary

printing press. In appearance it resembles very closely a wood cut and is intended to supersede to a great extent that slow and costly method of engraving. We can offer great inducements to all who use cuts for Books, Price-lists, Catalogues or any advertising purpose. Get our estimates and try us."

75. For example: 25 July 1885 pp. 10 & 11; 1 August 1885 pp. 10 & 11; 8 August 1885 pp. 10 & 11; 10 October 1885 pp 10 & 11.

76. For example: 17 October 1885 pp. 10, 11; 31 October 1885 pp 11, 18; 7 November 1885 pp. 11, 18.

77. The series begins in *Melbourne Punch* 20 June 1861 p. 116. Follows in: 27 June 1861 p. 124; 4 July 1861 p. 132; 11 July 1861 p. 140; 18 July 1861 p. 148; 8 August 1861 p. 172 and 15 August p. 180.

78. *Illustrated Sydney News* 16 May 1868 p. 374.

79. "The Experiences of a 'New Chum,'" *Bulletin* (Sydney) 22 August 1885 p. 13.

80. In the *Illustrated Sydney News* selections, the larger format of the *News* allows three of the "Mr Blowhard" blocks from *Sydney Punch* to fit running down the page.

81. Examples: Unsigned (Alfred Clint) "Reminiscences of the Month" *Illustrated Sydney News* 16 September 1876 p. 20. Monte Scott "Reminiscence of Free-Selector John Smith at the Metropolitan Exhibition 1875" *Illustrated Sydney News* 7 May 1875 p.5.

82. "Topics of the Time" *Bulletin* 11 July 1885 p. 10.

83. Charles G. Harper, *A Practical Hand-Book of Drawing for Modern Methods of Reproduction* London: Chapman and Hall, 1901 (first ed. 1894) p.15.

84. *Ibid.*

85. In the 1880s and early 90s wood engraving was still regularly used for quality reproduction in the London *Art Journal* and the *Magazine of Art*. As late as 1896, W. Biscombe Gardner in the *Magazine of Art* mounted a spirited justification of wood engraving. It may be seen as hardly an objective defense, since it is illustrated with Gardner's own engravings, but they are of extraordinary quality and confirm his claim that boxwood blocks could be cut to capture every known texture and line. He also states that, although photographic process reproduction is obviously taking over illustration, wood engraving is still superior in capturing values and character. Interestingly, he claims that now wood engraving will be regarded as a fine art thus confirming Williams Irvin's proposition (made in *Prints and Visual Communication*) that when print processes become commercially redundant they are accepted as art forms. W. Biscombe Gardner, "The present and future of wood engraving." *The Magazine of Art* January 1896, pp.57 - 63. One of Biscombe's wood-engraved examples in the *Magazine of Art* article, portrait of W.E. Gladstone, is from an earlier issue of the *English Illustrated Magazine*, where it appeared as a frontispiece to the 1892 volume. This is not the only example of Biscombe's work used in the 1890s to illustrate this magazine, which also included photographic illustrations, and the variety and quality of the textural detail is certainly superior to the photographic images. However, despite his

claims for primacy over the photograph, Biscombe was dependant on photographic sources to produce his work since in the *English Illustrated Magazine*, with all of Biscombe's engravings, acknowledgment is also given to the photographer. In the case of the Gladstone engraving, the source was a photograph by Samuel A. Walker.

86. The *Police Gazette* had been founded in 1846 but made a dramatic rise when taken over by Richard Kyle Fox in 1878. Its heyday was the 1880 and 1890s when as the *National Police Gazette* it gained enormous popular appeal by pioneering the modern concept of an illustrated tabloid with sports pages, gossip columns and the page three girl (Soubrettes, most often on page 4) and naturally making Fox a multi-millionaire. The obvious influence of this paper on the Sydney *Bulletin* is rarely mentioned - surprisingly so, since it was the first to publish on pink paper - as the *Bulletin* also later did with the outside sheets. A collection of examples from the *Police Gazette*, including a facsimile issue from 1892 has been published: Gene Smith and Jayne Barry Smith eds., *The Police Gazette*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972.

87. Edward W. Earle, "Halftone Effects: a cultural study of photographs in reproduction, 1895 - 1905" *CMP Bulletin*, Riverside: California Museum of Photography, vol. 8, no.1, 1989 pp. 4, 5. Earle also charts (p. 5) the rise of photographs in his test sample of major illustrated journals (although he does not actually name the journals). The results: 1890 - 3% photographic illustrations, 1895 - 36%, 1900 - 48%. The beginning of the shift of wood-engraving from a reproductive to purely aesthetic medium in the United States around 1890 is chronicled in a series of articles by wood-engravers in the *Century Magazine* May - October, 1889 (v.38). See, Frank French, "Wood-Engravers in Camp" pp. 569 - 575; Elbridge Kingsley, "Originality of Wood-Engraving" pp.576 - 583; W. B. Closson "Painter-Engraving" pp. 583 - 587; John P. Davis, "The New School of Engraving" pp. 587 - 589.

88. There are half a dozen examples but the best are: *Bulletin* 31 October 1885 p. 18; 7 November 1885 p. 13; 14 November 1885 p. 10.

89. For example: *Bulletin* 12 December 1885 p.12 and 3 August 1889 cover. It would be more accurate to say there is a close interdependence between the styles and methods of Scott and Hopkins during 1885 as they do seem to feed off each other in the parallel works they produce.

90. "That Quarrel Scene" *Bulletin* 20 February 1886 p.11. This is a particularly good example to compare with Scott's work since it meets him on familiar ground by using a Shakespearian theme.

91. This is also the period when Hopkins and Phil May shared a studio away from the *Bulletin* office. Mahood (*Loaded Line*) p. 184.

92. *Bulletin* 3 April 1886 p. 5.

93. Chapter Six includes detail on Scott's invention of the 'Kiama Ghost' in 1868 over a decade before Hopkins or May arrived in Australia but it is worth noting here in the context of the historical privileging of these artists that Marguerite Mahood claimed Livingstone Hopkins "invented Parkes's 'Kiama Ghost'". Mahood (*Loaded Line*) p. 174.

94. *Bulletin* 31 July 1886 p. 15. This page is also rather carelessly printed, adding to the confusion.

95. *Bulletin* 7 August 1886 contains a large cartoon "The New Samson and the Temple of his Peers" (p. 6) and two Irish "Bridget" jokes (pp. 15, 19). *Bulletin* 14 August 1886 contains one cartoon "An Empty Plate? - Never" (p. 6) and three joke blocks (pp. 18, 19, 22). Interestingly, the next occasion after Scott's "Jubilee Ball", that the *Bulletin* calls on an outside artist to produce what had been Scott's speciality, a page of social vignettes, it is the 1886 Melbourne Cup and the artist is Tom Roberts. *Bulletin* 13 November 1886 p. 18.

96. *Bulletin* 21 August 1886 pp. 12, 13. This cartoon appears in every current survey of Australian cartoons and many other sources besides.

97. The last issue of the Sydney harbour masthead is 28 August 1886 and the new *Bulletin* script appears 4 September 1886. Hop draws the first full-page cartoon in this issue and the following on 11 September with Phil May taking the cover on 18 September.

CHAPTER THREE

Spectacles and Fancy-dress - 'all the world's a stage'

Anita Callaway has mounted a strong critique of the high-art construction of the history of Australian image making.¹ She presents an alternative story of Australian visual culture with her account of lesser art forms such as transparencies, tableaux, masquerades, panoramas and theatrical scene painting. Her argument for the importance of ephemeral theatre arts in Australia is supported by extensive evidence of the cultural, ideological and monetary value placed on these seemingly peripheral art forms by the nineteenth-century audience. As she notes, infinitely more people appreciated the scene paintings and tableau performances by Fred McCubbin and Tom Roberts, for example, than ever viewed the exhibited paintings by the same artists. What is more, in the case of Roberts, the fee for scene painting was almost equivalent to the price of a completed canvas.² Most significant in relation to this study, however, is Callaway's assertion that our non-indigenous cultural beginnings in the nineteenth century will not be found in a fruitless search for great oil paintings to compete against the European high-art paradigm; but in the more transient popular arts that broke free of European sources by mutating into a peculiarly Australian hybrid.³ Press illustration is not entirely outside the scope of Callaway's argument and much of her visual evidence is drawn from surviving illustrations in the popular press, including a cartoon by Monte Scott. Scott is also mentioned in the context of his production of transparencies and as an illustrator of fancy-dress balls.

In her survey, Callaway reproduces the illustration from the *Illustrated Sydney News* of 1868 showing one of Scott's allegorical transparencies, produced that year for the dual celebration of the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh and the eightieth anniversary of the founding of Sydney. The *Empire* estimated the crowd attending the celebrations in Sydney for the Duke's arrival in January 1868 at between 80,000 and 100,000 people, also surmising that around 20,000 of these were visitors to the city.⁴ The magnitude and power of this and other illuminated spectacles in nineteenth-century Australia have been well characterized by Callaway; including the fact that Australian transparencies were not always conservative, imperialist propaganda. Furthermore, she stresses that the history of the form in colonial Australia included a distinct radical dimension. A transparency could, as she demonstrates, provoke riotous, even murderous behaviour and was all the more dangerous since a provocative image could not be controlled as in the sites of regulated artifice such as the theatre or art gallery.⁵

Transparencies: Politics of Celebration

It is possible to amplify and extend Callaway's discussion of the radical use of the transparency by examining a full-page cartoon by Monte Scott created thirty years after Prince Alfred's visit to Sydney. [figure 3.1] There is no suggestion that Scott actually produced a transparency in 1897, but instead he drew a proposal for "The Workers' Transparency" in which form, function and subject coalesce to create a subversive metaphor where the screen of the transparency becomes a political cartoon and the illuminating electric light is that organ of truth and justice, the *Worker* newspaper. This cartoon could not be further from the obsequious images Scott and so many others had created in 1867 and 1868 to celebrate the arrival of the Royal visitor, not to mention the earlier 1863 celebrations of Alfred's wedding. Now, Queen Victoria sits atop a mountain of money bags as the poor and destitute huddle at her feet and the banner proclaims "A Glorious Reign 800,000 Paupers and Nearly 1,000,000 pounds a year to the Royal Family." That Scott should have developed such an elaborate scenario, revealing the rear construction or fabrication of the transparency's illusion, for a message that as a simple statement alone would have carried its political charge, is an indication of how conscious both he and his audience were of the ideological role played by the transparency in urban colonial Australia.⁶ The mass of the colonial populace assembled for the illuminations in Melbourne and Sydney in the 1860s has been identified by Callaway as "the Australian version of the new audience for the visual arts which was currently emerging in the modern world."⁷ The spectacular and extravagant nature of the large-scale transparency had always made it the perfect vehicle for propaganda as entertainment. From the earliest use of the form in Australia, artists realised that ridicule and glorification are both sides of the same coin. Examples from 1825 and 1831, both described by Callaway, demonstrate that the potential of the idiom for subversive political rhetoric was realised here as it was earlier in England by George Cruikshank.⁸

Nevertheless, Scott's erasure of the transparency in favour of the cartoon can be read as a manifesto with both political and personal dimensions. At one level this image is a declaration of the power of the political cartoon in the free press at the end of the nineteenth century and Scott's disrespectful appropriation of the popular public art form of the past reinforces the radical polemic of the Labour paper; at the same time, suggesting the anachronistic nature of the transparency as a medium and vehicle for official propaganda. The light spectacles from the middle decades of the nineteenth century that celebrated imperial power and Royal privilege were no doubt part of the historical memory of the readers of the *Worker* in Brisbane and Sydney at the end of the century. And, indeed they must have been for this cartoon to have currency. But to Scott this rejection of subservience to imperial power and obsolete splendour appears to be a

specific repudiation of his own past. For during the Royal visit of 1867 - 68, it would seem that no artist worked harder than Scott to impress Prince Alfred, if we consider the number and variety of images he produced. Apart from at least nine large transparencies composed for the welcoming celebrations, he painted Alfred's portrait, another of the Earl Belmore, photographed various members of the Royal party and created impressive descriptive and allegorical illustrations in the Sydney press.⁹ [See example, figure 3.2] The key or major published depictions of the attempted assassination of the Duke by Henry James O'Farrell are by Scott.¹⁰ [See examples, figures 3.3, 3.4]

During the 1863 Royal marriage celebrations in Melbourne, it appears that Scott also painted some illuminations.¹¹ He certainly produced two quarter-page cartoons, in *Melbourne Punch* using the illuminations as a theme and a full-page comment on colonial contributions to the wedding present. One of the smaller cartoons is a wry insight into the fickle nature of the art economy, if not a suppressed gloat of Scott's on-selling of his Melbourne work. It illustrates the interior of an illumination artist's studio in Sydney, and on the easel of this "Colonial Raphael" is a completed design for an illumination. The artist is telling a visitor that he is not going to make any money from the work because they have imported all the second-hand illuminations from Melbourne.¹² In the other small cartoon, a commissioner of an illumination, possibly a store owner, looks disappointingly up at his illumination produced to "honor the continued reign of Victoria." Against the black sky only a feeble row of candle light appears.¹³ Scott's full-page cartoon "The Royal Marriage Present" depicts Mr Punch riding on a bullock wagon filled with a cornucopia of produce from Victoria. But, since this slightly ridiculous spectacle is subtitled "How the Colony responds to the invitation to contribute," it cannot be read as an unequivocal endorsement of the celebration for Alfred's marriage.¹⁴

In summary, there is no published evidence from 1863 that might indicate that Monte Scott enthusiastically embraced the Royal celebrations. For the Sydney Royal visit, the opposite appears to be the case. It might be argued, nevertheless, that Scott's welcoming attitude in 1868 did not exclude, and may indeed have been motivated by, a developing nationalistic pride in Australia. Callaway has made the point that "[m]any nineteenth-century colonials saw no paradox in claiming an identity for themselves that was both broadly British and specifically Australian."¹⁵ In the minds of many progressive colonials, Alfred was seen more as a representative of modernity and nationalism, rather than as a symbol of British imperialism. More specifically, as summarised by Callaway, Alfred could be the catalyst to unify the separate colonies by accepting the crown as the first sovereign of a united Australia.¹⁶ In this context Scott's 1867 image that has Alfred attended by an Aborigine atop the heads of Sydney Cove

calling a “Coo-ee-ee” back to England seems less sycophantic and the punning subtitle “Native And To The Manner Borne” adds to the sardonic casting of Alfred in this role. [figure 3.5] The emphasis in most of the celebratory images produced for the Royal visit in Sydney was not on the representation of the Duke but on colonial progress, as Callaway has mentioned. All of Scott’s allegorical transparencies expressed this sentiment, with personifications of Education, Art, Science, Justice and so on, symbolizing the attributes and evidence of colonial civilization. What is more, Scott produced two cartoons that satirize mindless adulation of the Duke. One of these (printed in both *Sydney Punch* and the *Illustrated Sydney News*) was “Suggested by the Proposition that Likenesses of His Highness Should Adorn our Principal Buildings”; and the other, (also printed in both papers) is a savage parody of a superior social set that attempted to engineer an exclusive ball for the Duke in Sydney. [figures 3.6, 3.7] Callaway examines the latter example in some depth and the first cartoon was reproduced and described in an earlier publication by Alan Davies and Peter Stanbury, *Mechanical Eye in Australia*, although they missed the point of the lampoon; instead, finding it ironic that Scott should satirize the proposed decoration of public buildings while at the same time painting transparencies for that purpose.¹⁷

In the period between Scott’s 1868 transparencies and his parody of the transparency in the *Worker* of 1897, and especially during the 1870s when he became the premier cartoonist in Sydney, Scott kept a sardonic edge to his glorification of Royal dominion. This is exemplified in an elaborate double-page drawing in 1872 celebrating “Our Queen’s Birthday”. [figure 3.8] It includes four very elegantly dressed young ladies and a little girl adding floral decorations to a portrait of Queen Victoria, although this scene of domesticated privilege is about to be disrupted, as a leering Maori warrior is entering by a door in the background - assuming, that is, that he is not coming to contribute a garland.¹⁸ In another example, when Scott Australianises the welcome of Queen Victoria’s grandsons in 1881, the silliness of the resulting image of ceremonial kangaroos and emus is presumably part of the intended comic effect, rather than implying too significant a degree of disrespect.¹⁹ [figure 3.9]

Whatever the depth or inclination of his nationalistic sentiments in the 1860s there is no doubt that during the Duke’s tour Scott played a significant role in celebrating if not endorsing Royal dominion over the colonies. Therefore Scott’s choice of a transparency to parody imperial pomp and outrageous injustice in the 1897 *Worker* cartoon might be seen as a convenient lapse in memory, overlooking his role as Royal propagandist. On the contrary, this is not an isolated example and when allied to a front-page *Worker* cartoon from 1896 it becomes clear that this was a personal statement of repudiation, if not contrition, for the adulatory images he produced thirty years earlier.²⁰ In this particular cartoon Scott creates an allegory using the familiar elements of

the 1868 images; triumphal parade, chariot and decorated welcoming arch. [figure 3.10] It is not the Queen's second son that is welcomed this time but her representative, the Governor, Lord Lamington who does not ride in the chariot but at the top of a column of privileged Government representatives carried on the shoulders of "John Workingman." The chariot, pulled by donkeys, carries "King Billy" and another Aborigine playing Britannia. Queen Victoria, has presumably been knocked from the top of Lamington's shoulders as the column passed under the Welcome arch since a donkey, "The Mare," clanders on top of the arch. As well as King Billy, the other main protagonists all wear king-plates that list their respective salaries: Governor, 5000 pounds per year; Railway Commissioner, 3000 pounds per year; Premier 1300 pounds per year; Labourer 6 shillings and 6 pence per day. The extended caption further elaborates the unjust distribution of wealth by quoting the example of "Lucy M___" a shirtmaker who earns one shilling and eleven pence per day for twelve hours work compared to the Governor who earns sixteen pounds per day for eight hours work. To give emphasis to the notion that imperial power reinforces the unjust divisions of class and selective privilege, Scott evokes the scenario of the 1868 visit when he and many others could have been misguided enough to imagined that Alfred might act as a progressive unifying force as a potential King of Australia. Just how absurd this notion was is underscored by placing King Billy in the ceremonial chariot seat.

The charge that resulted from this switch of polarities from English to Aborigine monarch was not the same "Bakhtinian inversion" that Callaway has reasoned for cases where English colonials presented themselves as King Billy or other Aborigines at fancy dress or costume balls.²¹ However, there are occasions, in the context of fancy-dress balls, when Monte Scott played white European against Aborigine where the burlesque or parody does not travel in one direction only. During the controversial preparations for the ball to celebrate the Duke's Sydney visit, Scott produced two cartoons, as mentioned above. In the second of these, "The 'Real' Australian Ladies' Ball; or, Gin-uine 'Blue Bloods,'" Alfred "happily dances the highland fling at an Aborigine corroboree."²² [figure 3.11] More specifically, he dances with an Aborigine woman who also appears to imitate his steps. In isolation the burlesque of this mimicry is a familiar form of colonial vilification. However, the male dancers in the background take up the often depicted dance posture for colonial representations of a corroboree. It becomes obvious that the Duke's highland fling is but one move away from the Aborigine dance since the Aborigine on the far left lowers his left arm and becomes a mirror image of the Duke. From what we now know of the behaviour of the Duke and his party during the visit, or more importantly, what many locals knew then, this image of the Duke dancing with a bare-breasted Aborigine woman in that most exotic and erotic creation of the colonial imagination, the corroboree, is not a case of simple titillation.²³ And whatever the signification in Scott's crass representation of Aborigine bodies,

the joke is on the Duke.

In another cartoon published four days after the fancy-dress ball that was eventually organized for the Duke, Scott again uses the theme of the corroboree.²⁴ [figure 3.12] Here the contrast between the event at the Prince of Wales Theatre in Sydney on Tuesday and a corroboree in the Australian bush on Thursday is not one created at the expense of the latter. Scott takes equal care to create the beauties that represent the respective white and black Belles. This was obviously important, if the cartoon was to parody the affected nature of an animal skin coat or, indeed of a “corroboree” of colonials dressed as European characters, to represent Australia to the Duke. There was of course the added incentive to create an alluring Aboriginal woman, in this case with breast exposed, to link this cartoon to Scott’s earlier image of the Duke’s fictive visit to a corroboree. It should be noted that Scott was more familiar than most with the Aboriginal corroboree, since in the 1850s he had produced what has been described as “possibly the earliest authentic photograph of a corroboree in Port Phillip.”²⁵

Later in 1868, Scott also produced a two-page cartoon which presents two contrasting views.²⁶ [figure 3.13] The first part “England - Blackfellows at Home” implies the dual irony that not only were Aborigines “kindly received” in fashionable English circles but also that they were equal to the demands of civilized activities such as taking tea and listening to piano recitals. As noted at the end of the sub-caption, this particular image was prompted by a report in the “London Press”. In noting the source of the motivating press report for the second image “Australia - Blackfellows at Home”, Scott is more specific; namely, the “*Deniliquin Chronicle*, August 1”. The report reads: “An enquiry was held at Wentworth before Col. Russell, P.M., into the cause of death of Neilpe Billy and his lubra Norah, who had been found dead in the bush after a drunken orgie over a case of gin purchased in that township”. At one level the dual-image cartoon derives its comic value from the misguided view of the English on the real nature of “civilized” Aboriginal life. For if this last image were presented alone it would fit easily into the tradition reaching back to the early colonial images of Charles Rodius or W. H. Fernyhough and forward to those in *Smith’s Weekly* showing the presumed innate propensity of Aborigines for alcoholic liquor and their congenital failure to cope with its effects.²⁷ However, in the context of the printed press report and the contrasting representations of the Aborigines in each image the cartoon becomes an acid indictment of the treatment of Aborigines in colonial Australia.

It should be stressed, nevertheless, that the amusement in this cartoon derives from its latent sense of racist superiority as images of drunken Aborigines in the popular press, whatever context, were, and largely remain, powerful signifiers of the degraded state and inherent primitivity of the race. At the end of the nineteenth century, Scott created a full-page cartoon

illustration in the *Worker* which brought together a number of the themes dealt with in the above examples.²⁸ [figure 3.14] It makes a revealing comparison with those from thirty years before since it depicts a corroboree organized for a distinguished visitor and drunken Aborigines. The cartoon, from 1897, illustrates an article "The Fraser Island Blacks: reception of Lord and Lady Brassey." The essence of the article is that Lord and Lady Brassey were to visit Fraser Island and the superintendent of the Aboriginal settlement there had decided to give them a "right royal reception, and a grand corroboree" presumably in the manner of the welcome corroboree mounted in Adelaide for the arrival of Prince Alfred in 1867. Things did not go to plan. While the superintendent was on the ship dining with his guests prior to disembarking for the festivities, the Aborigines broke into his liquor stock and became "uproariously...intoxicated, and all in the humour to show a lofty and defiant contempt for the white man." Nevertheless, and to their credit, it is noted "they kept a semblance of decency and order" and decided to go ahead with the festivities when the party landed. The first to greet Lord Brassey was an intoxicated Aboriginal woman who collided with him and cannoned off into Earl of Shaftesbury before falling to the ground. The party returned to their boat forthwith and the festivities did not go ahead. The superintendent later discovered that in their drunken state the Aborigines have ransacked his hut, breaking his clock and some crockery. Scott chose to illustrate four scenes, presented with relevant extracts in letterpress inserted over or below each scene. He shows the prepared site for the corroboree, a group of Aborigines adding body paint in preparation for the event, the same Aborigines trashing the superintendent's room and the Lord and Earl entangled with "Mary" the Aboriginal woman.

This last vignette relates directly to the provocatively suggestive nature of the earlier pairing of Prince Alfred with a semi-naked Aboriginal woman. But the degree of difference is immeasurable. Despite the fact that the article states Mary was wearing a dress, Scott depicts her in a skirt only and it is the Earl that falls to the ground, not Mary. All of which creates a scenario in which Lord Brassey and Earl Shaftesbury appear to be locked in a suggestive entanglement with the bare-breasted woman.²⁹ Apart from this salacious specificity, what makes this obnoxious cartoon so different to the earlier cartoons just discussed is a particular shift of emphasis. The corroboree is now literally deconstructed to a meaningless masquerade, it is simply a costume event. In 1868, Scott could use the imaginative power evoked by the corroboree to parody the fancy-dress ball, but by 1897 the corroboree is itself a fancy-dress as signified by the focus on the make-up preparations. Thirty years before, the violence precipitated by alcohol in Aboriginal society had been seen as destructively internalized. Now, although a primitive predilection for alcohol is still presumed, the danger from drunken Aborigines is externalized to white society. In sum, at the end of the nineteenth century these attitudes towards Aborigines expressed the

nascent potential for violence among the men and the disgustingly compelling carnality of the women and the comic possibilities offered by both, are characteristic for most of the white population in the Australian colonies. It appears that this cartoon has never been reproduced outside of its original publication and I would argue that this is not only because it requires an appended text to fully explain its context but also because its meaning is uninterestingly transparent - it expresses a putative "truth". That this "truth" is no longer tenable in the current reconstruction of Australian identity incorporating indigenous culture will ensure that it is never reproduced in the future except perhaps in a critical context, as is the case here.³⁰

Fancy-Dress

Fancy-dress balls were a regular event in nineteenth-century Australia, given such importance that they were often reported in some depth in the popular press, including grand depictions illustrating the event. Callaway had explained this popularity with reference to Bakhtin's category of the carnivalesque.³¹ Fancy-dress afforded the opportunity, in other words, for participants to step outside the established order, to act out fantasies and parody the norm of behaviour. For illustrators, the picturesque possibilities of a rich variety of costumes no doubt made for an ideal subject, but part of the attraction may have been because the results were often so incongruous and even ridiculous, as Callaway notes. For Scott, the fancy-dress was sometimes the subject of a full-page illustration but throughout his working life he regularly used the fancy-dress or costume ball as a pretext for political cartoons. He makes so many illustrations which reference fancy dress, that if these were viewed in isolation it might appear that the fancy-dress was a personal obsession. When allied with Moore's image of Monte Scott as the audacious, affected English dandy this could lead to a rush to judgment that Scott loved to dress up in costume for a fancy-dress ball. Such a conclusion could well be a mistake, however. For, when placed in the context of the general nineteenth-century colonial fascination with dressing up, that has been comprehensively outlined by Callaway, his many depictions seem much less eccentric. The success of any particular popular illustration or cartoon depends on the interests and knowledge of the audience as much as those of the artist. And Scott's devotion to the theme may simply reflect his keen sense of topical appeal as much as his own interest. As Callaway notes, Samuel Calvert was just as prolific with his production of fancy-dress illustrations.³² Besides, Scott took far greater interest in using the preparations and selection of individual costumes as a source for comic situations or contrasts in his cartoons than he did in illustrating the actual event.³³ In other words, Scott seems more interested in using the colonial fondness for dressing up as a source for witticism or parody.

This is not to say that Monte Scott did not attend fancy-dress balls and presumably he must have been present at most of those he illustrated, although not necessarily in costume. We do know that he did attend at least one ball in costume, the Mayor of Sydney's Ball in 1879, although perhaps significantly, he did not illustrate this particular event; that was left to another contributing artist for the *Illustrated Sydney News*.³⁴ The *Sydney Mail* noted that he appeared dressed in the costume of America and the list of attendees in the *Illustrated Sydney News* shows that he was accompanied by his daughter who was dressed in like manner.³⁵ The only conclusion that can be drawn, however, is the possibility that this was a unique event, since his own and his daughter's costumes were walking advertisements for one of the murals that formed the centerpiece of the Garden Palace pavilion for the upcoming 1879 Sydney International Exhibition. It is known with certainty that Scott completed at least one of the four "frescoes" or murals in the dome of the Garden Palace, which represented America, Africa, Asia and Europe.³⁶ Parenthetically, it should be pointed out that Scott's positioning of Australia as part of Asia in that particular mural must be one of the first representations of an Asiatic future for Australia.³⁷ [figure 3.15]

"The Immortal Bard"

In Scott's published work, scenes of the theatre including his many "Illustrations to Shakespeare" far outnumber his use of the fancy-dress theme. When allied with the information from his obituary, that he was an enthusiastic amateur actor, it might be at least surmised that this theme held a personal interest. Yet, here again, caution is needed since the number of illustrations on this theme is probably simply a result of the massive overall number of images he produced. For example, the thirty or so theatrical and Shakespearian themes he depicted in *Melbourne Punch* during his years there are only 5% of his total output of images.³⁸ This percentage is probably equivalent, if not less, for similar thematic cartoons in *London Punch* in the second half of the nineteenth-century. Besides, he produced more cartoons on sporting themes. This indicates beyond argument, that he was in tune with the interests of his audience. There is ample evidence that Scott assumed his audience was fully versed in Shakespearian dialogue, with precise knowledge of characters and scenes.³⁹ This is because not only does he sometimes build contemporary political and social scenarios around particular Shakespearian schemas but he often uses a quotation from a play by Shakespeare as the ironic activator for an otherwise prosaic or comic image. A two-part cartoon showing both the criminal proclivities of convicts on the "Free List" and their return to gaol with suspension of the "Free List," is given dramatic import with the caption "All the World's a Stage".⁴⁰ Most of the "Illustrations to Shakespeare" are built on the mismatch between the original meaning evoked by the quotation and the scene illustrated in

the cartoon. Naturally, the joke worked best if the Shakespearian quotation seemed perfectly suited to the new banal application: favoured were simple puns or word plays. For example, an image of a scruffy Tom-cat stalking across a sideboard with a captured rat in his mouth is captioned with a quote from King Lear: "Mice, and rats, and such small deer, Have been Tom's food for seven long year."⁴¹ Another shows a theatrical manager musing from the wings at some female dancers on stage. The caption from *Timon of Athens* reads: "I doubt whether these legs be worth the sums that are paid for them."⁴² These *Illustrations to Shakespeare* were not always so droll, as they could also be subversively or dismissively racist.⁴³ [figure 3.16]

In the twenty years working on *Sydney Punch*, Scott regularly used Shakespeare as a source for scenario or quotation, including a number of cartoons featuring Henry Parkes, such as "Punch's Shaksperian (sic.) Delineations. No. 1" from 1868.⁴⁴ In the Sydney cartoons, the comic inversions favoured in Scott's Shakespearian cartoons from *Melbourne Punch* gave way to the use of *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* for cartoons intended for more serious dramatic effect, as in "'Permanent' Shadows!" of 1874.⁴⁵ [figure 3.17] But increasingly, when Scott used the theatre as a source it was more than likely to be a popular stage entertainment: a minstrel show, a wizard, circus act, popular singer or song.⁴⁶ His shift in using material from Shakespeare to more burlesque entertainments as sources was a reflection of the changing tastes of his audience. In 1884, Scott produced a large cartoon in the *Bulletin* making comment on this very issue. The cartoon shows a bevy of provocatively costumed soubrettes in the spotlight on a stage strewn with bouquets thrown by the audience.⁴⁷ [figure 3. 18] In the background is a dandyish promoter who covers the bust of Shakespeare while a group of Shakespearian players are left in the dark, although the title, "A Temporary Eclipse," suggests that Scott hoped this was a transient phenomenon. Scott's devotion to Shakespeare can no doubt be framed within the same terms expressed in *Sydney Punch* in 1866, that the "Immortal Bard" transcended place and time, a genius for all ages. "His aphorisms have passed into proverbs, 'familiar in our mouths as household words'", *Sydney Punch* noted in a tribute on the three hundred and second anniversary of his birth: adding further, that Shakespeare's stupendous genius was coeval with the universe.⁴⁸

Shakespeare's art also transcended class and ideological divisions, it seems, since all through the late years of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth Scott regularly used Shakespearian themes in his cartoons. As late as 1907 on the front page of the ultra radical *Worker*, Scott would use the witches from *Macbeth* to conjure up a brew as he had done on the ultra conservative *Melbourne Punch* over forty years before.⁴⁹ During his early years at *Melbourne Punch* it is clear that Scott, or at least his compatriot comic writers, saw the comic potential in a colonial transplantation of Shakespeare.

When the University in Melbourne conducted a symposium on Shakespeare in 1864 at which the establishment of a “Shakspere (sic.) Scholarship” was proposed, *Melbourne Punch* saw the event as an occasion for parody, suggesting lectures to come: *The Scotticisms in Shakspere, On the Welsh Characters in Shakspere, with Botanical Descriptions of the Leek, Shaksperian Puns and Quiddities* and so on.⁵⁰ *Melbourne Punch* also expressed some scepticism at the idea that a Scholarship should be established by the University and opted instead for the alternative of raising funds for a commemorative public monument.⁵¹ Monte Scott’s full-page cartoon on 7 April 1864, cleverly combines the statue or scholarship issue by having the Vice-Chancellor of the University deliver the proclamation of a *Melbourne Shakespeare Scholarship* to a massive, mute statue of Shakespeare. Adding to the half-hearted lampoon is the ironic title “Shakspere Rescued from Oblivion.” [figure 3.19] By the time of the next issue (on 14 April) *Melbourne Punch* was forced to show its hand as the true defender of art and support the proposed bronze statue of Shakespeare. This was because the Victorian politician, Archibald Michie, attacked the statue as a waste of money, describing it as a mere “lump of bronze.” Under the title “What is a Statue?,” *Punch* mounted a spirited defence of great art and berated both Michie and the audience, to which he had made the remark.⁵² But in the April 21 issue of the journal, Scott made the most powerful, and perhaps libellous, contribution to the battle. In a full-page cartoon he drew an alternative “Lump of Bronze”, the design of which showed a presumably inebriated Michie in the pose of Summer’s proposed statue, but with empty bottle in hand. [figure 3.20]

Monuments

The controversy over the Shakespeare sculpture was but one of many debates that arose whenever a public monument was proposed in colonial Australia. The issue was as often as not related to the ideological intentions of a statue as to its cost. Since the primary aim of most public monuments was to symbolically express the power of the British Empire, it is not surprising that the raising of an effigy of Queen Victoria or a Colonial Governor would create dissension among particular settler groups, most notably the Irish, who were antithetical to British rule. However the desire for an independent expression of colonial ideals in public monuments was perhaps more widespread than currently understood. Recent debate in the Sydney popular press has focussed on the nineteenth-century monumental statue of Captain Cook in Hyde Park, with determined calls to have it replaced or complemented by a statue of Bungaree. Particular objections have targeted the inscription on the monument that describes Cook as having “discovered Australia”. Obviously this is historically incorrect, since Australia was visited by European ships before Cook, but it is the erasure of Aboriginal Australia that is the point at issue. This is the same issue raised by Scott in a cartoon in *Sydney Punch* in 1866 when the statue was first proposed.⁵³ [figure 3.21] In the same year, Scott had also drawn a much more conventional

proposal for the statue and a smaller block using the obvious pun on Cook's name by depicting a anthropoid cook surrounded by pots and pans.⁵⁴ When, over ten years later, the statue was finally unveiled in Hyde Park, Scott produced a large colour supplement of the event for the *Illustrated Sydney News* and every paper in Sydney gave extensive coverage to the occasion.⁵⁵ Clearly, the ideas embedded in a monumental statue had ubiquitous symbolic power at that time. As the nineteenth century progressed Queen Victoria may have remained the usual figure on the plinth of public monuments in Australia but if she so appeared in Scott's cartoons it was as a figure of contempt. In 1884 Scott created a grand scheme for a monument to Queen Victoria in the *Bulletin* and although the actual depiction of Victoria is not unsympathetic the sculptural group in Egyptian style is a monument to sycophantic colonials seeking Imperial honours.⁵⁶ The recumbent lion eyeing with pity the absurdly shaped emu reinforces the amusing intention of this parody of colonial attempts to symbolize their attachment to Empire. [figure 3.22] Since Queen Victoria represented the apex of Empire, Scott's usual ploy for monumental depictions or allegories in the last decades of the century was to replace Victoria with a personification of New South Wales, Queensland or Australia. Female personifications of abstractions such as Justice, Liberty, Socialism or the Constitutional Government were also favoured.⁵⁷ [figure 3.23] Scott's graphic statues were only vicarious or virtual monuments - never to be built - pure symbolic expressions mocking their real Imperialist equivalents by showing their antithesis. Such fraudulent public statues were part of the comic graphic tradition established particularly by John Leech in *Punch* where he regularly drew sham statues and monuments, even to the extent of producing a full page "Of Designs for National Statues" in 1844.⁵⁸ As Queen Victoria aged, the women in Scott's monumental statues stayed forever young and Scott's career lasted long enough to reach into the post-Federation era when he could monumentalize a young female Australia, naturally enough representing "White Australia".⁵⁹ [figure 3.24]

It appears, however, that among the monuments that Scott constructed in his political cartoons the most acerbic examples were those without a central female figure. This follows Scott's consistent polarisation of the symbolic feminine and masculine in Australia. National ideals that touched the intellectual, judicial and cultural aspects of social life were conventionally feminine in most constructions while the world of politics, bush work and war were the domain of the masculine. On the front page of the *Worker* in 1903 he created "Joseph's Monument" in response to a report that "Mr Belfour, Premier of England, says that Mr. Chamberlain's work in South Africa is a monument to his genius".⁶⁰ [figure 3.25] In 1906 when the British Premier, Sir Henry Cambell-Bannerman said "the result of the elections is a memorial to a record year of prosperity under Freetrade" Scott added "But what of the underfed school children at the base of the monument?" to make the caption for a cartoon on the front page of the *Worker*.⁶¹ [figure 3.26]

In 1893 Scott produced a monument to the worship of mammon, showing that “After Nearly Nineteen Hundred Years” the “Golden Calf” was still worshipped.⁶² [figure 3.27] In 1899 Scott proposed a “Statue of Liberty” representing a stereotypical prognathic, and therefore presumably Irish, policeman holding the baton of “Law and Order.” The base of the statue shows a violent bashing on one panel while the other visible side-panel reveals the policeman neglecting his duty, and fondling the chin of a reluctant young nurse.⁶³ [figure 3.28] A year later, Scott produced a finished “Statue of Liberty” showing the rise of Boer War “Jingoism” crushing “Free Speech” at the expense of law and order on the streets.⁶⁴ [figure 3.29] However, his most impressive monument was a memorial without any allegorical, emblematic or satirical figures. “The Cost of War” shows a widow and her daughter before a monument that simply lists the numbers of men killed in all recent wars across the western world. The total is shown at the bottom as 2,253,000 men.⁶⁵ Scott obviously understood the ideological implications and political potency of the public statue, monument and memorial in the nineteenth century however much he satirized the theme. They may now only represent the delusion of eternal imperial power but the monumental statues of Queen Victoria are still standing in Australian cities, while the countless virtual monuments that Scott created have long disappeared with the papers in which they appeared - such is the fate of the popular and ephemeral aspects of visual culture. A cartoon, popular entertainment, theatrical event or public festival may deeply impact on lived experience, but their immediacy and intensity does not necessarily register on the historical record. The Latin adage “*Ars longa, vita brevis*” only applies to the practitioners of the high arts it seems. Waverley Cemetery in Sydney contains the graves of many famous Australians including Henry Lawson, Dorothea MacKellar and Henry Kendall, whose burial place is marked with a most elaborate marble memorial rising to a height of over three metres. Montagu Scott’s grave in the same cemetery is unmarked.

The societal memory expressed in monuments almost always represents the official record of history. “Such collective ‘remembering’ —and ‘forgetting’—occurs through galleries, museums” institutional archives and other sites of political and economic power.⁶⁶ As emphasized in this chapter, the popular or ephemeral arts and entertainments that blossomed in nineteenth-century Australia hardly feature in archival memory. This is not unexpected, as “since ancient times, those in power decided who was allowed to speak and who was forced into silence, both in public life and in archival records.”⁶⁷ Monte Scott may not register in the official record of nineteenth-century history but he left his mark in the alternative or marginal archive of the popular press. The next chapter examines Scott’s highly charged political cartoons from the late decades of the nineteenth-century when the press cartoon became a most potent expression of popular sentiment and attitudes.

Endnotes - Chapter Three

1. Anita Callaway *Visual Ephemera : theatrical art in nineteenth-century Australia*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2000.
2. *Ibid.*, p. x.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 189. The mutant form that Callaway describes is characterised by appropriation, subtle parody and disruptive hybridity as outlined in the post-colonial writing of Homi Bhabha.
4. "The Streets of Sydney" *Empire*, Jan. 23, 1868 p. 2. It should also be noted that the *Empire* added the only critical evaluation of the artistic quality of the painted illuminations:
The transparencies and pictures afforded great contrasts in point of artistic excellence. A few were good, some were middling, but the great majority were simply execrable as works of art. Few of the devices were happy, and fewer still executed in such a manner as to command the approval of an unbiassed critic. What most of them meant few cared to inquire, and if they had inquired, fewer still could have told them. But every body seemed so ready to make allowances, and to take the will for the deed, that the worst passed muster, and the best excited admiration.(p. 2)
5. Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 55.
6. Reinforcing the self-conscious nature of the ploy is the fact that the transparent image reads correctly but illogically from the reverse view.
7. Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 36.
8. These were respectively: Augustus Earle's pro-Governor Brisbane's transparency and the anonymous anti-Darling transparency. Cruikshank's example was "The Triumph of Queen Caroline" of 1820. (Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, pp. 14 - 19).
9. Scott painted transparencies for the Colonial Secretary's Office, Council of Education, Supreme Court, Exchange, Registrar General's Office, Commissariat's Office, Lands Office and his own photographic premises at 392 George Street, along with an advertisement on Hennessy's tobacconist's shop. (*SMH* 28 Jan. 1868 p. 5; *Empire* 21 Jan. 1868 p.5) His portrait of Earl Belmore (the new Governor to be installed by Alfred) was reproduced as a full-page engraving, by Jackson, in the *Illustrated Sydney News* 13 June 1868 p. 384. Scott advertised Carte-de-Visite of various members of the Royal party in the *SMH* April 18, 1868 p. 12. His contributions to *Sydney Punch* included a full-page (30 Nov. 1867 p. 5; reprinted in *ISN*, 25 March, 1868 p.330) and a double-page "Welcome Alfred!" (25 Jan. 1868 pp. 66,67) and after the assassination attempt "Australia Vindex" as a double-page (21 March, 1868 n.p.) and "Australia Supplex" (16 April, 1868 n.p. ?). Both of these illustrations were reprinted in the *ISN* (25 March, 1868 p. 331 and 30 April, 1868 p. 357, respectively).
10. These include a large, highly dramatic depiction of the event (*ISN* 25 March, 1868 pp. 329, 330). Scott's contributions to the *ISN* special April 1868 supplement on the "Assassination Attempt" included individual drawings and a full folio sheet engraving "'All Right' Again."

11. Anita Callaway suggests Scott may have been involved with the painting of some of the transparencies in Melbourne (Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 30)
12. "An Inter-colonial High Art Question" *Melb. Punch*, 11 June 1863, p. 368. The subtitle of the cartoon and full caption read: Scene. - Illumination Artist's Studio in Sydney.
Occupant of Studio to Friend - : "Here's a pretty go, Augustus. A Colonial Raphael, who looked to make a sov. or two by this illumination, been choused out o' his rights, 'cos they've been and imported all the second-hand transparencies from Melbourne."
13. "In Honor of the Continued Reign of Victoria," *Melb. Punch*, 4 June 1863 p. 353. Full caption: "Mr Jones, having ventured forth to survey his illumination, is not at all gratified at the result."
14. "The Royal Marriage Present: How the Colony Responds to the Invitation to Contribute," *Melb. Punch*, 28 May 1863, p. 349. Caption reads: Mr. Punch (to the crowd behind the scenes) - "Now then, ladies and gentlemen, don't rush in all together with your contributions."
15. Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 36.
16. *Ibid.*, pp.36 - 38.
17. Callaway (in *Visual Ephemera*) reproduces the cartoon as Figure 38, p. 111. Scott also produced a follow-up cartoon "The 'Real' Australian Ladies' Ball," discussed below. Alan Davies and Peter Stanbury, *The Mechanical Eye in Australia: photography 1841 - 1900*, Melbourne: Oxford Univ. Press, 1985, p. 191.
18. "Our Queen's Birthday" *Sydney Punch* 23 May 1872 pp. 244, 245.
19. "Welcome! To the Grandsons of Our Queen" *Sydney Punch* 23 July 1881 p. 35.
20. "Three Cheers for the Governor!" (Brisbane) *Worker* 11 April, 1896, front page.
21. Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, pp.90 - 93.
22. Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 112. The cartoon was published in *Sydney Punch* 9 Nov. 1867 p. 194.
23. For detail on the behaviour of the Duke and his party during the visit, and the fact that this was common knowledge, see Callaway, Chapter 6, pp. 103 - 119. Also, I haven't overlooked here the fact that the Duke did actually attend a corroboree, depicted in the *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, staged as part of his visit to South Australia. Evidently, an Aborigine complained that one of the organizers had tried to persuade the men to have their wives dance naked for the Prince, but that they had refused, adding that the white women wouldn't be asked to do the same. See, Brian McKinlay, *The First Royal Tour: 1867 - 1868*, Adelaide: Rigby Ltd., 1970, p. 43 (image reproduced on p.44).
24. "Belles of the Corroborees" *Sydney Punch* 14 March 1868 p.122. The fancy-dress ball was held on the 10 March, 1868.

25. Michael Cannon ed., *Historical Records of Victoria* Melbourne: Vict. Gov. Printing Office, 1982 Vol 2A p. 295 (- where the photograph is also reproduced).
26. *Sydney Punch* 15 August 1868 pp. 98, 99. Both pages of the cartoon are reproduced in Peter Coleman and Les Tanner *Cartoons of Australian History*, Melbourne: Nelson, 1978 (p. 179), although the cartoon is not discussed and nor is Scott mentioned or acknowledged as its author.
27. For example see, Geoffrey Dutton, *White on Black: the Australian Aborigine portrayed in art*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1974, plates 45 & 49.
28. (Brisbane) *Worker* 16 Oct. 1897 p. 4, (article, p. 3)
29. For extended discussion of cartoons and illustrations depicting white males and Aboriginal women and the theoretical implications of these, see my earlier thesis. (Ross Woodrow, "Darwinism and Images of Race in the Australian Popular Press - c. 1860 - 1900" University of Sydney, 1994, pp. 172 - 174)
30. I should also add that I have followed contemporary moral etiquette in excluding from my summary description of this cartoon the original, and potent, terms that were used, such as "gin," "dusky lady," "blacks" and "boys" to describe the Aboriginal participants.
31. Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 86.
32. Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 97.
33. Some examples of Scott's full-page illustrations of fancy-dress balls are: *Illustrated Sydney News*, 16 June 1865 p.4; 24 Nov. 1870 p.84; and, 25 July 1874, p. 20. Examples of Scott's much more common comic images of individual costumes or dressing preparations are: *Melbourne Punch*, 30 July 1863, p. 40; 13 Aug. 1863, p. 49; 27 Aug. 1863, p. 68; 27 Aug. 1863, p. 72. *Illustrated Sydney News*, 17 May 1879, p. 9.
34. The illustration of the Mayor's fancy-dress ball, by Collingridge appears in the *Illustrated Sydney News*, 22 Mar. 1879, p. 13. Scott did, however, produce a double-page cartoon drawing of this Ball in *Sydney Punch* and although many of the costumed guests are depicted Scott did not include himself or partner among them. *Sydney Punch* 1 March 1879 pp. 172,173.
35. *Sydney Mail* 22 Feb. 1879 p. 308 and *Illustrated Sydney News*, 22 Mar. 1879 p. 11. Callaway quotes the *Sydney Mail* but not the *ISNs* report. (Callaway, p. 97)
36. The description of the frescoes (actually paintings) given in the *Illustrated Sydney News* (4 Oct. 1879 p. 6) lists "Australia, Asia, America and Europe" as the subjects. Interestingly, in the same issue (p. 9 and p. 16) Scott's representation of Asia, including Australia, was reproduced along with his design showing a personification of NSW above the Garden Palace represented as a honey pot attracting the nations as bees with wings emblazoned with national flags. As argue elsewhere (Chapter Five), Scott's appearance as America might also suggest he had a greater role in developing the designs for the other murals, especially since William McLeod, who also painted a mural, appeared at the same fancy-dress ball in the conventional

costume of a pirate.

37. Mary Mackay has also pointed out Scott's consideration of Australia as part of Asia. See Mary Mackay, "Objects, Stereotypes and Cultural Exchange," in Maryanne Dever ed. *Australia and Asia: cultural transactions*, Richmond, Surrey: Cuzon Press, 1997 p. 183. Mackay follows the view of Donald Ellsmore and suggests the four frescoes in the pendentives of the Garden Palace dome were: "Europe by Giulo Annivetti, America by Nicholas Habbe, Africa by William McLeod and Asia by Montague (sic) Scott."

38. About 29 of the 600 or so attributable and signed images deal with theatrical or Shakespearian themes. See, Appendix [xx]

39. For example: "The Land Witches," *Melb. Punch*, 25 Feb. 1864, p. 69.

40. "All the World's a Stage," *Melb. Punch*, 11 Feb. 1864, p. 52.

41. "Illustrations to Shakspere [sic.]" *Melb. Punch*, 11 Aug. 1864, p. 49. The source of the King Lear quote is noted as, "Act III, Scene 4". It may well be that this cartoon was given extra topical bite by a mouse or rat plague in Melbourne during July and August of 1864 as Scott produced another "Illustrations to Shakspere" cartoon on the theme of rat-catching in *Melbourne Punch* (14 July, 1864, p. 20), although this time the caption was taken from the *Merchant of Venice*. [I should note that there is some variation in the spelling of "Shakespeare" in *Melbourne Punch*. This occurs also in Scott's captions with the occasional use of "Shakspere" and "Shakespeare," but mostly "Shakspeare" is used.]

42. "An Illustration of Shakespeare," *Melb. Punch*, 28 Jan. 1864, p. 33.

43. An example of the former is "Illustrations to Shakspeare" *Melb. Punch*, 19 May 1864, p. 161. It depicts a butcher shop with a menacing Semitic butcher and a young lady customer. The caption quotes from the *Merchant of Venice*, Act IV., Scene I: "Cut Thou Nor Less Nor More, But Just a Pound of Flesh." An example of the latter, is "Illustrations to Shakspeare," *Melb. Punch*, 22 Sept. 1864, p. 104. The caption reads: "Now, MARK him well, he speaks!" and the cartoon shows an Aborigine directing another to apply ceremonial or war paint to his body.

44. *Sydney Punch* 7 November 1868 p. 191. Later examples: "The Turn of the Tide," 1 May 1874 p. 145; "A Colonial Caliban" 26 June 1880 p. 205.

45. *Sydney Punch* 3 April 1874 pp. 108,109.

46. An example of a cartoon combining *Macbeth* and a popular song as title is: "By the Hopes he Betrayed" *Sydney Punch* 21 November 1873 p. 439.

47. *Bulletin* 3 May 1884 p. 11.

48. "William Shakspere" (sic.) *Sydney Punch* 21 April 1866 p. 799.

49. "The Land Witches" *Melbourne Punch* 25 February 1864 p.69. "All Hail MacKid!" *Worker* 11 May 1907 cover. It should be noted that the iconic value of the witches from

Macbeth reaches to contemporary cartooning. Australia's largest circulation daily paper the populist Sydney tabloid the *Daily Telegraph* recently published a Newman cartoon using the three witches representing the three Labor Prime Ministers from the recent past. (7 June 2004 p. 20.)

50. Anon., "Shaksperian Lectures" *Melb. Punch*, 7 April 1864, p. 116.

51. Anon., "Grand Shakspeare Demonstration: anticipated account," *Melb. Punch*, 7 April 1864, p. 113.

52. Anon., "What is a Statue?" *Melb. Punch*, 14 April 1864, p. 123. The full text of this article is given below.

Mr. Michie Said the other night, a Statue of Shakespere Would be only "a lump of bronze bearing more or less the likeness of the Chandos portrait." Perhaps Mr. Michie would be good enough to say what the Venus de Medici, the Apollo of Belvidere, the Laocoon, the Farnese Hercules, and other pieces of statuary are, if not lumps of marble with more or less resemblance to the objects they are presumed to represent ; or whether the works of Raphael, Titian, Rubens, and many other painters, are not so many square feet of canvas with pigments spread upon them, bearing more or less resemblance to saints virgins, gods and goddesses or whether the pyramids are not heaps of stones, or St. Peter's another heap of stones, or St. Paul's also a heap of stones. Perhaps he would say, too, if Mr. Michie himself is not a lump of bones, muscles, ligaments, nerves, arteries, and viscera, having more or less the likeness of a man and whether being, this lump of animal tissues lie is not equally a man with other men, and whether, to apply the argument, "a lump of bronze having more or less likeness to the Chandos portrait," may not be a work of art, suggesting, as all works of true art do, high thoughts and noble aspirations. Mr. Michie's audience of seven hundred laughed hysterically when he made the joke about the "lump of bronze," and no doubt he thought himself a vastly clever fellow to have said it. The truth of the old proverb is constantly being proved- "One fool does indeed make many."

53. "An Aboriginal View of Cook's Statue" *Sydney Punch* 23 June 1866 p. 36.

54. *Sydney Punch* 21 April 1866 p. 797 and 16 June 1866 p. 28, respectively.

55. "The Ceremony of Unveiling The Statue of Capt. Cook, Hyde Park, Sydney February, 1879" *Illustrated Sydney News* March 1879 supplement. The Australian War Memorial holds a copy of this colour lithograph [ART19819] although it is wrongly catalogued as a watercolour.

56. *Bulletin* 22 March 1884 p. 13.

57. In "A Dangerous Game" (*Sydney Punch* 12 February 1875 p. 41) represented the "Constitution of New South Wales" as a young female warrior with sword and armour.

58. "Of Designs for National Statues" *Punch* Vol. 7, 1844 p. 29.

59. "Beyond Their Reach" *Worker* 13 September 1902 cover.

60. *Worker* 14 February 1903 cover.

61. *Worker* 17 March 1906 cover.
62. *Worker* 23 December 1893 cover.
63. "Proposed Statue of Liberty" *Worker* 29 July 1899 p. 4.
64. "Statue of Liberty" *Worker* 10 March 1900 cover.
65. *Worker* 11 January 1896 cover. The implications of this virtual monument are explored later in Chapter Eight in the context of Scott's attitude to war.
66. Terry Cook, "What is Past is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas Since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift" *Archivaria*, no 43, Spring 1997, (17 – 63) 18.
67. *Ibid.*

CHAPTER FOUR

Jester as Butcher (ideology and cartoons)

The cartoons that Monte Scott created during the 1890s for the Brisbane *Worker* were the most politically aggressive and violent images produced in Australia. At least this was the contemporary assessment of the informed, independent observer Albert Métin.¹ These cartoons along with examples by Scott from the Brisbane *Boomerang*, make up the core content of this chapter since they have received scant analysis. Marguerite Mahood described the *Worker* cartoons as Scott's "most memorable work" and acknowledged that "the valour and vigour of the *Worker* cartoons" deserved more attention than she was able to give them.² Further to this, Mahood adds the assessment that these cartoons "are some of the best in colonial history."³ Apart from analysis of the ideological content of selected examples, this chapter defines the particular nature of the political cartoon around 1900 by examining Scott's work within the evolving late nineteenth-century Australian social or political context and positioning it within the broader history of graphic satire in the popular press. A brief reflection on cartooning from a contemporary perspective is included to highlight the specificity of Scott's contribution to graphic satire.

In the late 1880s each issue of the *Boomerang* in Brisbane and *Bulletin* in Sydney proclaimed its confrontational editorial policy with a front page cartoon making acerbic political or social comment. At this time, clearly the primary satirical weapon in the popular press was the cartoon, used to pillory individual politicians, attack government or imperialistic policies, parody class pretensions or promote popular prejudices. What gave the cartoon such a position of power and influence is not easily summarised since its status depended on both historical precedent and dramatically changed social conditions. A necessary vocabulary of social physiognomics was well established in popular graphic discourse by the 1880s and the most significant technological developments in printing occur during that decade. The expanded political and commercial circumstances resulting from compulsory education and universal male suffrage, also contributes to this new status for the cartoon, as does the liberalization of censorship laws.

From any perspective, however, this is the beginning of the "golden years" of the newspaper cartoon in Australia. This is the brief period when the cartoon moved from the domain of the broadly based comic journals such as *Punch* to a prominent position in the popular daily and weekly press. In her survey of the cartoon industry in Australia, Joan Kerr notes this shift:

"Comic illustrators certainly had the greatest range of opportunities and outlets at the turn of the century. For a brief period cartoons were not only commercially oriented but

also elevated to 'real art', being shown in mixed international and fine art exhibitions throughout the world."

The emphasis here on their fine art status perhaps overshadows the real power of the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century cartoons. The newspaper cartoonists in this crucial period of influence had little interest in seeing their work in any sort of display other than the published form, a point Kerr acknowledges in another context, for the commercial value of the newspaper cartoon was based on its ideological status. This situation did not last long, as early in the twentieth century the form again became increasingly the preserve of specialist publications or comics. Nevertheless, even in London in the first decades of the twentieth century, the political cartoon still had such potency that it "could be a vital weapon in the circulation battle" between the nine evening papers published in the capital during that period.⁴ In the context of the Australian press, Frank Greenop has noted the vitality of cartooning as a means of political expression early in the twentieth century; adding that "the cartoon was recognized as a useful weapon in the hands of newspapers whose policy was to endeavour to mould public opinion."⁵ Generally, however with the development of radio and later television, cartoons became and remain an entertaining inclusion in the mainstream daily papers, although they have retained something of their status as savage satirical instruments - a residual status based on the reputation won in the nineteenth century.

This is not to posit some artificial points of demarcation in a contrived progressive view of history. The history of any illustrated paper is as linear as a roll of microfilm and dramatic change in content or format can be measured in days or weeks. With so many short-lived illustrated papers published in the nineteenth century in Britain and the colonies in a field absolutely dominated for much of the period by the two London papers, the weekly *Punch* and the monthly *Illustrated London News*, it is obviously easier to see continuities than changes.⁶ Nevertheless, driven by new printing technology and an increasing population whose income was based on skilled labour, the shift from comic relief to cutting satire is as significant as it is dramatic. Nowhere is this better illustrated than by a comparison of the twenty year output by Monte Scott in *Sydney Punch* and his following twenty year output in the *Boomerang* and *Worker*. In spite of this, the *Bulletin* has been the singular focus in defining cartooning in the late eighties and nineties in nineteenth-century Australia. Even there Scott played a role in its formative years, as noted. But when Scott, in his fifties, started work for the *Boomerang*, his cartoons were invigorated by a venom which cannot be dismissed as the enthusiasm of a new start or the resentment of lost opportunities in Sydney. More than this, Monte Scott's best work in the *Boomerang* and *Worker* defined the potential of the new idiom.

It should be stressed that my location of the beginning of the great press cartoon era to the late 1880s is specifically confined to Australia. Because of its population, colonial status and rate of technological development, Australia does not exactly parallel the situation in the United States and not at all in the case of France, for example. In France, the cartoon was a fundamental element in the popular illustrated press from the 1830s and the American weekly papers such as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Paper* and *Harper's Weekly* had by the 1860s broken free of the model of the *Illustrated London News* with as much political comment as reportage. Nor was their serio-comic approach comparable with *London Punch*. It could also be argued that by 1888 the great era of the cartoon-driven newspaper was over in America and the age of the illustrated magazine had begun.⁷ Certainly it has been remarked that the unprecedented reputation of the best known cartoonist in America, Thomas Nast, "rests mainly on some fifty drawings he did in 1871."⁸ Nast is also presented as the quintessential newspaper cartoonist by William Fever in his survey of caricaturists.⁹ It is also acknowledged by Fever that Nast's "style was not distinguished, being a conglomeration of Tenniel, Doré and German broadsheet mannerisms, such as those of the *Münchener Bilderbogen*."¹⁰

The production quality of the late nineteenth-century American weeklies such as *Puck*, the *Judge* and the *Wasp* is extraordinary when compared to the *Bulletin* for example. Coloured covers and belly-folds of coloured cartoons are common. One reason for this was the adaption of lithography for press printing in the late decades of the century in America. Another is the sophistication of photo process printing, including half-tone, although the impact of photography on the illustrated press does long predate the appearance of published photographs.¹¹ When non-lithographic colour printing techniques were developed late in the nineteenth century in America the result was the inclusion of weekly coloured comics, not cartoons as I have defined them.¹²

Historical Lineage of Graphic Satire

In France, lithography had been the preferred method of printing full-sheet caricature or cartoons from the beginning of the satirical papers.¹³ The potent banner cartoons of the early issues of *Le Charivari*, such as the fabled *Pears* by Charles Philippon, (1806 - 1862) were lithographs. As such, it was possible to produce a daily illustrated paper where Honoré Daumier (1808 - 1879) went on to make the speed and immediacy of the new medium his own while working for *La Silhouette*, *La Caricature* but principally *Le Charivari*. The vital role that caricature played in radicalizing the French press and public during the nineteenth century has been well chronicled.¹⁴ So too the important development of a prerequisite "silent vocabulary" of physiognomics, as Judith Wechsler described it.¹⁵

London Punch subjoined “or the London Charivari” to its title in homage to the journal it had emulated. But the savage satire in the French version was “caricature” as the term applied to the great age of caricature in eighteenth-century Britain. The influence of the Parisian *Charivari* on *London Punch* was repayment for the debt owed for the influence of the British graphic satirists of the eighteenth century. It has been stated that in the 1830s the “spirit of caricature now burnt most fiercely in France, where artists such as Daumier and Philipon picked up where the English had left off.”¹⁶ For it would appear that it was first in England that artists and publishers realized the commercial and political possibilities of printed graphic satire.¹⁷ The gross vitality and confronting scatological character of much of the imagery by early nineteenth-century French caricaturists clearly demonstrates the influence of the eighteenth-century English tradition. The contribution to establishing this tradition by artists such as William Hogarth (1697 - 1764) and James Gillray (1757 - 1815) has been comprehensively elaborated.¹⁸ If the value of a caricature or other graphic satire is measured by the force of the opposition or reaction it provokes then the work of James Gillray does indeed establish a benchmark for satirical illustration.¹⁹

At the beginning of the eighteenth century in England satirical prints were relatively common but with limited distribution because of the cost of paper and printing.²⁰ However, by the middle of the eighteenth century the popular print trade was well established with sensationalism, sedition, sacrilege and profanity becoming the publisher’s stock-in-trade to titillate the buyers of popular prints sold as single images in catchpenny prints or incorporated into a broadside or chapbook. What artists such as Hogarth and Gillray did was more to shift the register of quality if not increase the intensity of graphic satire. Gillray or Cruikshank prints were not of the type sold cheaply on the streets but were made dangerous by the nature of their literate, politically organized audience. The poor and working classes would crowd the print-shop window to view the latest Issac Cruikshank or Gillray: just as they would later in Sydney and Melbourne to view the latest issue of *Melbourne Punch* or the *Illustrated Sydney News* displayed in their shopfronts (if we can believe the illustrations in these respective papers).

By 1800 the development or expansion of newspapers in Britain was controlled by heavily imposed taxes which meant that the cheap broadside continued well into the nineteenth century. This is also true for Australia.²¹ The first convergence of the tradition of the satirical print and mass illustrated newspaper in France proved the versatility of caricature to savage powerful individuals as well as offer critical social commentary using the mindless or unaffiliated figure of the clown. Pierrot’s truth came from his detachment. Philipon stated it without recourse to metaphor: “Caricature will henceforward be Truth”.²²

When *London Punch* was established in 1841 it claimed a position for itself as the fearless jester, champion of justice and defender of the poor. In its early years, it was often critical of privilege, loved to pillory the pompous and was blatantly anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic, which mostly meant anti-Irish. However, the most sympathetic historians of *Punch* agree that this image of Mr Punch fiercely defending the poor and underprivileged soon became an illusion masking the reality as *Punch* moved increasingly to the right in the nineteenth century.²³ From about the 1860s when the cartoons became the most important element in the paper it was more likely that the poor would be presented as brutish or bestial targets and pomposity would be found in the pretensions of the lower-middle class. The success of *London Punch* was unprecedented and it became the model for graphic humour in Europe and Australia until the last decade of the nineteenth century, at least. *Punch* epitomised the impeccable expression of bourgeois or conservative middle-class ideology in England.²⁴ Whatever shifts were made in its political alignment or targets, the attitudes and values it espoused were relentlessly middle-class. The leading cartoonists for *Punch* may have been apathetic about party politics, but even so their middle-class social orientation was blatantly obvious in their choice of themes, and the attitudes they expressed. The fact that *London Punch's* chief cartoonist for almost the last forty years of the nineteenth-century, John Tenniel, was knighted in 1893 speaks for itself against any radical position for the *Punch* cartoonist.

The myth of Mr Punch, the biting, apolitical jester had been founded on the reality of *Punch's* radical beginnings, the precedent of *Le Charivari* and the tradition of Gillray and Cruikshank, but the metaphor was carried over to represent later cartoonists without any foundation. So powerful was the coalition of influence and the impact of *Punch* that its legacy remains today in the accepted image of the cartoonist as savage defender of justice and the actual practice of mainstream cartooning as soft-target satire. This was born out in a recent survey of the self-perception of Australia's leading political cartoonists.²⁵

A Contemporary Perspective on Satire

The contemporary survey of graphic satire, by Patti Miller, was prompted by the censorship of a Michael Leunig cartoon by the editor of *The Age* in Melbourne, Michael Gawenda.²⁶ Although this incident or the issue of censorship of cartoons is the pretext for the article by Miller, she uses this to develop a broader investigation into how cartoonists see themselves in relation to society. Comments by most of Australia's leading contemporary cartoonists (Michael Leunig, Phil Somerville, Kathy Wilcox, Bruce Petty, Alan Moir, Lindsay Foyle and Bill Leak) are included in the article.

All agree that the cartoonist's primary role is to be funny. In terms of their ideological positioning, there is also surprising concordance among cartoonists interviewed. Cartoonists do not see themselves as politically affiliated but operating as lone fighters against injustice, complacency, hypocrisy and pomposity.²⁷ Good cartoonists have no allegiances, only convictions, claims Phil Somerville. Also adding that he has "a hyper-sense of injustice in the world and drawing a cartoon is a way of expressing my anger and hopefully at the same time making other people angry about it".²⁸ Miller summarizes the cartoonists role, in a sentence which also supplies the title for her article:

Political cartooning is about making people laugh, but its purpose is clearly satirical - the censuring of behaviour and attitudes through the powerful force of ridicule, or 'laughing with knives', as the Chinese ideogram for satire puts it.²⁹

All of the cartoonists interviewed by Miller work for mainstream media outlets although mention is made of cartoons in radical or specialist publications. The implication that these are outside of the orthodox or relevant ideological framework is not stated since it is taken as a given. Also the emphasis on discussion of "taste" in the feature avoids direct confrontation with political or ideological affiliation. Current taste or attitudes are put into very limited historical perspective with some agreement that the boundaries of taste on such matters as sexually graphic humour are wider now, or were so in the 1970s. And that feminism has significantly tempered the more outrageous depictions of women in cartoons of the past. A summary of taboo topics for cartoonists includes topical national or racial conflicts, gender politics, Aboriginal politics, the church and religion generally. This hardly quantitative survey does in part accord with one of the few recent statistical examinations of the contemporary cartoonists view of difficult or contentious topics. Abortion, religion, gun control and race are cited by American cartoonists as the most difficult topics to deal with.³⁰ The inclusion of abortion and gun control in this particular analysis indicates the specificity of the United States situation or more particularly the size and power of fundamentalist and gun lobby groups in America. It has been suggested that the smaller population of Australia, when compared to the United States, and the consequent lack of significant funding for religious and political lobbyists has created a greater degree of freedom for the Australian cartoonist.³¹

There may be little hard evidence as to the degree of freedom of Australian cartoonists but both anecdotal evidence and academic research confirms that the freedom of American cartoonists has been weakened by increased demand for political correctness, as noted by Anna Day.³² More significantly, in her spirited assertion that Australian cartoonists have greater freedom than their American colleagues, Anna Day contends that "this freedom seems to stem from the very nature

of Australians, who have a nationalistic pride in Aussie larrikinism and a penchant for what is called the tall poppy-chopping syndrome, of which cartoonists are the masters."³³ Day also notes the lengthy inter-influence or cross-fertilization between American and Australian cartoonists adding that the satirical character of political cartooning here has a long history reaching back to the mid-nineteenth century. Apart from emphasizing the need for more academic research on the area, Day does not tap into this tradition as a possible source for the fearless lampooning and unrestricted satirical savagery possible in Australian cartooning. Highlighting the freedom of contemporary Australian cartoonists through examples of uncensored depiction of bondage and nudity, as Day does, would seem to demand mention at least that one hundred years ago in the Australian press Monte Scott commonly deployed such themes in his political cartoons with such a degree provocation or combination of ferocity and salaciousness that no contemporary editor would leave them uncensored.

When Joan Kerr conducted her 1999 survey of *Australian Artists and Cartoonists* she noted the dearth of genuinely savage satirists in Australia and that "vicious Australian caricaturists are actually quite rare."³⁴ Ironically, when Monte Scott is mentioned in Joan Kerr's analysis, it is to have him represent the antitheses of the metaphor of the cartoonist or caricaturist as butcher. I have already presented an alternative, if not contradictory, reading of the photograph Joan Kerr uses as evidence to place Scott, the cartoonist, among the ranks of disgruntled music-hall performers. Scott did stage performances of lightning caricatures, but this is irrelevant to his role as one of the most caustic cartoonists to have worked in Australia.

What is most significant about Scott's cartoons of the 1890s is that they defy the claim by contemporary satirists that cartoons must be above all funny, while enforcing the cartoonists' fundamental satirical imperative. The acidity of Scott's cartoons in the *Brisbane Boomerang* and *Worker* is not diluted by geniality. He had amply demonstrated in his Melbourne and Sydney work that he could comfortably wear the jester's suit of *Mr Punch*. But these productions of his late career could not be more of a contrast to the smug, complacent mockery of *London Punch* and indeed the jovial, social critique of many contemporary cartoons.

In the British satirical tradition before *London Punch*, levity played an insignificant role and joviality is mostly missing from key political cartoons of the last hundred years in Britain. In fact, it would appear that there is still a degree of nationalistic pride in the acerbic satirical quality of British cartooning. So much so, that recently Tim Benson, the founder of the Political Cartoon Society in London, was prompted to claim: "The quality and depth of political caricature in Britain has a unique heritage which remains to this day far superior to that of the rest of the

world.”³⁵ This was said in the context of Benson’s publication of his selection of the top ten British cartoons from the past two hundred years in the journal *History Today*.³⁶ Benson also prefaced his selection with the observation: “No other medium, written or visual, comes close to capturing moments in history more than the great political cartoon.”³⁷ He gave his definition of what makes a great cartoon as:

where the cartoonist has combined outstanding draftsmanship with an ability to comment on an event or situation in a vivid, perceptive and imaginative way. This can be done either satirically or, for dramatic effect, poignantly. The composition is also essential for ease of interpretation and appreciation. The dynamics of composition can also help heighten the cartoon's impact.³⁸

The definition is not generically applicable since the accompanying exemplars are required to demonstrate the various characteristics of vividness, perceptivity or imagination. What is unstated, but becomes obvious after reading Benson’s justifications for each selection, is that he was guided by two particular features that his ten political cartoons all share. First, other cartoonists have regularly alluded to each of the selected examples, thus establishing their iconic status; and second, there is documentary evidence of the political impact of each cartoon. For example, in discussing the Philip Zec cartoon “‘The Price of Petrol has increased by one penny’ -Official” published during World War Two, Benson notes:

Prime minister Winston Churchill was furious when the *Daily Mirror* published this cartoon on the Government's decision to increase the price of petrol. Churchill believed that the cartoon suggested that merchant seamen's lives had been put at stake to enhance the profits of the petrol companies. In the House of Commons, Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, called it a 'wicked cartoon' and 'worthy of Goebbels at his best'. The Government considered closing down the *Daily Mirror* but eventually decided to let the newspaper off with a severe reprimand.³⁹

Interestingly, no contemporary cartoons are listed among Benson’s examples, although they nevertheless demonstrate the power or impact of the political cartoon in the historical context. Benson’s claim that “John Tenniel's 'Dropping the Pilot' cartoon for *Punch* (1890) was the first example of a cartoon to be alluded to by other cartoonists” might hold true in a limited sense for Britain but in the decade before this in Australia, cartoonists on the *Bulletin* regularly referred to Scott’s Kiama Ghost cartoons from the late 1860s, as well as other examples.⁴⁰ These instances are examined in depth in Chapter Six, but such allusion does not necessarily reinforce the iconic or classic status of the original cartoon when the point of origin is obscured. Apart from imitation by other cartoonists, Benson’s other measure of satirical quality, the political impact of a particular cartoon, can also be applied to Scott’s work. Direct evidence of the impact

of Scott's political cartoons in the *Worker* during the 1890s is presented below.

Scott's Political Cartoons

Cartoons are always difficult to retrospectively interpret, let alone judge, because they are so intensely topical and contingent on the ideological configuration and expectation of their audience. It is also usually impossible to find contemporaneous explanation or value judgements of cartoons. Fortuitously, this is not the case with Monte Scott. On four occasions during the years of Scott's tenure as cartoonist, the *Worker* printed extensive compilations of previously published cartoons. Two of these collections were summary political histories: *Xmas Number* 15 December 1894, "A Pictorial Political History of Queensland" and 5 March 1904 "History in Caricature".⁴¹ The selection of Scott's cartoons for these particular political narratives may well have been primarily editorial choice, but since they were intended to highlight memorable points in the struggle between capital and labour they offer no real indication of value outside of this imperative. The other two anthologies are more revealing. One of these is a ten-cartoon compilation "Pictures of the Past," from the same March 1904 issue as the "History of Caricature" collection and the sub-caption "Some notable 'Worker' cartoons" makes clear that this selection is made on the individual merit of the cartoons.⁴² These images can therefore be taken as representative of contemporary value judgement of the press cartoon. But the collection of *Worker* cartoons published in the special Christmas number on December 1895 are particularly invaluable not only because of the judgement made in their selection but because many include explanation of the content and ideological intention of the cartoon and in several cases comment on its success. The twenty-two, mostly full-page cartoons selected from the previous two years are almost all by Scott.⁴³

In many *Worker* cartoons, as exemplified in this prime selection of 1895, when Scott represented the broad abstraction of Socialism or the benefits of Unionism, his cartoons needed little supporting explanation. One such example representing Unionism is "What the 'Free' Labourer is Doing for Himself" which shows a "Free Labourer" up a tree chopping off his supporting branch of "Unionism," while fat "Capitalism" stands behind the tree holding the rope of "low wages" that loops over a higher branch marked "freedom of contract" to form a noose around the Free Labourer's neck.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, a full explanation was given beneath the cartoon when it was reproduced in 1895. Only one cartoon in the 1895 selection deals directly with Socialism as a specific theme, although it also does target individual politicians. In "Opponents of Socialism," Scott creates a visual equivalent to the metaphor of "milking" the system by representing the scene of a farmyard with a jolly group of the opponents of Socialism leaving with buckets full,

having milked the State cow. [figure 4.1] All are generalized representatives or, mostly ugly, personifications of squatters, sugar planters, dairymen and meat companies. They give a sideward smile at the two scrawny political watch-dogs, one of whom is more interested in scratching his fleas, while the other sniffs his backside. Since the dogs are conveniently wearing name tags on their collars, the politicians Byrnes and Barlow must have been particularly offended by this cartoon. Here again the *Worker* added what seems to be a superfluous extended explanatory caption when the cartoon was reproduced in 1895, although it does identify the political dairy farmers tending the supply of milk or “credit” from the “State” cow as Nelson and Tozer who are only signified by their individual caricatures in the cartoon. This may not be one of his best examples but the use of a familiar scenario and word play represents a particular type of cartoon that Scott so effectively developed during his years on the *Boomerang* and *Worker*.

Scott’s skill at reducing specific Parliamentary issues or debates to common visual themes so that they were instantly apprehended by his audience now makes many of his cartoons resistant to interpretation. For example it would be very difficult if not impossible to decipher the cartoons “Nelson’s Star Troupe or Somersaulters” and “A Feast for the Crows” without the explanatory captions supplied in the 1895 Christmas number.⁴⁵ This is despite, or perhaps because of, the familiar themes of circus and bush butcher that they respectively depict. “A Feast for the Crows” is a particularly effective compression of a complex of issues related to the McIlwraith Government proposing a Five Shilling-an-Acre Land Bill in 1893. The Premier is shown as a bush butcher stringing-up the beast of Queensland with the crows representing special interest groups flocking in for the kill. Scott’s favourite target of the Q. N. Bank is the crow that pecks out one of the beast’s eyes. [figure 4.2] This simplistically brutal scenario must have had significant political impact since the Land Bill was dropped by the Government after the *Worker* and Labour Party opposition, as noted in the extended caption.

This was not the only reporting by the *Worker* of a cartoon that had direct political impact. The other was also singled out as “one of the most striking cartoons the *Worker* ever published”, a claim that now makes all too obvious the temporal limits of a cartoon [figure 4.3]. Since the distinctly humourless cartoon offers a now familiar class division, emphasized by an embedded caption, the meaning of the cartoon is still clear but it would hardly rate for inclusion in any contemporary anthology of great cartoons on aesthetic or historically significant grounds. To add emphasis to this, it is worth noting that few cartoons selected by the *Worker* in its anthologies of the most valuable would warrant special attention or even notice in any contemporary selection, whatever the criteria. This particular cartoon highlighted the fact that the Queensland Minister for Railways, Sir Thomas M’Ilwraith, when on sick leave in England, was drawing his salary of

one thousand pounds a year while the average “John Smith” railway worker was paid six shillings on sick pay. Scott’s crystallization of this seeming injustice into an image of class contrast and discrimination also obviously had an direct impact, since the explanation of the cartoon mentions the resulting scandal and the fact that M’Ilwraith’s sick pay was subsequently reduced to his Minister’s salary of one hundred and fifty pounds. For the *Worker*, this cartoon put a specific example into a broader ideological framework and its combative success was confirmed by its influence on correcting the perceived injustice. Overlooking the primary signification, the cartoon today seems less successful when its individual or secondary signifying elements are examined. The *Worker* did highlight that the “contrast between the two ladies and the two gentlemen is most striking.” And of course to achieve this contrast Scott was forced to exploit the established iconographic conventions for representing the poor or lower middle-class; not so obvious in the gentlemen but certainly in the ladies. The working-class woman is forced to do washing to support her sick husband while the privileged wife luxuriates with book and fan. Unfortunately, each conform to conventional class stereotypes, where beauty is the prerogative of the privileged and the poor are inherently plain and frumpish. If the two women are isolated from the context of the cartoon, the careful delineation of the features and form of the lady of leisure so contrasts with the cursory treatment of the washing woman, it might lead to the conclusion that Scott’s sympathy was with the ‘beautiful’ people. At least, there is an inescapable irony in this seemingly critical depiction of privileged beauty since Scott built thirty years of his career on such depictions. Mahood once noted that Livingstone Hopkins never depicted a pretty woman. The opposite statement could be made about Scott since he hardly ever depicted a generic female face that was not vacuously sweet.

Apart from the M’Ilwraith sick pay issue, other cartoons selected by the *Worker* include specific incidents which were conceptualized by Scott into the context of larger ideological issues of race relations, nationalism and the dominance of capital. Scott had always been highly adept at inventing complex or fanciful allegories, but this skill was particularly well applied when it came to weaving specific incident into a broader tapestry of established belief or prejudice. Sometimes little inventiveness was needed to exploit working-class anxiety. The comparison of a room-full of displaced newspaper compositors and a single woman at a new lino-type machine needs only the fat boss at his desk in the foreground to complete the cause and effect of blind capitalism. [figure 4.4] What is not obvious at all from the cartoon, is that the *Worker* was not against the introduction of the new machinery.⁴⁶ As well the caption reveals the radical nature of the *Worker*’s socialism, encompassing as it does full state sponsorship of the workplace and offering a hint of the utopia its editor, William Lane, would later attempt to establish in Paraguay.

The general formula Scott followed to create visual metaphors, to use the analogy of theatrical production, was to set a scene that was familiar or strikingly melodramatic; the back yard or the graveyard, for example, and people this with monstrous anthropomorphic hybrids, generic types and personifications of human virtues or vices. The action was best if it depicted real or threatened violence; hangings, bashings, stabbings and beheadings were standard fare. To bring the scene into sharp topical focus he would add the caricatured features of target politicians to the combatants. Outrage was naturally provoked when victims of real or threatened violence were depicted as handsome, defenceless male workers but psychologically more potent was his favourite victim, the beautiful young woman acting as personification for State, Nation or political affiliation. Given in summary like this, it hardly does justice to the inventiveness with which Scott applied his method. Perhaps too, it may suggest an attempt to ground his cartooning in his interest in the theatre and this is not the intention, although he clearly took every opportunity to reference theatrical and popular entertainments.

Removed from specific examples, general descriptions of Scott's themes, metaphors and the signifying elements used in his cartoons tends to overemphasize their banal, cliched and psychologically shallow content. Many were, and remain, superficial and repetitious; many were far from this. Taking an overview of the *Worker's* 1904 selection of notable cartoons from the past offers a contemporary insight into Scott's particular twist on activating the familiar with hybrid inventions. What made these cartoons "notable" or memorable was not mimetic representation with explanatory caption. In fact only two might be described as illustrative in the sense of reportage of emotionally charged or evocative familiar locations; namely, a prison cell and the dining-room of a destitute working family. Two of the cartoons address Chinese immigration. The first of these, as noted beneath, was "one of the first Worker cartoons" (specifically the cover of the issue of 21 March 1891) and depicts a Chinese-headed spider drawing a hapless worker into its web of influence. The second anti-Chinese cartoon, originally the cover 25 July 1896, is a less metaphoric and therefore probably more disturbing construction. It depicts an Anglo-Australian worker in the dock of a Queensland courtroom - a conventional scene, except the judge, notaries and other officials are all Chinese and the signage is all in Chinese calligraphy. In "A Dangerous Game," originally the cover of 4 September 1894, Scott evokes a bull-fighting scene in an open Queensland paddock, substituting a policeman for the Spanish matador. The struggle of organized labour against the McIlwraith Government's 'class legislation' is literally represented as a David and Goliath battle in "Will he Down Him this Time", originally the cover 21 March 1896. Shakespear's Julius Caesar becomes the reference point for the assassination of the 'worker' in "The Conspirators and their Foul Attempt" which had been the cover 4 March 1893. On the cover of 18 July 1891, Scott even managed to visually

realize the seemingly complex issues of Government officials faking break-ins and destroying documents in “How Official Documents are ‘Stolen’”. However, his most startling and original invention, taken from the cover 24 April 1897, depicts the inner workings of Tozer, a Queensland politician, by having him made transparent with a full-body x-ray created from a Rotgen Ray machine directed by a young personification of the *Worker*.⁴⁷ [figure 4.5] The tenth and final cartoon from the selection “Imperialism” (originally cover 3 March 1894) is one of Scott’s cherished themes: an old-fashioned soldier representing the imperial army, goaded by a fat capitalist, is slashing the throat of a female personification of ‘Australian Nationality’. [figure 4.6]

Scott’s Visual Sources

The *Worker*’s vehement opposition to imported Polynesian, Asian or Chinese labour often expressed itself through claims for protection against contagion and disease. When a white boy with leprosy was discovered in a Queensland school, his removal from the school becomes the pretext for Scott to simply interpret the source of his infection as Chinese and Indian food sellers at the school gate and represent the threat of leprosy posed by imported Chinese and South Sea Island labour with apparitions hovering over the school ground.⁴⁸ [figure 4.7] However, this cartoon offers a convenient point to begin an examination of the sources of Scott’s iconography. In this context, several of the individual iconographic elements in this cartoon are of particular interest. The rondel representing the press is copied with significant variation from a Livingstone Hopkins’ *Bulletin* cartoon of 1889 and the Chinese fruit seller in the foreground is taken with very slight adaption from another *Bulletin* cartoon, a front cover, by Phil May from 1887. [figures 4.8 & 4.9] What seems blatant plagiarism in taking May’s Chinaman is not so curious. Scott had drawn numerous Chinese types of his own invention in his *Boomerang* cartoons, an entire phalanx in one cover example in 1889, but these were monsters who could never convincingly sell fruit.⁴⁹ There was no established iconographic stereotype for the Chinese in Australia, only varieties of Mongolian monsters.⁵⁰ Since here Scott needed a believable type his easy option was to appropriate an established example, perhaps from his collected stockpile. It might be assumed with some certainty that May’s Chinaman was kept as a prototype since virtually the same image is reused ten years later in the *Worker* to represent a Chinaman selling fruit to a hospital.⁵¹ [figure 4.10]

Characteristically, there are other borrowings in this *Christmas number* selection of *Worker* cartoons. Two cartoons are acknowledged as being from other papers. One composite of two cartoons which were originally reproduced as the front page July 6, 1895 is noted to be an adaption (presumably by Scott) from "St. Louis Labour, an American reform journal of considerable influence."⁵² Another expressing "somewhat rough humour" and showing a grotesque giant "middleman" is said to have "been taken from some Melbourne publication (probably *Melbourne Punch*)."⁵³ When originally published there was no acknowledgment of their origin. Significantly, both cartoons are unsigned, although the former has a strong stylistic affinity with Scott's work.. It should not be automatically assumed, however, that these are by Scott as in many cases, while working for the *Boomerang* and the *Worker*, when Scott took designs from other cartoonists, he added an acknowledgment below his signature as for example "after Matt Morgan"⁵⁴ or "after Tenniel" where John Tenniel's characteristic signature is shown in place of his name.⁵⁵ A front-page illustration "The Government Picnic" in 1895 includes Scott's signature above the original source of "S. Louis Labour".⁵⁶ In another case, in 1888 he added in bold script in place of a signature "from Melbourne Punch."⁵⁷ A front-page allegorical cartoon from the *Worker* in 1900, no doubt by Scott, also has in place of a signature "From New York 'Puck'" and an adaption of a Walter Crane design produced as a full-page *Worker* illustration during the same year is likewise labelled as "Adapted from Walter Crane".⁵⁸

In another of the selected *Worker* cartoons Scott reinterprets the Greek sculpture the *Laocoon* reconfigured to represent a worker and his son and daughter. [figure 4.11] This particular drawing is clearly an adaption of a similar use of the *Laocoon* on the front page of the *New York Daily Graphic* (the paper Livingstone Hopkins had worked for).⁵⁹ [figure 4.12] Scott has substituted a daughter for one of the sons but the overall conception and design so closely mirror the original illustration, a wood engraving by Frank Bellew from 1874, that it is unquestionably based on it or an intermediary source.

All of this leads to the inescapable conclusion that Monte Scott collected, kept, or had access to a wide range of graphic reference material both in terms of international scope and chronological range and that he used it with and without acknowledgment. It may be too speculative to suggest what this might reveal about Scott's own and the *Worker's* attitude to cartooning but it does

indicate a very pragmatic view of the cartoon as tool or collective instrument rather than expression of an individual artist.⁶⁰

Not that the *Worker* did not value high art. In fact in the extended editorial comment on the *Laocoon* cartoon there is added reverential and very specific art historical detail on the original work.⁶¹ Scott made reference to canonical or popular paintings and sculpture in other *Worker* cartoons as did cartoonists in other Labour papers in Australia and the United States, demonstrating perhaps that knowledge of high-art images was not linked to class consciousness. It was quite common in middle-brow nineteenth-century publications for cartoonists to add to the satirical impact by incorporating targets for caricature as substitute subjects in well-known paintings. The practice is still alive as with Bill Leak's use of Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* quoted in Millar's analysis of recent cartooning. *London Punch* often used the ploy and it is not surprising that Scott followed the tradition in his *Punch* work in Melbourne and Sydney.

There is a second use of art historical reference among the *Worker*'s selections which touches the "taboo" issue of religion. [figure 4.13] Seemingly derived from an engraving after Holbein or Raphael, it shows the figure of Christ approached by Judas with his bag of thirty pieces of silver above the caption "Who Would Get The Vote for Thrift? - Judas."⁶² Much of the explanation is given to defending the cartoon against an attack of blasphemy made on it in the Queensland Parliament at the time the cartoon was first published. A brief summary of the issue that prompted it is added in this reprint although it is nowhere near as informative as in the original publication. In that case the cartoon on the front page was surrounded by a full account of the debate over voting rights being tied to property ownership.

The Audience for Scott's Images

This editorial selection by the *Worker* does not necessarily indicate the cartoons that Scott himself may have valued. The evidence in a number of cartoons outside of the 1895 Christmas selection does offer limited insight. If we examine the content of Scott's own cartoon images, it would appear that it was quite common in working class or lower-middle households to have full-page

and double-page spreads from the illustrated papers displayed, framed or pinned to their walls.⁶³ Such a practice it would seem also extended from the city or suburban house to the bush hut where it is claimed the walls were sometimes papered with pages from the illustrated press. Peter Carey used such an scenario in his recent novel on Ned Kelly to explain the potential American ironclad source for Kelly's armour.⁶⁴ I have found no visual evidence for such papering but an illustration (a coloured engraving from 1873) of a digger's hut in the *Illustrated Sydney News* does show the wall well covered with framed and pinned illustrations.⁶⁵ The group of diggers in the hut are also shown reading a weekly paper, which the *News* says was the only sort that penetrated remote regions.⁶⁶ Monte Scott took up a similar theme in a later full-page engraving in the same paper with "Life in the Bush - Arrival of the Mail-Bag" [figure 4.14].⁶⁷ Here, the mail and illustrated papers have just arrived and the station staff are gathered round a copy of, not unexpectedly, the *Illustrated Sydney News*. Pinned to the wall of the slab-hut is a coloured supplement from the same paper and the mailman points out some aspect of the Garden Palace in Sydney ready for the upcoming International Exhibition. This product positioning in the picture is not only self-promotion by the *Sydney News*, since the cover of the issue being read in the illustration foretells the image on the paper's next October issue, depicting the interior nave of the Garden Palace.⁶⁸ The accompanying text makes the point clear, they are all reading about and imagining their trip to the International Exhibition, or as the paper put it: "and we can only heartily wish them a pleasant trip when the time comes for them to see in grand reality the wonders which the illustrated paper so graphically describes for their imagination."⁶⁹

The demographic of the *Worker* audience can be generally circumscribed to artisans, shearers, miners, factory, shop and farm workers, mechanics and manual labourers.⁷⁰ The radical *Boomerang* was aimed at a similar audience. A few illustrations by Scott in both the *Boomerang* and *Worker* demonstrate that he believed some of his cover cartoons and full-page illustrations were destined for the walls of both the bush hut and the living and dining rooms of this emerging middle-class audience. It is impossible to know if it was based on experience or expectation, but on two occasions at least Scott illustrated one of his own earlier front-page cartoons pinned to the wall of a bush hut in 1889.⁷¹ [figure 4.15] Admittedly, one of these stands as a reminder that he had forewarned the coming of the "Yellow Rogue," as a Chinese murderer comes through the door of a sleeping worker's hut. When Scott used this same work to decorate the wall of a

“Imperialist’s” living room in a later full-page cartoon it is not presented as a newspaper cover but as a framed picture.⁷² [figure 4.16] This may well have been a work that Scott valued. If so, Scott was not alone in his judgment, since this work is singled out for particular praise by Mahood in her survey of nineteenth-century cartoons.⁷³ Scott created countless hybrids, but this example combines his usual zoomorphism with an imaginative application of the limited signifying elements for orientalism, particularly the pig-tail. The Chinese or Japanese fan was usually just a decorative addition in cartoons but the pig-tail defined the Chinaman. This obligatory signifier on the Chinaman in Australian cartoons may have distantly evoked a simian ancestry for “John” but it was made necessary for racial identity because of the lack of an agreed physiognomic type, as noted above.⁷⁴ Fun with the pig-tail by cartoonists was usually limited to giving it a vigorous and usually malevolent wrenching, with few cartoons making the imaginative leap of an example in an early edition of the *Bulletin* where “Ah Chow” finds his pig-tail makes an excellent stock whip.⁷⁵ At least, on one occasion the Chinaman’s “tail” did prove a source of envy for two fashion-conscious Melbourne ladies.⁷⁶

In December 1888, Scott has two of his published cartoons neatly decorating the wall of a workers dining room; the subjects of which again give further context to the cartoon.⁷⁷ [figure 4.17] By contrast in October 1888, when he depicts the interior of the dining room of the “National Party” he places on the wall framed prints of shallow Victorian painting, “The Light O’Love” and “Titania.”⁷⁸ [figure 4.18] Pointedly, these are just the sorts of subjects Scott made his own in the Sydney illustrated press in the 1860s and 70s. In what must be one of Scott’s only funny punch-lines, he adds below the maiden caressing the donkey-headed figure in “Titania” a caption which also acts for the action in the cartoon by sweeping over the head of the woman attempting to save the Chinaman hiding under the table. It reads “No Accounting for Taste.”

The sum of the above examples reveals that in the last decades of the nineteenth century, while working for the radical or socialist press, Scott delineated his anticipated target audience in graphic form as a wage earner working in the city or country and living in a simple dwelling. This is not unexpected, but what is surprising is his consistent fictive ploy to decorate the walls of these dwellings with his cartoons. This is surely more than an ongoing dialogue with his audience or a multiplication of the impact of the Labor message through repetition of the slogans. The

works Scott selected for this twenty-year long conceit were his more impressive images, those that he most valued as art as much as propaganda, or those that represented the art of ideological image making at its most potent. Given Scott's history in the 1870s of playing the English dandy, or at least the debonaire stage exponent of celebrity caricature, the inescapable self-consciousness of presenting himself as the artiste decorator of the bush hut hints at an ironic intention in this constant playful interchange of ideology as art in the art of ideology. There is a doubly ironic edge to this since, although it is not possible to fathom the intention in Scott's self-mocking or depreciatory self-promotion of his image as the working Australian's champion, it is this implanted corrosive parody that eludes casual acquaintance with his cartoons today, but no doubt contributed to their wide contemporary impact and appeal as expressing a characteristically Australian spirit. In other words an appeal to an audience that saw the cartoons as acid slogans underwritten by mocking dread of dogma and intimate knowledge of self interest.

In conclusion of this ideological survey it should be stressed that these politically charged cartoons produced by Scott after 1890 chart a significant shift in Australian class attitudes. Mid-nineteenth-century Australian society was fluid enough to create a large middle class and the attitudes of this bourgeoisie toward capitalism were benign to say the least.⁷⁹ Scott produced a full-page cartoon at the end of his long tenure on *Sydney Punch* appealing to this very same audience and "Labour and Capital: A Perfect Combination" succinctly encapsulates the bourgeois attitude to capitalism at that time. [figure 4.19] It has been observed that before 1890, Australian society was predominately infused with the "ideology and acquisitive ethos" of capitalism.⁸⁰ The major economic slump in the 1890s resulted in a sharper polarization of social classes or the acceleration of class consciousness. Skilled labour made up one-third of the Australian workforce and when industrial action by trade unions was blocked by a government supported by capital, unions turned to political action with the formation of the Labor party. Australian unions were distinctly different to the British variety and the Labor party also represented a distinctive brand of socialism or a particular attitude to capital. This resulted in part from the unique mix in Australia of skilled manufacturing, building, agricultural, pastoral and mining workers along with unskilled labourers.⁸¹ Monte Scott was able to give voice to this Australian brand of socialism and the anti-capitalist formulation he created could not be in greater contrast to the bourgeois attitudes he expressed in *Sydney Punch*. [figure 4.20] Capitalism is the demonic evil and the

diminutive, youthful “Labour in Politics” with the fire hose of “Socialism” is the only hope for the worker skewered by “Freedom of Contract” over the hell of “Industrial Competition”. It should not be assumed, however, that Scott’s shift toward the demonizing of Capitalism was as a result of his move from *Sydney Punch* to the *Worker* since two years before his idealistic rendition of “Labour and Capital” in *Punch*, Scott had produced “Commercial Morality!” reminding his Sydney readers of the demon that lurked behind the mask of benign Capital.⁸²
[figure 4.21]

This particular 1881 cartoon may well mark a turning point in Scott’s political thinking but certainly it denotes the beginning of his shift from mild-mannered comic to savage satirist—from jester to butcher. The cartoon also signifies the end of the most successful phase of Scott’s career as a public artist. The next brief chapter examines Scott’s work during the decade of the 1870s. Emphasis is given to a comparative stylistic analysis of his cartoon work in relation to his contemporaries, a number of whom have escaped historical record. It is important to outline a biographical sketch of Scott during the 1870s or to at least establish his status and celebrity in Sydney during this period as a foundation to Chapter Six which presents a comprehensive examination of Scott’s significant role in the making of Henry Parkes.

1. Albert Métin, (Russell Ward, trans.) *Socialism Without Doctrine*, Sydney: Alternative Publishing Co-operative Ltd., 1977 p. 68. The French sociologist (and later Minister for Labour in France) Albert Métin visited Australia in 1899 on a six-month study tour. His book was originally published in France in 1901 as *Le Socialisme sans Doctrines*. Métin singles out the *Worker* cartoons for extended mention in his study, also noting that “in printed imagery the revolt of the workers is bodied forth in violent forms.” (p. 68) Mahood also notes Métin’s assessment of the Queensland press (*Loaded Line*, p.235)

2. Mahood, (*Loaded Line*) p. 238.

3. Ibid.

4. Richard Godfrey, *English Caricature 1620 to the Present: caricaturists and satirists, their art, their purpose and influence*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984, p. 23.

5. Frank S. Greenop, *History of Magazine Publishing in Australia*, Sydney: K. G. Murray Publishing Co., 1947 p. 151.

6. The importance and influence of London *Punch* needs no reiteration. However, the breadth of influence of the *Illustrated London News* was very significant. The following is taken from H. R. Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers: chapters in the history of journalism*, 2vols., London: Chatto and Windus, 1887 (vol. 2)

Illustrated London News was first published 14 May 1842 in sixteen three-column folio pages. The first numbers contained about twelve small pictures, humorous sketches and drawings of fashion or costumes. (p119) Its price was sixpence. Circulation in 1843 when a year old was 25,000 (p. 124) In 1855 it reached 110,000. By 1860 it had almost a monopoly in pictorial journalism. Although at that date there were ten principal weeklies, each with one or more rivals, Herbert Ingram (who died in 1860) and his successors were able to either crush or control nearly all formidable rivals throughout six or seven and twenty years, the most important of these being *The Illustrated Times*, with the exception, perhaps, of *The Queen*. The first of its rivals that the *The Illustrated London News* could not suppress was *The Graphic*, started in December 1869 with a large staff of clever and brilliant writers and the artists: Frank Holl, Luke Fildes, Hubert Herkomer, Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Allingham. (pp. 294 - 299).

7. I should qualify this to mean the modern magazine dominated by photographs, not cartoons as that term applied in the nineteenth century. Pre and post Civil War illustrated monthlies such as *Peterson’s Magazine* or *Godey’s Lady’s Book* were magazines in terms of content with popular fiction, practical articles and current fashion. *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* was a huge success after the Civil War and although it follows the general interest and entertainment content of many twentieth-century magazines it has nothing of the production quality of American magazines at the end of the nineteenth century. Issues of the monthlies in America in the 1860s and 70s could reach circulation figures of half a million.

Amy Janello and Brennon Jones *The American Magazine* New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc (for the American Society of Magazine Editors) 1991 esp. pp.14 - 23.

8. Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, *The Ungentlemanly Art: a history of American political cartoons* New York: Macmillan, 1968 p. 95.
9. William Feaver, *Masters of Caricature: from Hogarth and Gillray to Scarfe and Levine*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1981 p. 95.
10. Ibid.
This lack of stylistic originality, or at least heavy dependence on European influence, is of course very relevant in any comparison with Monte Scott.
11. Pierre Albert and Gilles Feyel, "Photography and the Media: changes in the illustrated press" (pp 359 - 369) in Michel Frizot ed. *A New History of Photography* Köln: Könemann, 1998 [First French edition 1994]
12. Joseph Pulitzer in 1893 purchased a Hoe four-colour rotary press to print colour Sunday supplements for the *New York World*. Since the original intention of printing famous works of art was not successful it seems the editor convinced him to produce a comic supplement. Its success ensured that by 1900 major papers in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles featured coloured weekly comic supplements. Jerry Robinson *The Comics: an illustrated history of comic strip art* New York: Berkley Windhover, 1974 esp. p. 12.
13. William Thackeray in his *Paris Sketch Book* (1840) was the first to write on the influence of lithography on the development of caricature in France during the nineteenth century. William Makepeace Thackeray "Caricature and Lithography in Paris," in: (George Saintsbury ed.) *The Paris Sketch Book and Art Criticisms*, London: Oxford University Press, n.d., c. 1900, pp. 168 - 195.
14. Goldstein, Robert J., *Censorship of political caricature in nineteenth-century France*. Kent, Ohio ; London: Kent State University Press, 1989.
15. Judith Wechsler, *A Human Comedy: physiognomy and caricature in 19th century Paris*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1982, esp. pp.14, 15.
16. Richard Godfrey, *English Caricature 1620 to the Present: caricaturists and satirists, their art, their purpose and influence*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984, p. 20.
17. It has been noted that eighteenth-century visitors to England from the Continent and the United States "commented on the unfamiliar profusion of prints in public spaces and the brazenness of their pictorial content." Lora Rempel "Carnal Satire and the Constitutional King: George III in James Gillray's 'Monstrous Craws at a New Coalition Feast,'" *Art History* V. 18, No. 1 March 1995 (pp. 4 - 23) p.8. Nor am I suggesting here that English artists of the eighteenth century invented the popular print; that tradition reaches back to the early printing presses in Germany and elsewhere in Europe.
18. The major recent studies are: Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: graphic satire in the age of Hogarth*, New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1999; Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature : satirical prints in the reign of George III* New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in

British Art by Yale University Press, 1996; and Godfrey, Richard T., Mark Hallett, and Tate Britain (Gallery). *James Gillray : the art of caricature*. London: Tate Publishing, 2001.

19. I am aware this paragraphs flirts with oversimplification so should add that when Michael Wynn Jones outlined the "Cartoon History of Britain" he stated: "We can not unfairly claim to have in Britain the longest unbroken tradition of graphic satire in Europe."(p.8) In the history he constructed (1745 - 1970), he manages to present a seamlessly integrated sequence from 1745 to at least 1939, with visual correspondence linking Cruikshank and Gillray with the *Punch* artists such as Leech and Tenniel. Michael Wynn Jones, *The Cartoon History of Britain* London: Tom Stacey, 1971.

20. Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England 1550 - 1850* London: British Museum Press, 1999 pp. 181, 182.

21. Geoffrey C. Ingleton, *True Patriots All: or news from early Australia as told in a collection of Broad-sides*, Sydney:Angus and Robertson 1952. Ingleton does offer comprehensive notes to his collection of broadsides along with a bibliography but his introduction to the production of these ephemeral prints in Australia consists of only a two-page foreword. Joan Kerr offers a more comprehensive survey in Chapter 2 "The Industry and the Archive" (pp. 27 - 51) *Artists and Cartoonists in Black and White: the most public art*. Sydney: S. H. Ervin Gallery, 1999.

22. Quoted in a number of sources, for example: Feaver (*Masters of Caricature*) p. 70.

23. For example: Arthur Prager, *The Mahogany Tree: an informal history of Punch*, New York: Hawthorn, 1979 esp. pp. 101 - 107.

24. The *Punch* contributor W. M. Thackeray gives a concise summary of the very respectable image of Mr Punch by 1854 in writing about John Leech's early illustrations. "John Leech's Pictures of Life and Character" *Quarterly Review*, December 1854, no 191 (quoted in Prager *The Mahogany Tree*, 1979 p. 101.)

25. Patti Miller, "Laughing With Knives" *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 July 2002 (*Good Weekend* supplement cover story, pp. 14 - 18.) p. 14.

26. The cartoon, which makes an ironic comparison of Auschwitz concentration camp and an Israeli military camp, reached public attention in 2002 via discussion on ABC-TV's *Media Watch* program where viewers were shown the cartoon and asked to vote on its appropriateness.

27. Studies of contemporary cartoonists in the United States show that the majority consider themselves as independent or politically unaffiliated. Various studies quoted in Christopher Lamb "Perceptions of cartoonists and editors about cartoons" *Newspaper Research Journal*, 17 (3-4) Summer/Fall 1996 pp. 105 - 19.

28. Ibid., Miller, p. 15.

29. Ibid., Miller, p. 14.

30. Christopher Lamb, "Perceptions of cartoonists and editors about cartoons" *Newspaper Research Journal*, 17 (3-4) Summer/Fall 1996 pp. 105 - 19. For the 71 cartoonists surveyed in the study, the most cited contentious topics were: abortion (53.5 percent); religion (49.3 percent); gun control (45.1 percent); local issues (26.8 percent); and race (23.9 percent).
31. Anna Day, "Wizards of Oz: Aussie Cartoonists do it their way" *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 5.3 2000 (96-101) p. 97.
32. Ibid., Day, p. 96.
33. Ibid., Day, p. 97.
34. Joan Kerr, *Artists and Cartoonists in Black and White: the most public art* Sydney: S H Ervin Gallery, 1999 p. 14.
35. Tim Benson, "The Greatest Political Cartoon of All Time?..." *History Today*, vol.55 no.3 March 2005 (pp.20 - 24) p. 20. (Available Online, Expanded Academic, Article A129461044)
36. Ibid. Benson's top ten cartoons are: 1- James Gillray "Plum Pudding in Danger" 1805; Print. 2 - John Tenniel "Dropping the Pilot" 29 March 1890; *Punch*. 3 - Bruce Bairnsfather "Well, If you knows of a better 'ole, Go to it" 24 November 1915; *The Bystander*. 4 - Will Dyson "Peace and Future Canon Fodder" 17 May 1919; *Daily Herald*. 5 - Leonard Raven-Hill "The Gap in the Bridge" 10 December 1919; *Punch*. 6 - David Low "Rendezvous" 20 September 1939; *Evening Standard*. 7 - Strube "Is it all right now. Henry?" "Yes, not even scratched." 29 August 1940; *Daily Express*. 8 - Philip Zec "'The Price of Petrol has increased by one penny'--Official" March 1942; *Daily Mirror*. 9- Philip Zec "Here you are! Don't lose it again!" 8 May 1945; *Daily Mirror*. 10 - Vicky "Introducing: Supermac" 6 November 1958; *Evening Standard*.
37. Ibid., Benson (Article A129461044).
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid. Benson seems to have overlooked the fact that before 1890 *Punch* cartoonists, including Tenniel, often alluded to earlier cartoons by John Leech. Allusions to Scott's cartoons by William Macleod, Phil May and Livingstone Hopkins are dealt with in Chapter Six. See for example, figures 6.3 and 6.4; 6.15 and 6.16.
41. "A Pictorial Political History of Queensland" *Worker Xmas Number* 15 December 1894 pp. 1 - 40; and "History in Caricature" *Worker* (Bris.) 5 March 1904 p. 5. As might be expected, several cartoons are included in both collections. Both compilations also contain several cartoons originally published under the pseudonym "The Goanna" and if Scott played a part in the selections, as it might be assumed he did considering the 1904 selection are arranged in a complex overlapping decorative scheme, this would confirm Scott's identity as artist using the signature "The Goanna".

42. "Pictures of the Past" *Worker* (Bris.) 5 March 1904 p. 13.

43. *Worker* (Bris.) 14 December 1895. As noted, this is not the only occurrence of such a comprehensive survey of past cartoons but the only one with added comments. Also, a Christmas edition filled out with selections of previous cartoons was hardly a new feature. The *Bulletin* in December 9, 1882 included four pages (pp. 1 - 4) of reprinted wood-engraved cartoons. Oddly enough, although all appear to be in the style of William Macleod, not one of the selection includes a signature.

44. *Worker* (Bris.) 14 December 1895 p. 9. The cartoon originally appeared on the cover of the *Worker* 3 November 1894.

45. *Worker* (Bris.) 14 December 1895 pp. 14 and 26 respectively.

46. "An Object Lesson" (Originally front page of *Worker*, 2 March 1895) Reproduced in *Christmas Number*, 14 December 1895 p. 28 with explanation below:

The above picture depicts the hardship following upon the introduction of labour-saving machinery. The purchase of the linotype by the Brisbane Newspaper Co. led to the displacement of 25 men, 15 men being now able, with the aid of the machines, to do the work of 40 compositors; 50 men were discharged from the *Sydney Daily Telegraph* through the introduction of the linotype, and 40 men from the office of the *Melbourne Herald*. It must be borne in mind that the *Worker* does not object to the invention of labour-saving machinery; to do so would be opposed to the spirit of progress. What is objected to is that the State makes no provision for the employment of the men thrown out by the machinery. Private employers will not keep men when they no longer have any use for them; and as there is always a crowd of surplus labour of all kinds unemployed nowadays the *Worker* is of opinion that the State should set apart a portion of its land and a portion of its capital for the employment of all men and women who cannot obtain work from private employers. On this land and with this capital - which should remain under the control of the State and in charge of State officials - men and women should be employed at a living wage, the farm, colony, settlement, or whatever it might be called, to be rendered as far as possible self-supporting.

47. Like most cartoonists, Scott sometimes lampoons new technology (examples being *Sydney Punch* 29 May 1869 p. 12 and 18 June 1881 p.95) but it would appear he was also something of a technophile, often displaying in his drawings a most intimate knowledge of the latest technology, as he does here with the X-ray machine. Trains of various types were regularly depicted by Scott from the early 1860s. He showed men and women riding bicycles in 1869: *Sydney Punch* 24 July 1869 p. 77 and 26 June 1869 p. 44 respectively. In his straight or descriptive illustrative work, Scott often chose to detail machinery, such as examples of mountain guns and confectionary manufacturing machinery in his "Garden Palace" scenes: *Illustrated Sydney News* 24 January 1880 p. 17.

48. "Leprosy in the Schools" (Originally front page Brisbane *Worker* 23 March 1895) Reproduced full page *Christmas Number*, 14 December 1895 p. 25.

49. *Boomerang* 6 April 1889 cover. In this example only one of these Chinese is physiognomically related to the Chinese fruit seller, the figure on the bottom of the steps.

50. Ross Woodrow, "Darwin and Images of Race in the Popular Press (c. 1860 - 1900)" M Phil, Univ. of Syd. 1994 Chapter 3 "Monsters and Metaphors- images of the Chinese in Australia" pp. 169 - 197.
51. "The Bush Hospital Chow" *Worker* (Bris.) 9 February 1900 cover.
52. "Phrenological Study of a Capitalist's Head" with "the Blind Hen" *Worker* (Bris.) *Christmas Number*, 14 December 1895 p.13.
53. "The MiddleMan" *Worker* (Bris.) *Christmas Number*, 14 December 1895 p.32.
54. A double-page "Belshazzar's Feast" *Boomerang* (Bris.) 20 July 1889 pp. 10, 11. Matt Morgan worked for the *Tomahawk* (which he part owned), London *Fun*, and after 1872, Frank Leslie's illustrated papers in America.
55. "Another Morsel for the Monster" *Boomerang* (Bris.) 10 August 1889, front page. Also "The Happy Family as the Czar Hopes to see it" *Worker* (Bris.) 8 October 1898 p. 4. John Tenniel worked exclusively for London *Punch*.
56. *Worker* 30 March 1895. This is clearly a transcription rather than copy by Scott as the skeletons are Scott's characteristically droll versions.
57. *Boomerang* 15 December 1888 p.13.
58. "Peace, Arbitration and War" *Worker* (Bris.) 3 February 1900 and "In the Name of Peace" *Worker* (Bris.) 21 July 1900 p. 4. Several Walter Crane illustrations were also reproduced unaltered in the *Worker*, for example "A 'Walter Crane' Cartoon" *Worker* (Bris.) 23 June 1900 p. 4.
59. "The Modern Laocoon" *Daily Graphic* (New York) 25 April 1874. Reproduced in: Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan *The Ungentlemanly Art: a history of American political cartoons*, New York: Macmillan, 1968 p. 121.
60. I am not suggesting Scott is alone in this reference to other cartoons in his own work. The borrowing of ideas, motifs and particular elements was widespread. Both the cartoonists used as sources by Scott here, Livingstone Hopkins and Phil May also borrowed on occasion from the British and American papers. More significantly, as I demonstrate later, both also borrowed from Scott's earlier and contemporary work. There seems to have been the view in nineteenth-century graphic discourse, as there is in stage comedy, that no one owned a particular good joke or idea, even if they thought of it first. Besides, making reference to established or emblematic types and attributes was in part a necessary mechanism in popular cartooning - something later developed in depth in Chapter Seven.
61. "In The Toils Of The Serpent" (Originally front page Brisbane *Worker* 26 January 1895) Repeated as full page (p.18) on 14 December 1895 with explanation below:
 This cartoon was copied from a picture of the celebrated Laocoön, an exquisite work of Grecian art, in marble, modelled by Agesander, Athenodorous, and Polydorous, all of Rhodes, and other eminent statuary (A.D. 70). The original represents the death of the Trojan hero, Laocoön, priest of Neptune, and his two sons, who were seized by two enormous serpents and crushed

to death. Our artist has slightly altered the figures to depict a workingman and his son and daughter being crushed by the serpents of Rent, Profit, and Interest. Readers who wish to further study the question of Rent, Profit and Interest may do so in a small work of Morrison Davidson's "The Old Order and the New," or Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth," price 1s. and 2s. respectively (any bookseller).

62. "Who Would Get the Vote For Thrift? - Judas" Originally appeared *Worker* 10 March 1894 as the front page bounded on each side by a report on an exchange in the Legislative Assembly on 7 October 1893 [not 1894 as stated in the December caption].

Reproduced as a full-page, *Christmas Number*, 14 December 1895, p. 19. Caption below:

THIS cartoon, which the irreverent and Hon. A. H. Barlow (who is often heard exclaiming "Lord save us!") considers blasphemous, was published without the smallest desire to offend the religious susceptibilities of any section of our readers. That our artist has done justice to and treated his subject in a respectful manner all unbiassed persons must admit. The cartoon was prompted by a speech by Mr. G. Kerr. (Labour member for the Barcoo) who in a debate on Electoral Reform (see *Hansard*, Oct. 7, 1894) said in reply to Mr. John McMaster..... "But the thrift vote does not work out very well. The greatest reformer and friend of mankind who ever lived never owned any money, we are told. We read that Judas Iscariot sold our Saviour for thirty pieces of silver. According to the argument of the honourable member, Judas Iscariot would have been entitled to a vote, because owning money he had a stake in the country while our Lord and Saviour the friend of suffering Humanity, would have been refused the franchise because he had no thrift.

63. Scott's images are not the sole evidence for the practice since, as noted earlier in Chapter One, the *Illustrated Sydney News* supplements were often published with the declaration that they were "Suitable for Framing".

64. Peter Carey, *True History of the Kelly Gang* Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2000 pp. 370 -375. In Carey's fictional account, the paper is the *Illustrated Australian News*.

65. "The Diggers Saturday Night" *Illustrated Sydney News and New South Wales Agriculturalist & Gazette* 23 December 1873, coloured supplement.

66. *Ibid.*, "Our Supplement" p. 6.

67. *Illustrated Sydney News* 6 September 1879 p. 13.

68. I should note that I have not overlooked the fact that in this image Scott has placed an Aboriginal stockman in the centre of both the hut and the group of white workers and managers. This and other examples are mentioned in Chapter One in the context of racial stereotypes.

69. "Country Life - The Out Station" *Illustrated Sydney News* 6 September 1879 p. 6. This title does differ from the caption on the image but the opening sentence brings alignment with the image describing "the interest and delight with which a mail from Sydney is welcomed by the toilers in the far interior."

70. In Métin's 1899 tour of Queensland he attributed the radical politics of the State and the militant tone of the *Worker* to the large number of miners and shearers. Métin, *Socialism*

without Doctrine, pp. 67, 68

71. *Boomerang* 28 December 1889 "Celebrating the 'Merry Christmas'" unpaginated (double-page); and *Boomerang* 18 May 1889 p. 5. The "Yellow Rogue" cover originally appeared on 30 June, 1888. I do not wish to downplay the long tradition of extending the narrative or moral potential of an interior scene with reference added in paintings or prints on the wall. This ploy was used from at least the seventeenth century in Europe and most famously by William Hogarth in his paintings and prints in the eighteenth century in England.

72. *Boomerang* 1 June 1889 p. 10.

73. Mahood (*Loaded Line*) p. 212. The work is reproduced on p. 213.

74. In one cartoon in 1887, Hop (Livingstone Hopkins) did explicitly comment upon the Chinaman's simian associations with a pairing of ape and Chinaman carrying identical over-shoulder baskets. "The Sincerest Form of Flattery" *Bulletin* 3 September 1887 p. 14.

75. Unsigned, but probably by William Macleod, this cartoon is given a malefic edge by the caption in which the horse soliloquizes what things have come to that a British horse gets whipped by a pig-tail. *Bulletin* 5 June 1880 p.4. Elsewhere are quoted numerous examples of pig-tail pulling and these do not bear repeating here. Ross Woodrow "Darwin and Images of Race in the Popular Press" M Phil, Univ. of Syd. 1994, pp. 179 - 180.

76. "Envy" [Melbourne] *Punch Almanac*, 1878 p. 10 (Tom Carrington)

77. *Boomerang* 22 December 1888 p.13.

78. *Boomerang* 27 October 1888 cover.

79. Ken Buckley and Ted Wheelwright, *No Paradise for Workers: capitalism and the common people in Australia 1788 - 1914*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988 p. 8.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 10 - 14.

82. *Sydney Punch* 12 November 1881 p. 195.

CHAPTER FIVE

“Scott of *Punch*”: the Sydney Years

During the 1870s Sydney was at the centre of a boom economy in the colony of New South Wales, experiencing great prosperity and rapid population growth, with Sydney alone reaching 200,000 by 1880. Throughout this decade, Monte Scott was one of the most highly visible artists in Sydney. His cartoons and caricatures dominated *Sydney Punch* and his illustrations and large chromolithographs were regularly published as supplements to the *Illustrated Sydney News* and *Sydney Mail*. In 1877 Gibbs, Shallard and Company published a series of his fine lithographs of Sydney figures prominent in business, government, law and the church. Such was his celebrity as “Scott of *Punch*” that in mid-decade he appeared in his own theatrical performance producing caricatures on stage. Throughout the decade he continued to paint portraits and scenes of bush life for public exhibition and his paintings featured in the Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition in Sydney at the beginning of the decade and the International Exhibition in the Garden Palace at the end. This chapter will clarify Scott’s role at *Sydney Punch* and the *Sydney Mail* along with his involvement working on the murals for the Garden Palace. Because of the density of visual evidence available for this decade, this chapter also includes a stylistic analysis of Scott’s graphic work to establish the unique characteristics of his approach and his relationship to, and influence on, other graphic artists working at *Sydney Punch*.

1870 was a year of mixed fortune for Monte Scott. He was declared bankrupt in June 1870, although the reasons are difficult to fathom. It may have been as a result of the demise of his ambitious business venture managing a photographic studio in George Street or the squandering of his considerable income from the previous few years through a problem with gambling.¹ He nevertheless completed the large painting “A Day’s Picnic on Clarke Island” (now in the Mitchell Library collection) which was shown in the Exhibition Building in Prince Alfred Park as part of the Intercolonial Exhibition in August, 1870.² Scott continued to do occasional work at Gibbs and Shallard offices during 1870 (where both *Illustrated Sydney News* and *Sydney Punch* were printed and published) as demonstrated by the fact that he produced a number of large supplements for the *Illustrated Sydney News* during that period.³ However, he ceased to work for *Sydney Punch*. Whether this was a contributing cause of his bankruptcy, or a result of it, is impossible to know. For the full year of 1870 only three works are contributed by Scott.⁴ Since none of the few 1870 contributions by Scott are on topical issues, these could easily have been unused items on hand in the Gibbs and Shallard offices.

The artist who took over the role of *Sydney Punch* cartoonist from Scott was Percy Oscar Tanner.

His first appearance in *Sydney Punch* was the year before in the issue of 4 September 1869 with a full-page cartoon appears signed "P Tanner." The drawing, a critique of the admissions policy of the Sydney Infirmary, is stolid or static in a style modeled on John Tenniel or more probably Tom Carrington of *Melbourne Punch*. Tanner becomes the significant and mostly singular contributing cartoonist for the issues from 23 October 1869 to January 1871.

When Scott does return to cartooning on *Punch* at the beginning of 1871, Percy Tanner remains an occasional contributor, including full-page drawings. Tanner's work is worthy of extended mention since he does not appear in any of the standard reference works to nineteenth-century Australian art history, including Joan Kerr's definitive *Dictionary*. This may partly result from the fact that he mostly signed his work with a cryptogram made up of an intertwined "P" and "T", with the "T" resembling a "C". He had actually modeled this on Tenniel's signature monogram where the "P" closely resembling the flourish of Tenniel's "J" and just as often he signed his work with a single "T" very much in imitation of Tenniel. In one elaborate double-page pen lithograph he used the ploy of having his signature carved into a tree as "P T" with the date 1870. Whatever his aspirations, Tanner was no colonial Tenniel, and his work is also inferior to Scott's both in inventiveness and the vitality or fluency of line. He did, however, produce a considerable amount of work during the year he worked on *Punch*, and many illustrations were double-page with added colour.

As if to emphasize the margin in drawing skill between himself and Tanner, Scott seems to take particular care with his contributions (and clearly delineated monogram) after his return to *Punch* in 1871 and by early 1872 is producing some of his most finely drawn chalk lithographs for both his small cartoons and double-page spreads. Tanner's last signed cartoon in *Sydney Punch* appears to be in the issue of 28 October 1871 and certainly by January 1872 Monte Scott has reestablished himself as the premier cartoonist in Sydney and not only does he become the almost exclusive contributor to *Punch*, but prominently monograms both his large and, uncharacteristically, all his smaller cartoons.

In January 1872 Percy Tanner left Sydney for New Guinea. On route, he was drowned when the ship *Maria* foundered off the coast of Queensland. So presumably the only historical documentation of the death of the artist Percy Oscar Oswald Tanner is recorded in the pages of *Sydney Punch* with two verses enclosed in the usual black Memoriam frame.⁵ That this was two months after his death (the ship sank on 26 January 1872) is probably because an enquiry was then opened into the unseaworthy state of the *Maria*. In the same issue as the "In Memoriam" notice for Tanner, Scott produced double-page tinted lithograph "Fait Justitia" calling for justice

to be done for Tanner and those lost on the *Maria*. Two issues after the this *Punch* published an acid critique of the inquiry into the *Maria* sinking. A verse titled “Too Late” describes the ship owners as “monsters” concerned only with profit, and suggests the wardens on the inquiry panel were:

Those who pretend the public good to seek,
Yet prove obstructive, negligent, and weak.⁶

Scott produced a double-page illustration for “Too Late” in which he contrasted a chalk lithograph of the desperate souls during the sinking of the Brig *Maria* with a lithographic pen drawing of the “Wardens appointed on the 3rd April, 1872.” Since the Wardens are shown sitting, relaxed, staring into space or idling away time in conversation it is unsurprising that Scott did not sign the drawing.

Scott, if not the editorial staff at *Punch*, must have had a very personal investment in this investigation. This is because it appears Tanner was in fact en route to New Guinea on assignment. In a cruel twist of fate, the day after Tanner’s drowning, no doubt before word reached Sydney, *Punch* published a cartoon of Tanner being pulled from the water after falling in during embarkation for New Guinea.⁷ [figure 5.1] The caption of the cartoon reads: “Our Special Artist as he appeared on the occasion of his embarkation for New Guinea”. On the facing page, an accompanying poem titled “Our Artist in Water Colour” describes Tanner’s “slip” from the plank to the ship and ends each of the two stanzas with “our Artist in Water,” the punning cleverness of which was transformed by his drowning into a particularly heartless joke: especially since the poem included the lines,

We mourn when we think of the ghost
Of this sweet, irreproachable swell, sirs.
He shipped - so he did - with intent
To play with the poor picaninny,...⁸

Tanner’s last full page of cartoonlets before his departure was to be a foretaste of the rich themes he doubtlessly hoped to find in New Guinea. Captioned “New Guinea Colonization Scheme” the page contains variations on the usual racist scenarios of cannibalism, ugliness, violence and primitivity.⁹ The same issue (23 December 1871 p. 40) included a poem “Old Jack and the New Guinea Spec.” that was motivated by Mr Robertson’s remark that the promoters of the New Guinea colonization scheme could not expect help from the NSW Ministry “other than their earnest prayers.”¹⁰ [figure 5.2]

It is worth dwelling briefly on this page of small drawings by Tanner, as it represents a particular

generic comic style adopted by most cartoonists working on *Sydney Punch* and indeed later in the *Sydney Bulletin*. Without the signature on the bag carried by the figure top right it would be almost impossible to stylistically attribute this work to Tanner or Scott. So ubiquitous was the style that if the work were not dated it could well be by Tom Durkin or even Livingstone Hopkins from the *Bulletin* of the 1890s. When Hopkins later deployed his updated version of this primitive comic style he excused the unprofessional look by labeling the works as being by “Hop’s Understudy”, thus separating it from his editorial cartoons.¹¹ This consciously artless comic style was reserved for small joke blocks, decorative embellishments and colophons where the vitality of the comic impact depended in part on the crudity of the drawing and the exaggeration of physiognomic features and gestures. The English variant of this comic tradition is heavily dependant on the work of Isaac Cruikshank (1764 - 1811) and most particularly his son George Cruikshank (1792 - 1878) who from the 1820s turned increasingly from caricature to publication of his own grotesque comic drawings and visual puns. John Doyle (1797 - 1868) also played a significant role in shifting the register of caricature in Britain from the vicious, vulgar satire favoured by Gillray to the polite, good-humoured political comment that would be the hallmark of *Punch* humour. It was also his son Richard Doyle (1824 - 1883), who worked with John Leech (1817 - 1864) on *Punch* during its formative years, who helped established the ubiquitous style of whimsical parody of life and social customs using tight angular figures. In Scott’s work, as well as with other colonial comic artists working in the 1860s and 1870s it is possible to easily detect the influence of both Cruikshank’s small rotund figures and Doyle’s spritely, angular limbed demons and whimsical fancies. As the son of an artist growing up in England in the 1830s and 40s Scott would have no doubt been very familiar with the work of Leech and Doyle through their work in *Punch*, as well as the illustrations in Cruikshank’s publications. Australian born artists also had access to Cruikshank’s work as his *Comic Almanacks* circulated in the colonies.¹²

But the most direct influence on both Scott and young colonial artists such as Percy Tanner was no doubt John Leech, who had in turn been taught to etch by George Cruikshank. Scott acknowledged his debt to John Leech soon after he started working on *Melbourne Punch*, in 1861, when he started a series of joke blocks to chronicle the adventures of Mr Briggs in Australia.¹³ “Mr Briggs” had been created in England by Leech and has been described as the “first great comic character since Rowlandson’s Dr Syntax.”¹⁴ The colonial audience had access to Leech’s work in imported copies of *London Punch* but his comic illustrations circulated more widely in various popular publications, especially *The Comic History of England* and *The Comic History of Rome*.¹⁵ In imitation of these volumes *Sydney Punch* published its own ‘The Comic History of Australia’ from October 1868 through to January 1872.¹⁶ The bulk of the illustrations were supplied by Percy Tanner but after Scott returned to working on *Sydney Punch* in 1871 it

appears they shared the duties of being the *Comic History*'s illustrator "Walker Chalks, R.A.". So generic are the illustrations that without signatures, and most are not signed, it is difficult to know which ones are the work of Scott or Tanner. The lack of signatures indicates the status of these grotesqueries in the scheme of the commercial illustrator. A similar situation applied at the end of the decade when Scott was sharing the cartoons in *Sydney Punch* with Alfred Clint during the creation of "The Unprotected Female" series of grotesque comic adventures. None of the comic compilations are signed and although they are all linked by the same uncultivated tone only the most subtle stylistic variations and theme selections differentiate those by Scott from the examples by Clint.¹⁷

The ploy used by Scott and the other artists working on *Sydney Punch* to establish a distinct division between rude sketches and political cartoons obviously owed a great deal to the same approach taken by John Leech in *London Punch*. Leech was a significant influence on shaping Monte Scott's style. The stylistic delineation of figures, especially women, the types and scenarios Leech created throughout his published work all find distinct echoes in Scott's drawings for *Melbourne* and *Sydney Punch*. Perhaps Scott modeled himself on Leech in more than stylistic terms since Leech was a rare example of a comic artist who was elevated to the ranks of a gentleman artist. He was so described by Dickens, praised by Thackeray and Ruskin and widely admired by artists outside of the popular graphic arts.¹⁸ Such was his fame in the nineteenth century that long after Leech's death, William Powell Frith published the two volume study *John Leech: his life and work* (1891).¹⁹ It was said of Leech that a "gentleness and thorough gentlemanliness pervades all his works," but this gentleness was not the least soft or sentimental, it was claimed, since Leech was a sporting man who rode and fished.²⁰ It was said he was "a public-spirited man; a keen, hearty, earnest politician, with strong convictions, a Liberal deserving the name."²¹ He was seen to be always on the right side, whether or not it was the popular one. One of the two photographs of Leech that survived after his death showed him as "a perfect English gentleman"²² and if indeed Scott did affect the costume and manner of an English gentleman during his early years working for *Sydney Punch* then John Leech would surely have been his model.

When younger Australian-born artists came to work on *Sydney Punch* in the 1870s it may not be surprising that they did not share Scott's enthusiasm for Leech's style or philosophy. Artists such as William Macleod followed the lead of Thomas Carrington in *Melbourne Punch* and modelled their style on the more contemporary John Tenniel (1820 - 1914) who had taken over as chief cartoonist on *London Punch* after the death of Leech in 1864.²³ It must be said that Tenniel retained the sense of decorum and dignity that had characterised Leech's work on *Punch* but his

style was much more fluid and open. The twenty-five year old William Macleod, replaced Scott as the cartoonist on *Sydney Punch* from April 1875 to December of that year. Evidence in the paper suggests this was a planned departure by Scott and probably resulted from outside commitment to his stage act, promoted through a cartoon in the issue of 5 March 1875 as a "Phantasmagoria of Celebrities" in his new studio at the Victoria Theatre on Monday evenings. The tone of a verse, headed "Scott?.....What?!!," in the following issue of March 12, makes it clear there can have been no acrimony over his departure, since it makes direct reference to the previous cartoon and in reference to *Punch* includes the lines "the cartoon's very good, An artist there you've got".²⁴ In a bumper issue just before his departure, Scott produced two double-page spreads which unashamedly make tribute to *Punch* in the guise of celebrating the Intercolonial Exhibition of 1875 and most unusually for Scott, he signed both of these with his full name "Montagu Scott".²⁵ Even more uncommonly, he used this full signature on a half-page chalk lithograph in the same issue.²⁶ All of which suggests he was casting off the mantle of Monte Scott, the cartoonist.

William Macleod takes over as illustrator in the issue of 16 April 1875 although none of his work in this issue, including the full-page cartoon, is signed. In the following issue of April 30, Macleod begins to add his signature "W.M." and from May 21, he modifies this to "W.M.'L". Most significantly, on 14 May, Macleod produces a full page cartoon making reference to Scott's stage act at the Victoria Theatre.²⁷ The scene shows a domesticated version of Mr Punch as artist, and therefore clearly references Scott, although the sarcastic context is hardly an unambiguous promotion of Scott's performance. In fact, the implication in the suggestion that advertising drop curtains could be used between acts at the Opera, to highlight the contrast between the sublime and the ridiculous, subverts the worthiness of Scott's new enterprise. Macleod's first double-page cartoon appears in the issue of 28 May 1875 and it is backed on one half, as are a number of his subsequent full and double-page spreads; suggesting, perhaps, that he did not have the same status as Scott to demand an unbacked presentation of his work.²⁸ Many of his caricatures, especially those of Parkes, are closely modelled on Scott's creations, as are his scenarios.

Throughout his nine-month tenure, Macleod favoured chalk over pen to produce his lithographs as this clearly suited his use of dense, almost tonal line (robust touch or 'fat' vital line, as Mahood described it)²⁹. The boldness of his line, which may have resulted from his early work as a designer of stained glass at John Falconer, Sydney, was not the only feature that distinguished Macleod's drawing style, as he tended to bring the figures closer to the edges of the page which had the effect of filling the picture plane.³⁰ In his half-blocks he almost always cropped the figures so that the key players filled the frame, thus giving emphasis to his skill with portraiture.

Such was his reliance on facial physiognomy, that Macleod almost never used nuances of gesture or animated postures in his cartoons. His figures have a solid, weighty quality which is often static or wooden. It is not usually noted how closely his full-page cartoons followed the style of London *Punch* of the late 1860s; or indeed the colonial variant in Tom Carrington at *Melbourne Punch*. Certainly, his style was much closer to Tenniel than to Scott.³¹

From 5 November 1875, *Sydney Punch* introduced an innovative ploy to continue an illustration over various issues by printing one part of "The Coming Treasurer" each week, beginning at the lower legs and feet and ending with his hat on 10 December 1875.³² Each illustration fills a page and although unsigned, they are undoubtedly by Macleod. During this sequence, on 3 December, Alfred Clint's first signed cartoon appears as a full-page opposite an unsigned half-block by Macleod.³³ In the next issue of 10 December, Clint produces the half-page while Macleod draws the full-page cartoon; both with added signatures.³⁴ Macleod's contributions end abruptly with the cartoons in the issue of 10 December. On 17 December two small Monte Scott cartoons appear along with a double-page pen lithograph by Alfred Clint. In the next issue, Scott again takes control, as only his monogram appears on all the cartoons, large and small.

Clint had worked as a scene-painter in Sydney from 1869 and his appearance in *Sydney Punch* in December 1875 marks his return from Adelaide where he had moved in 1873 to work as a cartoonist on the *Lantern* and *Mirror*. Mahood states that Clint left his job on the Adelaide *Lantern* to take up the cartooning work on *Sydney Punch*, although this may simply be a natural supposition taking account of his disappearance from the pages of the *Lantern* and appearance in *Sydney Punch* immediately after.³⁵ If this were so, it might be assumed that Macleod's departure from *Punch* was planned. However, the return of Monte Scott at the same time complicates any such assumption. It may well have been that Scott always planned a return, or more probably that he negotiated a return to his post as chief cartoonist if his workload was reduced through employment of a support cartoonist; or, in other words, "a lieutenant" as Mahood described Clint. Macleod does begin work on the *Sydney Mail* after his departure, but since Scott had earlier managed to simultaneously produce the illustrations for the *Mail* and continue his position as chief cartoonist at *Sydney Punch*, there is no secure logic in assuming Macleod's departure from *Punch* was a voluntary one.³⁶

It should be noted that throughout this decade when Scott, Percy Tanner, William Macleod and Alfred Clint worked on *Sydney Punch* there were other occasional contributing artists such as Henry Wise and George Lacey. In fact, Henry Wise was one of the most regular and longest serving occasional contributors to *Sydney Punch*, although the only signature on his cartoons was

the initials H.W. It is only possible to link the name to signature because one of his contributions to the *Punch Staff Papers* published in Sydney in 1872 carries his "H. W." initials and the captioned attribution to "Henry Wise".³⁷ His status on *Sydney Punch* is difficult to assess since the introduction to the *Staff Papers* makes it clear that the book only contains work by paid professional staff. What is more, Wise is credited among the illustrators on the title page along with Scott, among others. Given the limited themes and ability of this artist, Wise was obviously never a threat to the regular cartoonists, Scott or Clint. But the uninspiring and unchanging style of their work does raise the question of their regular inclusion in *Punch*. There is absolutely no information on Wise and he is not included in Joan Kerr's *Dictionary*. The very rigid rectilinear style of the cartoons, where the backgrounds are often drawn with a ruler and the hatching is so regular that it resembles the parallel lines produced by an engraving machine, could indicate that the artist may have been an engraver by trade. The other evidence for the supposition that Henry Wise may have been an engraver employed at *Punch* is firstly an instance (16 May 1868 p. 195) where a full-page cartoon which, both in style and theme, is obviously produced by Scott is signed only with "H. W." perhaps following the occasions where Scott left the engraver Mason's "M" or Jackson's monogram as the only signature on a work. Several years after this (28 March 1872 p. 176) another cartoon, certainly by Scott, or after one of his drawings, is only signed "H.W." In a third case, seven years after the first instance, a large illustration to the Preface of Volume Thirteen, 1 January 1876, is signed only with the initials "H W" even though the drawing is obviously by Alfred Clint, who had just then joined *Sydney Punch*. As with the examples by Scott, this is the only instance of this, although the addition of an engraver's monogram would seem odd for this, and the 1872 example by Scott, since both Clint's and Scott's illustrations are pen lithographs. Maybe Henry Wise was simply part of the circle of both Scott and Clint and in these two instances they were illustrating designs suggested by or developed from the work of Wise. Obviously much more work is needed to establish biographical detail on Wise and his role at *Punch*. But since he was one of the longest serving contributors to *Sydney Punch* this void is yet another indication of the lack of attention given popular imagery in historical research.

Unquestionably, the situation that developed after Clint's arrival in 1875 proved the most amenable to Scott because he no longer took any extended breaks, as he had done in 1870 and 1875. This must have been an ideal situation for Scott, given his many outside interests, as he also had greater choice of subject matter while maintaining his senior role. His dominant position in the partnership he develops with Clint, which lasts to the final demise of *Punch* in 1884, is clearly demonstrated by the number of full-page cartoons he commands during the period. His two extended vacations suggest he found his role as singular major contributor overtaxing, and it may have been that the death of Percy Tanner thwarted plans for him to share the role of

support cartoonist for Scott. It appears few commentators have noticed that throughout 1873, George Lacey (c.1817 - 1878) becomes such a significant contributor to *Punch* that he can justifiably be seen as secondary resident cartoonist.³⁸ He contributes a half or quarter-block to almost every issue of the new series Volume 1, from March until July of 1873. Lacey's cartoons include an eight-image series on scenes of "Bush Life" and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that two unsigned full-page cartoons during that year are also by him.³⁹ Since all of Lacey's contributions are lithographs, most boldly drawn with chalk, we can safely assume that he was working in the Gibbs and Shallard offices during 1873, rather than at one of his country teaching posts.⁴⁰ Nevertheless his impressively detailed chromolithograph "Customs of the Aboriginals of New South Wales: Punishment" that was published in the *Illustrated Sydney News* of May 1874 appears to have been drawn on the lithographic stone by Scott and only based on Lacey's drawing. [figure 5.3] As already noted, the lithographic artist's studio of both *Punch* and *Illustrated Sydney News* was located in the Gibbs and Shallard premises.

The reason that Lacey did not continue as Scott's lieutenant is obvious enough in his published work. He showed no predilection for caricature or political comment and his particular skill in drawing animals and bush life duplicated Scott's talents. As well, his robust, even racy humour, was close to Scott but may well have tended to go beyond the pale: especially considering his unpublished water-colour in the Mitchell Library "A Dream: the Effects of Lobster-Salad, the Morning after the Ball" (reproduced in Kerr DAA p. 443) which was obviously intended as a supplement to *Punch* or, less likely, the *Illustrated Sydney News*.⁴¹

At this point it is important to clarify Scott's other role during 1871 and 1872 working on the *Sydney Mail*. William Moore notes that the weekly *Sydney Mail* published illustrations from March 1871 and its first double-page supplement was a view of the "Great Zig Zag Lithgow Valley Railway", published in the issue of May 1871.⁴² Further, he claims this was by Montagu Scott, the first artist employed on the *Sydney Mail*. However, Moore's claims appear misinformed on almost all counts, and clarification of this demonstrates that Moore did not consult the primary documents of the papers themselves. A loose supplement portrait of Queen Victoria was issued with the *Sydney Mail*, 7 January 1871 and in March of that year, as a supplement, a wood engraving of the "General Post Office, Sydney". The signature on this work is not Scott's and nor is the May 1871 supplement of the "Zig Zag" drawn by Montagu Scott. The engraving by S. T. Leigh and Company is after a photograph by John Degotardi (1823 - 1883)⁴³ and apart from the fact that there is no signature on the work, its style and subject matter are most uncharacteristic of Scott. The July supplement illustrating "St. Mary's Cathedral, Sydney" is "from the accomplished and experienced pencil of Mr. W. W. Wardell, of Victoria."⁴⁴

Moore's source may well have been the John Fairfax and Sons Centenary publication of 1931 which was almost certainly written from the actual newspaper archives.⁴⁵ In this account two qualified assertions or speculations and one error become unequivocal statements in Moore's summary. The Fairfax Centenary volume does not state the "Zig Zag" was the first supplement but "one local scene that appeared at an early date" (the Post Office was the first local subject published the month before), although the statement that the Zig Zag engraving is "from a drawing by Montagu Scott" is clearly incorrect since, as noted, the engraving is captioned "after a photograph by Degotardi". What is more, the Centenary publication does not quote any documentary evidence apart from the published illustrations when it goes on to say Montagu Scott "appears to have been the first artist employed by the proprietors." Presumably, this is because the first in-text portrait illustration in the *Mail*, 14 October 1871 is by Scott, as are a handful of following portraits and other illustrations.

The first supplement that is undoubtedly by Scott is a pen lithograph printed by Gibbs and Shallard (the premises at which he worked) in the issue for 2 September 1871. Before this date there are no signed illustrations of any sort by Scott although several prize animal portraits, such as the bull "Duke of York" (1 July 1871, p. 549 - the first in-text illustration in the *Mail*) might possibly be drawn by him, although this is unlikely. These smaller engravings, and other later examples in 1871 and 1872 are only signed with a single "W". This could be the mark of the engraver C. Winter who advertized his services in the *Sydney Mail* during this period in the late seventies.⁴⁶ But supporting the case that Scott does not contribute work to the *Sydney Mail* until September 1871 is the fact that when Scott's smaller engraved portraits of people and animals appear after this date, and when he shares his monogram with an engraver's initial on the work, it is the "M" of the Mason brothers, or in one case, specifically "E M" Edward Mason (1847 - 1923).⁴⁷ What can be definitively said, is that Scott's first monogrammed illustration is the engraved portrait of Anthony Trollope, already noted as the first in-text portrait, which appears on 14 October 1871 (p. 1041) and his first signed double-page supplement "From Middle Head Battery" appears on 25 November 1871. Here, his signature is his usual monogram as used in *Sydney Punch* but with the "S" acting as initial capital to the full surname.

A close perusal of the issues for July 1871, when illustrations regularly begin to appear, through to December 1872 does not support the conclusion that Scott was employed as an artist on the *Sydney Mail*. That he was a contributor, there is no doubt, but for that entire period he produced only twelve in-text illustrations and six supplements. The *Mail* could hardly have gotten value for money if Scott was paid as a resident artist. Besides, there were contributions by other artists during this period and Scott's tally is below or equal to the average number he made per year as

an occasional contributor to the *Illustrated Sydney News* during the 1870s. One of Scott's most impressive supplements was an allegorical commemoration of the International Telegraph. In this November 1872 supplement he represented the linking of Australia with the four corners of the Globe: Asia, Africa, America and Europe. Each of these were based on existing sculptural groups but he also developed his own personification of Australia (which he prominently signed). The *Sydney Mail* waxed lyrical on his representations of the other groupings but was very cool about Scott's Australian grouping, and after a description of the figures and animals, suggested: "This group, admittedly open to criticism, does not bear the stamp of authority as those with whom it is associated, but our endeavour has been accomplished by representing our adopted land in its true and prospective light."⁴⁸ It would be most unusual, indeed, to find any criticism of the work of a resident artist in the pages of the paper on which they were employed. Putting all of this together with the above analysis demonstrating Scott was at his most prolific and conscientious working for *Sydney Punch* in 1872 it is possible to resolve in the negative the speculation that Scott "appears to be," or was, the first artist employed by the *Sydney Mail*. For the year 1873 there are about 78 illustrations in the *Sydney Mail*. This number includes supplements but does not include scientific images and diagrams, agricultural implements and maps. Only one of these 78 images appears to be signed by Scott with an indistinct "M S" although many of the other illustrations are signed by other artists, including European artists, since the *Mail* regularly took illustrations from other sources such as the London *Graphic*.⁴⁹ Monte Scott may have been the first significant contributor to the *Mail*, in the first twelve months after illustrations were added, but his interest abated quickly and his contact with the *Sydney Mail* was relatively brief.

The culminating event for the decade of the 1870s in Sydney was the Great Sydney Exhibition of 1879-80 and the crowning glory of the colony's achievements was the Garden Palace which housed the exhibition. Scott was involved in the decoration of the dome of the Garden Palace but the extent of his contribution is contentious. In Donald Ellsmore's comprehensive account of the decoration of the Garden Palace he contends that the principal decorator of the building, John Lyon (1839 - 1916), "engaged artists of his acquaintance for the large allegorical representations of Europe, Asia, Africa and America - which occupied prime positions in the four facets of the drum of the crossing of the nave and transept, under the dome - reserving for himself the painting of twelve oval panels of figures representing the trades and industries, to occupy the lower frieze in the crossing."⁵⁰ Ellsmore goes on to present brief biographical accounts of the four artists employed to paint the allegorical panels.⁵¹ The allegorical representations of Europe, Asia, Africa and America were respectively painted by Giulio Anivitti, Montagu Scott, William Macleod and Nikolai Habbe. Ellsmore also suggests that Habbe, as the senior painter, probably assisted Lyon in the planning and supervision of the paintings. That this is fanciful speculation is revealed with

an appended statement that the supervision “may have involved keeping a tight rein on the youthful exuberance of Macleod and Anivitti”(both these artists were then in their twenties). For Ellsmore’s entire account of the painting of the allegorical panels he does not reference a single source or quote any documentary evidence. Most importantly he does not mention or explain the contemporary claim made in the *Illustrated Sydney News*: “The design and colouring of each picture is excellent, and reflects the greatest credit on the artist, Mr. Montagu Scott, and Messrs. Lyon and Cottier, who have so successfully filled in and coloured his designs.”⁵²

Obviously the *Illustrated Sydney News* account elides the contribution of the other artists but certainly it would seem to suggest that Scott was the senior artist overseeing the scheme. This however is not the only evidence for such an assumption. What Ellsmore failed to mention, or perhaps notice, is that the individual decorative allegories closely follow the allegorical figure groupings Scott produced in his, already mentioned, massive fold-out supplement to the *Sydney Mail* on 23 November 1872, in which he celebrated the linking of Australia to the four corners of the globe. In Scott’s 1872 scheme there were of course five groups representing the continents of Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Australia. With only four facets to be decorated, the five had to be reduced to four and this explains why Asia and Australia were amalgamated. This combination would appear to have been simple expedience rather than ideological or insightful projection of an Asian future for Australia. The resulting allegory of Asia is literally a combination of the features in Scott’s original schemes for Asia and Australia, with some elements copied almost directly with the Australian Gold-Digger given prominence in each case. The very fact that Scott’s painting is such a synthesis of pre-existing designs suggests a role in conception of the work. Given the haste with which the painted schemes for the Garden Palace had to be completed and the need to have a stylistic consistency across the four painted allegories the logic that Lyon would adopt an existing schematic layout is compelling, especially considering the individual paintings were to be completed offsite in the artist’s studios, as Ellsmore notes. Since it was Scott’s basic allegorical designs that were to form the model it is difficult to imagine that anyone but Scott would have been appointed to supervise the paintings.

Monte Scott must have felt little excitement at the opening of the Garden Palace on 17 September 1879 since the day before he had attended his wife’s funeral. But, as is unfailingly the case, there is nothing in Scott’s published work to indicate his grief or indeed any other aspect of his personal or family life. His cartoons in *Sydney Punch* continue as before and, although Alfred Clint produced the large *Sydney Punch* illustration of the opening of the Garden Palace, after the opening Scott takes up the theme of the Sydney Exhibition in many of his editorial cartoons, usually to attack critics of the building or Exhibition.⁵³ During the period the Exhibition was

open, it closed on 20 April 1880, Scott not only produced many cartoons in *Sydney Punch* but also illustrations for the *Illustrated Sydney News*, as he had done during the construction of the building. As already mentioned, an illustration of Scott's mural was also reproduced in the *Illustrated Sydney News* but he does not feature or allude to this work in his many other illustrations. This denial of personal reference in his published work does on the surface seem at odds with the facts that *Sydney Punch* had suggested that in Sydney Scott was known as "Scott of Punch" and he appeared as a celebrity caricaturist on both the Sydney and Melbourne stage during the decade.⁵⁴ In his Melbourne appearances the year before the opening of the Garden Palace he was billed as the "greatest caricaturist of the age."⁵⁵ In the early twentieth century when graphic artists such as Harry Furness did stage acts based on lightening caricatures they usually accompanied the drawing with joke-telling raillery. Humour was not Scott's forte and his published caricatures served the primary basis of his political cartoons. It might be assumed, therefore, that any banter associated with his virtuoso stage-drawing would have related to anecdotes about the targets of his caricature. More than likely the emphasis of Scott's stage performance was on the speed and flourish of the act of drawing itself. The sureness and rapidity of Scott's drawing skill is indicated by the fact that he was the artist most often called on by the *Illustrated Sydney News* when instant dramatic or solemn panoramic illustrations were required to capture topical events such as flood, fire or funeral. If the Freeman Brothers' photograph of Scott drawing a large portrait of Henry Parkes (reproduced in Chapter One, figure 1.4) was meant as a publicity photograph for his stage act then the dapper costume would reinforce the view that his stage act was principally Scott playing the role of a dilettante artiste. However stylishly Scott presented himself, his inventive skill was no doubt the attraction. His celebrity in the 1870s was not based on the strength or particularities of his personality but was the same transient fame as that of Edward Trickett of New South Wales whose image commanded several of Scott's full-page supplements in the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1876 when he won the world sculling championship on the Thames in London. No doubt Trickett became a national figure in the 1870s because he demonstrated the superior prowess of an Australian competing against Britain. Scott's celebrity during the same decade must have also resulted from the adulation of a colonial audience seeking a spirit of independent expression that could nevertheless match the proficiency of the practitioners of the British comic tradition. This might have been confirmed by the appellation "Scott of Punch" but such an assessment only had currency during this period when colonial identity was inextricably tied to British models.

Scott's reputation in the 1870s as a multi-skilled artiste and Sydney's satirical jester gave him particular influence in the sphere of New South Wales politics. The following chapter reveals how Scott exerted his muscle as a guardian of an independent Australian spirit. The thematic of

the chapter is Scott's king-maker role in shaping public perception of Henry Parkes. Significantly, the chapter also unpicks the operational aspects of Scott's cartooning and caricature skills as it details their application.

Endnotes - Chapter Five

1. Date of sequestration for Scott's bankruptcy was 14/06/1870, New South Wales Archives [file: 10059]. A number of sources have noted Scott's bankruptcy in June 1870, including Suzanne Edgar in Geoffrey Serle and Russel Ward eds. *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Melbourne: Melbourne Univ. Press, 1976 V. 6 p. 95. Scott's photographic studio "The Sydney and Melbourne Fine Art and Photographic Company," in the old premises of Freeman Bros, 392 George Street, Sydney was first advertised in *Illustrated Sydney News* 16 May 1867 p.175. (The old premises were available, since by February 1867, Freeman Bros. had moved to a larger premises at 141 Castlereagh Street North, operating as Freeman & Prout. See, *Illustrated Sydney News* 16 February 1867 p. 128.) The possibility of Scott's gambling losses are explored in greater depth in Chapter Seven.

2. The painting was illustrated in the *Illustrated Sydney News* (6 September 1870 p. 44) and highly praised in the same paper (p. 43). The support from the *News* is not surprising considering Scott was producing most of their large supplements at this time and went on to do so for the rest of the decade. The reaction to Scott's contribution to the Sydney Intercolonial Exhibition by the *Sydney Mail* and *Herald* was far less complementary. (See, Mahood/Kerr *Dictionary of Australian Artists*, p. 705.)

3. For example: *Illustrated Sydney News*, 8 June 1870 p. 409 and cover; 3 August (supplement) pp. 24 & 25; 26 October (supplement) pp. 72 & 73; 6 November (supplement) pp. 40 & 41, 24 November p. 84. Even though *Sydney Punch* was printed and published from Gibbs and Shallard it should be noted that the Punch Office during the 1870s was three blocks down in the next street up from Pitt Street, close to the corner of King and Castlereagh Streets. These are both marked on the detailed map of Sydney published by *Illustrated Sydney News* as a Special Supplement December 1876.

4. The 1870 works by Scott are: 29 January, a quarter block; a most impressive double-page, coloured pen lithograph, 23 April and 22 October, half block; although the unsigned double-page spread, 3 December 1870, is undoubtedly by Scott and therefore signifies his return to duties since his cartoons regularly begin to appear again from 7 January 1871.

5. "In Memoriam" *Sydney Punch* 28 March 1872 p. 168. Tanner's birth date or age is not mentioned, although it is noted that he was "young." This was the second time that the sea had claimed an artist from *Sydney Punch*. As Marguerite Mahood has noted, the first *Punch* artist, the native-born Edward Jukes Greig, originally from Melbourne, "was drowned on 4 October 1864 in a sudden squall in Sydney Harbour at the age of twenty-five". (Mahood *LL*. p. 80.)

6. "Too Late" *Sydney Punch* 11 April 1872 p. 187; double-page illustration (pp. 190, 191)

7. The quarter-block cartoon is not signed and, although it could conceivably be by Tanner himself, the fact that it is a chalk lithograph suggests that it is almost certainly by Scott. Tanner almost exclusively favoured use of the pen for lithographs. *Sydney Punch* 27 January 1872 p. 84.

8. "Our Artist in Water Colours" *Sydney Punch* 27 January 1872 p. 85.

9. *Sydney Punch* 23 December 1871 p. 44.
10. This was contained in a footnote to the verse. *Sydney Punch* 23 December 1871 p. 40.
11. An example of a page of Hopkins' drawings signed with "Hop's Understudy": "A Nursery Rhyme to Suit the Time" *Bulletin* 10 March 1900 cover.
12. A bound volume of Cruikshank's *Comic Almanack* (1844 - 1853) purchased in Launceston, Tasmania in 2002 have a nineteenth-century Sydney booksellers stamp inside the contemporary binding.
13. The series of "Mr. Briggs in Australia" cartoons appear in *Melbourne Punch* from 20 June 1861 p. 116 through to 22 August 1861 p. 188. These are discussed in Chapter Two and two examples are reproduced as figure 2.9 and figure 2.10.(John Leech's immortal "Mr Briggs" first made his appearance in London *Punch* in 1849)
14. Mark Bryant and Simon Heneage, *Dictionary of British Cartoonists and Caricaturists 1730 - 1980*, Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1994 p. 136.
15. Gilbert Abbott A'Beckett, (John Leech, Illustrator) *The Comic History of England*, (2 Vols. in 1), London: Bradbury, Evans and Co., n.d. c. 1848. Gilbert Abbott A'Beckett, (John Leech, Illustrator) *The Comic History of Rome*, London: Bradbury, Evans and Co., n.d. c. 1852.
16. "The Comic History of Australia" in *Sydney Punch* begins with "Chapter I, Introductory" 30 October 1869 p. 192. The second installment appears as "Chapter IV" with illustrations by "Walker Chalks, R.A." 20 November 1869 pp.215, 216. The third installment (27 November 1869 pp. 223, 224) is the first in which the illustrations carry a signature - the "T" of Percy Tanner. Others follow through 1870, for example: 22 January 1870 p. 56 and 15 October 1870 p. 188. When Scott returns to *Sydney Punch* the feature continues 22 July 1871 p. 67 (unsigned, probably Scott); 7 August 1871 p. 94 (signed, by Tanner); 30 September 1871 p. 168 (unsigned, appears to be Scott); 28 October 1871 p. 206 (unsigned); 11 November 1871 p. 226 (unsigned); 25 November 1871 p. 8 (unsigned); December 30 1871 p. 52 (unsigned, probably Scott); 13 January 1872 p. 72 (unsigned); 27 January 872 p. 92 (unsigned but must be Scott as Tanner had left Sydney).
17. Examples of "The Unprotected Female" adventures by Alfred Clint are: *Sydney Punch* 18 October 1879 p. 122; 25 October 1879 p. 132; 1 November 1879 p. 141 and 15 November 1879 p. 160. Examples by Scott: *Sydney Punch* 6 December 1879 p. 188; 13 December 1879 p. 192; 20 December 1879 p. 200; 10 January 1880 p. 8 and p. 12.
18. Ruskin praised Leech on a number of times through his career. In a letter to Leech's sister after his death Ruskin noted "John Leech was an absolute master of the elements of character; of all rapid and condensed realisation ever accomplished by the pencil, his is the most dainty and the least fallible..." John Brown, *John Leech: and other papers*, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1882 p. 1. This source also quotes Thackeray's praise for his friend John Leech (p. 11). Dickens said his were "always the drawings of a gentleman" and Ruskin also said he was responsible for "the great softening of the English mind." Quoted in, Mark Bryant and Simon

Heneage, *Dictionary of British Cartoonists and Caricaturists 1730 - 1980*, Aldershot, England: Scolar Press, 1994 p. 136.

19. William Powell Frith, *John Leech: his life and work*, (2 Vols.) London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1891.

20. John Brown, *John Leech*, p. 33.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

23. Although Macleod was not born in Australia his arrival when he was five-years old obviously excludes him from any knowledge of London illustration.

24. *Sydney Punch* 12 March 1875 p. 66.

25. *Sydney Punch* 6 - 10 April 1875. One is a chalk lithograph (half-backed) and the other, "Progress" featuring a volume of *Punch*, a pen lithograph. Although both are unpaginated they are pp. 98, 99 and pp. 104,105 respectively.

26. *Sydney Punch* 6 - 10 April 1875 p.102.

27. "High Art; or, the Useful and the Ornamental in Another Phase" *Sydney Punch* 14 May 1875 p. 138.

28. Even a two-colour, double-page pen lithograph by Macleod is backed, something unprecedented during Scott's tenure. (*Sydney Punch* 27 August 1875 pp. 284,285.)

29. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 132.

30. There is no recorded information on Macleod's spell on *Sydney Punch*. The account of his life and work by his second wife, Agnes Conor Macleod presents only a brief mention of *Sydney Punch* and is unhelpful if not confused. Mrs Macleod *Macleod of 'The Bulletin'* Sydney: Snelling Printing, 1931 p. 5. In fact, Mrs Macleod's publication explicitly elides his political cartoons in *Sydney Punch* of 1875 by reproducing a *Bulletin* cartoon of 1880 with the description of his "first political cartoon" (p. iv). Patricia Rolfe has noted the second-hand or unreliable nature of Agnes Macleod's account (Rolfe, *Journalistic Javelin*, p. 1)

31. Perhaps illustrating how close the correspondences were, this particular 1875 volume in Mitchell Library, Sydney has bound in the June 4 1875 issue of *Sydney Punch*, a John Tenniel illustration from London *Punch* of June 5 1875. These particular volumes are the publisher issued bindings from the next year and, since the pagination count is correct, it may well have been inserted by the publisher.

32. The sequence runs: *Sydney Punch* 5 November 1875 p.361; 12 November p. 369; 19 November p. 380; 26 November p. 385; 3 December p. 393 and 10 December p. 410.

33. "Athirst!" *Sydney Punch* 3 December 1875 p.397.

34. *Sydney Punch* 10 December 1875 pp. 406, 407.
35. Mahood LL p. 144. See also, Anita Callaway in Kerr ed. DAA p. 166. Callaway has since corrected the date she gives in Kerr for Clint's arrival in Sydney. However, her suggestion that Clint was on the staff of *Sydney Punch* as early as October 1869 is unsustainable, being based on a reference to his scene painting (2 October 1869 p. 159), and cannot be supported by any visual evidence. See, Callaway VE p.157 and note 10 p. 212.
36. It should be noted, however, that this is the period when the *Sydney Mail* made significant technical advances in its production. A new rotary press that did not need movable type formes was purchased in 1875 and only the supplement was printed with a flat-bed cylinder press. Also, in 1876 the price of the paper was also increased to sixpence. (John Fairfax and Sons Limited, *A Century of Journalism*, 1931 pp. 674, 675) If Agnes Macleod's dates are confused about William's meeting with James and Edward Fairfax, it might well be argued that he was offered an attractive package to move to their *Sydney Mail* to consolidate the revitalization of the paper. (*Macleod of 'The Bulletin'* p. 5.)
37. (Staff of Sydney Punch), *Punch Staff Papers: a collection of Tales, Sketches, etc, in prose and verse*, Sydney and Melbourne: Gordon and Gotch, 1872, facing page 41.
38. The entry on Lacey in Kerr's Dictionary notes only that he drew a cartoon in *Sydney Punch* 29 May 1873. (Kerr, DAA p. 442 - entry by M.W. Callow and Patricia R. McDonald.)
39. Examples of Lacey's works signed "G.L." appear in *Sydney Punch* on: 13 March 1873 p. 41; 13 March 1873 p. 48; 15 May 1873 p.138; 5 June 1873 p. 168; 19 June 1873 p. 180; 26 June 1873 p. 198; 3 July 1873 p. 208. Two unsigned full-page cartoons that may be by Lacey are: 5 June 1873 p. 165 and 12 December 1873 p.463.
40. It has been noted in the DAA entry on Lacey that he was teaching at Braidwood from 1864 to 1878 (p. 442) so there remains the remote possibility that he worked on transfer paper and sent the drawings to *Punch*. If he did send work, a more likely scenario would have been for him to send a drawing to be worked into a chromolithograph by Scott as he appears to have done with the example of the "Customs of the Aborigines of New South Wales."
41. This water-colour is described by Callow and McDonald as "one of the few erotic images known from the colonial era". Kerr DAA p. 443. The gothic theatricality of the drawing is also derivative in layout and detail of many of Scott's published fantastic nightmares.
42. Moore, SAA, p 108.
43. Kerr, DAA. pp. 201, 202
44. *Sydney Mail* 1 July 1871 p. 560.
45. John Fairfax and Sons Limited, *A Century of Journalism: The Sydney Morning Herald and its record of Australian Life 1831 - 1931*, Sydney, 1931
46. For example: *Sydney Mail*, 25 Nov. 1871 p. 1246. Further complicating the issue, or at least adding to the conclusion that Scott is not the author of these early animal portraits, is the

fact that an engraved portrait in August is signed twice both with a "W". ("...Governor of Queensland" *Sydney Mail* 19 August 1871 p. 784)

47. Examples: "Rev. John H. James, D.D." *Syd. Mail*, 28 Oct. 1871; "H.R.H. the Prince of Wales" *Syd. Mail*, 2 March 1872 p. 264; "'Hamlet'" *Syd. Mail*, 13 April 2 p.457. On Frederick and Edward Mason, see entry on their father Walter George Mason (1820 - 1866) in, Kerr, DAA, pp. 520, 521.

48. *Sydney Mail* 23 November 1872 p. 657. (See. figure 6.21 in Chapter Six)

49. The one engraving signed with "M S" is an uncharacteristic subject for Scott, "The Bulli Coal Mining Co's Mine, Bulli" although it is also signed by Mason, the engraver. (*Sydney Mail* 18 October 1873 p. 498.) Initials and signatures of other artists contributing during 1873 are: "Durand", "JC" as monogram, "RT" as monogram, "F P F," and "W Bromley." Most engraved portraits include only Mason's usual initial "M". On 15 November 1873, the *Mail* began a series of lithographic portraits as supplements. Such portraits "drawn on stone" were Scott's particular forte, although none of the portraits, which ran into 1874 are signed and the *Mail* noted that the first example was "from a photograph taken by Mr. J. Herbert Newman, 12, Oxford-street, Sydney." (15 November 1873 p. 633).

50. Donald Ellsmore, "Interiors and Decoration: John Lyon's Ambitious Aesthetics," in, Peter Proudfoot, Roslyn Maguire and Robert Freestone eds., *Colonial City Global City: Sydney's International Exhibition 1879*, Sydney: Crossing Press, 2000 p. 89.

51. Ellsmore's summary of Scott's experience includes the glaring error that he became chief cartoonist with *Sydney Punch* in 1886. Scott's chief cartoonist role ended in 1884 when *Sydney Punch* ceased publication. He also fails to mention that Scott was a member of the Art Society of New South Wales, which is a significant point considering Ellsmore uses the fact that Habbe and Lyon were fellow members to suggest their close collaboration. (*Colonial City Global City* p. 97)

52. "The Interior of the Dome" *Illustrated Sydney News* 4 October 1879 p. 6.

53. For example: "The Gin Trophy" *Sydney Punch* 4 October 1879 p. 102; "'Honour to Whom Honour'" 27 September 1879 p. 93; "Highly Flattering; or What the Victorians Think of Our Garden Palace" 18 November 1879 p. 142; "The Three Mud Throwers" 15 November 1879 p. 161.

54. *Sydney Punch* 12 March 1875 p. 66.

55. From the advertisement in *Lorgnette* on 26 September and 17 for his performance at the Academy of Music in Melbourne. Information supplied by Joan Kerr from her database on Australian black-and-white artists. Joan's source was Juliet Peers.

CHAPTER SIX

Emblems, Animals and the Physiognomy of Henry Parkes

This chapter charts Monte Scott's graphic depictions of Henry Parkes (1815 - 1896). Scott's images plot the entire scope of Parkes' political career from 1865 to 1896 and number over one hundred examples. Among these are some of Scott's most impressive and inventive caricatures and cartoons but the number has been limited in this discussion since a selection is presented instead in the form of a pictorial essay as an appendix. This is not primarily a descriptive chronicle of Scott's caricatures of Parkes but these are used instead as a pretext to examine the nature of Scott's approach to caricature and the operations of graphic representation more generally in the nineteenth century. The core thematic analysis highlights the physiognomic paradigm that dominates all nineteenth-century representation and examines Scott's deployment of older emblematic schemes where allegory and symbolic personifications played a significant role.

Henry Parkes¹ is undoubtedly the most recognizable caricature or indeed graphic portrait from nineteenth-century Australia. One of the reasons for this is that he was the "politician that loomed largest with the *Bulletin* and its cartoonists during the 1880s."² In fact, Dorothy Hopkins has asked the question as to "what the *Bulletin* would have been without Parkes, and with equal justification, what Parkes would have been without the *Bulletin*."³ This is, however, much less than half the story since the vast majority of caricatural portraits of Parkes from the nineteenth century are to be found in *Sydney Punch* and almost all of these are by Montagu Scott. Marguerite Mahood has emphasized the frequency of Parkes' image in *Sydney Punch*, giving statistical evidence of his dominance, along with the variations of the depictions, in the pages of *Punch* during the three terms Parkes served as N.S.W. Premier during the 1870s.⁴ Nevertheless Mahood's focus on the 1870s tends to overshadow the additional fact that Parkes appears in full-page cartoons in *Sydney Punch* as early as June 1866 and over forty full-page cartoons before 1870 feature Parkes as well as his appearance in numerous smaller blocks. Scott not only produced the majority of the cartoon portraits and scenarios in *Sydney Punch* but also a number of the caricatures of Parkes in the *Bulletin* in the 1880s; along with several in the *Boomerang* in the late 1880s and the *Brisbane Worker* in the 1890s. As well there is the already mentioned large lithographic portrait of Parkes published as a supplement to the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1874. In early discussion of this portrait, mention was made of the Freeman Brothers' photograph in which Scott poses with his portrait sketch of Parkes [reproduced in Chapter One as figure 1.4]. This linkage of Scott and Parkes in the photograph seems hardly coincidental given the number of Parkes' appearances in Scott's cartoons in *Sydney Punch*. Such contemporary acknowledgment

of Scott's role in creating Parkes' public image, if not the resulting contribution to Parkes' popularity, may well have been sustained by Parkes himself. The attitude of Scott, or at least his Sydney editor, toward Parkes can be deduced from the fact that on more than one occasion *Sydney Punch* published a surrogate Valentine to Henry, the 1873 example taking the form of a most elaborate double-page spread.⁵ Several pieces of evidence beg speculation on the degree to which Scott and Parkes were acquainted. Obviously they met professionally, since Scott photographed Parkes in 1867 when he was Colonial Secretary.⁶ Also, Parkes' bold signature appears on Scott's 1874 *Illustrated News* Portrait. It is possible Parkes signed the lithographic stone or at least supplied his signature to be transferred to the stone as endorsement of the portrait. [figure 6.1] But more significantly, it would seem unlikely that Scott would have been given the unprecedented access he had to the Royal party during Prince Alfred's visit to Sydney during 1868 without sanction from Parkes. That this was more than a formal ratification might be indicated by the fact that he was given access to O'Farrell after the assassination attempt: or, more particularly, the fact that a number of the photographs Scott took of O'Farrell found their way into Parkes' personal collection.⁷ Confirming his endorsement of Scott, it was Parkes who commissioned Scott to paint the life-size portrait of Alfred, in April 1868, when the Prince had recovered from his wound.⁸ It is not inconceivable that Scott accompanied Parkes on one of his infamous visits to O'Farrell's prison cell but whatever the conditions under which Scott met with O'Farrell, the consequences of the meeting of politician and artist with the condemned Irish assassin would haunt Parkes for the rest of his political life.

Even before the assassination attempt on Clontarf Beach, Parkes was suspicious of radical Irish elements in New South Wales, but after the shooting he was convinced of the existence of a Fenian conspiracy. The evidence of O'Farrell's background and perhaps a post-assassination interview with him would suggest to an objective observer, such as Scott, that he was a mentally disturbed or deluded individual. Certainly, Scott's drawn portrait of O'Farrell in the *Illustrated Sydney News* is sympathetically distanced from the well established prototype Fenian monsters in *London Punch* as is his depictions of O'Farrell in his several renditions of the actual shooting, however luridly dramatic the action. Henry Parkes' assessment of the situation was very different and he interpreted O'Farrell's ramblings as evidence of his links to a wider conspiracy. While almost everyone, especially the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, tried to quell any sectarian sentiments, Parkes fanned the flames, posting a massive thousand pound reward for information about accomplices and by drafting a draconian Treason Felony Bill, which included a clause making it a crime to refuse to toast the Queen on official occasions.⁹ The Bill failed to get Royal assent and no one came forward to claim the reward, but Parkes was undaunted, maintaining his belief that O'Farrell was a Fenian agent.¹⁰ When the heat generated by the affair had started to

fade, Henry Parkes gave a speech in his then electorate of Kiama in which he claimed to have evidence that O'Farrell did not act alone and that in the stages of planning the attack another conspirator had been murdered to keep him silent. No evidence was produced then or subsequently by Parkes to support his allegation, which seems to have be conjured up in Parkes' imagination from a fragment of scribble found during the search of O'Farrell's hotel-room after his imprisonment.¹¹

The public and press scepticism over Parkes' claim at Kiama was almost instant. It has been claimed that Phil McCarroll, a Victorian satirist, in a series of poems mocking the speech introduced the phrase the “Kiama Ghost” to refer to Parkes' allegation.¹² This overlooks the role of *Sydney Punch* and Monte Scott in the formulation of Parkes' Kiama spectre. Parkes gave his Kiama speech on 24 August 1868 and it was published on Wednesday 26 August, too late perhaps for inclusion as a topic in that weekly issue of *Sydney Punch*, published on Saturday 29 August.¹³ However, in the issue of the next week, 5 September 1868, Parkes' speech is the almost singular topic of interest. Under the heading “Parkes' Affidavits!!!” the evidence of a conspiracy and murder alluded to in Parkes' speech at Kiama is reproduced in the form of three affidavits by Larry Bugaboo, Timothy Blood and Bridget Blazes.¹⁴ These contain outrageous and in some cases still provocatively amusing declarations, such as that Bugaboo was to assassinate not only the Prince but also Parkes and Carruthers, the President of the Protestant League, and deliver the bodies in a wheelbarrow to the drawing room of the Archbishop of Sydney ready to be shipped to Rome, where it is also noted, Cardinal Antonelli is still on the banks of the *Tiber* anxiously waiting for the ship to arrive to bless everything but the bodies. On the page following this item, *Sydney Punch* presents the script for a play “The Fenian Fratricide: or, Bloody-Fingered 'Enery, the Avenger!!!”.¹⁵ The play is set in Rome and the Illawarra District and a link is made with the item on the previous page when in the first act a group of Cardinals enter the Vatican Library and cry out “A consignment of dead heretics from the antipodes, most Holy Father”. Naturally, Pope Pius IX answers “Thanks! thanks! my children”.

In the second act, Parkes appears and admonishes the “Vain old man of Rome!” :

“Thou hast thy palaces, and thy guards, and thy adoring millions. But thou hast never had a daily paper, a seat in the Assembly, the glory of authorship nor the cheers of Orangemen!”¹⁶

This snide belittling of Parkes' editorship of the *Empire*, parliamentary career, publication of poems and implied support for the Protestant cause is typical of the droll humour that follows. At least five other minor items and poems that make up this September 5 issue directly refer or allude to Parkes' Kiama speech and the mysterious murdered conspirator. Monte Scott's

contribution to the topic was a half-page engraving and a full-page cartoon. [figures 6.2 and 6.3] The smaller block is used above an adaptation from "Hamlet - Act 4, Scene 3" in which Rosencrantz (an Irish constable) tells the King (a Police Inspector) "Where the dead body is bestowed, my lord, we cannot get from him". Parkes appears in the background as Hamlet with grass caught in his crown and clinging to his hands and thus fulfilling the primary caption of the cartoon "The Hamlet of Kiama: or, Mad as a March Hare". During his years at *Melbourne* and *Sydney Punch*, the majority of Scott's literary allusions come from Shakespeare. The situation is much the same in *London Punch* and certainly so in the American illustrated weeklies to the end of the century.¹⁷ But in the full-page cartoon on the Kiama speech Scott does not turn to Shakespeare in one of his most inventive and powerfully theatrical scenarios. The cartoon is captioned "Raising the Devil; or, The Modern Der Freischutz." Scott's choice of Carl von Weber's opera with its supernatural horror set in country scenery is an inspired choice given the circumstances.¹⁸ Parkes is represented as the free shooter in the opera who asks the audience "cant you wait a little?", while he attempts to conjure up the devil by throwing a frog into the witches' cauldron surrounded by a ring of "Empty Skulls." In the shadows lurks the devil as Fenian assassin with noose and chain around his neck. It is an image with distinct echoes of the depictions of Scott's favorite gothic moment using the Witches of Macbeth, but it was uniquely appropriate and its impact would reverberate through Australian graphic discourse associated with Parkes for almost twenty years. Ironically, when the genealogy of this image reaches its culminating point in Phil May's 1886 conjuring of the Kiama Ghost in the *Bulletin* [figure 6.4] it is the modish stylishness of the drawing that gives it historical currency and elides both its significant point of origin and meaning in Scott's image and Scott's role in establishing the lineage of the Kiama Ghost.¹⁹ Seeking artfulness in a comparison of these two renditions gives absolute ascendancy to the May drawing but if discursive power and ideological impact are the measure, then the Scott cartoon is immeasurably superior. This is of course the reason why the Scott cartoon is forgotten and the comparison also offers an emblematic example of the fundamental thesis I present for Scott's disappearance from historical discourse. The more intensely topical and contingently relevant a popular artist's work was, the more deeply that work was embedded in the specific historical moment. The opposite was the case with Phil May as it has often been noted that he was "not interested in politics" and preferred to have the "whole scene and idea laid out for him" in order to create a stylish cartoon.²⁰

After the devastating attack on Parkes of September 5, *Punch* did not relent in the following issue with mention of the "Kiama Mystery" but the September 12 edition was more concerned with the Randwick Plate of that weekend. At the end of September, Parkes resigned from the New South Wales Ministry and in the *Sydney Punch* issue of 26 September 1868 on the same page that

noted his resignation Scott produced a quarter-block engraving captioned “No Answer? Then I’ll Enter.” [figure 6.5] The cartoon shows Parkes as Hamlet in the earlier cartoon of September 5 but this time he is on the battlements of the castle in moonlight and startled to see the ghost of a pugnacious Irishman. As so often happened in the pages of *Sydney Punch*, this cartoon assumes a deep familiarity in its readers with earlier issues of the journal. In this case the sub-caption that reads “Enter Murphy, Exit Parkes” is a direct quote from the ending of Act IV in the “Fenian Fratricide” play published three weeks before in *Punch*. More significantly, it implies that the Fenian ghost that *Sydney Punch* had conjured up in text and image contributed to Parkes’ departure from office. Parkes remained actively involved with political life in Sydney but in the months after his resignation from the Martin ministry Scott made a radical change to his depictions of Parkes’ Kiama Ghost. This change demonstrates the sophistication of Scott’s understanding of popular image making in terms of the semiotics or mechanics of its signification and the limits of its codification. The generic gothic apparition could be hybridized with the established representation of the Irish Yahoo or Caliban but the result only partially signified a phantom conjured up by Parkes to alarm the doubters of widespread Fenian conspiracy. This is because many readers obviously believed in the existence of the Fenian monster, as testified by the reception and endurance of Tenniel’s Irish Caliban in *London Punch*.²¹ Manning Clarke went so far as to claim that “men of the establishment in Sydney thought the Irish Catholics so benighted and bereft of every advantage ... that nothing but the shade of a Catholic’s skin distinguished him from an Aborigine.”²² Scott’s solution was to most emphatically denote Parkes’ Kiama ghost as a harmless scarecrow, the only signifying elements of its Hibernian fiction being the addition of pot-hat and clay pipe. [figure 6.6]

In other words, the iconographic sign of the Irish Caliban was replaced by the symbolic sign of the scarecrow and its singular referent was Parkes’ bizarre spectral obsessions with the Irish. Once introduced, as it was in this full-page cartoon 12 December 1868, with full explanatory context and caption, the scarecrow took on this interpretative power of a singular symbolic association with Parkes’ deluded scare tactics.²³ Scott’s choice of a scarecrow was more potent and specifically referential for a ghost in the nineteenth century since “bogey” and “scarecrow” were synonymous.²⁴ It can probably safely be deduced that a theatrical prop for a ghost or bogeyman was a scarecrow-like construction as used here by Scott. Such a conclusion is arrived at by taking as a guide a cartoon [figure 6.7] from *London Judy* of 1895, which used the same theatrical prop for a bogey, and assuming that this cannot have been derived from Scott’s 1868 creation.²⁵ It almost goes without saying that if the Kiama ghost was to be Parkes’ regular attribute, the repetition of the scarecrow required minimum investment of graphic labour compared to the ghost of a vicious Paddy, who would also limit the scenarios in which he could

appear. In fact, his second appearance in a double-page finely cut engraving in the Christmas Number of *Sydney Punch* in 1868 perfectly demonstrates this, since “the Ghost” as jolly radish-headed scarecrow with plum-pudding instead of pot-hat standing next to Parkes, only adds to the jocose atmosphere of the occasion as it depreciates Parkes in more ways than simply by its larger scale and the fact that Parkes carries a plate bearing a piglet on his head.²⁶ [figure 6.8]

In the issue of *Sydney Punch* following the Christmas Number (31 December) there is a small unsigned cartoon captioned “Parkes' Christmas Sports. Alas! poor ghost!...” that shows Parkes raising a stick to the scarecrow, the head of which is made from a vegetable stuck with five clay pipes. More than likely produced by Scott this hastily drawn effort may indicate that the topic was to become a stock space filler.²⁷

Nevertheless, in the first issue of *Punch* in 1869, Scott used an interesting scenario which showed the flexibility of Parkes' Kiama Ghost as symbolic scarecrow. Preparing for the elections of that year, a group of politicians are playing “Political Snapdragon” and Parkes has successfully plucked a raisin from the flaming brandy on the table. His expression of surprise is matched by the expression on the steaming raisin's little scarecrow face.²⁸ [figure 6.9]

This cartoon was one of the last by Scott to be engraved on wood as *Sydney Punch* converted to lithography for the majority of its illustrations at the end of January 1869. The first pen lithograph by Scott (although it is unsigned) to use the Kiama scarecrow is a lively cartoon from 6 February in which Scott perhaps gives too much free reign to the rapidity of the new medium.²⁹ Later that month he modifies this approach and takes much more care with a double-page pen lithograph showing N.S.W. and Mr Punch welcoming Prince Alfred on his very low-key return visit. In the foreground a very effete Henry Parkes clutching his scarecrow floats past in a puff of clouds. The caption reads: “The Prince's Real Protector; or, Policeman Punch. 'Not' Parkes.”³⁰ [figure 6.10]

The distinct lack of interest by the press and public in the Prince during this second visit would seem to suggest that historical amnesia quickly relieved the “colonial grief and shame” shown after the 1868 assassination attempt on the honoured guest.³¹ Therefore that this one full-page cartoon by Scott offering ceremonial welcome should so prominently impugn Parkes must have been a bitter reminder for Parkes of his less than creditable behaviour in the period immediately after the shooting, his subsequent near paranoid quest for evidence of a Fenian conspiracy and his almost singular role in the execution of O'Farrell.³² The impact on Parkes may have prompted a direct intercession to *Sydney Punch*, or to Scott, to bury the ghost.³³ If this were so, it would

hardly be imaginable that it would be accepted without some expression of contrition. Whatever transpired after publication of this humiliating cartoon, in the very next issue of 6 March 1869, *Sydney Punch* inextricably decided to put the Kiama ghost to rest.³⁴ [figure 6.11] The unsigned half-page cartoon shows Mr Punch and his pug observing the grave and headstone of the Kiama ghost with Henry Parkes kneeling grave side, his funeral hat tossed on the other side of the grave. The caption “Hic Jacket” is repeated on the headstone below a crude representation of the scarecrow head, confirming that here lies the Kiama Ghost, although it should be noted that the drawing of Parkes is below Scott's usual accomplished renditions. Such cursory attempts were not uncommon in Scott's smaller cartoons and rather than indicating lack of conviction or commitment to the sentiments of the theme, it more than likely suggests a belated need to include the cartoon in this issue. During the following months Scott goes on to caricature Parkes in a number of full-page cartoons and true to the “Hic Jacket” declaration, the Kiama Ghost does not appear in any form.

As already noted, Percy Tanner makes his first full-page contribution to *Sydney Punch* in the issue of 4 September 1869 and by October of that year takes over all the illustrative work from Scott. Two months into his tenure, Tanner recreates Scott's symbolic scarecrow version of the Kiama ghost on an election sandwich board worn by Henry Parkes in a full-page cartoon titled “Election Sandwiches”. This rapid invocation of Parkes' nemeses so soon after Scott's departure might indicate that the pact to desist from its use was between Scott and Parkes rather than between the editor and Parkes.

Two years after the appearance of the Kiama ghost, *Sydney Punch* acknowledges that “Mr Punch has come to look on Kiama as an uncanny place; the butter of the land was well-nigh unsavory to him; but its rankness is now cured, and he no longer dreads it as a form of oleaginous treachery.”³⁵ This is from a report on a speech by the member John Smith and a small supporting cartoon by Percy Tanner on the same page shows a naked “Caliban” scared off from Kiama. This cartoon, seemingly absolving Parkes, is not the only such allusion to Parkes' ghost in *Sydney Punch* during the years following the Kiama speech. The other, a two-colour lithograph by Scott in 1876, is the definitive instance of “Breaking the Spell” of Kiama over Parkes. As with the cartoons that began the Kiama episode, the allusion here is to Shakespeare, specifically *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Parkes is represented as the ass-headed Bottom and Kiama is Titania. Kiama, as the queen of the fairies, states in the caption that she thought she was enamored of the Ass but says “Oh! How mine eyes do loathe his visage now”.³⁶ Throughout the decade of the 1870s the scarecrow remains buried, with Monte Scott keeping references to the Kiama ghost out of his cartoons. This remains so even when particular scenarios would seem to

cry out for allusion to that devil of Kiama.³⁷

When the Kiama ghost does again reappear it is through the pencil of William Macleod. No commentator has noted how much Macleod's work, both in the period he worked on *Sydney Punch* and in his early work at the *Bulletin*, depended on Monte Scott's output. He borrowed many of Scott's hybrid creations, scenarios, metaphoric ploys and tropes. Perhaps this is why Marguerite Mahood and Joan Kerr wrongly attributed Macleod's work in the *Bulletin* of 1880 to Scott.³⁸ Perhaps this error is particularly understandable considering Macleod often did not sign his early cartoons in the *Bulletin*. It is in one of these early unsigned cartoons by Macleod that Scott's Kiama ghost reappears. [figure 6.12] In fact the cartoon caption announces the "Reappearance of the Kiama Ghost" and Macleod draws Parkes startled awake in the dead of night to find a satanic winged Paddy at his window.³⁹ It is unclear what prompted Macleod to resurrect the ghost but he makes the apparition sufficiently stereotypical of the Irish Yahoo to invoke Parkes more commonly accepted anti-Irish sentiments and fears of Catholic power rather than the specific image of the phantom murdered conspirator that had originally brought the graphic version of the Kiama ghost to life. Soon after Macleod's resurrection of the Kiama ghost, in September 1881, it would appear that Scott could not resist the temptation to both remind Sydney readers of who had invented the emblematic spectre and to also demonstrate its lack of contemporary potency. Scott produced a full-page cartoon in *Sydney Punch* that not only directly quotes his own cartoon of Parkes and the bogey from more than ten years earlier, but also creates a context that makes it clear that the bogey now holds no fears for Parkes, who is represented laughing at the ghost, while the supporting verse notes that it is not "a shape from the mouldy tomb" but "Foster, the ghost of the Council Hall".⁴⁰

What Scott had so cleverly managed to do with his earlier manifestations of the Kiama ghost, but particularly in the scarecrow variant, was to signify both the object of Parkes' creation and his anti-Irish political scare mongering. Macleod's choice of a Parkes' nightmare scenario for the appearance of the ghost may be generically amusing as a comic drawing but its signification is ambiguous in that it is difficult to know if the intention is simply a recollection of his nightmare political blunder in 1868, a reference to his fear of Irish Catholics, or indeed Parkes' creation of Irish ghosts to engender popular political advantage. Macleod's next use, a year later, of the Kiama Ghost as Chinese-shaped clouds of smallpox over Sydney in a cartoon captioned "Successor to the Kiama Ghost" leaves it unclear if the threat is real or again a phantom formation created with the intention to polarize sectarian or racial fear for political or policy advantage.⁴¹ Another later use by Macleod of the Kiama ghost suggests that he had decided that it made for a convenient pictorial scenario to feature Parkes.

In 1882, at the time Henry Parkes had returned from a visit to Britain and America there was intense pressure from the public to amend the existing Land Laws to restrain the rapidly expanding holdings of wealthy or influential graziers. Parkes opted for softer amendments to the Land Act to appease political and grazier interests. The result was a dissolution of the ministry followed by a massive voter backlash in which the party was defeated and Parkes lost not only his position as Premier but also his own seat of East Sydney. Macleod's cartoon interpretation of the events in August 1882 uses the "Modern Kiama Ghost" to illustrate the "Land Bill" which looms from the night sky with pot hat and coffin although other Irish attributes are, perhaps not unexpectedly, missing - given the emphasis on the Land Bill which is inscribed on the coffin and carried in the ghost's hand. [figure 6.13] The reference in the subsidiary caption to "The Sick Man with the Sheet Off" refers to Parkes being confined to a sickbed soon after his return to Sydney (in September) and perhaps implies that this confinement is an escape from facing the issue.⁴²

At the same time that Macleod was resorting to Scott's Kiama ghost to depict Parkes' dilemmas, Monte Scott was producing full-page cartoons in *Sydney Punch*. They make a telling comparison with those in the *Bulletin*. It certainly becomes clear why the *Bulletin* used Scott after the demise of *Sydney Punch* in 1884 and imported Livingstone Hopkins and Phil May to enliven the visual content of that paper. Scott's cartoons from May to October 1882 are so attuned to the nuances of the developing political situation that any understanding or interpretation of them is conditional on a detailed knowledge of the political context in which they were produced. Scott had such an eye and ear for the momentary essence of public taste and opinion that not surprisingly some of his references are beyond contemporary interpretation. However, during Parkes' tour of England and the United States, *Sydney Punch* accurately charts and incites the rising unrest in the electorate. In this period, and after Parkes' return in August 1882, Scott's cartoons do not focus on the single issue of the Land Bill but encompass the disputed Licensing Act, poor public transport, the North Shore Bridge and financial mismanagement. A particularly personal element is introduced, constantly suggesting that Parkes' claims to statesmanship are motivated by self-importance and his triumphalist tour of Britain part of his scheme of self aggrandizement. What is more, his promotion of a cultural veneer for Sydney with public library and art gallery was presented as evidence of his losing touch with the realities of public finances and amenities and his image as a man of action is replaced by one of complacency and indolence.

In the week after the appearance of Macleod's Kiama ghost cartoon in the *Bulletin*, Scott produces a full-page cartoon in *Sydney Punch* that in very literal terms sums up the perilous state of New South Wales.⁴³ It includes reference to Parkes' illness, the fire in the Garden Palace, black clouds of vice, bad laws, licencing abuses and land robbery but also sarcastically dismisses any comfort

coming from the New South Wales Assembly. Much more impressive is "Too Thin," a cartoon by Scott from the second week in October in which he depicts Parkes as a stage Wizard of the type that amused Sydney audiences from the 1850s onwards [figure 6.14].⁴⁴ Parkes as "Professor of Legerdemain, Magic and Prestidigitation of Modern Times" attempts a "startling and marrow-freezing performance" throwing a silk handkerchief, elaborately embroidered with the words Art Gallery, Public Library, Magnificence and Speed, over a pile of "rubbish and skulls, the result of a lengthened succession of mulls." Mr Punch of course can see through the silk rag, as he notes in the accompanying poem.⁴⁵ Apart from its topicality, what particularly distinguishes Scott's cartoon from Macleod's use of the Kiama ghost scenario is that the very presence of the skulls and bones effectively recalls the infamous missing Kiama body without specific text reference to it.

The above comparisons of Scott's work with that of Phil May and William Macleod in the *Bulletin* are intended to highlight the particular quality of Scott's graphic approach rather than to counter the universal claim that the graphic art in the *Bulletin* was superior to that in *Sydney Punch*. It is also to emphasize the point that the *Bulletin* style evolved over a period of years and the arrival of Hopkins and May at the *Bulletin* did not result in an immediate and total eclipse of Scott and his claimed anachronistic style. In opposition to the accepted history, I have already suggested that Scott was directly involved in the technological revolution in printing at the *Bulletin* in the mid 1880s. In addition, until 1886 at least, Hopkins and May were both to more or less degrees dependant on Scott's legacy for subjects, scenarios and on occasions, style. Hopkins was, however, much more attuned to the new iconographic register of racial and ethnic type. This is best demonstrated with a comparison of a Livingstone Hopkins cartoon from 1900 [figure 6.15] which follows the same basic scheme or scenario of one by Monte Scott from 1868.⁴⁶ [figure 6.16]

Given the depth and range of his graphic skills Scott could adapt to almost any style and the work he produced in *Sydney Punch* in 1883 before and after Livingstone Hopkins' arrival shows how readily he could mimic the coarse open style and dramatic distortions of American illustration. His cartoons in this period alternate between his classical, dense pictorial style and his use of dramatic singular motifs on white grounds. Many cartoons are more a medley of the two styles such as the "The Orator Bold" where Scott's well rehearsed ploy of creating human-headed animal hybrids and making spoken phrases literally visual are used to devastating effect to provoke the mixture of hubris and remorse the public must have felt over Parkes removal as Premier. This is not to suggest that Hop is the singular source for, or influence on, Scott's "modern style," which he affects long before Hop's arrival. Besides, Hopkins' early work in the *Bulletin* during 1883 is fairly undistinguished. It could be argued that it is in fact the early

interaction between Scott and Hopkins that helps shape the powerful “cynical ugliness” of much of Hop's later work.⁴⁷ It should also be stressed that *Sydney Punch* in 1883 can hardly be seen as the ideal showcase for presenting Scott's work in competition with the *Bulletin*. The declining fortunes of the journal are patently obvious during the course of that year. However hard Scott tried to produce a beguiling full-page or double-page editorial cartoon (all pen lithographs) there was obviously not enough money to pay for any subsidiary cartoons, as these are almost all reprints of earlier engravings, with many of the blocks showing the signs of splitting from overuse.⁴⁸ This is also the case for some of the full-page cartoons where old wood-blocks are used and the quantity if not quality of the writing diminishes rapidly as the year progresses, with more and more open space between the blocks of text. Scott's lieutenant, Alfred Clint, had been let go at the beginning of 1883, as his work does not appear at all during the year. By August, secondary cartoons or blocks all but disappear and from September to December 1883 it would appear that only Scott's cartoons were keeping the paper afloat. And no doubt as a consequence of this, some of the few advertisements *Punch* was attracting are crammed outside the framing border on the page with Scott's cartoon - gone the days when Scott could demand a free, unbacked sheet for his full-page cartoon.

Soon after Hopkins started work on the *Bulletin*, the ailing *Sydney Punch* snidely noted the rising popularity of its rival and also took a dig at Hopkins, suggesting he was not worth the money, being an artist “who could dab in so much ink and so little wit into a small space.”⁴⁹ In many of Hop's early cartoons there was indeed a good deal of ink. His “Shade of Nelson: 'Am I Thus Degraded? A Warden of Felons?’” from 18 August 1883 is a densely cross-hatched example. [figure 6.17] However this cartoon is reproduced here to compare with Monte Scott's cartoon on exactly the same theme from 11 August 1883. [figure 6.18] Hop's cartoon can also be seen as a response to Scott's work which was published the week before. The contrast between the two works could hardly be more dramatic. But it is possible to offer a foil to this pairing of Sydney cartoonists since this is a rare circumstance when Melbourne's leading cartoonist Tom Carrington also produced a *Melbourne Punch* cartoon on the same theme at the same time, 16 August 1883. [figure 6.19]

The content of, or context for, these cartoons is the transportation to Australia of several of the Irishmen involved in the so called Phoenix Park murders. Eight Fenian assassins were originally tried in Dublin by the British authorities for the murder of Lord Cavendish and Mr. Burke but three who had turned informer, as part of their reward, were given passage to Australia.⁵⁰ On 11 August, 1883, the *Sydney Mail* reported their arrival at Adelaide, where they were refused permission to disembark. Victoria and New South Wales followed suit and the Queensland

Premier announced he would not accept the informers in his state.⁵¹

Looking at the cartoon depictions it is clear that Scott's is the most eccentric and descriptive of the three; even allowing for the fact that the other two are engravings. It might be also said that this three-way comparison demonstrates that Scott was the only one of these artists who was not strictly or exclusively an illustrator. Both Hopkins and Carrington were trained, professional illustrators. Carrington unashamedly modeled his style on John Tenniel and his cartoon is so stylistically close to the work by his source that, except for the theme, it could well be an illustration from *London Punch*.⁵² A line from the *London Telegraph* suggesting that the informers be landed "quietly on some island in the Pacific" is the trigger for Carrington's particular scenario representing the two leading Victorian politicians as native chiefs rejecting the Commodore of the *Nelson* and his ship's boat loaded with three stereotyped Fenians.⁵³

Three informers, Smith, Kavanagh and Hanlon, were known to be on board the *Nelson* and Scott depicts the three being offered to N.S.W. by John Bull. It is possible, with some difficulty, to identify at least one of the three individuals in Scott's cartoon; namely, Laurence Hanlon at back right. However, as detailed elsewhere, Scott's drawing does not succeed at representing an instant likeness nor do the three informers instantly register as vicious Irish types.⁵⁴ This is because Scott's drawing was caught between two irreconcilable demands since it was hardly possible to produce both a caricature of an individual and the representative of a type in the one physiognomy. As one racial scientist noted, 'type' is "this form which exists everywhere, and is nowhere to be found".⁵⁵

On the other hand, Hop has no qualms about representing the vicious Fenian stereotype: he revels in it as the cartoon demonstrates.⁵⁶ This propensity or skill by Hopkins to exploit established types and stereotypes was to become the very basis of his success illustrating for the *Bulletin*. On very rare occasions, Scott did depict the prognathic, anthropoid Irishman⁵⁷ but he showed little inclination to deploy generic types unless they were of his own invention. This held true for the Chinese where he created his own metaphoric and monstrous types but less so for Blacks where he was most dependent on stereotypes. That aside, it certainly appears that Scott took particular care to avoid the Irish Caliban.

However, the difference between these two cartoons by Scott and Hopkins, and what makes the Scott work appear anachronistic, illustrates a significant symbolic shift in graphic discourse. Caricatural physiognomy had always been and remained an important element in comic art but the old or established vocabulary of emblematic forms, personifications, literary allegory, theatrical and high-art allusions was being transformed by the foundation of a fixed physiognomic

hierarchy of racial and social stereotypes. Even the word-plays and puns considered so amusing by Victorian comic artists increasingly became tied to racial, ethnic or social reference. Once a range of types was firmly established by the 1880s the imperative for fabrication of a comic scenario was replaced by emphasis on stylistic invention. It would be misleading to take this as a move from the complex to the simple, for the shift, as indicated in the comparison of the Scott and Hopkins' works, was more an ideological adjustment to a new audience where cultivated dissension was replaced by callow conviction. As shown earlier, Scott would certainly later in the *Boomerang* and *Brisbane Worker* adapt to the new audience that the *Bulletin* was already attracting in 1883 but it took him some time to come to terms with Hop's stock-in-trade stereotypes of "nigger," "Chow" and "Jew". Scott's generation of graphic artists (including Carrington) seem to have inherited a distaste for jingoism from their models in *London Punch* and preferred instead the "humanistic reproachful cartoon" in matters of patriotic nationalism. Not so the case with Hopkins; as Mahood noted, "he was untrammelled by either colonial or British nationalism."⁵⁸

In this particular cartoon scenario, Hop makes no reference to John Bull or Miss New South Wales but gives singular emphasis to the three hideous anthropoid Irishman. "Nelson," the name of the ship carrying the informers supplies the thematic scaffold for the cartoon. A lot of the distinction between Scott and Hop's approach had to do with the rapidity of interpretation offered by the use of stereotype as opposed to emblematic personifications. Fictive graphic racial or ethnic types, varieties or species, could be adapted although once created they were particularly resilient. The investment of European racial science and social Darwinism in the formation of representational types from the 1860s onward most promptly payed off in popular graphic or comic art. This is not suggesting that Scott's classical beauty personifying N.S.W. and Hop's brute apes signifying Irish Fenians are not unrelated at the fundamental or epistemological level. For the discursive power of racial science was itself built on the classical ideal of physiognomy and normative measure was the farthest point from brute animality. In addition both Scott's John Bull and Hop's Irish Calibans require the same use of, admittedly very different, attributes and emblems to activate them.

In constructing symbolic sign systems built on allegorical figures and emblematic personifications, metaphor and metonymy played a crucial role but nevertheless such a system of signification required an informed or literate viewer. The very idea of a coded conceptual allegory develops in Renaissance emblematic writing.⁵⁹ Even so, in early modern thought the image stock of emblems was not strictly limited to production from the theoretical matrix of an

emblem book or related iconologies or symbologies. And even after the demise of the English emblem book early in the eighteenth century the encoding of certain emblems and allegories was maintained until the last decades of the nineteenth-century at least: examples being, Justice, Cupid, the Four Horsemen, Grim Reaper, Hell and the Devil, the latter two from the sub-category of religious emblems or iconologies. The Christian emblematic or symbolic tradition continued well into the nineteenth century in high art and the popularity of books such as Mrs. Jameson's two volume *Sacred and Legendary Art*, giving exemplary models and instructions for representing everything religious from angels and St. Omobuono to the Four Greek Fathers, confirms the perpetuation of the tradition.⁶⁰ Comic artists in the nineteenth century, however, operated within a distinctly secular domain which in many ways they helped to define.

Monte Scott, for example, in his fifty years of work did not produce a religious image in anything other than a satirical context. Even his fifty or so Christmas allegories are emphatically secular. Since the primary emblem tradition was established outside of the religious iconologies, it is tempting to see the satirical print of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century and the cartoon from later in the century as evolved forms of the emblem. Traditionally, an emblem had three parts: a 'lemma' or motto, a picture, and a following explanatory text and therefore many cartoons and satirical prints would seem to fit the definition⁶¹. However, even in the Renaissance this definition was not limited to emblems, and besides many cartoons lack the usual moral reflection or imperative found in the classic emblem.⁶² It was of course always possible within the limited readership of a popular journal to create a range of emblematic signs as Scott's Kiama scarecrow demonstrates. Nevertheless Scott's approach is directly and fundamentally linked to the emblematic tradition. Scott's favoured ploy to create allegorical and emblematic schemes, usually using pretty women and assorted animals for a wide range of political, social and popular concepts, fits neatly into what John Manning has defined as the quintessentially emblematic: "detaching an image from one sphere of existence (...the private, the amorous, the personal) and attaching it to another(the political, the official, the public)"⁶³.

Scott's most impressive allegorical schemes created during his years in Sydney are usually found outside the context of *Sydney Punch*. This is not unexpected since working for the *Illustrated Sydney News* or the *Sydney Mail* Scott was relieved of the satirical demand of the political allegory or the cartoonist's imperative to be funny. A typical example is his 1870 "Allegorical Representation of the Progress of New South Wales Since the Foundation of the Colony in 1788" [figure 6.20].⁶⁴ Even considering that it celebrates the annual Agricultural Society of New South Wales exhibition, the scheme presented very much evokes the British romantic perception of Australia as pastoral paradise since the products of field and flock dominate the design. The apex

of this scheme is a female personification, and a classically dressed female N.S.W. rides a bull in another elaborate “Allegorical Picture” on a similar theme in 1873.⁶⁵ A more handsome Miss N.S.W. flies the “Free Trade” flag (in support of Henry Parkes' policies, no doubt) in an 1874 decorative scheme where she is flanked by a bull and ram ridden by winged cherubs or putti.⁶⁶ Scott's decorative emblematic schemes did not always have this singular pastoral or agricultural focus, however. An example is Scott's massive fold-out supplement to the *Sydney Mail* on 23 November 1872 in which he “Commemorates the Inauguration of International Telegraphic Communication”. [figure 6.21] This impossibly abstract concept is reduced to an allegorical scheme that has at the centre a vignette containing the emblem of a semi-naked female rising from the waves surrounded by flames and lightening bolts. The lines that radiate from this ellipse separate the continents of Asia, Africa, Europe, America and Australia. Scott copies established allegorical figure groups to represent the other continents but invents his own group for Australia. As outlined in Chapter Five, it would appear that this scheme impressed the colonial audience as seven years later it became the basis for the decorations inside the dome of the Garden Palace for the Great Sydney Exhibition of 1879-80.

Given Scott's huge investment in emblematic personifications of Australia and the colonial states it does seem ironic that it was Hop's 'Little Boy from Manly' that became the emblematic representation of N.S.W. and later, young Australia.⁶⁷ The explanation by Hop that he “found Minerva difficult to acclimatize” is simply part of the *Bulletin* and Hop's self-mythologizing.⁶⁸ In the twenty years before this, Monte Scott had produced countless variations on personifications of New South Wales and Australia. Some of these were boys in the guise of young Australia and by no means were Scott's personifications all classical females but included stockmen and Aborigines. As early as 1864, in *Melbourne Punch*, Scott had represented a group of boys and girls as “Young Australia at the Pantomime”.⁶⁹ Even before this, in 1858, in the same journal Chevalier had drawn a cheeky street-Bedouin as “Young Australia.”⁷⁰ Also, several issues before the appearance of the 'Little Boy from Manly' the *Bulletin* had reproduced a cartoon featuring a boy as “Young Australia” and this is not by Hopkins or Scott.⁷¹ More significantly in the context of this discussion, Scott had depicted Henry Parkes as a young Australian teaching Queen Victoria to suck eggs.⁷² [figure 6.22] The seeds for Young Australia had been cultivated long before Hop's Little Boy appeared.

The reasons that Hop's “Little Boy” image took hold were due to external factors mostly beyond the artist's control. First, in all symbolic contexts, especially art and literature, there was from the beginning of the nineteenth century a distinct move away from allegorical personifications. These emblematic schema had held sway from the thirteenth century across Europe, where human

attributes were projected onto objects, abstract concepts, vices and virtues. The resulting iconology, which was dominated by female personifications, was seen to represent the grammar of a universal language. During the nineteenth-century, in graphic or illustrative discourse this allegorical or emblematic tradition was gradually replaced, or more correctly absorbed, into a physiognomic paradigm where personifications, attributes, costumes and contexts became far less important, with the human form and features seen as essentially and universally encoded. Significantly, it has also been noted that in the English-speaking world in the nineteenth century it is predominately the female icon or feminine personifications, of science and philosophy for example, that first vanish.⁷³

In other words, the Classical female personifications such as Minerva were becoming an anachronism by the time Livingstone Hopkins comes to work for the *Bulletin* so it was perhaps inevitable that Australia would be engendered as male, even despite some interest in the local type favoured by Scott of the Australian Girl.⁷⁴ For it was certain that given the rejection of old world Classical abstractions and the pervasiveness of racial science that future personifications would be based on identifiable local types or individuals. The symbolic image of Parkes currently appears on our currency as does the stereotype of the Indigenous male as Aboriginal warrior but at the end of the nineteenth century these were hardly sustainable emblematic national symbols.

The second and more important reason to dismiss Hop's retrospective claim that he replaced Minerva by inventing the "Little Boy" is that, unlike with the emblem tradition where the significance of a particular icon was delineated by learned texts, such as Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (Rome, 1593), in the popular press it is the public who dictates the popularity of any given image at any historical moment. Joan Kerr has noted the popular appeal of a particular cartoon was so dependant on the whim or capricious selectivity of the public that the cartoonist published and hoped to "hit the jackpot with the public".⁷⁵ In the 1880s in Australia this public was specifically the new and massively expanded reading public from the middle and working class.⁷⁶ The circulation of 2,000 for *Sydney Punch* and the cultivated readership of the expensive *Illustrated Sydney News* suggested a far too limited field to plant the seed of an iconic popular image. The 20,000 to 80,000 circulation of the *Bulletin* and Scott's later audience in the *Worker* (24,000 circulation) were entirely different propositions. Just when an emblematic or iconic representation would strike a chord with this massive Australian wage-earning public could not be predicted with certainty but certainly there was no doubt about what the ideological thrust of such an image would be. The matrix of secularist, nationalist, anti-capitalist, isolationist and racist ideology that Scott presented in its most distilled form during his years at the Brisbane *Worker* during the 1890s and at the beginning of the twentieth century has already been

established.

What at least can be said from the above is that Livingstone Hopkins was attuned to the anachronistic nature of the Classical female icon at the end of the nineteenth century. Scott, however, did not reject the female icon and, although he sometimes sought to “acclimatize” her through adaption, he more often attempted her replacement with a local substitute beauty. Admittedly, this mostly appears to be the same process since many of Scott's later female personifications in the *Boomerang* and *Worker* look very much like his female allegorical figures in *Sydney Punch*.⁷⁷ To contemporary eyes at least, it appears that the established female icons have often been adapted to new nationalist, secular or modern context simply by discarding the classical costume and attributes and substituting contemporary dress. Nevertheless, throughout the late decades of the nineteenth century Scott was one of the few artists working in Australia that could still conjure up an impressive allegorical scheme. And Scott showed that the complex emblematic decorative schemes he so often created were adaptable to almost any ideological, technological or scientific concepts. Even so, Scott's allegorical schemes were subsidiary considerations compared to the deeper and more universally applicable sign system of physiognomy that dominates graphic art throughout the nineteenth century.

The iconographic sign system of physiognomy had by 1800 incorporated the older representational or emblematic systems, including the Humours and Passions, to become the dominant representational paradigm. As has often been noted, the nineteenth-century physiognomic paradigm encompasses all levels of private and public discourse and manifests itself across a wide variety of institutional structures, practices and forms. Since human pathology, sexuality, criminality, social and racial status were key points of discursive focus it is not surprising that many nineteenth-century artists have been described by Mary Cowling as anthropologists.⁷⁸ In the graphic arts at least all nineteenth-century comic artists were physiognomists since they operated in a climate where individual physiognomy was semiotically encoded as the singular site of reference for human identity, including; character, status, sexuality, race and occupation.

The persuasive nature of this physiognomic paradigm in popular graphic art is obvious enough in the vocabulary of types, class and race that dominates the popular press in nineteenth-century Australia. But such was the depth of enthusiasm for physiognomic conventions late in the century that in 1895 the *Bulletin* could interest its readers with a photograph of “N.S.W. Ex-Premier Parkes' hand.”⁷⁹ Nevertheless, an earlier study comprehensively charted the mechanisms by which the institutionalized forms of physiognomy, racial science and social Darwinism, manifested

themselves in popular illustration in the Australian nineteenth-century press.⁸⁰ More recently demonstrated, is the influence of Johann Caspar Lavater's contribution to the popularity of physiognomy in the nineteenth-century with particular attention given to the mechanism by which physiognomy infiltrated graphic art at the most axiomatic level of the drawing manual.⁸¹ All of this is generic evidence that Monte Scott was a physiognomist in the broad sense that he absorbed through his training a fundamental physiognomic understanding and he operated in a representational system where physiognomic signification was the primary form of codification.

More than likely Monte Scott, like the majority of the middle-class or educated public in nineteenth-century Australia, believed that phrenology was a pseudo-science. Even though *Sydney Punch* did carry advertisements for consulting phrenologists it also published parodies of the practice.⁸² Certainly, during his long career Scott produced several cartoons emphasizing the ludicrous aspects of phrenology.⁸³ Physiognomy was another matter and on several occasions the *Illustrated Sydney News* wrote favourably on physiognomy for its middle-brow audience. In an article "Something About Faces" in 1874, the paper noted that a "skilled physiognomist may often determine the character approximately by the countenances of men" but also stressed the influence of photography on refining the art, especially in judging the influence of time on a face, stating: "In this age of photographs, almost anyone is able to make such comparisons, and note how the various circumstances and trials of life carve their impress upon the features."⁸⁴ Later the *Illustrated Sydney News* gave more determined support to physiognomy as a science when on 15 November 1887 it published "The Practical Use of Physiognomy". Significantly, the author of this article claims that an ample number of books on the subject will be found in "our public circulating libraries." Specifically recommended as such an example is S. R. Wells "New Physiognomy".⁸⁵ This particular book is in reality more a phrenology manual and despite the 'new' in the title it is in fact a synthesis of material drawn from the archives of the Fowler and Wells phrenology publishing empire.⁸⁶ It was common by the 1870s to conflate phrenology and physiognomy, with the latter becoming a less doctrinaire version of the former and one would expect that Scott would have treated the formal study of physiognomy with the same disdain he appears to have shown towards phrenology. Nevertheless such was the deep-rooted potency of the nineteenth-century physiognomic paradigm, that Scott was no doubt like his fellow beings described in the *Illustrated Sydney News'* article as "unconscious physiognomists". Ernst Gombrich has suggested that this unconscious reading of physiognomic signs was not at all confined to the nineteenth century, claiming that "physiognomic perception" is a global and immediate expression characterizing human interpretation of a face or gesture.⁸⁷

In 1878 the *Illustrated Sydney News* published an analysis of the facial expression of the horse,

the article was illustrated with various examples derived from Lavater and although these are unsigned they could well be by Scott.⁸⁸ This indicates that this nineteenth-century obsession with physiognomy also extended to the non-human animal kingdom; but also serves as a reminder that the horse was an omnipresence in the nineteenth-century, where equestrian traffic-jams and the odor of dung and horse urine characterized daily life in large cities such as Sydney. Between 1860 and 1900 the number of horses in Australia increased at a slightly faster rate than the number of humans, as noted by Beverley Kingston.⁸⁹ Not surprisingly, the horse figured prominently in Scott's cartoons and illustrations and not only because of its ubiquity but also because its association with the circus, equestrian entertainments and thoroughbred racing gave it great symbolic and aesthetic power. Horses for riding or driving became the centre of public life from both a pragmatic and symbolic point of view.⁹⁰ Henry Parkes could be represented as a symbolic coachman or a rider but also as the horse carrying a female personification of New South Wales, not unexpectedly in a circus arena.⁹¹ [figure 6.23]

Admittedly, the horse had figured in early English emblem books - examples being: Pegasus, symbolizing the poet's insight, and the human/horse hybrid, the Centaur, combining strength and wisdom.⁹² But in the eighteenth century in pre-industrial Europe the horse became the most significant social, practical and symbolic animal. "Buffon put the horse first in his magisterial survey of animal species, just after he had dealt with 'man'."⁹³ Thomas Bewick's important source book for graphic artists, *A General History of Quadrupeds*, published first in 1790, also begins with an extended treatment of the horse and George Stubb's lavish publication in 1766 of the *Anatomy of the Horse* had erased the distinction between aesthetic and scientific paradigms of picturing as Alex Potts has pointed out.⁹⁴ As he also noted, Stubb's scientific illustrations contributed to a reconfiguring of the ideological conceptions of the social and the natural. The physiognomy and anatomy of the horse deserved equally serious attention as did that of the human body. As a result of this eighteenth-century investment in natural history study or classification, animal painting underwent a major shift in status into the nineteenth century when this once lowly specialization became "a vehicle for grand narrative and allegorical compositions."⁹⁵

Scott's training as an animal painter coincided with this rise of animal history painting and the distinctive late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century tradition of animal portraiture. That Scott inherited the animal portrait tradition with its dual aspects of description and social setting is made obvious in an example from the *Illustrated Sydney News* of 1869 [figure 6.24].⁹⁶ In many ways this depiction is closer to eighteenth-century natural history illustrations, especially in terms of the domestic animal's relationship to the social order, being visual signs of their owners, who

are listed below each animal. Certainly, in the case of the horses and cattle, the animals are presented with a “rhetoric of dignity” normally appropriate for human sitters.⁹⁷ Comparing this collection of prize animals with another grouping of horses depicted twenty years later in the Brisbane *Boomerang* creates a telling contrast and shows the considerable evolution of Scott's graphic illustration over this period.⁹⁸ [figure 6.25] The earlier work is wood-engraved and follows the standard European format for prize livestock of profile portrait, whereas the later example is a process-engraving taken directly from Scott's drawing presented in a much more informal layout with overlapping vignettes. The individual horses are not emblems of their owners as they were in 1869, but representatives of the characteristics of a particular breed. The more fundamental and metaphoric aspect of the horse as representative of 'wild nature' is reinforced with the inclusion of human handlers and viewers in the scheme and reinforced in the supporting illustration on the previous page of the journal.⁹⁹[figure 6.26]

The European farming animals that had been introduced into Australia were of course used in most of Scott's decorative allegories to express the boundless productivity of the Antipodes, but until the selective breeding of the Australian stock horse and the Merino sheep, no individual agrarian or domestic animal could hold sway as a national symbol. On a few rare occasions Scott did use the horse in national allegories. A most impressive example from 1899 represents patriotic sentiment as a mare protecting the foal of “state owned railways” from a pack of “private syndicate” dingos.¹⁰⁰ [figure 6.27]

Nevertheless, the horse was but one of many symbolic animals that were very much part of the older emblematic traditions and during the eighteenth century these became part of a wider symbolic vocabulary. By the end of the eighteenth-century in England, the dual conventions for representing Britain not only as the female personification of Britannia but also as the British lion were well established. Whereas female personifications of nature, the arts, virtues and vices had dominated the emblematic tradition before the eighteenth century, it was during that century that the use of animals as metaphors for countries starts to form into a more or less fixed vocabulary.¹⁰¹ Monte Scott exploited and expanded these established conventions for representation of nationality and associated abstractions. During the 1860s Scott experimented with a number of symbolic animals for Australia. In one early cartoon Scott attempted a young lion for Australia, or Victoria at least, partnered with England represented by the dual convention of both Britannia and the British Lion.¹⁰² But with rising nationalist spirit in Australia the certainty of a native animal as emblem was assured. Perhaps his use of the emu as a contender for singular emblematic status was doomed the moment it was matched against the American Eagle in his image from 1869 [figure 6.28].¹⁰³ In future scenarios, the emu would almost always

be accompanied by his equally exotic but more impressive indigenous companion, the kangaroo. Scott had begun to use the kangaroo as a symbolic representation of Australian soon after his arrival on *Melbourne Punch* at the end of the 1850s and it becomes his most consistent animal emblem for national representation. Most often Scott's kangaroos, at least until the *Worker* years of his production, seem to have been based on the anatomy and physiognomy of the more ubiquitous wallaby species: suggesting that Scott's early emblematic creations were based on observation, whereas his emblematic Australian kangaroos in the *Worker* follow the standard handsome, large-tailed version found in the *Bulletin*. This adds reinforcement to the view that the evolution of Scott's graphic approach through the last fifty years of the nineteenth century as a move from individual physiognomic observation to representation of type and stereotype. Even so, into the twentieth century, Scott could demonstrate that given a dramatically descriptive scenario there was no need for a stylized or schematic representation of the emblematic animals of lion and kangaroo. This example from 1900 representing the enlistment of Australia by Britain during the Boer war is as naturalistic as it is shockingly metaphoric.¹⁰⁴ [figure 6.29] That Scott's emblematic inventions were mostly based on actual observation would explain the fact that the kookaburra does not figure greatly in his characteristically Australian menagerie until it had become a common symbol in general graphic discourse latter in the nineteenth century. Also, that most significant twentieth-century emblematic animal, the koala bear, hardly ever appears at all in Scott's work in any context.

Scott's training and practice as an animal painter found most common expression in his numerous portraits of prize livestock, especially horses. The three examples already discussed [figures 6.24, 6.25 & 6.26] are enough to demonstrate his consummate skill. Given such accomplishment, however, his urge to anthropomorphize animals in his emblematic or caricatural constructions seems unsurprising. But Scott was also reflecting a general physiognomic tendency in the nineteenth century where anthropomorphism and zoomorphism were part of the socio-scientific urge to, on the one hand, show the relationship between humans and animals, and on the other, to emphasize the distance between them. The nexus between human and animal was at the heart of the physiognomic paradigm and written into both racial science and graphic discourse by Lavater and Camper at the beginning of the nineteenth-century and given essential significance, or discursive power, through evolutionary theory after Darwin.¹⁰⁵

After mid-century wild animals, and none more so than the anthropoid ape, were not simply sensational manifestations of the exotic but also objects of spectacular and contentious knowledge. As the circus and zoo became increasingly important sites of entertainment and edification during the century Scott's cartoon scenarios and emblematic schemes correspondingly

exploit these subjects.¹⁰⁶ Scott's use of anthropomorphism extends well beyond emblematic schema, however, and many of the hybrids he created were often highly original and influential. Monstrous hybrids and other fabulous animals always held great symbolic force in western graphic discourse and their evolution from the fanciful Plinian races through medieval bestiaries and carnival grotesqueries to the complex rhetorical tropes in Renaissance emblems has been well charted.¹⁰⁷ After the absorption of Darwinian evolutionary thought into racial and natural science the tradition of the monstrous hybrid of human and animal took on particular potency. In creating his hybrids, Scott favoured the use of familiar domestic animals especially the dog. This implied a double semiotic of kinship through familial association and metaphoric denotation as a distinctly different species.¹⁰⁸ Scott was hardly alone in the use of a human-headed dog to represent politicians as this conceit was common across comic art in England and America and becomes the standard tactic well into the twentieth century in the *Bulletin*.¹⁰⁹ It should also be said that some of his creations were so eccentrically specific that they defied translation or transcription to other purposes. Again these points can be illuminated by selecting from Scott's anthropomorphic creations featuring Parkes.

After the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, simianization became the ground zero for brutish representation in caricature. Interestingly, on only three occasions did Scott resort to the simian option for Parkes and then he avoids the potent anthropoid reference. In one of these, Parkes is represented as but one of a number of politicians in the Macquarie Street Menagerie, although the other features Parkes prominently as a mischievous monkey.¹¹⁰ Also, Scott rarely resorted to the dog body for representing Parkes, but his cartoon from 1867 comes close in that Parkes, as a promoter of non-sectarian public education, is shown as the "Wolf in the Fold" of Catholic education. [figure 6.30] Even as a prize bull he makes an impressive specimen. [figure 6.31] But after his most humiliating defeat at the end of 1882 when he lost both his premiership and seat in the Assembly Scott uses a comment by another parliamentarian that Parkes was like a fish with its tail cut off to create a startling hybrid in a scene which combines the mixture of vengeful retribution with the contrition of regret that many must have felt at his demise. [figure 6.32]

Whatever residue remains today of the nineteenth-century obsession with physiognomy there is no doubt that the bio-technological paradigm of scientific codes, robotic and digital surrogates that governs identity today has not entirely taken hold.¹¹¹ Since comic art has far less a significant place in the popular press today any comparison with the nineteenth-century to test the trans-historical nature of Gombrich's claims for an innate physiognomic perception would be spurious. There is however a subtle but significant difference between contemporary political caricature

and caricatures by Scott of politicians such as Henry Parkes. We take it for granted today that the cartoonists role in dealing with politicians and other target subjects is to first create a stock caricatural image of the scapegoat or more correctly a caricatural sign or cipher since these representations are more symbolic than mimetically iconic. What is more, they are symbolic of both the artist and the target victim. For example, a contemporary cartoon featuring John Howard is not usually read as just a caricature of Howard but as specifically Nicholson's Howard or Leak's Howard. Particular potent or powerful examples will be copied by other comic artists but generally they still retain their authorial association such as Petty's Whitlam or Pickering's Hawke¹¹². The success in creating such individual types is totally dependent on the artist's skill with caricature in the limited terms as already defined in Chapter One. The more emphatically individual a person's features or the more singularly prominent a physiognomic feature or attribute (Billy McMahon's ears or Bob Hawke's eyebrows, the most memorable recent examples) the easier the caricaturist's task, it would seem. From the birth of the newspaper cartoon in the nineteenth century, politicians have been well aware of the mechanics of caricature. Mahood notes George Reid's story that he made his own image for the cartoonists by purposefully adopting the distinguishing characteristic of a single eyeglass for his otherwise undistinguished round face.¹¹³

However, the gift to the caricaturist of a politician's prominent nose or whatever conspicuous physiognomic distinguishing feature, is accepted with equal measure by all, making a signature caricature difficult for the cartoonist. This of course was the case with Henry Parkes. His rugged features were framed by a mane of hair and dense beard and his prominent forehead, deep-set eyes and flat upturned nose bore a striking resemblance to the classic physiognomy of the Australian Aboriginal male. Every cartoonist in the nineteenth century more or less used the exaggeration of Parkes' nose as a defining caricatural feature - usually creating a snubbed twist to emphasize or expose the nostrils. Scott sometimes used this ploy in his rushed small blocks but it was Macleod's primary stratagem in depicting Parkes. For the decades of the sixties and seventies, Parkes dominates politics in New South Wales and correspondingly the pages of *Sydney Punch* - in some years, as Mahood has noted, he occupied more than fifty percent of the cartoon space in his own colony.¹¹⁴ What is particularly interesting is that Scott was the main contributor to this vast output of images and he never exploited the Aboriginal affinity in Parkes' physiognomy. This is not neglecting the claim by Mahood that in 1866 Parkes was elevated by *Sydney Punch* to be Australia's "Patron Saint, St. Bungaree".¹¹⁵ [figure 6.33] The reference here is to a Monte Scott cartoon which shows, not Henry Parkes, but John Robertson in "Aboriginal guise complete with spear and kangaroo standing on a pedestal".¹¹⁶ Mahood is not alone in misreading this image, as Jonathan King also reproduces the cartoon as representing Henry

Parkes.¹¹⁷ Perhaps this mistake is understandable, given that the cartoon has no sub-caption or supporting text. Yet the readers of *Sydney Punch* could hardly have made the same error however close the physiognomies of Parkes and Robertson were. Scott had drawn both Parkes and Robertson many times in 1865 and 1866 before this Bungaree cartoon appeared and indeed on 17 February 1866 had drawn each on Valentine cards in the same two-page spread, with a descriptive index.¹¹⁸ Besides this, Scott was not risking misidentification by relying on the *Punch* readers' familiarity with Robertson's features alone since Scott had already set the scene the year before when he presented Robertson as an Aborigine in his "Appropriate Costume[.] for a Fancy Dress Ball".¹¹⁹ The caricature is labeled "Mr. Robertson, as an Aboriginal". Once again this example demonstrates that Scott considered his work in *Sydney Punch* was an ongoing dialogue with a particular group of readers and it was not uncommon for him to make reference to an earlier cartoon sometimes, as in this case, a year or more apart.¹²⁰ Therefore, once Scott had made the choice to anoint Robertson as Bungaree the title would remain his signifying character forever after in *Sydney Punch*. And so it was, as almost ten years later Robertson as Bungaree fronts the cover of the New Series Volume II 1874, arm-in-arm with Mr Punch.¹²¹

The extended focus on this point, however, is to both emphasize that Scott did not exploit Parkes' Aboriginal resemblance and to demonstrate how much more subtle and complex the physiognomic register was prior to the 1880s. For a number of reasons, Scott did not take the satirical option of an Aboriginal Parkes, but most important was probably the very fact that there was a resemblance connection. Aborigines were commonly used as emblematic Australians and when whites were depicted as "Blackfellows" in nationalist or political contexts the potency came from the intended mixture of sublimated pride and overt mockery as found in the Bungaree example. Before 1880, Scott did depict other politicians as Aborigines but their Aboriginality was only ever signified by skin colour and costume, as he did with Robertson —thus ensuring the safety of a satirical reading.¹²² Parkes represented as "King Billy" or Bungaree would have struck at a deeper much more unpalatable interpretation for the cultured readers of *Sydney Punch*; namely, that there was a racial correspondence, or more disturbing still, ancestral connection between Parkes and the indigenous race. It almost goes without saying that Scott's sensitivities to these issues were also governed by the fact that he probably admired Parkes. Their acquaintance has already been established. Certainly, the vast majority of Scott's cartoons present Parkes in a most positive light in both his form and the context in which he appears. Even when the scenario of a cartoon is meant to be critical, Parkes' is nonetheless presented as an imposing or impressively tragic figure.

When the *Bulletin* artists started to depict Parkes at the end of his long career they were no doubt

unaware that the emblematic Aboriginal statesman was reserved for Robertson. Certainly they were not encumbered by sympathetic sentiment towards Parkes or indeed the sensitivities of their audience. Hop's daughter, Dorothy Hopkin's, put it in the most indomitable language of the 1920s:

Both May and Hop scored heavily off Sir Henry Parkes. ... The transformation from the statesman to an Australian aboriginal was a simple matter for both artists. Whether Sir Henry enjoyed being thus portrayed, history does not record; but if the franchise had then been extended to the Australian gin, Sir Henry would undoubtedly have scored many votes.¹²³

It is not necessary to dwell on these particular representations of Parkes in the *Bulletin* but looking at a Hop drawing of Parkes' profile from 1885 (even despite being dressed in a Japanese costume) the Aboriginal allusion is so blatant that it leaves one mystified as to how Mahood and King could have ever confused Scott's Aboriginal masquerade as Parkes.¹²⁴ Nevertheless it is not necessary to go back twenty years to compare caricatures of Parkes by Hopkins and Scott, or May and Scott for that matter, since Scott produces several large *Bulletin* cartoons featuring Parkes in 1885. These generally feature Scott's ploy of drawing his mass of hair swept to a high forward peak but in the most impressive full-page single caricature, Parkes wears the top hat that Hop and May would make a particular distinctive attribute, along with the stylization of his features including hair and beard. The aim of Hop and May's stylization was to increase the Aboriginal physiognomic reference but also part of the modern cartooning tendency, as noted above, to establish autographic signification. The degree to which Scott's caricatures of Parkes approach a portrait likeness also measures their anachronistic dissimilarity from the contemporary *Bulletin* examples by Phil May, for example. When Mahood says that Scott was not a gifted caricaturist it is in this modern sense of reductive exaggeration - the style that was being appropriated by *Sydney Punch* in 1877 from *Vanity Fair*, containing the work of "Ape" (Carlo Pellegrini) and "Spy" (Leslie Ward), and fully developed by mass circulation papers such as the *Bulletin* at the very time Scott's caricatures of Parkes appear in that paper and the same approach that would make David Low a household name in the early decades of the twentieth century.¹²⁵

"King Working Man" may have been one of Scott's targets in his *Sydney Punch* years but at the *Bulletin* Scott quickly adapted to the language of his (or her) cynical, dismissive vocabulary: as his depictions of generic Aboriginal and South Sea Island types demonstrate.¹²⁶ But when it came to individual caricature, such as the case with Parkes, he was slow to let go of his descriptive portrait approach. And even much later in the *Worker* when he developed easy fluency with generic types from "Capitalists" to "Coolies" his most secure reference point for caricature was always in the individual portrait. Meaning was defined in his cartoons more by emblematic or

metaphoric costume and scenarios and there is the clear sense that individuals depicted, and especially so with Parkes, are simply playing a role in a masquerade.

While working at the Brisbane *Boomerang* after 1887, Monte Scott did on a number of occasions create cartoons featuring Henry Parkes. As might be expected the context for his appearance is federation and free trade.¹²⁷ To the discriminating eye, however, these caricatures are distinctly Scott's version of Parkes and do not mimic the stylized hair and beard of Phil May's and Hop's creations. This is not said to somehow privilege Scott's originality of approach. I have already stressed that across all of his comic work he never fully adopted the flat non-tonal or free-flowing style of Hop or May; just as I have indicated the way these two *Bulletin* artists borrowed from Scott in their cartoon creations. What this indicates is the exchange of symbolic devices between popular cartoonists who were operating in a visual domain inscribed by types and stereotypes with a vocabulary that could only be expanded through collective concurrence of practitioners and audience. The issue of originality only operated therefore at the stylistic level. A final example of a late representation of Parkes by Scott in the *Boomerang* amplifies this point.[figure 6.34] The caricature of Parkes' face is, as expected, characteristically Scott's portrait-based version, but Parkes is presented as the "Old Man," a type that Hop and May had made popular in the *Bulletin*. This type of the old man with anachronistic dress, battered hat and umbrella would have been familiar to Hop from the American comic press. The image has echoes of the American minstrel or Jim Crow stereotype but during Hop's years working in New York, a similar old man image had become part of the standard vocabulary for representing prohibition, having been invented by Joseph Keppler as early as 1869 and still current in comic discourse in America as late as 1920.¹²⁸ Besides this, every cartoonist in the English-speaking world during the 1870s and 1880s knew the "bizarre and battered stove-pipe hat and outrageous umbrella" as the stock "degraded symbols of disreputability"¹²⁹ since they were the hallmarks of the "First Comics Superstar," Ally Sloper.¹³⁰

It might logically seem that Hop simply adapted the American type to an Australian context for Parkes as misguided free-trader or federationist with his Aboriginal reference to Parkes' features, thus evoking the established local type of King Billy that reached back to representations of Bungaree. But this is not the case, as the Sydney audience were already familiar with this particular representation of Parkes. Hop, and indeed Phil May, had adapted this old black-face minstrel type from Scott.

Black-face minstrel shows toured Australia from at least the 1850s and in 1874, during the visit to Sydney of Billy Emerson's Minstrels, Scott had taken their popularity as a cue to represent

Henry Parkes as “Billy Emerson Cato Junius Brown Parkes” on the hustings and thumping a table with his anachronistic umbrella prop. His stilted oratory, his pose and dress mimic the characteristic American black-face minstrel variety of the Jim Crow stereotype.¹³¹ Scott had used this same costume to represent a group of black-face politicians in *Sydney Punch* as early as 1865.¹³² What is more the ploy of representing government luminaries as a “Political Jim Crow” was used in England in the 1860s, with John Proctor (1836 - c.1898) so representing William Gladstone in *Will-o'-the-Wisp* in 1868.¹³³ Scott had already introduced the idea of Parkes as a tragic old ham actor in August of 1874 and after the appearance of the minstrel image the hybrid of tragedian and minstrel becomes a regular emblematic costume for Parkes. In March 1875 when Scott depicts Parkes as a very black Othello the mocking, plantation accent of the language in the caption makes his American minstrel origins clear; not to mention his “actor” companion Michael Lloyd describing him in an aside as a “confounded Nigger”.¹³⁴

Looking at a caricature of Parkes by Scott in the *Bulletin* such as the full-page example already discussed from 31 December 1885 it may not be readily obvious but it has evolved from these earlier reference points. The versions of Parkes by Hop and May produced in the late 1880s also take their cue from Scott's creation. Scott's later variant, as illustrated in [figure 6.34] from the *Boomerang*, in turn accepts back from the *Bulletin* artists the certainty of this singular codification for Parkes. He does not adopt any Aboriginal reference point, however; and although he is obviously not squeamish about using the masquerade of a black sage to represent Parkes he opts instead to use the twist of head, body gesture and placement of the hands to emphatically invoke the comic type of burlesque black-face which is far closer to the American stereotype of Jim Crow than it is to King Billy. This trend was a mirror of the situation with racial caricature in America in both popular entertainment and graphic discourse, where in the late nineteenth century the droll problematics of the currency and counterfeit of the mid-century black-face minstrel hardened into fixed “categories of identity according to a reassuring logic of racial essentialism.”¹³⁵ Nevertheless, by the end of the 1880s Scott had no other option than to signify Parkes with the now established mixture of comic-tragic minstrel. The difference between his approach in *Sydney Punch* and later in the *Bulletin*, *Boomerang* or *Worker* marks a fundamental shift in the nature of popular graphic communication.

In the 1870s when, almost weekly it seems, Scott prepared his cartoon of Parkes there was one certainty on which he could depend and that was that his Sydney audience was familiar with Parkes as a physical entity - they had almost all seen and heard Parkes speak. Unlike observers today, this audience could easily distinguish between John Robertson and Henry Parkes in caricatural portraits despite the similarities of their appearance and dress.¹³⁶ Because they

identified Parkes' physiognomic features, all Monte Scott had to do in each cartoon was to conjure up a new role for Parkes to play - one that would encapsulate the mood, political sentiment and fixation of the audience at that historical moment. To attempt to stabilize a type or character for Parkes would have defeated the purpose of tapping the most relevant literary allusion, metaphoric scenario or classical emblematic scheme. Parkes could be, as the scenario warranted, at different times: the petulant school mistress, or the insolent school boy; the scourge of the sectarian Bishop, or the Bishop himself; the nursing mother or the baby nursed; Hercules or a Little Bow Peep.¹³⁷ Parkes' portrait likeness was the singular key to the trope or meaning of the cartoon's connivance. Emblematic attributes were not only unnecessary but potentially confused the issue, as Scott's scarecrow for the Kiama ghost demonstrates. The easiest path to topicality was to tap the audience's passions of the moment and, in the context of urban Sydney, these were usually theatrical or literary sensations, but just as likely the faddish spectacle of popular entertainments. When a visiting Minstrel show or thespian Wizard captivated the attention of Scott and his Sydney audience, Parkes would almost certainly assume the same satirical role in *Sydney Punch*. A few weeks after the opening of the successful popular drama "Struck Oil!" in the newly renovated Queen's Theatre in Sydney, Scott presents Henry Parkes as a carpet-bagger in "Struck Coal".¹³⁸ When Blondin, "the hero of Niagara" thrilled Sydney audiences with his spectacular tight-rope and fireworks act, it goes without saying that Parkes becomes "Our" Blondin in a Scott double-page extravaganza in *Sydney Punch*.¹³⁹

Looking at the appended pictorial essay of a range of Scott's cartoons featuring Parkes, this becomes most obvious, such is their immense variety. Almost all are from *Sydney Punch* and an overview leaves the distinct impression of Henry Parkes as a persuasive individual personality playing an infinite number of roles. When Scott moved to the national forum of the *Bulletin and Worker*, not to mention the Brisbane audience of the *Boomerang*, no actual familiarity with Parkes could be assumed for the reader. Nor it would seem was knowledge from familiarity with Parkes common to the artists working on the major national papers. For example, Livingstone Hopkins only met Parkes long after he had been drawing cartoon caricatures of him.¹⁴⁰ Significantly, it seems most artists knew Parkes' features from Scott's twenty-year chronicle of representations of him. However, in the 1880s, because Parkes could not be defined by his likeness alone, Scott and other artists did not have the flexibility to evoke his association with established types and emblems and Parkes himself became an emblematic type. That this type happened to be one of the roles he played in Scott's constructions was determined by the accidental conjunction of circumstances outlined above, without suggesting there is any other determinate in history. Most importantly, the process of the transformation of Parkes to a type did not extend the graphic vocabulary of his representation, since the creation of types is

relentlessly reductive.

This complex evolution of the image of Parkes in the popular press demonstrates the breadth or scope of the lexicon of graphic types in nineteenth-century comic art but it also indicates a more profound point to do with originality and authorship in such a domain. Graphic artists in the nineteenth century came to believe that they were dealing with a corpus of truth at the individual level of physiognomic likeness and the broader related sphere of racial and social type. A graphic artist could be stylistically or individualistically inventive but once a type was accepted by the public it belonged by necessity to every artist since only adaptation was possible. Just as in the earlier emblematic tradition, codification was only possible through consensus except that under the ruling physiognomic paradigm the chaos of individual difference was already subject to absolute categorization of discursive knowledge especially scientific racism. That Monte Scott invested more than any other artist in the creation of Henry Parkes' image is irrelevant to the fact that the hybrid form proved the most resilient and therefore survived in the *Bulletin* into the twentieth century. At one level this explains why Scott's contribution is forgotten but his approach is only invisible to contemporary eyes unaccustomed to his signification through a peculiarly nineteenth-century mode, which combined meaningful physiognomic likeness with emblematic and metaphoric codification almost totally dependant on reference to popular culture, theatrical and literary allusion. To hermeneutically reenact the sentiments and attitudes towards Henry Parkes expressed in Scott's cartoons tells as much or more about the audience for those images than about Scott as a historical subject. Scott's currency was not what he saw and knew but what his audience would see and know. What appears to be Scott's sympathy for Parkes in the images he created may simply be Scott's awareness of such a sympathy in his audience. If this were so, we can at least say he gave most emphatic confirmation to those sentiments.

Endnotes - Chapter Six

1. (After June 1877, he was Sir. Henry Parkes)
2. Patricia Rolfe, *The Journalistic Javelin: an illustrated history of the Bulletin*, Sydney: Wildcat Press, 1979 p. 26.
3. Dorothy June Hopkins *Hop of the "Bulletin"* Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1929 p. 104.
4. Marguerite Mahood, *The Loaded Line: Australian political caricature 1788 - 1901*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973 pp. 133 - 135.
5. *Sydney Punch* 13 February 1873 pp. 6 & 7. (Included in pictorial essay Appendix)
6. "Portraits of the Ministry of New South Wales (From Photographs by Montagu Scott)" *Illustrated Sydney News* 16 August 1867 pp. 220, 221 - the Henry Parkes' portrait is on p. 220.
7. Two of Scott's photographs of O'Farrell are among the Parkes' papers held in Mitchell Library Sydney.
8. The portrait is now held in the collection of the Sydney Town Hall, although it is rarely on public display. To paint the portrait it appears Scott spent an hour with the Prince at Government House during which time he made sketches and took photographs. The portrait was originally painted to be hung in the NSW Legislative Assembly and was later transferred to The Australian Museum before being moved to the Sydney Town Hall.
9. No doubt this clause in the proposed bill was prompted by the rumour that the editor of the *Freeman's Journal* had refused to drink a loyal toast at a St Patrick's Banquet. (See, McKinlay, *The First Royal Tour*, p. 175)
10. The most recent account of the assassination and aftermath is by Joe Morley "Shot Fanned Flames of Fear" *Catholic Weekly* (Sydney) 22 February 2004. Henry Parkes' fear of radical Irish elements has been well documented, see Partick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, Sydney 1987 p. 211. In the same source, O'Farrell notes that in 1872 Parkes described the Irish as baboons (p. 113).
11. The fragmentary note found by Parkes and the police on a visit to O'Farrell's room in the Clarendon Hotel read: "There was a Judas in the twelve — in our band there was a No 3 as bad, but his horrible death will, I trust, be a warning to traitors."
12. Joe Morley, "Shot Fanned Flames of Fear", (op. cit.)
13. The date of Parkes' Kiama speech and its subsequent publication date are given in *Sydney Punch* 5 September 1868 p. 121 and p. 122 respectively.
14. *Sydney Punch* 5 September 1868 p. 120.

15. Ibid., p. 121.

16. Ibid.

17. On the use of Shakespeare in the American magazines, see Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, *The Ungentlemanly Art: a history of American political cartoons*, New York: Macmillan, 1968, pp.114, 115. Demonstrating the universal reliance on, and resilience of, the Hamlet theme, Hess and Kaplan reproduce a number of cartoon allusions to Hamlet in the American papers ranging in date from 1864 to 1907.

18. *Der Freischutz* would have been very familiar to Sydney audiences in the 1860s. It was regarded as an operatic favourite and had regularly been performed from 1838. Humphrey Hall and Alfred John Cripps, *The Romance of the Sydney Stage* (by Osric), Sydney: Currency Press, 1996, passim.

19. May's version, titled "The Sorcerer" appears in the *Bulletin* 3 April 1886 p. 5. The cartoon representation of Parkes combines both of Scott's original depictions after the Kiama speech as the mad Hamlet and high priest of the underworld. The second sorcerer is "Mr Abigall, M.L.A." and it was his statement in Parliament that prompted the cartoon. Abigall called to have action taken against Ministers and members who attended a St. Patrick's Day celebration at Botany at which they didn't cheer the Queen. This was not the only time that Phil May quoted an earlier Scott cartoon. The theme of his "Mount Rennie Outrage" cartoon (*Bulletin* 4 December 1886 p. 10) is heavily dependent on Scott's "Australia Vindex" in *Sydney Punch* 21 March 1868.

20. While both of these points are made by Lindesay and Mahood, the respective quotations are from: Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 185; and, Vane Lindesay *The Inked-In Image: a survey of Australian comic art*, Melbourne: Heinemann, 1970 p.10.

21. Elsewhere I have charted the development of the Celtic Caliban in *London Punch* and comprehensively analyzed the variant stereotypes of the Irish in the nineteenth-century Australian illustrated press. Ross Woodrow "Darwinism and Images of Race in the Australian Popular Press c.1860 - 1900" (1994) M Phil University of Sydney, esp. pp. 118 - 162. (See also Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, 1971)

22. Manning Clarke, *A Short History of Australia*, Sydney, 1986 (rev. ed.) p.67. Also quoted in, Miriam Dixon, *The Real Matilda: woman and identity in Australia 1788 - 1975*, Melbourne: Penguin Press, 1976 p.155.

23. The caption reads "Parkes' Patent Ghost; or, The Murder Must Out" followed by a quotation from Hamlet "slightly Parkesified", *Sydney Punch* 12 December 1868 p. 27.

24. "Bogey" and related Scottish "bogle" for spectre, were derived from the Welsh "bygelydd" meaning a bugbear, scarecrow or hobgoblin. *Encyclopaedic Dictionary: a new and original work of reference to all the words in the English language*, vol. 1, London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1890 p. 611. Further evidence of the linguistic nuance of association between "bogey" and "scarecrow" is offered by the fact that Frederick Engels used them synonymously in his "On the Invention of Printing" of 1840 to refer to the impact

of printing on Capitalism making it “scarecrow and bogey to all folk that lived in fear and terror of it.” (*Gutenbergs-Album*, Braunschweig, 1840)

25. John Leech had used this same construction for a ghost in *Punch* during the 1850s so presumably the form of the Bogey as spectre on a stick was a long-standing theatrical tradition.

26. *Sydney Punch* 24 December 1868 pp. 42, 43.

27. *Sydney Punch* 31 December 1868 p. 54.

28. *Sydney Punch* 9 January 1869 p. 59.

29. *Sydney Punch* 6 February 1869 p. 90.

30. *Sydney Punch* 27 February 1869 pp. 114, 115.

31. Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 115.

32. Immediately after the shooting, and before it was clear if the Prince would live or die, Parkes mounted a picnic table and declared the assassination attempt part of a “Fenian Plot.” His subsequent obsessive search for evidence and indeed his disregard for pleas of clemency for the deranged O’Farrell, including from the Prince himself, may have been in some way motivated by sublimated denial of his political opportunistic behaviour after the shooting. (See, McKinley, *The First Royal Tour*, p. 168; and Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 115.) It is also significant that a number of standard history texts, in the assessment of Parkes’ behaviour after the assassination, offer some sympathy for his Fenian fears. In one case, even quoting the few instances of Fenian activity in Australia, and coming to the conclusion that there “was the possibility of Fenian attacks in Australia on the symbols of Britain.” (See, Beverley Kingston *The Oxford History of Australia Volume 3: 1860 - 1900*, Melbourne: OUP., 1988, pp. 125, 126.)

Such conclusions would seem to fly in the face of the evidence from *Sydney Punch*; and since its stance was non-sectarian it can be seen to reflect the contemporary view that Parkes’ fears were a mixture of political opportunism and paranoia.

33. I’m not suggesting that Scott necessarily acted independently in his choice of cartoon subject. No doubt the content of the feature cartoon in each issue was a matter of collaboration between editor and artist. This can be deduced from the long established precedent at *London Punch*, Alfred Clint’s recollections (recounted by William Moore) that the *Sydney Punch* artists in the 1870s visited the editor each week to discuss the main cartoon as well as twentieth-century use of the editorial cartoon.

34. *Sydney Punch* 6 March 1869 p. 126.

35. “To Professor John Smith M.D.” *Sydney Punch* 15 April 1871 p. 205.

36. *Sydney Punch* 30 September 1876 p. 21. In 1856 in *London Punch*, John Leech was one of the first to use a scene of Titania and the fairies as a basis for a political cartoon in which Bottom alludes to anyone making an ass of themselves. Several years before Scott’s cartoon,

Percy Tanner had also used the ploy in a double-page cartoon in *Sydney Punch*. Tanner's cartoon does not bear comparison with this infinitely superior example by Scott. "West-Eria; or, Midsummer Madness" *Sydney Punch* 19 March 1870 pp. 124, 125.

37. An obvious example being "Is There a Devil?" *Sydney Punch* 19 June 1874 p. 201. The full-page cartoon by Scott alludes to a spiritualist card game and shows Parkes at his desk reflecting on the question. The sub-caption gives the result of his speculations: "Yes; and our own actions are the spirits which he calls up to threaten us with destruction." However, the ghost that floats behind Parkes' head is merely a political opponent with satanic wings, without any allusion to the Kiama ghost (admittedly, it is possible that none was needed).

38. The Mahood/Kerr co-authored entry on Scott in Joan Kerr's *Dictionary* states "Scott contributed to the *Sydney Bulletin* in 1880 before its adoption of photo-engraving on metal" (p. 705). As I have noted earlier, this is incorrect on two counts. Scott did not contribute in 1880 during which time Macleod is almost the exclusive contributor of drawings and Scott's major contributions are after the introduction of photo-engraving on metal.

39. *Sydney Bulletin* 19 June 1880 p. 4.

40. "The Macquarie Street Bogy" (sic.) *Sydney Punch* 3 September 1881 p. 95. Verse "The Macquarie Street Ghost" p. 92.

41. "By Appointment, Successor to the Kiama Ghost" (unsigned), *Sydney Bulletin* 25 June 1881 p. 13.

42. *Bulletin* 23 September 1882 p. 9. The same cartoon is reproduced in a Christmas collection titled "The Bulletin Election Supplement" with the caption "The Spectre Two Months Ago" (2 December 1882 p. 2). In November, Charles Hunt had also produced a cartoon making reference to Parkes' demise over the Land Bill but he uses the much more literal ploy of having Parkes crushed by a pile of volumes all marked "Land Act". ("Crushed" *Bulletin* 25 September 1882 p. 8.)

43. "Job's Comforters" *Sydney Punch* 30 September 1882 p. 133.

44. *Sydney Punch* 14 October 1882 p. 149. For examples of wizard shows, the *Illustrated Sydney News*, 31 March 1855 illustrates the mesmeric feat of Wizard Jacobs and Professor Anderson, the Wizard of the North, opened at the Lyceum during December of 1858 to large audiences. (See, Humphrey Hall and Alfred John Cripps *The Romance of the Sydney Stage* (by Osric), Sydney: Currency Press 1996, pp. 248, 249 & 251). Interestingly, Scott seems to be also making an allusion to the fact that in *Sydney Punch* in 1865 Scott had depicted John Robertson (who was then framing the Land Laws) as the "Wizard of the West," *Sydney Punch* 28 October 1865 p. 597. Nevertheless, *Sydney Punch* makes several references during August and September 1882 that suggest similar Wizard entertainments were being performed in Sydney at that time.

45. "Too Thin!" *Sydney Punch* 14 October 1882 p. 146.

46. Respectively: *Bulletin* 1900 reproduced in Jonathan King *Stop Laughing*, p. 64; and, *Sydney Punch* 22 August 1868 p. 107.
47. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 176. Admittedly, some of Scott's influence was through the conduit of William Macleod whose work, as I have mentioned, was often dependent on Scott's. However, a dramatic example of Scott's influence on Hop occurs in August 1885, a period when they each produce one of the two main *Bulletin* cartoons on facing pages. In the issue of 8 August 1885 Hop's "The 'Roll-Call' Replica" (p. 10) faces Scott's "Belshazzar's Feast" (p.11). Without Hop's signature both cartoons could easily be attributed to Scott. Significantly, Hopkins' cartoon features a male personification of N.S.W. and it is clearly based on Scott's earlier versions. In fact it is almost a direct take from Scott's male personification of Australia in the *Illustrated Sydney News* 14 June 1879 p. 8.
48. Some examples: *Sydney Punch* 24 March 1883 p. 112; 31 March 1883 p. 128; 14 April 1883 p. 146; 11 August 1883 p. 342; 17 November 1883 p. 456.
Some full-page reprinted wood engravings: 10 March 1883 p. 93; 14 April 1883 p. 147; 10 November 1883 p. 448.
49. "The Ghost's Cabinet" *Sydney Punch* 26 May 1883 p. 218. Hopkins arrived in Australia on 9 February 1883 and started work on the *Bulletin* soon after.
50. *Sydney Mail*, April 7, 1883 pp. 636/7. Portrait illustrations of the assassins accompany the article and although these are probably taken from a London source it is not beyond the realm of possibility that these unsigned drawings are copied from photographs by Scott or Macleod.
51. *Sydney Mail*, Aug. 11, 1883, p. 275.
52. Mahood has noted that the editors of *Melbourne Punch* were trying to produce a close imitation of the London version and that Carrington "took Tenniel as his pattern". Apart from this obvious influence, this particular cartoon also demonstrates the points made by Mahood on Carrington's consistent use of repetition of attributes and associations along with his creation of stereotypes. (Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 105)
53. "The Informers" 16 August *Melbourne Punch* p.64.
54. Chapter Four in my earlier thesis "Darwinism and Images of Race ..." esp. pp. 140 - 144.
55. J. Aitken Mengs, "The Cranial Characteristics of the Races of Men", in J. C. Nott and G. R. Gliddon, *Indigenous Races of the Earth*, Philadelphia, 1868, p. 227.
56. This is not forgetting that Hop would later produce two cartoon parodies of the press using the vicious Irish stereotype.
57. For example: *Sydney Punch*, 14 December 1867, p.19.
58. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 181.
59. John Manning, *The Emblem*, London: Reaktion Books, 2002 pp. 37, 38.

60. Mrs. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art* (2 vols.) London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1878. Indicating the popularity of this book is the fact that this is the eighth edition of the book first published in 1848. Editions continued to be printed into the twentieth century. That it was intended as an iconographic primer for artists is clear in the text. For example on single figure representations of St. George: "His air and expression should be serenely triumphant: he ought to wear a complete suit of armour, being the same specified by St. Paul (Ephes. Vi.), - 'The breast-plate of righteousness, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.'" (vol. 2, p. 402.)

61. Manning, *The Emblem*, p. 18.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid. p. 27. It should be noted, considering I use Scott's emblematic decorative scheme for the telegraphic cable, that Manning quotes the example of Martin Gerlach's emblem for electricity to illustrate the active engagement of the emblem in modern culture.(p. 34)

64. *Illustrated Sydney News* 3 August 1870 pp. 24, 25.

65. *Illustrated Sydney News* 13 May 1873 Supplement (descriptive text "The Allegorical Picture" p.3)

66. "Unfurled: New South Wales 1874" *Illustrated Sydney News* 30 January 1874 Supplement.

67. *Bulletin* 27 June 1885 p. 24.

68. The quotation from Hop's "Confessions" has been quoted in a number of sources, for example: Mahood, *Loaded Line*, pp. 181, 182. Hop's explanation for the development of the Little Boy from Manly is also repeated by Robert Crawford in his comprehensive survey analysis of Hop's allegorical Boy in Australian advertisements. *Robert Crawford*, "A Slow Coming of Age: Advertising and the Little Boy from Manly in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Australian Studies*, March 2001 pp.126ff (Available Online, Expanded Academic, Article A71761530).

69. "Young Australia at the Pantomime", *Melbourne Punch* 21 January 1864 p. 28.

70. "Young Australia" *Melbourne Punch* 22 April 1858 p. 112. Another "Young Australia" cartoon by Chevalier shows two children in malicious play, rocking a cradle with the intention of tipping the baby out. *Melbourne Punch* 28 August 1858 p. 35.

71. *Bulletin* 30 May 1885 p. 10. The signature is indecipherable, but certainly not Hopkins or Scott, although the cartoon is clearly dependent on Scott's style. It should also be noted that the pervasiveness of the idea of a young boy representing a new colony was such that it was also used extensively in New Zealand cartooning in the late nineteenth century and into the next century. It is also not at all clear that this "Young New Zealand" is modeled on Hop's version. For example: *New Zealand Graphic* 2 September 1899 cover and 16 September 1899 cover. Both cartoons are by Ashley Hunter.

72. *Sydney Punch* 20 May 1882 p. 191.
73. Londa Schiebinger, "Feminine Icons: The Face of Early Modern Science", *Critical Inquiry*, 14, 4, Summer 1988 (pp.661 - 691) esp. p. 688.
74. Josie Castle and Helen Pringle, "Sovereignty and Sexual Identity in Political Cartoons," in Susan Magarey et. al. eds., *Debutante Nation: feminism contests the 1890s*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993 (pp. 136 - 149). Castle and Pringle discuss the identification of female figures as representative of civic identity in Australia around 1900. They see this allegorical tradition as the "use of women to bear the symbolic burden" of representing various virtues and abstractions. Such a negative sentiment toward female personifications appears to contradict the views presented by two of their quoted sources: Marian Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: the allegory of the female form*, London: Picador, 1987; and Londa Schiebinger in "Feminine Icons...". It should be noted that Castle and Pringle also make the odd claim that Hop's Little Boy from Manly "occupies a place midway between man and woman" (p.141).
75. Joan Kerr, *Artists and Cartoonists in Black and White: the most public art*, Sydney: National Trust (S.H.Ervin Gallery) 1999 p. 34.
76. *Iconologia* of 1593 by Cesare Ripa (c 1560 - c. 1623) is regarded as the primary source of the symbolic lingua franca that dominated the representation of attributes, ideas and phenomena through the sixteenth to eighteenth century at least. Illustrated editions appeared in the eighteenth century and the most famous is Johann Georg Hertel's *Historiae et Allegoriae*, Augsburg, 1758-60. An unabridged republication of this work appeared in 1971 as part of the Dover Pictorial Archive Series with expanded notes by Edward A. Maser. Cesare Ripa [Edward A. Maser ed.] *Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery: The 1758-60 Hertel Edition of Ripa's Iconologia with 200 engraved illustrations*, New York: Dover Publications, 1971 (reprinted 1991).
77. A more refined analysis of Scott's later female personifications is conducted in Chapter Eight.
78. Mary Cowling, "The Artist as Anthropologist in Mid-Victorian England", *Art History*, 6, 4, Dec. 1983, pp. 461-77; and, *The Artist as Anthropologist: the representation of type and character in Victorian art*, Cambridge, 1989.
79. *Bulletin*, 24 August 1895 p. 11.
80. Ross Woodrow, "Darwinism and Images of Race in the Australian Popular Press c.1850 to 1900," (M Phil) 1994, University of Sydney.
81. Ross Woodrow "Lavater and the Drawing Manual" in Melissa Percival and Graeme Tytler eds., *Physiognomy in Profile: Lavater's impact on European culture*, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2005 (pp. 127 - 155).
82. For example: *Sydney Punch* 17 April 1874 p. 124 and 3 July 1880 p.8. "The Phairshon on Phrenology" *Sydney Punch* 6 November 1874 p.382.

83. For example: *Sydney Punch*, 2 May 1868 p. 179; *Sydney Punch* 8 August 1868; *Sydney Punch* 24 August 1878 p. 165; *Bulletin* 15 December 1883 p. 20.

84. "Something About Faces" *Illustrated Sydney News* 30 January 1874 p. 15.

85. E. F. B., "The Practical Use of Physiognomy" *Illustrated Sydney News* 15 November 1887 p.11.

86. Samuel R. Wells, *New Physiognomy*, New York: Fowler & Wells Co., 1866. Editions of this book were also published in 1894 and 1896. This is undoubtedly Fowler & Wells' most eclectic publication since, apart from reprinted content from earlier Fowler and Wells books, it contains material and illustrations extracted from Cuvier, Blumenbach, Lavater, Combe, Bell, Redfield and Morton among others. That the book was being recommended as a simple introduction to physiognomy for Australian readers makes its content on "The Australians" significant. Two portrait engravings, a male and female Aborigine, are reproduced along with an "Australian Skull". The text notes: "In the native Australian we have an exceedingly low and degraded type of humanity." And with reference to the skull: "from a cranium in the Mortonian collection, seems scarcely human. The skull is that of a native of the Port St. Phillip, New South Wales. 'This skull,' Dr. Morton says, 'is the nearest approach to the orang type that I have seen.' 'It is,' adds Dr. Mengs, 'a truly animal head.' Several more paragraphs follow in similar vein. (Wells, pp. 476 - 478). It should perhaps also be noted that the engraving of the Aboriginal female "A Woman of North Australia" does not appear at all degraded and apart from a rather snub nose her features and neat hair style present a far from unattractive image. (Wells, Fig. 602 p. 477).

For a summary history of the Fowler and Wells publishing empire see, Andrew E. Norman, "Orson Fowler's Phrenology" introduction to 1969 reprint (New York: Chelsea House Publishers) of O.S. and L.N. Fowler, *Phrenology: A Practical Guide to Your Head* [n.d.].

87. E. H. Gombrich, "On Physiognomic Perception," in *Meditations on a Hobby Horse: and other essays on the theory of art*, London: Phaidon Press, 1963 (pp. 45 - 55) p.47. [First published in G. Kepes ed., *The Visual Arts Today*, Cambridge, Mass., 1960.]

88. "The Physiognomy of the Horse", *Illustrated Sydney News*, 26 January 1878 p. 7. The illustration is close to the page of horses that appears in the many nineteenth-century abridged editions of Holcroft's translation of Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy*. Although an adaptation, it is close to a direct copy. The text also mentions Lavater; saying he "first reduced physiognomy to a scientific system". Scott regularly illustrated for the *News* and horses were one of his specialities.

89. Beverley Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia Volume 3, 1860 - 1900*, Melbourne: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988 p. 188. Kingston also makes the point that the horse had aesthetic appeal along with aristocratic and rural associations.

90. Kari Weil, "Purebreds and Amazons: Saying Things with Horses in Late-Nineteenth-Century France," *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, 11, 1, 1999 pp. 1 - 37. Although Weil's analysis relates to Paris the general thrust is relevant to urban Sydney. Much of this paragraph is dependent on Weil's description. (esp. p. 2)

91. "A Change of Programme" *Sydney Punch* 29 January 1875 p. 29. For example of Parkes as rider, see *Sydney Punch* 22 June 1867 p. 35; as a coachman, *Sydney Punch* 17 January 1880 p. 20. (Both latter examples are reproduced in Appendix)
92. For examples, see George Wither, *A Collection of Emblems, Ancient and Moderne*, London: Robert Allot, 1635 (facsimile, London: Scolar Press, 1968) pp. 105 & 103 respectively.
93. Alex Potts, "Natural Order and the Call of the Wild: the Politics of Animal Picturing" *Oxford Art Journal*, 13, no. 1, 1990 (pp. 12 - 33) p. 28.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 15, passim.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 28; p. 13.
96. "Intercolonial Exhibition" *Illustrated Sydney News* 9 June 1869 pp. 205 & 205.
97. *Op. cit.*, Potts, p. 15.
98. "National Exhibition - Judging Day" *Boomerang* 18 August 1888 p. 9.
99. "National Exhibition - Judging Day" *Boomerang* 18 August 1888 p. 8.
100. "In Danger!" *Brisbane Worker* 15 July 1899 cover.
101. This issue is concisely explored in Richard Godfrey, *English Caricature 1620 to the Present: caricaturists and satirists, their art, their purpose and influence*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984, p. 13.
102. "A True Chip of (sic) the Old Block" *Melbourne Punch* 4 April 1861 p. 29.
103. "Welcome! The Australian Emu Welcomes The American Eagle" *Sydney Punch* 21 August 1869 p. 108.
104. "The Present Position" *Brisbane Worker* 31 March 1900 cover.
105. It is probably not necessary to say so, but "discursive power" refers to Michel Foucault's formulation of the power and knowledge nexus, first outlined in his *The Order of Things*.
106. On the importance and interpretation of the zoo and circus in the nineteenth century, see Jennifer Ham "Taming the Beast: Animality in Wedekind and Nietzsche" in Jennifer Ham and Matthew Senior eds., *Animal Acts: configuring the human in western history*, New York & London: Routledge, 1997 (pp. 145 - 163) esp. pp. 146,147. (Ham also lists sources on the development of the zoo. p. 160 n.5.) It should be noted that, like other cartoonists, Scott never missed the opportunity to exploit the event whenever the circus was showing in Sydney. For example: *Sydney Punch* 23 December 1876 pp. 130 - 131.
107. For a succinct summary of this evolution, see Peter Mason "Half a Cow" *Semiotica* vol. 85 nos. 1,2 1991 pp. 1 - 39. The standard text on monstrous hybrids is: J. Block Friedman,

The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought, Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press 1981.

108. For further elaboration of the human/pet relationship relevant to the dog and its psychopathological meaning or ontogenetical status as a transitional object, see Marc Shell "The Family Pet," *Representations* 15, Summer 1986 (pp. 121 - 153) esp. pp. 121 - 125.

109. London *Punch* or in particular John Leech played an influential role during the 1840s in demonstrating the possibilities for the combination of canine and human in the context of political cartooning.

110. "The Mischievous Monkeys!" *Sydney Punch* 3 July 1874 p. 217 (see Appendix). During 1880 an unidentified artist signing him/herself with a mosquito cipher draws a full-page cartoon featuring Parkes as a monkey. "Monkeys of Culture" *Sydney Punch* 22 May 1880 p. 166.

111. It is outside the scope of this thesis but it might be forcefully argued that the recent reduction in the number of political cartoonists employed across newspapers in the United States is related to the rise of a bio-technological paradigm and the demise of the physiognomic paradigm in relation to identity. Caricature of individuals and the use of physiognomic types are at the heart of the cartoonist's enterprise.

112. Interestingly, these two dominant cartoonists of the 1970s, Bruce Petty and Larry Pickering, had very different cartoon versions of Gough Whitlam.

113. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 260.

114. Mahood, p. 85.

115. Mahood, p. 86.

116. *Sydney Punch* 8 December 1866 p. 17. Apart from the other evidence I present, any doubts that this is not John Robertson are easily dispelled by comparison of this image with the full-page cartoon of "Professor Robertson" as the "Great Wizard of the West" *Sydney Punch* 28 October 1865 p. 597.

117. Jonathan King, *A Cartoon History of Australia* Adelaide: Savvas Publishing, 1983, p. 270. Compounding his error, King states the image is from *Melbourne Punch* in 1860 rather than the actual source, *Sydney Punch* 1866.

118. *Sydney Punch* 17 February 1866 pp. 724 & 725 ("Index to Punch's Valentines" p. 728)

119. *Sydney Punch* 27 May 1865 p. 417.

120. An excellent example, since it also involves the creation of complex allegorical figures, is "Neglected" *Sydney Punch* 13 January 1872 pp. 68 & 69 and the responding cartoon 5 September 1872 pp. 380 & 381. The first cartoon shows Mineralla being rejected as Pastoralla and Agricultooroolala prepare to leave for the ball. A prediction is written below that Mineralla will be well thought of one day. The second, answering cartoon "The Prophecy Fulfilled; or, Mineralla's Triumph" show Mineralla in all her finery being adored by all and

sundry including Mr Punch.

121. *Sydney Punch* 2 January 1874 cover.

122. For example: "Make Him Rain Jump Up" *Sydney Punch* 20 February 1869 p. 107; "Our Real Blackfellows" *Sydney Punch* 13 January 1883 p. 8.

123. Dorothy Hopkins, *Hop of the 'Bulletin'*, p. 182

124. "Extract from 'The Mikado'" *Bulletin* 12 December 1885 p. 12.

125. *Vanity Fair* was published in London from 1868 to 1914. Direct evidence of the influence of *Vanity Fair* on the *Bulletin* artists is attested to by the fact that on 14 March 1885 p. 16 the *Bulletin* printed a large caricature inscribed "After Ape". The influence on Scott is beyond doubt as *Sydney Punch* advertised the special publication of four-colour cartoons in 1877 as "Representing men of the day - a la Vanity Fair" 23 December 1876 not numbered (external cover)

126. Some obnoxious examples: *Bulletin* 26 September 1885 p. 20; 31 October 1885 p.11; 14 August 1886 p. 22

127. *Boomerang* 16 February 1889 cover and 26 October 1889 cover.

128. On Keppeler's "Old Man Prohibition," see Hess and Kaplan, *Ungentlemanly Art*, p. 147.

129. David Kunzle "The First Ally Sloper: the Earliest Popular Cartoon Character as a Satire on the Victorian Work Ethic" *Oxford Art Journal* vol. 8 no. 1 1985 (pp. 40 - 48) p. 41.

130. Roger Sabin, "Ally Sloper: the First Comic Superstar?" *Image & Narrative* issue 7 October 2003 available online (1/5/04):

<http://www.imageandnarrative.be/graphicnovel/rogersabin.htm>

131. "Hustings' Oratory" *Sydney Punch* 18 December 1874 p. 419, text 418. (See Appendix) These minstrel and Jim Crow graphic types were discussed and illustrated in Chapter One in relation to the influence of American graphic types on Australian cartoons. Most relevant in revealing another possible contributing derivation of Scott's particular old man minstrel for Parkes is the popularity of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. See, Jo-Ann Morgan, "Picturing Uncle Tom with Little Eva - reproduction as legacy", *Journal of American Culture* (Malden, MA) 27, 1, March 2004 pp 1 - 24. (Available online, Expanded Academic, article no: A114990690). The image from Morgan's article (Figure 26 in Morgan) reproduced as figure 1.41 in Chapter One is also a possible direct visual inspiration for Scott. This front cover of *Harper's Weekly* in 1873 features an engraving by Richard Norris Brooks titled "Way down upon the Swanee Ribber" showing a silver-headed old man holding fiddle dreaming of the good old days. On Australian versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, see, Humphrey Hall and Alfred Cripps *The Romance of the Sydney Stage*, Sydney: Currency Press, 1996 pp. 151, 168, 228; and, Katharine Brisbane ed., *Entertaining Australia*, Sydney: Currency Press, 1991 pp.112, 140.

132. "The Diplomatic Cures" *Sydney Punch* 22 April 1865 p. 381.

133. "A Chapter of Autobiography, or, The Political Jim Crow" *Will-o'-the-Wisp*, 28 November 1868. (Reproduced in Mark Bryant and Simon Heneage, *Dictionary of British Cartoonists and Caricaturists 1730 - 1980*, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1994 p. 173.)
134. "The Smitten Smiter; or Shakespere Perverted" *Sydney Punch* 12 March 1875 p. 69.
135. Henry B. Wonham, "I Want a Real Coon!: Mark Twain and Late-Nineteenth-Century Ethnic Caricature" *American Literature* vol. 72 no. 1 2000 (pp. 117 - 152) pp. 119, 120. Wonham identifies "the late nineteenth century's increasingly rigid approach to ethnic misrepresentation" as the "coon' era (roughly from 1885 to 1910)" p. 119.
136. The cartoon from *Sydney Punch* 28 August 1874, reproduced in Appendix III gives the opportunity to compare the two, since this is Parkes and John Robertson fighting over control of the Assembly.
137. See Appendix III for these examples.
138. "Struck Coal!" *Sydney Punch* 19 March 1875 p. 76. [reproduced in Appendix III] "Struck Oil!" opened on 8 March (Perhaps this indicates another subtle example of the *Punch* artists regular clever product placement and boosting for their advertisers, see advertisement *Sydney Punch* 26 February 1875 p. 59)
139. "'Our' Blondin" *Sydney Punch* 9 January 1874 pp. 6,7 (although p. 8 is misnumbered in this issue). [reproduced in Appendix III] Jean-Francois Gravelet, aka Blondin, crossed Niagara Falls in 1859. He not only came to Australia in 1874 but made a return visit in 1875-76. However in 1877 when Scott makes reference again to "Blondin the Third" (*Sydney Punch* 21 April 1877 p. 297) he is no doubt alluding to Harry L'Estrange "The Australian Blondin" who walked across a rope over Sydney's Middle Harbour at that time. The fact that he is the "Third" may also acknowledge an earlier Australian Blondin, Vertelli, who crossed Mt Lofty S.A. on a rope in 1865. (See: Katharine Brisbane ed., *Entertaining Australia: the performing arts as cultural history*, Sydney: Currency Press, 1991, p. 79.)
140. Dorothy Hopkins, *Hop of the 'Bulletin'*, p. 149 (Also, p. 79)

CHAPTER SEVEN

Scott's Demons

Monte Scott's contribution to the 1872 Sydney publication of *Punch Staff Papers* was an illustration depicting a ghostly graveyard scene and two other drawings of young women; one a pretty girl and the second a stylish female equestrian. These images encapsulate the fundamental themes or obsessions that run throughout Scott's career, the gothic horror scene used to represent the full range of allegorical possibilities for disease, contamination and immorality and the beautiful woman as personification of nationalistic aspirations, virtues and all manner of abstract concepts. He relished the combination of the two with the beautiful woman entrapped in a nightmare scenario or as hapless victim of bestial violence. The theatrical devil and witch were his stock-in-trade and one of the iconographic types he invented was "Justitia" the epitome of ugliness. This chapter and the following one take a longitudinal view of Scott's images selected from across all the publications he worked for. The aim is not so much to establish the identifiable elements of Scott's autograph style, although his characteristic stylistic signature is by necessity outlined. The focus is on his consistent themes, theatrical demons to represent vice, corruption and disease, pestilence and war, along with dramatic scenes of life in the bush. Particularly, the consistency and variations in application of these themes are used to construct a reading of Scott's changing attitudes across his long career.

Corruption, hypocrisy, injustice, vice, war and pestilence are the enduring targets of the cartoonist as they were in the nineteenth century. Sardonic and satirical popular graphic art requires a knowing audience, and an artist attuned to current passions and moods of the audience, as already stressed. But some fears touch a more primal or universal emotional register and this is why the majority of the examples of Scott's cartoons reproduced in recent anthologies and histories are his gothic horror allegories of disease contamination, immorality and filth. In one spectacular instance Jonathan King used a double-page lithograph by Scott, with the addition of a little modernizing colour, as the rear dust-jacket image for his social history of Australia in cartoons. [figure 7.1] Unlike the front cover image, also with added colour, of the most famous cartoon in Australian history – Stan Cross's 1933 "For gorsake stop laughing - this is serious!" – the Scott can hardly have been chosen for its familiarity. The theme, however, is a very familiar one "The Fiend - Drink; or, Death on the Pale Horse" and the forbidding landscape littered with drunken bodies is appropriately labeled "Perdition". As impressive as Scott's "Fiend" was he was not alone among nineteenth-century illustrators in dramatizing the demon drink. Nor does he give this devil the consistent attention throughout his career as he does that other demon vice of

gambling.

The Demon Drink

The obviously still imposing “Death on the Pale Horse” was the only illustration by Scott published in *Sydney Punch* during 1870 or during almost a year of unexplained absence from his job as chief cartoonist. This is probably not significant, tempting as it might be to use the demon drink to explain Scott's two disappearances from *Sydney Punch* during the 1870s; if not his financial difficulties and bankruptcy. In 1873 the *Illustrated Sydney News* published a large lithographic copy of George Cruikshank's (1792 - 1878) “The Worship of Bacchus” and the accompanying text gives a long descriptive analysis that extends to quoting various authorities to highlight the corrupting influence of intemperance on all aspects of individual and societal life.¹ It was claimed that in England seventy million pounds per year was sacrificed to Bacchus with the resultant neglect of institutions and collapse of families. Obviously, drink was a social problem in England, usually expressed as fear of drunken violence and social disintegration. Importantly, as has recently been noted, “the temperance movement was not the extremist, minority, quirky movement of our popular imagination”². That temperance was a mass movement is demonstrated by the success of George Cruikshank's other major temperance work “The Bottle”. In this series of eight prints, Cruikshank looked back to the morality prints of Hogarth and depicted the progressive decline of a once hardworking mechanic due to addiction to the bottle. The series was a sensational success selling 100,000 copies during the first few weeks of publication in 1847.³ Many cheap editions followed and the National Temperance Society in London went on to print the images on all manner of items such as plates and cups making them among the most familiar images of the mid-nineteenth century. Scott worked for the *Illustrated Sydney News* when Cruikshank's huge lithographic Bacchus print was produced and a comparison with the original shows that it is in fact a close adaptation of the original. Cruikshank's large published print of the painting is an engraving and the Sydney lithograph on stone would no doubt have been produced by a local artist and the style, of the central figure group at least, bears a striking resemblance to Scott's work. In fact, of the artists working for the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1873, such as Sam Calvert or George Lacey, who were capable of such a complex lithographic drawing, only Monte Scott fits the stylistic signature.

If Scott had a problem with drink it would conveniently explain some of his slipshod work but the logic of such a prodigious output as Scott's both explains the rushed examples and denies any indolence resulting from a serious addiction to alcohol. His second absence has already been explained by his attempt at theatrical performance. Besides this, over his career Scott does not

consistently rail against drink as the reformed alcoholic, George Cruikshank, did.

The Demon Vice of Gambling

On 20 March 1880 Scott produced a large chalk lithograph titled “‘Five to Two Bar One’; or, ‘On the Road to Ruin’” as a supplement to the *Illustrated Sydney News*. [figure 7.2] As the accompanying text stated: “There is little need to explain the remarkably powerful picture in which our artist has so boldly and mercilessly satirized one of the greatest evils of our age - the love of betting.” As was also noted “there is naught objectionable in horse-racing by itself,” but “it is the gambling system that surrounds the turf which constitutes the real evil.”⁴ The view expressed by the *Illustrated Sydney News*, that horse-racing was a worthy sport corrupted by the betting ring, where the majority of bookmakers were rogues and knaves, was also Scott's view, or at least the view he publically and most emphatically expressed throughout his fifty-year long career. This image is particularly revealing, considering that Scott had drawn exactly the same scenario almost ten years before as a double-page lithograph titled “Fleeced” in *Sydney Punch*.⁵ [figure 7.3] Comparison of the two images reveals that, although it might not have seemed possible, the second version is made even more dramatic than the first, with the horses hooves lifted higher and the contrasts of light and dark in the night scene more spectacular. The demon bookmaker is made more fiendish and, confirming Scott's eye for fashion, the seductive pick-pocket is now more tightly corseted in a striped dress where the bodice flows to below the waist-line. Clearly Scott invested a good deal of effort in revitalizing the image.

Even before the first version of “The Road to Ruin” Scott had mounted a spirited attack in *Sydney Punch* on the evils of gambling. [figure 7.4] In a full-page cartoon “That Noble Animal, the Horse” Scott chronicled in twelve vignettes the usual steps to ruin for the visitor to the races. He also added informing text and interestingly included “Excitement,” wedged between “Misery and Gambling.” In the same month as this cartoon, May 1868, Scott reduced “The New South Wales Turf Fiend” to a winged Satan. [figure 7.5] Almost thirty years later, in a full-page cartoon in the *Worker* Scott still had the devil in the “Judge's Box” to declare “Horse Racing” as the winner in the gambling stakes ahead of gambling in mining shares, stocks and land.⁶ [figure 7.6] Scott made no secret of his belief that the devil manifested himself at the racetrack in the form of the bookmaker. In one such example he exploited the Sydney Melbourne rivalry by depicting a clutch of satanic bookmakers arriving in Sydney from Victoria.⁷ [figure 7.7]

Scott must have spent a good deal of his time at racetracks and racing stables given the countless racehorses he illustrated and painted over his lifetime. In the last decade of his life Scott regularly

illustrated racehorses for the *Sydney Referee* and *Arrow*. He was called on to illustrate Melbourne Cup winners and other champions for the front page, such as the 1899 winner of the V.R.C. Derby and Melbourne Cup. [figure 7.8] In the late 1890s Scott must have been regarded as a celebrity by the racing or sporting fraternity in Sydney as the *Referee* promoted particular illustrations with the caption “Specially drawn for the *Referee* by Monte Scott”.⁸ Throughout his career Scott was a keen observer of the race-day itself, producing numerous descriptive illustrations of particular racing events and cartoon scenarios using horse racing. Soon after his dark, metaphoric condemnation of gambling “The Road to Ruin”, Scott produced a full-page layout in the same paper of “Cup Day Sketches at Randwick” in which he evokes the glamour of the event with the thoroughbred and silver trophy given centre stage with the winner and loser a minor aside to the surrounding pomp and circumstance of the event itself.⁹ Working on the *Boomerang* Scott also produced straight reportage of race days emphasizing the glamour of the event. One example “At the Eagle Farm Races” includes figures representing “Rank, Wealth and Beauty” as defining attributes of the crowd at the event.¹⁰ [figure 7.9] Scott’s ambivalence toward the horse races can be summed up in two different illustrations he produced of race trophies. In April 1872 the *Sydney Mail* reproduced an engraving of Scott’s illustration of the gold Sydney Cup [figure 7.10]. The cup was manufactured in Sydney and although it is almost grotesquely ornate, including a Roman helmet for a lid, Scott has taken great pains to accurately and anachronistically draw the decorative detail and reflective surface of the cup.¹¹ By contrast, Scott’s 1868 *Sydney Punch* illustration of “Punch’s Randwick Plate” is a course open drawing of a silver plate filling the page to create a tondo which depicted a bookmaker and a destitute or disgruntled punter. The decorations around the rim of the plate depict various scenes including Chinese gambling and, inexplicably, a black minstrel group.¹² [figure 7.11]

Considering Scott’s penchant for depicting horses and his predilection for the glamour and “excitement” of the racetrack, his career-long diatribe against bookmakers demands some conclusion. It does seem difficult to explain Scott’s bankruptcy in early 1870 when in the preceding few years he had made significant if not staggering amounts of money. This included the well documented 250 guineas for Prince Alfred’s portrait (1867), commissions for numerous other portraits, painted and photographic; including, from 1866 to 1868, life-size painted portraits of Archbishop Polding, John Sutherland, Captain Francis Hixson, Bishop Goold and the Earl of Belmore. In 1866 and 1867 he was principal artist at Edwin Dalton’s photographic firm and from 1867 to 1870 managed his own fine art and photographic company. Added to this was his full-time salary from *Sydney Punch* and his regular illustrations and supplements for the *Illustrated Sydney News*, which paid the not insubstantial sum of 10 pound apiece. Without quoting any direct evidence, Marguerite Mahood has explained Scott’s bankruptcy on his lack of business

acumen. The evidence from his countless images might offer a more logical explanation for Scott's financial woes which resulted in two bankruptcies. Scott's keen interest in horse racing cannot be refuted but it would appear that his view of the racetrack was from the perspective of a punter. When Scott railed against gambling his focus was rarely on the effects of the vice, as Cruikshank had done with his campaign against drink. Scott's primary target was the bookmaker; almost exclusively the gambler's most despised adversary. As well, the very emblem Scott consistently used to denote the denizens of race-day vice, the tabulating book, bespeaks of a knowledgeable gambler. Scott intimately understood breeding and quality in horses, as his keenly observed images show, but this may well have led to the delusion that he could also pick a winner on race day.

It is also tempting to suggest that Scott's interest in gambling may have extended beyond the race track. For among his few illustrative excursions into the mechanics of the business world are an informed depiction and a scathing critique of the speculation on futures and shares in Sydney in the early 1870s. Scott's "High Change" produced for the *Sydney Mail* in 1872 does seem an odd choice for a large supplement and needed a long description to explain the activity conducted in the Sydney exchange.¹³ The next year he followed this with a double-page depiction in *Sydney Punch* of the "Sydney Frankenstein" making calls on investors with empty cash-boxes who had gambled on various spurious schemes and companies.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Scott's particular obsession with race-track gambling is revealed in a series of large illustrations he produced for the *Bulletin* in 1884. The complexity of these cartoons alone denies any editorial directive in their construction and they are no doubt Scott's invention. In 1884 the New South Wales legislature had proposed re-activating antiquated laws to control dubious sweepstakes and lottery scams. In a most striking illustration in April 1884, Scott placed the betting book beneath the "Turf Spider" that draws an endless procession of middle-class punters into its net.¹⁵ [figure 7.12] This would seem to be a declaration in support of control over gambling, especially since two weeks later Scott produced "The Lottery Question - where the Police DO interfere" using the scenario of a flower girl being arrested for the raffle of a flower for twenty times its value. Yet in the *Bulletin* issue of the following week Scott's large cartoon "Confounded Sweeps - We mean Lotteries" he demonstrates the unintended and unacceptable application of antiquated laws on lottery-gambling. In the back of an archaic police yard he shows police brutalizing well-dressed and respectable business men for engaging in speculative enterprises. These include a stock broker, promoters and a valuer. The conclusion from this is clear enough, the betting book epitomized the evil of gambling and was not to be compared to the speculation of the business leger.

King Disease

The common fear and reality of disease in nineteenth-century Australia was naturally an abiding theme for cartoonists and if contemporary statistical studies are taken as a guide it would seem that fear and death are fundamental themes in the cartoonists arsenal of emotional symbolism, whatever the motivation of the imagery.¹⁶ Monte Scott's preoccupation with, and treatment of, plagues, pestilence and contamination is hardly unique, conforming to trans-historical and trans-national impulses among cartoonists. Even so, the seemingly banal but vital issues of clean water, sewage and drainage in the rapidly developing Australian cities were given formidable substance through Scott's demonic creations. In Melbourne in 1864, his cartoon "Melbourne Drainage" depicted "King Fever" coming to take away the dead children of a young mother.¹⁷ But it was Scott's campaign for a clean water supply in Sydney in the 1860s and 70s that distinguishes his contribution to this theme. The persistency, intensity and variety of his cartoons on "Sydney Water" set him apart from all other graphic artists working in nineteenth-century New South Wales and suggest Scott's interest was driven by sustained interest in progressive social change. His images of water-borne death and disease could be mawkishly predictable such as the 1873 "The Water Cure or Kill?"¹⁸ or surprisingly inventive as in "A Glass of (Sydney) Water" representing disease in its more modern microscopic manifestation.¹⁹ [figures 7.13 and 7.14] The printing of this latter 1874 full-page image in colour, no doubt added to its novel impact. In this process of realizing visual formulations of pathological fear it would appear that Scott was singularly responsible, in the Australian context at least, for the creation of the microscopic image of disease.

Scott also created a synthesis of the microbe and monster forms for disease in "The Revels of King Disease" from 1875. [figure 7.15] In 1874 Scott even managed to depict the disease-bearing microbes mutating into a salaried hydraulic engineer and Government committee members. This was in a cartoon critique of Henry Parkes adopting the usual Government ploy of the appointment of a committee to solve a municipal problem.²⁰ Scott did not settle on the monster and microbe hybrid as a stock iconographic type, however. It seems that when he wanted to maximize dramatic impact Scott understood the limitations of the unspectacular germ and on the front page of the *Boomerang* Brisbane in 1889, although he drew a cut-away view of an unclean water-tank in a Queensland school yard, he also added the established emblematic form of "Death" on top of the tank. Nevertheless, Scott's particular hybrid manifestations of plague or pollution often strayed from the established gothic horror scenarios and allegories, being peculiarly Scott's invention. There is nothing in London *Punch* to match Scott's biomorphic creations representing contagious disease, perhaps because there was not the same devastating

outbreaks of smallpox and cholera epidemics in London during the late nineteenth century. No doubt his types exerted some influence on later Australian black and white artists, such as Claude Marquet, who also developed ghoulish hybrid monsters to represent contagion.²¹

Disaster and Danger in the Bush

During the 1870s the *Illustrated Sydney News* had a policy to give “especial prominence to subjects illustrative of Australian life or scenery, embellished with that attractive colouring which Art, aided by the peculiar resources of our establishment, enables us to present to our readers.”²² The *Illustrated London News* had published large colour supplements from as early as the 1860s but the polychrome supplements produced in Sydney were mostly, as the *News* proclaimed, peculiarly Australian subjects. Not unexpectedly, these supplements, predominantly by Scott, represented sport, leisure, bush life, Aborigines, disasters and bushrangers. Apart from horse racing, the principal sports depicted were cricket and rowing. When Edward Trickett of New South Wales won the world sculling championship on the Thames in London in 1876 the event rated two colour supplements by Scott in succeeding issues of the *Illustrated Sydney News*.²³ One of these depicted the event and the other a portrait of the world champion. The same pattern followed with depictions of international and inter-colonial cricket matches where the event was illustrated in panoramic format, featuring the spectators in all their finery, and individual portraits of the cricketers.²⁴

The publishing demand for the spectacular as well as the topical and sporting meant that Scott produced his share of disasters on land and sea. He also made a significant contribution to that quintessentially Australian theme of bushranging. The “bushranging cult” was born in part from the colonial weakness for heroics and reached its apotheosis in Edward Kelly.²⁵ Although Scott’s contributions in *Sydney Punch* to the Kelly drama were too far from the action to have lasting documentary value they no doubt helped to ferment the Kelly craze in New South Wales.²⁶ Samuel Thomas Gill had produced individual watercolours of bushranging in the 1850s and Samuel Calvert had engraved some small illustrations in *Illustrated Melbourne Post* in the 1860s but Scott’s large colour lithographs from 1869 and 1874 must be the first major popular publications on the theme. [figures 7.16 and 7.17] However descriptive and anachronistically dramatic they now appear, Scott’s pioneering images must have made some impact on Australian consciousness. Almost ten years after the latter bushranging scene by Scott the *Illustrated Sydney News* again produced a supplement titled “Bailed Up”, this time based on a painting by C. H. Hunt that had won the *Illustrated Sydney News* Art Competition for 1882.²⁷ The paper noted that the scene depicted was now a rare event but nevertheless evoked the romance of the theme by

referring to “Captain Moonlight and other notorious knights of the road.”²⁸ No doubt this iconography had some influence on the later success of Tom Roberts’ iconic “Bailed Up” (1895), if not William Strutt’s “Bushrangers on St Kilda Road” (1886). Such influence is a moot point, however, for the disappearance of Scott’s images from Australian historical discourse is precisely because of their parochialism. The sorts of illustrations considered characteristically Australian subjects during the 1860s and 1870s emphasized the exotic nature of antipodean life. Customs of the Aborigines, kangaroo hunts, bushranging and scenes of gold mining and frontier life were common fare. Scott favoured scenes of human drama in the bush almost always activated by lively horses and wild cattle. In fact most of Scott’s genre paintings and illustrative scenes from these decades relate specifically to the Australian context. Paintings such as the *Death of Kennedy*, *Aborigines discovering the Body of Wills*, *Out on the Plains: the Last Match*, *A Station on Fire* and the *Sleeping Scout* along with his many illustrations of bush life are as self-consciously Australian as they are emphatically provincial. This is not to say that Scott’s illustrative style was monolithic as he often adapted a style to the theme, especially for his large colour supplements. He also adapted his technique to the particular demands of wood engraving, lithographic or process engraving. That his illustrative approach was always tied to observed reality can be demonstrated by comparing two large supplements he produced on the same theme, the shooting of a scrub bull, but separated by a gap of fifteen years.²⁹ [figures 7.18 and 7.19] The first of the illustrations, from 1875, is set in Mallee scrub and the second set in the open forest of Queensland. The specificity of place is evident in each image, but the second image reveals the development of a lighter framed Australian stock horse, a more sinewy- muscled scrub bull and overall a more evolved or recognizably Australian scene.

As well as bushranging and bush themes, Scott also played an appreciable role in establishing bush fire and flood as iconic disaster images in nineteenth-century Australia. The nemeses of bush fire was presented by Scott in 1875 as characteristically “An Australian Scourge” [figure 7.20]. He also used the theme as a basis for several of his paintings and large illustrations. When he depicted “The Flood on the Hawkesbury” in the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1867 Scott created an apocalyptic scene of biblical proportions, but for a large supplement for the same paper in 1873, “A Flood in New South Wales,” he more directly evoked the flood of scripture with a Moses figure guiding a boat of survivors. [figures 7.21 and 7.22] Such biblical symbolism is quite rare in Scott’s output although it does raise the issue of his attitude to religion.

Satan

The Satan of Scott's imagination was entirely the secular or stage variant of the devil. Scott was consistently non-sectarian when it came to religious issues. During the 1860s and 1870s in Victoria and New South Wales debate raged over denominational control over education for at this time religion was inextricably linked with education, as Mahood has noted.³⁰ The double-page supplement to *Sydney Punch* in September 1874, captioned "Secular, Compulsory, Free!," might be considered Scott's manifesto image on the education theme, representing the most consistent attitude that he expressed in his cartoons.³¹ Two years before this particular work Scott had produced a more impressive lithograph for *Sydney Punch* suggesting that sectarian intervention in education only conjured up the devil of bigotry.³² [figure 7.23] The Protestant and Catholic denominations are represented as the devil's offspring presenting him with the "Proofs" of their sectarian dogmatism in their respective papers the *Standard* and *Freeman's Journal*. That this was an expression of Scott's personal attitude can hardly be doubted since over thirty years later when Holman Hunt's *Light of the World* had toured Australia, creating sensational interest in the painting, Scott produced his own inverted version "The Blight of the World".³³ Scott's satanic caller is "Sectarianism" dressed as a priest carrying the lamp of "Bigotry" and the door at which he knocks is of a "State School" not a cottage as in Hunt's painting. [figure 7.24] Admittedly, during the early years of the state-aid debate, Scott's attitude was not always expressed this emphatically. When in 1866 Henry Parkes first announced he would no longer give state aid to church schools Scott produced a cartoon suggesting the removal of state aid would disadvantage less well-endowed country church schools.³⁴ The concern expressed in this two part cartoon is really outside the state-aid issue since it highlights that voluntary, paid education maintains the nexus between wealth and privilege. Over twenty years later in the Brisbane *Boomerang*, Scott produced a full-page cartoon making the same point in relation to university education. "That's not the University We Want!" shows a group of tradesmen being excluded from a university where young gentlemen holding bags of money queue at the cashiers' window at the entrance.³⁵ However several months into the debate on state aid in 1866, Scott tackled the "The Momentous Question" with a cartoon suggesting that the denominational quarreling should be put aside for the benefit of the child needing to be educated.³⁶ By the middle of the next year, August 1867, Scott depicts Parkes as "The Modern Hercules Cleansing the Augean Stable" with his education reforms removing Ignorance, Incompetency and Dirt from the school system.³⁷ [figure 7.25] In spite of this, it would seem Scott or Punch still had some sympathy for Catholic schools as a few weeks before this cartoon Scott had drawn Parkes as the "Wolf in the Fold" terrorizing the two nuns and their young charges.³⁸ [See, figure 6.30] Significantly perhaps, Punch's pug dog is attempting to protect the sisters and a large heart is the only decoration emblazoned on his coat.

This is not the only evidence that might lead to the assumption that Scott was baptized a Catholic. It is unlikely that someone outside the faith would have been given the two substantial commissions for St Mary's Cathedral as Scott was. His large portrait of Bishop Goold and his 12 x 8 foot portrait of Archbishop Polding were not the only time he worked for the Catholic Church.³⁹ He seems to have had almost exclusive access to the Archbishop Polding throughout his career, producing photographic and illustrative studies for the popular press. On Polding's death in March 1877 Scott created a massive document of his funeral ceremony as a supplement to the *Illustrated Sydney News* and a full-page eulogistic cartoon in *Sydney Punch* - one of the few cartoons in twenty years that he signed with his monogram extended into his full surname.⁴⁰ The logic of this visual evidence would seem to contradict the assumption that he was an Anglican based on the recorded information from Mahood and other sources that Scott is buried "in St Jude's Anglican Cemetery." In fact, Scott is not buried in the St Jude's Anglican Cemetery but in the Waverley Cemetery. He is buried in an unmarked grave and, although there was no church service for his funeral, the plot is in what was the Church of England allotment of the Cemetery. Even so, this does not help definitively settle Scott's denomination.⁴¹ This is because, the plot in which Scott is buried was purchased by him in 1879 on the death of his first wife Amy. It can only reasonably be assumed that at least Amy Ann Scott was Church of England.

War

Over his fifty-year career Monte Scott hardly produced a single representation of mortal combat between white settlers and Aborigines. This is despite the fact that he lived through almost the entire history of the frontier wars in Queensland during which thousands of Aborigines were killed.⁴² During the late 1880s while Scott worked in Brisbane for the *Boomerang* his contemporary illustrators on *Queensland Punch* and *Figaro* regularly depicted Aborigines attacking settlers or spearing stock, along with stockmen shooting Aborigines.⁴³ Significantly, in the cases of white murder of Aborigines, the images were generically historical or illustrations to fictional accounts, although in at least one example the image is a documentary illustration.⁴⁴ When Scott depicted threatening Aborigines they were allegorical warriors, invariably defending "Australian" values of justice and truth, and his few scenes of Aboriginal violence, produced before he moved to Queensland, depict internal tribal conflicts or savage rituals.⁴⁵

The reasons Scott did not frame the frontier conflicts as war and adopted the Aboriginal warrior as the knight defender of a 'fair go,' related to Scott's particular conception of war. If Scott ever considered the blood of Aborigines spilt during the advance of European settlement it would have been a cause for shame as this was battle without honour. In the decades after Scott arrived

in Australia he took every opportunity to depict the pageantry, armoury and ceremonies of the military and to paint the portraits of the British officer class. Often there is a fine gap between his straight illustrations of military types and his political or allegorical cartoons of medieval or Arthurian knights. Yet in the last decades of the nineteenth century when feelings for Australian nationalism shifted from conflict between remote imperial power and colonial independence to a war between labour and capital, Scott retained the concept of the warrior knight as the selfless standard bearer of timeless values and chivalrous defender of women and children.⁴⁶ [figure 7.26] The result was a particularly Australian conception of war, probably best expressed through Beverley Kingston's assessment of Henry Lawson's attitude in the 1890s:

Lawson's romantic feeling for war was almost medieval in its belief in chivalry, fealty, honour, and its assumption about the trappings and rituals. A contemporary critic discerned something more primitive, however, in the yearning for blood.⁴⁷

Blood was the tragic measure of the significance of war or more specifically, the blood of men, as Scott recorded on his "Cost of War" memorial of 1896.⁴⁸ Not only did Scott give prime singularity to the death of soldiers but also reinforced their chivalrous loss by adding the pitiful grieving widow and daughter. The selection of wars listed by Scott is clearly meant to represent an international brotherhood of soldiers and ranges from the Crimean War, and Franco-German War, to the American Civil War. In chronological range the list appears to be limited to wars fought during Scott's lifetime.

Lamentable war may have been but Scott was not a pacifist. Violent retribution was the soldiers' prerogative as Scott made clear in his comments on the first war to involve Australian soldiers, the conflict in New Zealand between Maori forces and British soldiers, supported by settler volunteers.⁴⁹ [figure 7.27] In this particular war, Scott emphasized the unnatural savagery of the Maori with his dramatic inversion of Joan of Arc's burning at the stake by showing a British soldier being "roasted" by a wild bare-breasted and tattooed Maori female.⁵⁰ [figure 7.28] The only female warrior that Scott could countenance was one in an allegorical role. His most awesome example being "New South Wales" with breast bared, hang-rope in hand and sword of justice strapped on her back dragging O'Farrell, the failed assassin, to his death.⁵¹ Justice is an armed female in many of Scott's allegories for the battleground is the emblematic site where the dialectic between good and evil is played out.⁵²

When the multimillionaires Cecil Rhodes and Albert Biet engineered the conflict between Britain and the Boer Republic of Transvaal in the late 1890s war must have seemed inevitable. In April 1899 Monte Scott produced a cartoon prophesy in the *Worker* of the coming storm and the

patriotic calls that would blast forth from the capitalists driving the eruption. The grotesque, mountainous face of “Mt Fatman in Eruption” spews “Patriotism, One People, One Destiny, Crimson Thread, Glorious Country, Nationality” and “Great Resources,” as well as “Flap Doodle”. The British appeal to colonial patriotism and bonds to Empire obviously inspired many colonials since when war was declared in October 1899 many young Australians rushed to volunteer. The Queensland Government were so certain that war would eventuate that it had in fact already, in July, offered troops to Britain. Scott had of course declared his hand even before this with his “Mt Fatman in Eruption” but within days of the declaration of the war, Scott summed up the nature of the conflict on the front page of the *Worker*. Watched over by a capitalist in a buggy, an imperial officer as “The Swaggering Swashbuckler” is shown coercing the kangaroo for four shillings a day to join them in the Transvaal. [figure 7.29]

The *Worker* was against the war in the Transvaal but the editorial comment has nothing of the intensity or stridency of Scott’s anti-war cartoons that were to follow. In the initial year of the War, when Scott was at his most acerbic, the unions and Labor party were in fact ambivalent and only adopted a policy of total opposition in the latter phases of the War. Before the First Queensland Mounted Infantry were dispatched to the Transvaal, Scott depicted the dog of Jingoism in a futile chase for rats with a tin tied to its tail representing the 32,000 pounds it cost to send the Queensland colonial troops.⁵³ [figure 7.30] That Scott would choose this image for his attack on the sham call to the “crimson thread of kinship” that Henry Parkes said ran through all Australians is particularly revealing, since its iconography demonstrates how real Scott’s links to England were and all the more emphasizes his stand against the Boer War as a declaration of independence. The origin of this image is a drawing by John Leech published in London *Punch* when Scott was eight years old. [figure 7.31] This does not necessarily mean that Scott saw it at that time but it was nevertheless familiar enough for Scott to adapt it to a full-page cartoon in *Melbourne Punch* in 1861 soon after his arrival in Australia. [figure 7.32] Thirty years on, it is clear that Scott had broken his stylistic dependence on Leech but his choice of the same scenario acknowledges that he retained Leech’s “gentlemanly” imperative to make a stand on the side of justice - what was right, rather than popular.

Four days after the first Queensland contingent departed Scott graced the cover of the *Worker* with a skull entwined with the snake of Human Greed and garland of Mock Patriotism. [figure 7.33] The ensemble sits on the book of History. Inside this issue Scott also produced a full-page caricature of Lieutenant Colonel Percy Ricardo, the Commander of the Queensland force. Ricardo is contrasted with the “Man with the Hoe” who the Colonel berates in the caption as wanting to grow pumpkins rather than wishing to fight for the honour of regiment and flag. [figure 7.34] The parody of Ricardo as a blustering pretender would prove to be prophetic

considering his incompetent leading of the First Contingent in Africa and the controversies that embroiled him, including accusations of cowardice. On the cover of the first issue of the *Worker* for January 1900 Scott depicted the Reaper to remind his readers what the year would bring for the troops in the Transvaal.⁵⁴ [figure 7.35] After a second contingent was sent from Queensland on 13 January 1900, Scott contrasted a member of the Bush Contingent with an itinerant bush worker. [figure 7.36] The contrast between the two has been represented with a two-faced capitalist dressing a swagman as a soldier on the one hand while his other face scorns the worker. The two part sub-caption reads: “‘A Dingo of Civilisation’ when he fights his own battle,” and “‘A Hero’ when he fights Fatman’s”.

As Federation approached in January 1901 it became obvious that Australia would become a nation while the colonies were at war. Scott first suggested the result would be the Imperial Lion swallowing up Australian Nationality [figure 6.29] but several months later he speculated that Federation would be “A Critical Moment” when the Kangaroo might shoulder the rifle of Independence and make its own decision about the Lion of Imperialism crushing the defenceless Boer of the Transvaal Republic. [figure 7.37] This image must have been close to seditious since it implies pro-Boer sentiments. Although the Kangaroo is armed, he is clearly not a soldier and, coupled with the fear in the Lion’s eyes, the implication is that the Kangaroo might dispatch the Lion.

Such blatant anti-British expression must have been especially magnified in the over-heated climate of the patriotic rally to Empire during the Boer War. It has been noted that the “few who dared to question involvement became victims of patriotic scorn”.⁵⁵ In the graphic arts, the few who questioned the war can be reduced to Scott alone, supported by an occasional spiritless effort by the artists at the *Bulletin*.⁵⁶ Despite the fact that the *Bulletin* was one of the few other papers not stridently pro-war, there are few cartoons in that paper, or elsewhere in the Australian press for that matter, to rival Scott’s singular venomous campaign against the Boer War.⁵⁷ The cost of such a stand is depicted by Scott in his “Statue of Liberty” cartoon of March 1900 [see figure 3.29]. In the base-panels of the monument, Scott depicts mob violence towards an individual male who dared to exercise the right of Free Speech. That his opposition to the War was at least in part a personal stand is made evident by the fact that for most of the cartoons he produced Scott added his full signature “Monte Scott” rather than his usual “M. S.” It is impossible to know at what point during his life in Australia, Scott identified himself as an Australian, but his Boer War campaign absolutely defines his severing with any identification as British. As noted above, throughout his career Scott’s cartoons are redolent with militaristic imagery and masculine chivalry but for Scott the Boer War was clearly not a just war and the evils of capitalism and imperialist power that created the war would make victims of both Boer and

Australian bushman soldiers alike. Whether Scott's singular stand can be framed as that of a true Australian patriot is a moot point but it must have taken considerable courage allowing that Australians did not begin to turn against the war until towards the end when publicity was given to the burning of farm houses, confiscation of stock and the concentration camps set up by the British. As unsettling as Scott's editorial cartoons must have been for the families of the Queensland Bushman sent to fight, they must have equally dissuaded some young Australians from enlisting and therefore potentially saved lives. Scott's opposition to the War may have well struck a cord with some young men since his was not a pacifist stance and he continually exposed the exploitation of real patriotism by foreign vested interests. There seems little doubt that Scott's cartoons contributed to the ultimate Australian disillusionment with the War and when the last Queensland contingent returned home in May 1902 the welcome was less than enthusiastic. Most importantly, Scott's pro-Australian and rabid anti-British cartoons make a mockery of his later historical re-construction as a 'gad-sir' English dandy.

Scott's celebration of the proclamation of Peace in June 1902 shows the only winner as the fat capitalist with the Boer and Britisher now in yoke as they pass the devastated landscape of the battlefield. [figure 7.38] The contrast could not be greater between this image and the double-page cartoon Scott had produced twenty years earlier to celebrate the proclamation of Peace at the end of the Franco-Prussian War in 1871.⁵⁸ [figure 7.39] Scott's female personification of Peace in *Sydney Punch* needed no armour or weapons as she only required her commanding presence and an olive branch to drive off the demons of war and famine. Times had changed. Scott had changed too but not in his attitude to war. The real battle was yet to come and it would be an honourable struggle as Scott made clear in this 1906 image, since it was Australian Nationality that needed defending. [figure 7.40] As this image demonstrates, the Boer War had at least given Scott the iconic form of the Australian soldier.

This is not to say that Scott abandoned female personifications to represent the battle of good over evil. Scott had spent the last half of the nineteenth-century adapting the European emblematic lexicon to Australian circumstances and after 1900 he continued to use the vocabulary although with a distinctly modern twist. During the 1880s and 1890s Scott had established Nationality and indeed Federation as a young, identifiably Australian woman. With this female personification Scott created a particular confluence between patriotic defence of the ideals of a new republic and chivalrous defence of its women. When the global war between capital and labour was added to the equation at the end of the nineteenth century Scott could evoke Liberty in her French manifestation to further enhance the feminine embodiment of national ideals. After Federation, Scott did not adopt the Little Boy from Manly as Young Australia as *Bulletin* artists had done but retained the young woman as Australia. Only as a

woman could Australia embody the masculine ideals of honour and militaristic notions of chivalry - a real and ideal entity. The next chapter will explore in greater depth the lineage of Scott's female personifications by placing them in the broader context of his representation of women.

Endnotes - Chapter Seven

1. "The Worship of Bacchus" *Illustrated Sydney News* 10 June 1873 p. 15.
2. Robert Upstone, *George Cruikshank's The Worship of Bacchus*, London: Tate Publishing, 2001 p.20.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
4. "Our Supplement," *Illustrated Sydney News* 20 March 1880 p. 101.
5. *Sydney Punch* 29 April 1871 pp. 226,227. No supporting text beyond the caption.
6. *Worker* (Bris.) 19 June 1897 p. 4.
7. "Distinguished Arrivals from Victoria" *Sydney Punch* 5 September 1868 p. 11. Another attack on bookmakers from fifteen years later is the full-page cartoon "A Handicap Derby" *Sydney Punch* 10 November 1883 p. 449.
8. Some examples: "Cranberry, Winner of the A.J.C. Derby," *Referee* 13 September 1899 cover; "Johansen, Winner, A.J.C. St. Leger," *Referee* 5 April 1899 cover. The full title of the paper was the *Referee: a journal of sport, pastime and the stage* and it included a regular feature "Footlight Flashes". The decorative banner for this feature is unsigned but almost certainly by Scott.
9. *Illustrated Sydney News* 17 April 1880 p. 9.
10. *Boomerang* 17 November 1888 p. 11.
11. *Sydney Mail* 6 April 1872 p. 425. The *Mail* described the Cup as "rather massive than graceful".
12. *Sydney Punch* 12 September 1868 p. 131.
13. *Sydney Mail* 24 February 1872 supplement.
14. *Sydney Punch* 17 October 1873 pp. 358,359
15. "The Turf Spider" *Bulletin* 26 April 1884 p. 10. The idea for the format of this cartoon obviously derives from "The Great Turf Tyrant and his Victims" by Lindley Sambourne in *London Punch* 20 September 1879 p. 122. Sambourne's cartoon however is very different in tone as it is a play on "turf," here representing not racing but lawn tennis. The spider's abdomen is made up of a tennis ball and the web radiates out from a tennis racket ensnaring a variety of social types with each arm merging into tennis rackets that imply flapping wings. Around this time, William Powell Frith also painted two series of anti-gambling paintings, the five-painting series *The Road to Ruin* was shown at the Royal Academy in 1878 and the *The Race for Wealth* was painted in 1880. This second series included in the five paintings works titled *The Spider and the Flies* and *The Spider at Home*. Aubrey Noakes, *William Frith: extraordinary Victorian painter*, London: Jupiter Books 1978 pp. 121, 122.

16. See for example a content analysis of recent American cartoons: Ted Goertzel, "The Gulf War as a Mental Disorder? A Statistical Test of DeMause's Hypothesis" *Political Psychology*, 14, 1993 pp. 711 - 732.
17. *Melbourne Punch* 9 June 1864 p. 189.
18. *Sydney Punch* 7 November 1873 pp. 420,21. This particular cartoon was inspired by the discovery that the typhoid and cholera outbreaks in Sydney had been caused by the water that doctors were giving to the sick. (Jonathan King, *Stop Laughing this is Serious*, Stanmore: Cassell Australia, 1978 p. 38.) King also acknowledges Scott's campaign to purify Sydney's deadly water supply.
19. *Sydney Punch* 13 February 1874 p. 53. The particular microbes represented are "fresh-water hydra, worm-like larval forms - infusoria" as outlined in the accompanying text on page 52.
20. "'Saint' Aquarius" *Sydney Punch* 6 February 1874 p. 42. This was the second time in several years that a commission had been established to attempt to solve the acute health problems resulting from contaminated Sydney water. The cartoon by Scott almost literally illustrates the accompanying text which in part reads: "[Parkes] moves for leave to bring in a Bill for the supplying of water for Sydney and its suburbs; and almost in the same breath, that the Bill is to supply us not with water, but with a commission to inquire how to obtain water." (p. 41).
21. For example: Marquet's "In the Grip of Contagion" *Table Talk* 1904. Reproduced in King, *Stop Laughing this is Serious*, 1978 p. 86.
22. "Paul and Virginia" *Illustrated Sydney News* 26 June 1876 p. 10.
23. *Illustrated Sydney News* 19 August 1876 supplement; and, 16 September 1876 supplement.
24. For an example combining both vignette portraits and panoramic view of the match: "International Cricket Match, Albert Ground, Sydney" *Illustrated Sydney News* 6 January 1877 supplement.
25. Beverley Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia: 1860 - 1900* (Vol. 3) Melbourne: Oxford University Press 1988 p.304.
26. Examples of Scott cartoons on the Kelly gang are: "Payable on Demand: Kelly at Jerilderie" *Sydney Punch* 1 March 1879 p. 176; "Inactivity" and "Activity" (two-part cartoon) *Sydney Punch* 8 March 1879 pp.180,181; "Where Are the Kellys?" *Sydney Punch* 2 August 1879 p.32; and, "Capture of the Kelly Gang!" *Sydney Punch* 3 July 1880 p. 5.
27. *Illustrated Sydney News* 2 September 1882 supplement.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

29. "The Mallee Scrubber" *Illustrated Sydney News* 25 August 1875 supplement (original in colour); and "An Outlaw" *Christmas Boomerang* 13 December 1990 (unpaginated).
30. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 137.
31. *Sydney Punch* 11 September 1874 n.p. (Reproduced in Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 138.)
32. *Sydney Punch* 19 September 1872 pp. 400, 401. It should be noted that Scott's stand as well as his ploy of using the satanic presence behind the quarrel between sectarian forces owes a debt to his usual source of John Leech. Leech's "Cartoon No. II," the second cartoon after his first ironic use of the term in 1843 was titled "The Battle of the Alphabet" in which he depicted various representatives of the clergy pulling at the arms and legs of a young child. In the background a horned devil spreads his wings to frame the group. (*Punch* Vol. 5 1843 p.27.)
33. *Worker* 11 April 1906 cover. The particular painting that toured Australia was one of two copies produced by Hunt.
34. "Town and Country; or, State-Aid and Voluntaryism" *Sydney Punch* 10 March 1866 p. 749.
35. *Boomerang* 6 July 1889 p. 11. The dispute at issue here was highlighted in the *Illustrated Sydney News* earlier in the year when it reported that the general feeling was that if a University was to be established in Brisbane it had to be "started by private enterprise, and not with public money." *Illustrated Sydney News* 7 February 1889 p. 21.
36. "The Momentous Question!" *Sydney Punch* 6 October 1866 p. 157. This cartoon is also discussed by Mahood (*Loaded Line*, p. 86.)
37. *Sydney Punch* 3 August 1867 p. 83. (Also see, Mahood p. 86.)
38. *Sydney Punch* 20 July 1867 p. 67. Reproduced in Appendix "Images of Henry Parkes". Examples of other cartoons in *Sydney Punch* by Scott on the state-aid issue are: "Christian in the Slough of Despond" 29 September 1866 p. 149 and "The Return of the Prodigal" 3 November 1866 p. 189.
39. The portrait of Archbishop Polding now hangs in refectory of St John's College in the grounds of the University of Sydney. It is in very poor condition with a large hole punched through the canvas at lower right. When I last viewed the painting (21 April 2005) preparations were being made to remove the painting for conservation.
40. *Illustrated Sydney News* 31 March 1877 supplement. "John Bede Polding" *Sydney Punch* 31 March 1877 n.p.
41. Scott was buried on 17/5/1909 at Waverley Cemetery in the Select Section 1, plot 148. It is one of the few graves left unmarked in this section of the Cemetery. His first wife, Amy Montague (sic.) Ann Scott, aged 40 years, was buried in this plot on 16/9/1879. The Cemetery had only been opened for two years when Scott purchased this select burial plot for his wife. When he was buried in 1909 the burial record was signed by the son of his second

wife (from her first marriage), Alfred Stephen Price. Scott had been declared bankrupt twelve months before his death and that the use of the plot was motivated by economic necessity is suggested by the fact that Alfred Stephen Price also used the plot in 1924 (he signed the burial register) to bury a fourteen-month old child, Eileen Mary Crimp. It would appear unlikely that this child could have any blood relationship to Scott. The funeral notice for Eileen Mary Crimp only mentions her mother and father, Mr and Mrs W. Crimp. (*Sydney Morning Herald* 13 October 1924 p. 7) When Scott's second wife Mary Ellen Scott died in 1938 she was not buried with Scott.

42. The publication of Keith Windschuttle's *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History. Vol. 1, Van Diemen's Land 1803-1847* (Sydney : Macleay Press, 2002) has called into question the idea of a frontier war in Australia. The book triggered intense debate and a rebuttal in the form of a collection of essays by historians, including Lyndall Ryan and Henry Reynolds, who were particular targets of Windschuttle's critique. See, Robert Manne ed., *Whitewash : on Keith Windschuttle's fabrication of Aboriginal history* Melbourne : Black Inc., 2003. Much of the disputation over the number of Aboriginal murders has focussed on Tasmania but there has been general agreement that the number of Queensland Aborigines killed numbered in the thousands, with Henry Reynolds estimate as high as 20,000.

43. For example, a particularly brutal series of illustrations are used for a serialised story "The Pioneers" in the *Queensland Figaro*, issues: 13 March 1886 pp, 13, 27; 27 March 1886 p. 501; and 3 April 1886 p. 541.

44. The actual incident illustrated was the so called Irvinebank tragedy in which Sub-Inspector Nicols and a gang of Black troopers murdered a group of unarmed and innocent Aborigines. "Civilization in Queensland" *Queensland Figaro* 3 January 1885 pp. 16,17 (text on p. 6).

45. Examples of emblematic Aboriginal warriors by Scott: *Boomerang* 13 April 1889 p. 10; and 29 September 1888 p. 18.

46. This particular example "The Fight for the Standard" synthesizes the struggle between Labour and Capital and the push for Nationalism into a battle of party politics. *Worker* 19 December 1903 cover.

47. Beverley Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia: 1860 - 1900* (Vol. 3) Melbourne: Oxford University Press 1988 p.305.

48. *Worker* 11 January 1896 cover. For the eleven wars and conflicts listed, the total killed is 2,253,000 men.

49. "A New Zealand 'Settler'" *Sydney Punch* 28 November 1868 p. 11. The Waikato Wars (1863 - 4) in New Zealand was the first conflict to involve Australian volunteers, mostly from Victoria and New South Wales. Gavin Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo: the initiation of Australia*, Sydney: Pan Macmillan Australia, 1992 (first edition 1976) p. 35.

50. "New Zealand Colonization" *Sydney Punch* 17 October 1868 pp. 170, 171.

51. "Australia Vindex" *Sydney Punch* 21 March 1868 pp. 130,131. Reproduced [figure 3.4]

52. This was also the convention in the nineteenth century for female personifications of Courage, Prudence and Fortitude, who were likewise armed and all trace their lineage to Athena, dispenser of justice and warrior goddess. Marina Warner, *Monuments and Maidens: the allegory of the female form*, London: Picador 1987 p. 259.

53. "Rats!" *Worker* 28 October 1899 cover.

54. "The Reaper" *Worker* 6 January 1900 cover.

55. Beverley Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia 1860 - 1900* (Vol. 3) Melbourne: Oxford Univ. Press, 1988 p. 307. Kingston also notes the case of H. B. Higgins who lost his seat in the Victorian parliament for questioning the justice of the Boer War.

56. Most of the artists contributing to the *Bulletin* produced anti-War cartoons with varying degrees of bite. Ambrose Dyson was the first to critique the British policy with a small block cartoon (*Bulletin* 16 September 1899 p. 20) and he remained a consistent critic of the War. Alf Vincent drew a young Australian drunk with "Military Spirit" (28 October 1899 p. 17) and Livingstone Hopkins began using the War as a source of puns and comic scenarios in his cartoonlets from September 1899. Hopkins first anti-War cover (11 November 1899) is a particularly cynical example and picks up Scott's theme that the War was motivated by the "Fatman". It seems clear that the *Bulletin* artists were familiar with Scott's anti-War cartoons since as well as using similar themes they adopt his kangaroo in uniform, imperial officer, fat capitalist and other symbolic reference points.

57. Gavin Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo: the initiation of Australia*, Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 1992 (first ed. 1976) p. 64. Souter lists the *Bulletin* and the *Grenfell Vedette* as the only examples of dissident opposition to the Boer War. He also notes the opposition to the War in universities was even more isolated.

58. "Glad Tidings" *Sydney Punch* 25 March 1871 pp.178,179.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Scott's Women

For over twenty years, beginning in the 1860s in the Melbourne and Sydney popular and comic press, Monte Scott produced thousands of images of seemingly vacuous, pretty women. This chapter charts the iconographic origins of both this sweet English type and also her antithesis of the old hag in the work of John Leech. As well, Scott's conception of feminine beauty is placed in the broader context of nineteenth-century classical exemplars and the British model of *London Punch*. In acknowledgement of the massive amount of comic material Scott produced on female fashion themes, a brief excursion is included into his comic discourse on high fashion and the politics of dress. However, the primary aim of this chapter is to draw together Scott's impulse to create emblematic female types and personifications, first elaborated in Chapter Six, and his almost medieval conception of war as outlined in Chapter Seven. For the fifty-year evolution of Scott's women from pretty English maidens to statuesque, independent, handsome Australian Girls can only be explained against his construction of a hyper-masculine defender of such a women.

Marguerite Mahood remarked that Monte Scott's cartoons of the sixties were filled with handsome females with large eyes, well marked brows and wooden expressions striking appropriate poses in noble allegories and she further noted a particular drawing of pretty girls in striped dresses, frilled petticoats and elastic-sided boots was typical of Scott's work in the seventies.¹ What is not mentioned by Mahood is the origin of Scott's pretty girls and handsome women in the types created by John Leech in *London Punch* and other comic publications. So pervasive was the contemporary admiration for Leech, it is doubtful if any comic artist could have escaped his stylistic influence in the 1860s at least. Even so, Scott took a particular interest in using Leech as inspiration and stylistic source, as already noted. For Scott's generation (admittedly mostly the males), Leech had created the epitome of feminine beauty, as difficult as it is to imagine this today. In the 1882 it was claimed: "Of all art satirists none have such a pervading sense and power of girlish and ripe womanly beauty as Leech."² This seemingly incredulous contention that mostly black and white woodcuts, some tiny in dimensions, could inspire sublime sensual response was far from an isolated assessment. The analysis that follows is of a small wood-engraved Leech illustration from *Mr Sponge's Sporting Tour* of 1853. [figure 8.1] Its original reproduced size was close to the size here and the commentator is the enormously successful Victorian painter and Royal Academician, William Powell Frith.

“If this drawing suffered in the hands of the wood-engraver, it must have been beyond imagination beautiful, for, as it is, it shows us Leech in his full strength. Nothing, it seems to me, could surpass the figure of Lucy, whose expression of loving fear for the safety of the bold Sponge is shown to us in one of the prettiest faces conceivable.”³

What so impressed Frith and many of his contemporaries was “Leech’s power of creating beauty by a few pencil-marks.”⁴ Despite their economy of means, or because of it, viewers such as Frith could detect individual “strongly-marked personality” in Leech’s drawings - “in the figures no less than in the heads.”⁵ In fact, Leech had created believable types and when it came to beauty and feminine charm the type was seen to have been modelled on Leech’s own wife. Leech’s contemporary, Dr John Brown noted: “His wife, ... was very beautiful; and the appearance of those lovely English maidens we all so delight in, with their short foreheads, arch looks, and dark laughing eyes, their innocence and *esprit*, dates from about his marriage. They are all, as it were, *after* her, - her sisters; and as she grew more matronly, she may still be traced in her mature comeliness and motherly charms.”⁶ Such is the mechanism for the creation of types, or in this case the representation of beauty, in comic and graphic illustration –the generic ideal is regarded as real since its origin is claimed to be based on experience. The origin of Leech’s pretty maidens only mattered to demonstrate their authenticity for once the type was established other artists needed to look no further than Leech’s cartoons and illustrations as sources for pretty, charming and comely women. That Monte Scott looked as closely as anyone can be easily demonstrated by a perusal of Scott’s work in Melbourne in the 1860s and Sydney in the 1870s. The appended comparative samples of female faces and figures from Leech and Scott should be sufficient to establish the origin of Scott’s pretty girls and handsome women. [figure 8.2] It would seem that Scott, like Frith, was enamoured of Leech’s image of Lucy as it would be highly improbable if this image of a “Lucy” on horseback is not modelled on Leech’s illustration, especially considering the original orientation of Scott’s drawing has been reversed by the process of wood-engraving.⁷ [figure 8.3]

Scott’s devotion to Leech’s types was also motivated by the cartoonist’s necessity to use the established emblematic constellation. They may not be readily identifiable today, but the types that Leech created were clearly part of a widely recognized vocabulary. The example of the migration of Leech’s “Mr Briggs” to Victoria in the 1861 by Monte Scott has already been noted and as late as 1888 Scott would use Leech’s “Mrs Threadneedle” in a cover cartoon.⁸ John Leech had also appropriated Dickens’ “Mrs Gamp” to represent the *Morning Herald* in London.⁹ She is shown in this example [figure 8.4] taking Mr Disraeli for a walk in 1852.¹⁰ So familiar did she become as the representative of conservative and protectionist editorial or press policies that Scott could transport her directly to become the personification of the *Sydney Morning Herald*.¹¹

[figure 8.5] *Bulletin* artists such as Livingstone Hopkins would maintain the personification in form if not name until the end of the nineteenth century.¹²

Allegorical or emblematic figures, such as Mrs Gamp, extended the range of the cartoonist's lexicon since the accompanying connotations for the emblematic type could evolve over time. Once the bonneted granny had been established as the *Sydney Morning Herald* the designation as Mrs Gamp could be dropped - as indeed it was. The disreputable type could evolve to be a different character or she could return to her origins in *Martin Chuzzlewit* as an opinionated granny, with a drinking problem, as in the Scott example from *Sydney Punch* in 1879 [figure 8.6].¹³ In the next decade the metamorphoses of the dowdy, bonneted granny into the representation of all the conservative press, that Monte Scott had begun in *Sydney Punch*, would be completed by cartoonists on the *Bulletin* and other more radical papers. What is more, the range of embedded associations for the type meant that she could also represent the mass of public opinion that such papers indulged, as in the example by Scott from 1881 [figure 8.7].¹⁴ She would also become the basis for a new conception of Justitia that Scott developed in the 1890s, as elaborated later in this chapter. Once a graphic type had captured the imagination of the public it became timeless through transmogrification to contingent circumstances. Even Granny Gamp's bonnet and costume needed to adapt to the latest fashions, or at least in Granny's case, to what was recognizably unfashionable in each age. Cartoonists in the nineteenth century by necessity were sharp-eyed followers of both male and female fashion. Naturally, this imperative was often motivated by the desire to parody the latest fashion trend, especially for women. But there was also the need to create satire using authentically familiar social or domestic scenarios. It was said, for example, that John Leech's cartoons and sketches "chronicle truly the dresses of the time" and demonstrate the most subtle changes in women's fashion in England - charting the coming of the crinoline and the change of hairstyle from ringlets to fringes.¹⁵

Scott too, was a keen follower of fashion as he demonstrates in his social satires and in his fair share of high fashion parodies.¹⁶ Leech's popular series of "Servantgalism" cartoons in London *Punch* were keenly observed critiques of the social mores of the rising middle-class in England, appealing directly to the readers of *Punch* by setting his satire against a mirror image of their domestic interior. Scott took Leech's lead and introduced his "Servantgalism in Victoria" series in *Melbourne Punch* in 1861 and these cartoons offer an accurate insight into the domestic environs and dress of the aspiring colonial middle-class. Outside of the usual cartoonist's topical interest in the latest fashion, Scott also produced straight fashion illustration of the latest trends from Paris or London in the Sydney press during the 1870s and 1880s.¹⁷ No doubt the knowledge he so gained supplied grist for the mill of fashion parody. This could manifest itself as insider

knowledge of the conspiratorial construction of the fashionable female body, as in this disclosure of the padded brassiere. [figure 8.8] Following the trend in London *Punch*, the wearing of crinolines or hoops created the opportunity for innumerable cartoons in the 1860s. This example by Scott is given the added lubricious flavour of an actual incident with the reportage in the caption locating the event in the observation platform above the tower of the Prahran Town Hall.¹⁸ [figure 8.9] The hapless victim of the crinoline incident also wears a veil which must have been at the height of fashion in Melbourne in 1861, as indicated by this Scott drawing suggesting that decoration on the black and white veils could reflect on white skin as a painless form of tattooing.¹⁹ [figure 8.10] Nevertheless, for Scott, high fashion and fashion burlesque could comfortably run parallel paths. For example, the young high-fashion beauty in one of his social satires in 1863 could be identified by her spoon bonnet in *Melbourne Punch* and six months later in the same paper the wearer of a spoon bonnet could be lampooned as a fashion victim.²⁰ This follows a similar pattern in London *Punch* although in the particular case of the spoon bonnet the colonial women were obviously finely attuned to the latest fashions from Europe. It is not until 1865 that London *Punch* suggests the “Burial of the Spoon-Bonnet” and in the same year John Tenniel produced a version of Britannia as a fashionable mother wearing a spoon bonnet that incongruously also incorporates part of her usual helmet.²¹ Perhaps this example reinforces the point made by Margaret Maynard, that the idea of colonial women being out of step with European fashion trends or that they simply wore gaudy imitations of English styles is part of the myth of the social inferiority of the colonies.²² As Maynard has also articulated, part of this myth was the belief that colonial middle-class women mindlessly continued to wear hot and uncomfortable British fashions. The reality was that fashion conscious Australian ladies adapted British trends to suit local circumstances of climate and class differences.²³ In 1862 Scott added his voice to the need to adapt formal wear for both men and women to the summer heat of Melbourne with a two-part cartoon contrasting dark, heavy evening wear with dress much lighter in colour and cut.²⁴

Scott seems to have understood the politics of dress and the role it played in signifying identity and independence. This can be illustrated in the way he used women’s dress in two cartoons on the issue of protection and free trade. [figure 8.11] In 1861 Scott depicted a young female personification of Victoria forced, because of protectionist policy, to wear cast-off “apparel of her papa” while the other personified colonies dressed as they pleased as a result of free trade.²⁵ Three decades later Scott produced a cartoon in the *Boomerang* taking the opposite position on free trade since now local industry needed protection from “greedy foreigners.”²⁶ “Our Own Girl of the Period” is a smartly dressed young Queensland woman being petitioned by “Mr Sly Free Trade” in the form of a travelling salesman pushing fashion accessories she clearly doesn’t need

such as “frocks and shawls to gladden your eyes.” Regardless of the different political stance in each cartoon they both imply that Australian women expressed their independence through dress. Interestingly, in 1904 Scott would represent Protection as dowdy Tweedledum and Free Trade as ugly Tweedledee, in the context of having a young Australia award the apple of victory to a pretty Socialism in a modern “Judgement of Paris”.²⁷ Except for the young male Australia, all are dressed in classical costumes. Socialism was an issue of such importance that it obviously transcended mundane arguments on free trade or protectionism and Scott chose a generic pretty classical maiden to represent such a momentous abstraction rather than use individual or national types as he had done in his earlier cartoons. Nevertheless, few cartoons directly engage dress and the politics of national identity, since high-fashion was the cartoonist’s primary facetious source.

What made high fashion for females such a common target for nineteenth-century cartoonists was the fundamental assumption that it was an assault on the true or natural beauty of the female form. Natural beauty here meant classical beauty as the classical ideal of the Venus de Milo and more specifically the Medici Venus were regarded as the ideal. A cartoonist in *Punch* in 1870 uses the demarcation between modern corsetted female and the “natural” naked female form as the platform for an amusing contrast - the assumption being that the Venus de Milo represents the norm.²⁸ [figure 8.12] Six years after this London illustration, Monte Scott makes the same point of comparison in Australia between classical beauty and modern fashion, although he uses the more accepted point of reference for ideal feminine beauty in the nineteenth century, the Venus di Medici.²⁹ [figure 8.13] That Scott favoured the Venus as the preferable body type is made clear by a comparison of his drawing of the Medici Venus and two of his fashionable beauties from a drawing in the same year.³⁰ [figure 8.14] Despite their corsets and fashionable ball gowns, the body form of both ladies conforms more closely to the Venus than to her more extreme modern antithesis in the first example. For Scott the classical ideal embodied universal ideals that could be transplanted to any climate. This is best exemplified in his changing depictions of the contrast between the idyllic, sunny antipodes and a bleak, frozen England. Throughout his career, or at least until the late 1880s, Scott regularly depicted two-part cartoons demonstrating the contrast between utopian Australia and dystopian England - usually this was as a decorative Christmas supplement, but not always. Invariably, the Australian scene depicted a bush picnic, such as this early example from April 1861.³¹ [figure 8.15] Significantly the centrepiece of the scene is a country girl serving drinks and the caption reads in part: “What a Man May Suffer - In Victoria - In England. Respectively Dedicated to the Old Folks at Home.” The beehive, haystacks and farm houses in the background could easily lead to the interpretation of this as an English country picnic. Almost twenty years later, in another of these contrasting promotions of Arcadian Australia, Scott contracts the representation of Australia to a classical

maiden and now England is not “Home” but “There”.³² [figure 8.16] Apart from the classical woman, the only other indicators that this is Australia are the tropical fruits and palm fronds. In representing the cultivated pleasures of a leisured life, Scott could abandon the representation of the English country picnic but not the cultural ideal of the classical Venus. Admittedly, in the last decades of the century Scott did, however, more commonly depict a taller, slimmer woman closer to the fashionable type in English and particularly American illustration.³³ However, Scott’s later depictions of the modern Australian woman are best exemplified in his Federation and Female Suffrage cartoons, discussed later in this chapter.

Artists in the popular press in the nineteenth century generally followed the protocols of high art in that depictions of the nude, male or female, was almost always in the context of classical statuary or allusion, as with the representation of a semi-nude Australia just discussed. This also extended to literary allusion where semi-draped females could be depicted in the guise of fairies or mermaids, such as this example by Scott of a bevy of mermaids pulling a ship ashore in 1872.³⁴ [figure 8.17] The inspiration for Scott’s mermaids was probably a cartoon by Tenniel in London *Punch* from 1865 that shows a group of mermaids swinging, sitting and pulling on the trans-Atlantic cable, although Scott’s mermaids lack the curvaceous sensuality of Tenniel’s women.³⁵ When Tenniel had taken over as chief cartoonist on London *Punch*, after John Leech’s death in 1865, his English beauties initially followed the type invented by Leech but he soon developed a female with a more statuesque, angular physique and a full, almost square jaw line. Scott’s mermaids differ from Tenniel’s because they adhere to the model of beauty represented by Leech’s English maiden. It would not be until the end of the 1870s that Scott began to adapt Tenniel’s more stylish type to the role of colonial beauty. The beauty of his classical females, such as this Venus from 1874, [figure 8.18] are sensualized but not to the same degree as those of his contemporaries in London *Punch* such as, for example, Linley Sambourne.³⁶ It also should be stressed that, even though Scott produced a good number of salacious images throughout his career, in fifty years he did not depict a naked female in anything other than a classical context. His many bare-breasted Aboriginal woman are always at least granted the modesty of a wrap or skirt. He did depict a number of suggestive Aboriginal “Belles” but, perhaps significantly in the context of his model of classical beauty, Scott never took the option of an Aboriginal woman to personify Australia although he regularly used the Aboriginal Warrior.³⁷

As explored in some depth in Chapter Six, Scott's favoured ploy in creating allegorical and emblematic schemes was to build them around a centerpiece of a pretty women, usually in classical costume. At different times throughout his career Scott exploited most of the established emblematic females but Justice or Justitia was his most common emblematic personification to

represent the power of good over evil. Scott's depiction of Justitia in 1872 [figure 8.19] is typical of similar emblematic personifications in London *Punch* but in the 1890s Scott developed an "image of Justitia as a leering drunken hag in league with the police," conservative, capitalist and imperialist forces.³⁸ Scott's particular disreputable Justitia is often deployed in the *Worker* during the second shearer's strike in 1894, as noted by Mahood. However, the type was a hybrid Scott produced from combining Justitia's attributes, with the type of Mrs Gamp and the accepted features of a witch. The evolution can be charted in Sydney *Punch* long before the shearer's strike. In 1873, in response to a suggestion that 20,000 copies of the *Herald* should be sent to England to encourage interest in New South Wales, Scott turned Mrs Gamp into a witch on a broomstick distributing a plague of *Heralds* over fleeing villagers in Britain.³⁹ Ten years later in response to an incident where the *Herald* escaped prosecution in a court case, Scott produced "Fie-At Justitia" depicting the old woman *Herald* along with a bust of Justice with blindfold over one eye only, knowingly tapping her nose with one finger and holding a scales without trays in the other.⁴⁰ This Justitia becomes the model for perverted or corrupted justice that Scott increasingly uses through the 1890s. The subversive signification of substituting Justitia's youth and beauty for age and ugliness and her sword with a bottle, money bag or tap on the nose was singularly simplistic in creating the representation of tainted justice. [figure 8.20] Even so, Justitia did more than just grow older and uglier in her evolution, in Scott's cartoons, away from her European emblematic formulation as used in *Sydney Punch*, through to the *Worker* versions at the end of the century. She also fully adapted to local conditions. This is nowhere better illustrated than in this 1897 Scott cartoon where Justitia assists the *Worker* as farm boy to drown the pups of the Nelson Government Ministry while their eyes are still closed. [figure 8.21] What is particularly significant in this example is the acceptance that the hag Justitia does not only represent disreputable justice but Justice—Australian Justice may be much more unattractive than her British cousin but at least she is here on the side of the Australian Worker.

The polarity of good and evil as signified by youthful beauty and aged hag was a fundamental opposition in graphic discourse but Scott always located a moral imperative in feminine beauty.⁴¹ All of Scott's innumerable allegories and emblematic constructions and personifications were built around the positive multivalent associations of classical female beauty. These associations of the female in classical costume could be modulated with the addition of particular attributes such as helmet, sword, olive branch or scales of justice, to name a few. Such attributes were not always traditional and at the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth Scott increasingly acclimatized his emblematic women to specific Australian conditions and institutional circumstances, as with the Justitia example. Scott even managed to personify government control of services such as electricity and gas with a classical personification of

Municipal Control holding a generator in one hand and electric light in the other.⁴²

When required to personify the individual colonies in the 1860s and 70s Scott inevitably resorted to a young woman in classical costume. Since these personifications share the same characteristics of noble beauty and dignified bearing, they usually required an identifying legend engraved on their crown or embroidered onto their gown. In the 1880s 1890s when Scott increasingly represented Nationality or Federation in female form, a convenient label needed to be added to her costume as this was now more commonly contemporary dress. In the 1880s the idea of Federation was a contentious issue that was difficult for a cartoonist to visualize, for although there was common anti-imperialist sentiment toward Britain the States also feared further loss of independence if they relinquished their sovereign status. Scott did manage to create some simple powerful metaphors to conceptualize the drive to Federation. One of Scott's pro-Federation cartoons has a school room scene where the beautiful schoolmistress of "Nationality" instructs the various State leaders.⁴³ [figure 8.22] Pinned to the wall is an earlier full-page Federation cartoon where this time "Nationalism" is a handsome young male carrying the beautiful "Queensland" across a flooded stream above the caption, "Many Waters Cannot Quench Love."⁴⁴ This particular metaphoric representation is not, however, at all typical of Scott's Federation cartoons since Nationality was often a female in Scott's metaphoric inventions. It may offer a hint as to the motivation in having beautiful maidens as suitable victims for chivalrous male rescue but rarely was Nationality depicted as a helpless beauty in Scott's constructions- on the contrary. As well as the clever schoolmistress, she is represented as: the helms woman who will steer the good ship "Queensland" into the teeth of the "Imperialist" storm that has wrecked the ships "Victoria" "New South Wales" and "Tasmania;"⁴⁵ [figure 8.23] the solid, lucky housewife who will save her Queensland household from the sort of brutal imperialist policy of the British in Ireland,⁴⁶ or the cavalier beauty "Australia" slipping away from her grotesque sleeping "Imperialist" partner at a picnic to dance with the lively and independent "France" and the crafty "Yankee."⁴⁷ [figure 8.24] Surely his most unnerving invention was a cover in February 1889 in which "Nationality" is a woman about to hatch from a giant "Federation" egg.⁴⁸ [figure 8.25] Despite the caption, it appears she doesn't need the help from the different State leaders with their various implements and manages to punch her leg through the shell to kick away "Imperialism." No doubt the psychological impulse for the creation of this cartoon is related to the familiar woman bursting from a party cake in a thousand cartoons from the 1920s and 30s, and presumably it looked less silly in the nineteenth century. However naive these inventions seem today they have nothing comparable to the crass metaphors that Livingstone Hopkins would develop in his Federation cartoons of the late 1890s. His literal depiction of Queensland as the "nigger in the woodpile" is particularly obnoxious. It is therefore

surprising that none of Scott's Federation cartoons saw the light of day in any of the billion dollar Government sponsored Federation projects during 2001.⁴⁹ If anyone could make Federation "sexy" Scott could.

Scott's use of strong female personifications for Federation or Nationality may have only given symbolic agency to Australian women but his role in the female suffrage movement at both Federal and State level was much more explicit in the representation of female empowerment. In contrast to his pretty, young emblematic Federation or Nationality women, Scott was surprisingly inclusive of age and class in his many cartoons supporting the suffragette movement in Queensland. On different occasions, he depicted older women, working women and housewives. [figures 8.26 - 8.31] In fact he seems to have taken particular care not to create a generic type to represent Female Franchise or Female Suffrage. It is not necessary to highlight the important role Scott's cartoons played in the success of the suffragette movement in Queensland since his work has recently been given belated recognition. In December 2004 the State Library of Queensland established an online exhibition as part of their Digital Library Internet site to celebrate the 2005 centenary of women's suffrage in Queensland.⁵⁰ Queensland women finally gained the right to vote on 26 January 1905. This was after several years of agitation by Queensland Women's Electoral League, the Labor Party and intense press agitation by the *Worker*. Almost all the pro-suffrage cartoons reproduced on the State Library digital exhibition are by Monte Scott.⁵¹ These by no means represent all the cartoons Scott produced on the theme but since they range in date from 1894 to 1904 they do demonstrate his dedication to the cause and the examples from August 1900 to December 1904 are a representative sample of his four-year intensive campaign for the female franchise in Queensland. Scott also campaigned for and celebrated the female franchise in the Federal elections. What is evident looking across the range of Scott's cartoons is not only the usual variety of scenarios he developed but the range of representative women he chose to depict. Most are young and middle-class but they by no means all fit these categories. All were white women - racial purity was part of the female franchise platform - but Scott's inclusiveness was indicative of his understanding of the difference between the symbolic economy and lived experience.

Nevertheless, Scott's own identity is solely embedded in the symbolic register where the masculine role was always defined in a chivalric relationship to the feminine. In Scott's domain, the combination of beauty, righteousness and dignity that defined the potency of the warrior queen or princess was always dependant on the power of the knight gallant. This is why the most enduring trope in Scott's cartoons is the attack on the beautiful maiden. Importantly, the women in these seemingly banal scenarios did not conform to the usual premise of females as hapless,

natural victims but were sovereign embodiments of goodness and justice. Naturally enough, these victims were invariably comely beauties to give potency to masculine outrage and inspire the knightly call to arms. It seems that whenever there was an external or political threat that could be construed as a battle between good and evil Monte Scott conjured up the captured, tortured, molested or threatened princess. This could manifest itself through direct reference to the medieval origin of such chivalry. Such an example from 1889 has Thomas McIlwraith represented as a monk in a medieval execution scene in which Boyd Morehead wields the axe of Imperial Veto to decapitate White Queensland.⁵² [figure 8.32] This murder of Australian independence was prompted by the Imperial Government veto of the Chinese Restriction Bill proposed by the Queensland Government. Scott produced a number of angry cartoons on this same theme which indicate “the intensity of colonial resentment of Colonial Office interference with Australian legislation.”⁵³ Another example set in a decidedly modern scenario on the verandah of a Queensland house also taps xenophobic fears with a marauding gang of Chinese thugs streaming up the stairs to be confronted by a young, modish woman who reaches for a gun. [figure 8.33] The secretary of state for the colonies, Policeman Kuntsford, rather than offering to help, pushes his bayoneted rifle, representing Veto, through the verandah railings to threaten the woman. The caption reads: “Look here, young woman, if you do anything so un-British as shooting, I’ll push my bayonet through you.”⁵⁴ Although this woman is under threat she is not a delicate damsel in distress but represents one of Scott’s many feminine personifications of Nationality who were handy with whip or gun when it mattered.⁵⁵ On the other hand, another of Scott’s cartoons represents a defenceless mother of the baby White Queensland about to be brutally battered with the hammer of Samuel Griffith’s broken promises on foreign labour.⁵⁶ [figure 8.34] Without doubt, Scott’s most dramatic violation of femininity by the forces of evil is his “Queensland and the Vampire”. The outrage that prompted this cartoon was the Government propping up the ailing, privately-owned Queensland National Bank, whose debts amounted to 47,000 pounds, with a two million sterling injection “sucked” from Queenslanders.⁵⁷ [figure 8.35] Something of the impact this image must have had can be judged by the fact that Scott would refer to it several times in later cartoons, in one case four years after it appeared.⁵⁸ This was not the only time that Scott added an extra salacious touch to the threatened White Australia. [figure 8.36] In this example a Kanaka prepares to whip a semi-naked woman while her children look on.⁵⁹ The absence of any potential saviour in all of these images assumes a red-blooded masculine viewer who will be fired with indignation to act.

The militaristic impulse for retribution that these images engender is not softened by their recourse to medieval savagery and brutality but instead they seem to tap a deeper primitive urge for redemption through “violent encounters and blood”.⁶⁰ After Federation, Scott produced a

number of cartoons that make explicit the assumption that Australian independence would ultimately only be won through military force.⁶¹ [figure 8.37] This particular cartoon that calls “Workers Pick up the Gun!” perfectly summarizes the end point of the evolution of Scott’s values of gentlemanly honour from their medieval origins to the modern militaristic chivalry that would later in the First War prove so outdated, but for Australians so redemptive. As noted, Scott’s stand against the Boer War was not the result of pacifism but his belief in the battlefield as the contest between the forces of good and evil. When this image of the call to arms to protect the fighting Australian Girl is allied with images such as “On Guard!” from 1906 [figure 7. 40] Scott’s intention is clear enough: the more strong and independent a typical Australian woman was, the greater was the necessary ability and independence of her masculine defender. The foundations of this myth of real Australian women born from sun and bush and measured against the same masculine bush mythology of horseman and digger has been well critiqued, but what the evolution of Scott’s Australian woman illuminates is the significant role his images played in the transmogrification of European myths of knights, valour, brotherhood and honour into their modern Australian militaristic formation as myths of light horseman, mateship and national independence.

Despite the huge number of female representations Scott produced he did not create a powerful visual stereotype of the Australian Girl as Charles Dana Gibson had done with his “Typical American Girl” in the United States.⁶² This is not surprising considering that in Scott’s long campaign for female suffrage he never focussed on a single type but depicted a range of women across age and class, as described above. Also his classical female personifications were generic pretty women but they inevitably represented abstractions such as Socialism or Nationalism. But equally important is the fact that no graphic artist in Australia had the mass exposure available to an American artist such as Gibson. From her first appearance in 1890, the Gibson Girl appeared in numerous American popular periodicals such as *Life*, various *Harper’s* magazines and the *Ladies’ Home Journal*, with a circulation of a million in 1903. Norman Lindsay’s voluptuous female fantasies would reach a large Australian audience through the *Bulletin* in the first decade of the twentieth century but this was nothing to rival the American audience. Nevertheless, unlike Lindsay, whose women were modelled directly on those of the German graphic artist Heinrich Kley, Scott did develop a unique Australian Girl.⁶³ She was handsome but not unfailingly beautiful like the Gibson Girl. She also lacked the towering hair, slightly uptilted nose and alluring dark lips of the American Girl. The Australian and American types did however share some characteristics. Both were smartly dressed, sporting and adventurous. Long before the appearance of the Gibson Girl, Scott had created the image of the Australian woman riding horses and bicycles, although Scott’s women were less athletic when it came to other sports. The

New Woman was a fearless type but in the Australian variant this was not so much a self-assurance with social mixing as more a practical confidence befitting a girl brought up in the bush. One example from 1899 epitomizes Scott's Australian Woman [figure 8.38].⁶⁴ Even though her features reflect her origins in the many English girls Scott had drawn forty years before, she was obviously not the squeamish and delicate English type that could be found sheltering from a mouse in *Punch* cartoons from the middle of the century. She could easily smell a political rat and sort him out herself.

As outlined in Chapter Six, Scott's approach was largely dependent on caricature, emblematic personifications, attributes and allegories, as he never fully embraces the physiognomic lexicon that dominated graphic discourse by the end of the nineteenth century. By necessity, he exploited the established racial types but showed little interest in signifying social types outside of attributes, scenarios and individual caricature. When the players in his graphic dramas were not identified through caricatured likeness they were only defined through their role and actions. This created a particular problem with the development of a national physiognomic type. At least it did for Scott when it came to the Australian woman. He could dream up countless scenarios for his cartoons and imagine the extremes of ugliness but when it came to beauty he was transfixed by the soft, rounded, symmetrical features of the classical Venus. The fact that the women in Scott's cartoons were defined as much by their dress and actions as their looks in no way lessens the impact that they had on their audience nor the contribution they made to developing a national consciousness of independent female identity. Besides, the very plainness, homeliness, directness and self-confidence (and indeed the racism) of Scott's Australian woman found recent resonance in the rise of Pauline Hanson in the late twentieth-century Australian political arena.

In the case of national masculine identity Scott's use of attributes such as dress and dense facial hair were much more successful in creating a singular type, although here too context or scenario played a significant role. The image of the Australian Digger was well enough established by mid-century for Scott to use it as the representative Australian type in his national allegories in the *Sydney Mail* in 1872 and the Garden Palace mural of 1879. By the end of the 1870s Scott had also fully developed the stereotype of the Australian Bushman that would become the model for all graphic artists for the rest of the century.⁶⁵ [figure 8.39] He is shown in 1879, fittingly threatening a whipping for an English aristocratic cricketer who, on returning to London after an unsuccessful tour of Australia, had criticized the behaviour of the crowd at one of the games. Like so much of Scott's work this image today seems both confounding and anachronistic. When it was published in the *Illustrated Sydney News* it must have been a perfect crystallization of Australian sentiments and soon after Livingstone Hopkins arrived from the United States to work

on the *Bulletin* he used this image of Australian Bushman as a model for a personification of New South Wales and for countless other Australian Bushman types that he went on to produce.⁶⁶ As indicated in the previous chapter, Scott's Bushman had mutated during the Boer War into the armed Digger [figure 7.40] who would become, after Scott's death, the representative type of the Australian warrior. As with so many of his visualizations such as the independent Australian Girl, that disreputable hag of Australian justice, Justitia; and the rugged, independent Australian statesman, epitomized in Henry Parkes, Scott's armed Digger spread so deeply into Australian visual culture and consciousness that the origins of the type were naturalized. This study has demonstrated that it is possible to retrieve the seeds of these Australian myths in the images that Monte Scott produced during his fifty years of popular image making. Even so, it is Australian working men and women who are by far the most ubiquitous types populating Scott's cartoons during the last thirty years of his productive life. The fact that today these Anglo-Australians almost escape notice as mythic types is a measure of Scott's achievement in creating a collective Australian identity.

Endnotes - Chapter Eight

1. Marguerite Mahood, *The Loaded Line: Australian political caricature 1788-1901*, Melbourne: Melbourne Univ. Press, 1973 pp. 84 and 87.
2. John Brown, *John Leech: and other papers*, Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1882 p. 24.
3. William Powell Frith, *John Leech: his life and work*, (2 Vols.) London: Richard Bentley and Sons, 1891 p. 148.
4. Frith, *John Leech*, p. 42.
5. Frith, *John Leech*, p. 113.
6. Brown, *John Leech*, pp. 34, 35.
7. It should be noted that Scott was very familiar with William Frith's paintings. In a *Melbourne Punch* cartoon of 1862 titled "Frith and Froth" he had a colonial artist dismissing a female's wonderment at the eight thousand guineas that Frith had got for the *Railway Station* claiming that his "shy doves" fetched much more than that when he was living at home. (26 June 1862 p. 176.) On another occasion in *Melbourne Punch* he drew a cartoon of a crowd viewing one of the versions of Frith's *Derby Day*. (9 February 1865 p.52)
8. An example of Leech's Mrs Threadneedle: "Mrs Threadneedle's Soothing Syrup" *Punch* Vol. 13 1847 p. 165. The caption on Scott's cartoons describes her as "The Old Woman of Threadneedle-Street" and she takes the same form as with Leech having a money-bag dress: "She'll Stop the Supplies" *Boomerang* 25 August 1888 cover.
9. "Sairey Gamp" or "Mrs Gamp" appeared in Charles Dickens *Martin Chuzzlewit* published in monthly parts from January 1843 to July 1844.
10. *Punch* 1852, reproduced in: Mark Lemon ed., *Later Pencillings from Punch by John Leech*, London: Bradbury and Evans, n.d. c. 1870s p. 66.
11. "A Rap on the Knuckles!" *Sydney Punch* 31 July 1874 p. 251.
12. A late nineteenth-century example of the old woman representing the *Sydney Morning Herald* used by Livingstone Hopkins is, "How They Fight in the Federation Battle" *Bulletin* 29 April 1899 p. 16.
13. "A New Paper!" *Sydney Punch* 22 February 1879 p. 165. The idea that Mrs Gamp was a disputable character was inherent in Leech's original construction and long before Scott used Mrs Gamp for the *Herald* in Sydney she had been introduced to Australian audiences in the context of a drunken nurse by Nicholas Chevalier in *Melbourne Punch*. "Mrs Gamp, Cashiered" *Melbourne Punch* 24 July 1856 p. 205.
14. "Ain't You an April Fool?" *Sydney Punch* 1 April 1882 p. 121. Also, when Scott later worked on the *Brisbane Worker* he naturally enough developed a version of "Mrs Gamp" to represent the *Brisbane Courier*.

15. Frith, *John Leech*, p. 58.
16. Some examples of Scott's fashion parodies: "A Fact" *Melbourne Punch* 10 October 1861 p. 248; "Next Fashion for Ladies Head Dresses" *Melbourne Punch* 3 October 1861 p. 236; "Mediaeval Costume for Ladies" *Melbourne Punch* 13 November 1862 p. 121; "Something Turns up at Last" *Melbourne Punch* 6 November 1862 p. 113; "Evening Dress" *Melbourne Punch* 23 January 1862 p. 365; "Crinoline in Difficulties" *Melbourne Punch* 26 March 1863 p. 280; "Street Sweeps Extraordinary" *Melbourne Punch* 24 December 1863 p. 204; "Burlesque Legs" *Sydney Punch* 16 September 1871 p. 140; "The Dolly Varden Mania" *Sydney Punch* 3 February 1872 p. 95; "At the Opera" *Sydney Punch* 3 October 1872 p. 418.
17. An example of a full-page of straight fashion illustration by Scott: "The Latest London Fashions" *Illustrated Sydney News* 18 February 1871 p. 141.
18. "Height of Embarrassment" *Melbourne Punch* 26 December 1861 p. 336.
19. "The Newest Fashion in Veils" *Melbourne Punch* 12 December 1861 p. 316.
20. "The Flower Show" *Melbourne Punch* 12 March 1863 p. 260. Here the "Lady in the Spoon Bonnet" distracts a swell with her beauty and walks into a small boy. The parody of the spoon bonnet is: "The Spoon Bonnet Spoonier Than Ever" *Melbourne Punch* 20 August 1863 p. 57.
21. "Ode on the Burial of the Spoon-Bonnet," *Punch* 7 January 1865 p. 2. This illustrated poem was inspired by a fashion statement in December 1864 that "Bonnets are no longer to be worn high at the front". "The School Master at Home," *Punch* 21 January 1865 p. 27.
22. Margaret Maynard, *Fashioned from Penury: dress as cultural practice in colonial Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994 passim, esp. p. 100.
23. Maynard, *Fashion from Penury*, pp. 151 - 159.
24. "Evening Dress" *Melbourne Punch* 23 January 1862 p. 365.
25. "A Misfit" *Melbourne Punch* 29 August 1861 p. 197.
26. "Our Own Girl of the Period" *Boomerang* 31 January 1891 p.13.
27. "The Judgment of Paris" *Worker* 9 January 1904 cover.
28. (London) *Punch's Almanack* for 1870 n.p.
29. "Ancient and Modern" *Sydney Punch* 24 March 1876 p. 112. Scott's Medici Venus has the clarity of outline indicative of a tracing but this cannot be the case since Scott reverses the usual arm positions in relation to the turn of the head. There is ample evidence that the Medici Venus was the model for feminine beauty in the nineteenth century and this is both in high-art discourse and popular culture. Alexander Walker's used the Venus as the absolute epitome of beauty in the many editions of his widely circulated *Beauty in Woman*. Walker followed Wincklemann in the assessment that the "Venus de Medici represents woman at that

age when every beauty has just been perfected.” The Medici Venus was reproduced as a frontispiece and a full proportional analysis was offered. Alexander Walker, *Beauty in Woman: analysed and classified*, Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1892 (fifth edition) pp.311, 317 - 319. An earlier edition of Walker is in the Mitchell Library and was presumably in the New South Wales Library in the nineteenth century. This particular 1892 edition belonged to a South African plantation owner, Sir James Hulett. Popular ladies manuals also used the Medici Venus as the ideal female form - such a nineteenth-century example published in Australia is: P. H. Chevasse, *The Physical Life of Both Sexes*, Melbourne: Standard Publishing Company, 1879, illustrations pp. opp. 120, opp. 230. For a comprehensive analysis of the influence of the Medici Venus on European nineteenth-century visual culture see, Caroline Arscott and Katie Scott eds., *Manifestations of Venus: art and sexuality*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000 pp. 1 - 23.

30. “Ball Practice” *Sydney Punch* 4 August 1876 p. 274.

31. “Punch’s Summary for Europe” *Melbourne Punch* 25 April 1861 p. 53, 53.

32. “Christmas Here and There” *Boomerang* 22 December 1888 cover.

33. Scott’s output contradicts the contention made by Castle and Pringle that Australian cartoons around the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century did not consistently portray women as virtues or culture. Josie Castle and Helen Pringle, “Sovereignty and Sexual Identity in Political Cartoons,” in Susan Magarey et. al. eds., *Debutante Nation: feminism contests the 1890s*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993 (pp. 136 - 149) p. 142. The conclusions in the study are limited by the scant number of cartoons quoted or analyzed but the claim that Hop’s cartoon of “Nurse Barton” represents the formation of a new type of “Citizenship in Drag” is unsustainable. The distant origin of the type in Dickens’ “Mrs Gamp” is mentioned (p.145) but the actual development of the type in Scott’s creations, including Henry Parkes as baby Federation’s nurse, is completely elided. Apart from this lack of longitudinal iconographic perspective, the study required a more comprehensive analysis of the semiotic complications of representing civic identity at the time of Federation with the often competing demands of a conjoining Boer War ideology. Besides, the pervasiveness of the convention is easily demonstrated by a perusal of New Zealand cartoons of the 1890s which indicates that New Zealand male politicians are also dressed as females including mothers and nurses. For example: *New Zealand Graphic* 25 September 1897 cover; 25 December 1897 cover and 12 May 1900 cover.

34. “Waiting” *Sydney Punch* 6 January 1872 pp. 58, 59.

35. “A Word to the Mermaids” (John Tenniel) *Punch* 5 August 1865 p. 47.

36. “Venus on the Transit” *Sydney Punch* 4 December 1874 pp. 400, 401.

37. Examples of his Aboriginal belles: *Sydney Punch* 9 November 1867 p. 194; *Sydney Punch* 14 March 1868 p. 122; and, most prominently his “Sleeping Scout” from the *Illustrated Sydney News* in 1873, illustrated as figure 1.23.

38. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p. 237.

39. "The Great Plague" *Sydney Punch* 10 April 1873 pp. 84, 85.
40. "Fie-At Justitia" *Sydney Punch* 11 August 1883 p. 345.
41. It should be noted that Scott also combined the Justitia hag with a hideous witch with pendulous breasts to represent "MisGovernment" on the cover of the *Worker* 4 July 1903.
42. "Municipal Control or Private Monopoly?" *Worker* 30 January 1897 cover.
43. *Boomerang* 17 August 1889 p. 11. This is actually the second scene of a two page cartoon titled (p. 10) "Disorder - as things are" and (p. 11) "Order - as things will be." In the first school room of "Imperialism" naturally enough the ranting male teacher in Union Jack shirt has lost control of his charges.
44. *Boomerang* 27 July 1889 p. 11.
45. *Boomerang* 6 April 1889 p. 10.
46. *Boomerang* 1 June 1889 cover.
47. *Boomerang* 6 July 1889 cover.
48. *Boomerang* 16 February 1889 cover.
49. The Federal Government contribution of a billion dollars towards the Federation celebrations included building projects as well as events, exhibitions and publications.
50. The Digital Library of the Queensland State Library can be accessed at: <http://www.pictureqld.slq.qld.gov.au> (as at 5 May 2005). The ten cartoons reproduced on this site are the first major recognition of Scott's work in the public domain and are therefore significant. Their accessibility will no doubt result in much wider distribution of his work, since the process has already begun it seems. The journal of the National Tertiary Education Union recently reproduced one of these cartoons and Scott's authorship is credited. *Advocate* (Vol. 12 no. 1) April 2005 p. 14.
51. Ten of the twelve cartoons reproduced are by Scott. In all cases Scott's authorship has been acknowledged although in a number of cases this was only after email contact with the Library pointing out that leaving the *Creator* field as "unknown" made little sense when the cartoon was signed "M Scott" or "M.S."
52. "Death to the Traitor!" *Boomerang* 29 June 1889 cover.
53. Mahood, *Loaded Line*, p.212.
54. "Imperialism Vetoes the Restriction Bill" *Boomerang* 6 April 1889 cover. This cartoon is also discussed by Mahood (p. 212).
55. In 1888 Scott has a similar handsome Queensland woman take the whip of No Coercion to a British Governor on the verandah of her house. "Queensland Settles It" *Boomerang* 24

November 1888 cover. Examples of strong female personifications of Nationality employing whip or gun are: "Which is the Brute?" *Boomerang* 21 September 1889 cover - showing an athletic Nationality administering a whipping to the dog of British control of Australian dock contracts; "The New Judgement of Solomon" *Boomerang* 5 October 1889 pp. 10, 11 - shows Nationality armed with a whip thrashing Solomon's court and saving the baby of Western Australia from its fate; - shows a stylishly dressed woman shooting a Kanaka thug at point-blank range.

56. "The Queensland Deeming" *Worker* 2 April 1892 cover.

57. "Queensland and the Vampire" *Worker* 28 January 1893 cover.

58. "The Vampire Again" *Worker* 6 February 1897 cover.

59. "The Real Policy of the Government" *Worker* 1 February 1902 cover.

60. Beverley Kingston, *The Oxford History of Australia 1860 - 1900* (Vol. 3) Melbourne: Melbourne Univ. Press, 1988 p. 305.

61. "Workers! Pick Up the Gun!" *Worker* 10 October 1908 cover. The call to arms here is nonetheless potent because it is only metaphoric.

62. For a critical history of the development of the Gibson Girl see, Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: the origins of visual stereotypes in American mass media* Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press 2001 pp. 37 - 55.

63. Lindsay's dependence on Heinrich Kley is rarely discussed although Lindsay himself acknowledged his admiration for Kley's work. See, Vane Lindesay, "The Comic Art of Norman Lindsay" *Overland* no. 30 Spring 1964 (pp. 35 - 40) p. 36.

64. "A Political Rat," *Worker* 25 November 1899 cover.

65. "The Libels of Lord Harris and Mr Hadow - 'The Whipped Cur Will Yelp'" *Illustrated Sydney News* 14 June 1879 p. 8.

66. "The 'Roll-Call Replica' - What is Art?" *Bulletin* 8 August 1885 p. 10.

CONCLUSION

Without any other evidence apart from his cartoons Marguerite Mahood made the assessment that Monte Scott “loved Australia and never left it.”¹ Scott’s devotion to Australia can hardly be doubted given the scope and variety of Australian scenes he depicted and the intensity of the Nationalist sentiments he espoused. What distinguishes the contribution of Monte Scott to Australian visual culture is his success at creating a vernacular language for a colonial audience with aspirations towards independence. More importantly, he distilled the egalitarian essence from patrician traditions of honour to formulate the Australian ethos of a “fair go”. His break from the stylistic bonds of British comic illustration was gradual, almost imperceptible, as he dedicated himself to local themes, types and scenes. He would never reject the values of the gentleman satirist embodied in his great exemplar of John Leech even though his late work incorporated more of alternative American stylistic influences. What Leech represented for Scott and other artists of his generation trained in England was satire without “Bohemian taint or raffish turn”.² As one of Leech’s contemporaries said of him:

What he draws he has seen. What he asks you to live in and laugh at and with, he has laughed at and lived in. It is his wholesomeness, and, to use the right word, this goodness, that makes Leech more than a drawer of funny pictures, more even than a great artist. It makes him a teacher and an example of virtue in its widest sense, from that of manliness to the sweet devotion of woman, and the loving, open mouth and eyes of *parvula* on your knee.³

Leech was not regarded as a funny man but serious and melancholic by nature. He was a true gentleman in the sense that “there was nothing that was so great a mark of the gentleness of his nature as his steady abstinence from personality.”⁴ Because he followed in this same tradition is the reason why Scott’s personality never emerged from the mass of political satire surveyed in this study. Scott was not a “gad sir” English dandy in any sense but he saw himself as an Australian gentleman who had the same keen scent as Leech for “everything in the shape of personality”. In this, the cartoonist was like the theatre actor, subsuming all personality to become the character in the drama. It is not surprising that Scott, like Leech, was an amateur actor, as was Scott’s great American contemporary, Joseph Keppler (1838 - 1894).⁵ The same transformations through artifice and image were required on stage and page for the audience to be moved by the identification of their own sentiments. What Montagu Scott was like as a person matters little, but the Monte Scott constructed from the hundreds of images examined in this study was fundamentally and singularly Australian.

Scott's devotion to literary allegory and classical emblem was unwavering so that the actors and animal life in the comic dramas and political satires he created often appear now as odd hybrids, in scenarios played out against painted backdrops that are only vaguely familiar. If the panoramic image of Australia he created is not instantly recognizable today it is precisely because it was so specifically attuned to the parochial expectation of his audience. When Scott arrived in Australia there was no doubt in any colonial mind that Anglo-European history was the source of culture and the Antipodes represented the wild, exotic and savage. For more than two decades Scott produced images to demonstrate that European sophistication and civilization could flourish, embellished by alien forms and egalitarian spirit. But sooner or later, as Paul de Serville has observed, every colonist had to answer the question: where was home? ⁶ No doubt the birth of Scott's three children in Melbourne in the 1860s and the death of their mother in Sydney in 1879 were defining moments for Scott in formulating the answer to that question, but the images he produced indicate a more complex evolution of his identity as an Australian. ⁷ In the 1860s and into the next decade Scott expressed the same dual patriotism of many of his colonial contemporaries. ⁸ Britain was the source of culture as indicated by Scott's continued use of themes and types from London *Punch* and his almost total dependence on the European emblematic tradition. His sycophantic adulation of Prince Alfred in 1868 is evidence enough of his belief in the bonds of Empire between England and the colonies. In the 1870s Scott's world view contracted to New South Wales since it was then large and prosperous enough to imagine Sydney as an independent global city. In Henry Parkes, Scott found a statesman equal to the vision of a new nationalism. Parkes' humanitarianism and egalitarianism must have paralleled Scott's own as there is no doubt that Parkes' enduring fame is due to Scott's efforts as an image maker.

Scott's insular Australian outlook is ironically one of the reasons for the lack of recognition his work has received. He never fully embraced the international linear design styles that emanated from Europe at the end of the nineteenth-century, nor the deterministic racialism that governed all illustration by 1900. Scott never quite reached the end point in the development of the universal vocabulary of the nineteenth-century physiognomic paradigm. Norman Lindsay was recognized as the greatest Australian illustrator for almost the first forty years of the twentieth century even though his comic style was almost totally dependent on Heinrich Kley and European sources. The mantle for the originators of the great Australian black-and-white tradition was awarded to Lindsay's predecessors, Phil May and Livingstone Hopkins, who had transported their stylistic idioms from Britain and the United States respectively. This is despite the fact that by 1900, Monte Scott had developed his most impressive and important work. It was almost exclusively the expression of Australian attitudes, admittedly radical, often socialist, attitudes. What so impressed the French observer Metin about Scott's cartoons of the 1890s was their

exceptional, even unique, ideological stridency. But the disappearance of his work from both this black-and-white tradition and high art is only partly due to its ideological specificity. It is anachronistically parochial primarily because of Scott's refusal to adopt an international accent. Scott's cartoons imagined an Australia that was genuinely independent and isolationist but the emphasis on bush life by necessity relegated culture to the distant global sources of high-art sanctioned by antiquity. Hundreds of Scott's classical allegories reinforced this view however much he incorporated local flora and fauna. They disclose the paradoxical demand of representing a socially unique identity using exogenetic cultural emblems and codes. As well, Scott's own attempts at incorporating bush life and leisure into the high-art of painting were dismissed as parochial in the 1880s. By that time it was accepted by Australians that the value of culture could only be measured against prevailing international trends. It is not by chance that the first national school of painting is designated as Australian Impressionism. Australian bush mythology would not be fully incorporated into a uniquely Australian cultural identity until the end of the twentieth century and then it would only happen via identification of Aboriginal art as a foundational source.

Such was the separation of the political and social from the cultural in the early twentieth century that in 1934 William Moore could lavishly praise Norman Lindsay as the first great Australian illustrator, yet less than ten years later Lindsay was being published in an international survey as a representative British illustrator, confirming his stylistic dependence on Europe.⁹ Despite this, in a compounding travesty of historical construction, Moore dismissed Scott's emphatically Australian, and therefore obviously embarrassing, work by condemning Scott to the role of a 'gad sir!' Englishman. No Australian reader of the *Bulletin* in 1886 or Brisbane *Boomerang* in the late 1880s or the *Worker* during the 1890s would ever have accepted the description of Scott as an English gentleman. His cartoons reveal the crude vernacular of independent nationalism expressed with the vehement passion of a true believer rather than the detached cynicism of his contemporaries such as Livingstone Hopkins or the cool stylishness of Phil May.

Why did Scott so ardently embrace the socialist creed during the last twenty years of his life? It may have been that like his British contemporary Walter Crane (whose work Scott knew and copied with acknowledgement in the *Worker*) he read William Morris or Karl Marx and was converted to become a worker's champion. He certainly read extracts and summaries of both these writers along with Darwin and many other influential nineteenth-century thinkers, who were regularly published in the *Boomerang* and *Worker* during the years he worked on those papers. If he was influenced by these writers it goes some way to explaining why the socialist polemic Scott espoused became so entangled with nationalism, for Scott's vision for a socialist utopia was firmly rooted in Australia. The *Justitia* in Scott's Australia would be deadly in her retribution but

this would have a brutal domestic edge, like granny on the farm drowning the excess pups before their eyes opened. Political power for workers would be achieved when matters of honour and abuses of privilege were settled with blood. In Scott's construction, it was Australian bushmen and workers with guns and bayonets that would right the wrongs.

The development of Scott's Australian ideology of 'a fair go for all' had originated in the codes of aristocratic gentlemen so it is not surprising that he initially accepted the concept of Australia as a colonial dominion of Empire. His development of an independent and stridently nationalistic Australia progressed from a rejection of the abuses of remote imperial power to a contemptuous attack on blind capitalist greed. Both his targets were intimately connected as his last fighting cover cartoon for the *Worker* implies, with the English aristocrat remotely controlling the Australian economy through syndicated investments. [figure 1.2] The savage edge to Scott's promotion of an independent and egalitarian Australia was personal. Scott was never a privileged English gentleman, instead he was always a journeyman artisan - a worker, who until his death lived from the skill of his hand. In the early 1900s there must have been few who understood better than Scott that the dream of an Australian paradise for working men and women had not yet been fully achieved. If the evidence of Scott's massive and relentless output illustrates nothing else it is testament to how hard he worked for so little return. Sitting at home in his late sixties hard at work painting portraits of racehorses and drawing his regular monotonous illustrations for the *Referee* and *Arrow* it is little wonder that his political contributions to the cover of the *Worker* during this period have such a biting satirical edge. It is surprising, however, that they also remained so idealistic and optimistic in outlook. In the domain of graphic discourse like most popular visual culture it is the message not the messenger that matters. The fame of racehorse painters and cartoonists is inherently temporal so the fact that his prodigious output all came to nothing is not unlike the fate of most other workers, although dying bankrupt and being buried in an unmarked grave probably had little to do with the economy of his career choice. Even so, it might be appropriate to say he deserved better; but Scott was a punter and he knew you can't avoid bad luck.

Endnotes - Conclusion

1. Marguerite Mahood, *The Loaded Line: Australian Political Caricature 1788 - 1901* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press 1973 p. 66.
2. John Brown, *John Leech: and other papers*, Edinburgh: David Douglas 1882 p. 25.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 33.
5. Scott's accomplishments as an amateur actor are mentioned in his obituary quoted in Chapter One, although his countless illustrations of Shakespeare, other theatrical themes and portraits of actors would alone indicate his intense interest in the theatre. The information on Leech's public performances of singing and role-playing is scant. William Powell Frith, *John Leech: his life and work*, London: Richard Bentley, 1891 pp. 234 - 236. Keppler's acting career was more extensive. In 1869 he even produced a broadside with his portrait surrounded by vignettes of the various comic characters he played. Richard Samuel West, *Satire on Stone: the political cartoons of Joseph Keppler*, Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988 p. 28.
6. Paul de Serville, *Pounds and Pedigrees: the upper class in Victoria 1850 - 80*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1991 p. 222.
7. All of Scott's children were born in Melbourne. The Mahood/Kerr entry in Joan Kerr ed., *Dictionary of Australian Artists*, (p. 705) wrongly states that his two daughters were by his second marriage to Mary Ellen Price. Scott's children with his first wife Amy Anne were: Isabel Amy Scott born 1860; George William Scott born 1862; and, Lilly Emily Sophia Scott born 1863. All his children survived him and both daughters were married and living in Victoria when he died in Sydney.
8. On the common acceptance of dual patriotism, see: Paul de Serville, *Pounds and Pedigrees*, esp. pp. 229 - 233.
9. Howard Simon, *500 Years of Art in Illustration: from Albrecht Dürer to Rockwell Kent*, Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1942. Norman Lindsay's work is reproduced pp. 362, 363, 364 under the grouping of "Modern Great Britain". In the text Norman Lindsay along with Jack Lindsay are mentioned among English illustrators with no mention of their Australian origin or connection. (p. 329).

Appendix I

Melbourne Punch

[□] = signed [*] = unsigned [?] = no clear stylistic affinity with Scott's work. [F] = full-page cartoon. [x2] = two-part cartoon.

Bracketed title is additional descriptive information or description for untitled cartoon.

| | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1 <i>Equal to Either Fate</i> □ | Feb. 19, 1857 p. 28 |
| 2 (Fashion)* | Mar. 7, 1861 p. 48 |
| 3 <i>Domestic Manners in Melbourne</i> □ | Mar. 14, 1861 p. 4 |
| 4 <i>Our Exports</i> □ | Mar. 14, 1861 p. 5 (F) |
| 5 <i>Volunteer Camping</i> □ | Mar. 14, 1861 p. 8 |
| 6 (Governess in the Bush)□ | Mar. 21, 1861 p. 12 (x2) |
| 7 <i>Ireland's Difficulty</i> □ | Mar. 21, 1861 p. 13 (F) |
| 8 <i>Punch's Illustrations to the Drama</i> * | Mar. 28, 1861 p. 20 |
| 9 <i>Peace Preservers</i> □ | Mar. 28, 1861 p. 21 (F) |
| 10 <i>Progressive Development</i> □ | Mar. 28, 1861 p. 24 |
| 11 <i>The Horrors of War</i> (?) | April 4, 1861 p. 28 |
| 12 <i>A True Chip of the Old Block</i> □ | April 4, 1861 p. 29 (F) |
| 13 <i>Rather Pointed</i> □ | April 4, 1861 p. 32 |
| 14 <i>Grand Historic Picture of the Late Campaign</i> * | April 11, 1861 p. 36 |
| 15 <i>Heales' Rat Trap</i> * | April 11, 1861 p. 37 (F) |
| 16 (Volunteers)* | April 11, 1861 p. 40 |
| 17 <i>Domestic Harmony</i> * | April 18, 1861 p. 44 |
| 18 "Episcopus in Partibus -."* | April 18, 1861 p. 45 (F) |
| 19 <i>Chaff at the Bar</i> * | April 18, 1861 p. 48 |
| 20 <i>Punch's Summary For Europe</i> □ | April 25, 1861 pp. 52, 53 (FF) |
| 21 <i>Nurse Evans Takes Charge of a Poor Little Foundling</i> * | April 25, 1861 p. 56 |
| 22 <i>Sporting Friend's Advice</i> * | May 2, 1861 p. 60 |
| 23 <i>On His Last Legs</i> □ | May 2, 1861 p. 61 (F) |
| 24 <i>An Outlet for the Surplusage</i> □ | May 2, 1861 p. 64 |
| 25 <i>End of the Cricketing Season</i> □ | May 9, 1861 p. 68 |
| 26 <i>The Last Straw</i> * | May 9, 1861 p. 69 (F) |
| 27 (Colonial Capitalist)* | May 9, 1861 p. 72 |
| 28 <i>A Model for Volunteers</i> * | May 16, 1861 p. 76 |
| 29 <i>Dignity and Impudence</i> * | May 16, 1861 p. 77 (F) |
| 30 <i>Question of the Day</i> (Fashion) * | May 16, 1861 p. 80 |
| 31 <i>Illustrated Summary for the Mail - Antipodean Contrasts</i> □ | May 23, 1861 pp. 84, 85 (FF) |
| 32 <i>The Last Appeal</i> □ | May 23, 1861 p. 88 |
| 33 <i>The Barber of Civil (Castlemaine)</i> * | May 30, 1861 p. 92 |
| 34 <i>The Legislative Smithy</i> * | May 30, 1861 p. 93 (F) |
| 35 <i>Case of Real Distress</i> * | May 30, 1861 p. 96 |
| 36 <i>Legislative Recreation</i> * | May 30, 1861 p. 100 |
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| 607 <i>Capt. Blowhard's Adventures - continued*</i> | Jan. 12, 1865 p. 23 |
| 608 <i>Mutual Satisfaction*</i> | Jan. 12, 1865 p. 24 |
| 609 <i>Mr. Punch's Review of Everybody</i> □ | Jan. 19, 1865 pp. 28,29 (FF) |
| 610 <i>Natural Apprehension*</i> (Crinolines- fashion) | Jan. 19, 1865 p. 32 |
| 611 <i>Nurse Wanted</i> □ [last signed cartoon in Melb Punch] | Jan. 26, 1865 p. 33 |
| 612 <i>Verdon's Hotch-Potch *</i> | Jan. 26, 1865 p.37 (F) |
| 613 <i>Love Making in the Neighbourhood of St. Kilda Butts*</i> | Jan. 26, 1865 p.39 |
| 614 <i>Painful Duty*</i> | Feb. 2, 1865 p.44 |
| 615 <i>Political Drama*</i> | Feb. 2, 1865 p.45 (F) |
| 616 <i>Adventures of an Artist*</i> | Feb. 2, 1865 p.48 |
| 617 <i>Rural Technicalities (?)</i> | Feb. 9, 1865 p.49 |
| 618 <i>The "Derby Day"*</i> | Feb. 9, 1865 p.52 |
| 619 <i>Perilous Performance - Nearing the Falls*</i> | Feb. 9, 1865 p.53 (F) |
| 620 <i>Adventures of an Artist in Search of the Picturesque No.2*</i> | Feb. 9, 1865 p.56 |
| 621 <i>Piscatorial Anxieties (?)</i> | Feb. 16, 1865 p.60 |
| 622 <i>Mangling the Bill (?)</i> | Feb. 16, 1865 p.61 (F) |
| 623 <i>Adventures of an Artist in Search of the Picturesque No.3*</i> | Feb. 16, 1865 p.64 |
| 624 <i>Oh, Snakes!*</i> | Feb. 23, 1865 p.68 |
| 625 <i>King Francis Saves The Colony*</i> | Feb. 23, 1865 p.69 (F) |
| 626 <i>Adventures of an Artist in Search of the Picturesque No.4*</i> | Mar. 2, 1865 p.73 |
| 627 <i>A Hint to the Upper House (?)</i> | Mar. 2, 1865 p. 77 (F) |
| 628 <i>The Ministry Stitching Their Own Shroud (?)</i> | Mar. 9, 1865 p. 85 |
| 629 <i>Adventures of an Artist in Search of the Picturesque No.5*</i> | Mar. 9, 1865 p. 90 |
| 630 <i>Beware of the Old Dog! *</i> | Mar. 16, 1865 p. 93 (F) |
| 631 <i>Under A Spell (?)</i> | Mar. 23, 1865 p. 101 (F) |
| 632 <i>La Sonnambula (?)</i> | Mar. 30, 1865 p. 109 |

Appendix II

The Australian Graphic Nov. 14, 1883 p. 3

The "Australian Graphic" Process of Engraving.

Admirable and numerous as have been the improvements made in the typographical and kindred arts during the last half century, wonderful as are some of the results achieved in their development by the combined potency of capital and technical skill, it is a singular fact that with respect to the illustration of newspapers, the problem how to secure artistic effectiveness by moderate expenditure of time and money has only recently been solved. A thousand inventors have attempted its solution; a hundred processes of greater or less efficiency have been originated; many old ones have been recast in the endeavor to adopt means of reproducing drawings and sketches in a manner at once expeditious, economical and effective, to meet the demands of the age. But though ephemeral success was secured here, and slight progress in the direction of the desired goal made there, by one novel method or another, the art of wood engraving retained its superiority over all other reproductive processes. Expensive though wood engraving is, it lent itself to the necessities of illustrated journalism in a way that no other process could do without a total sacrifice of the characteristics of the artists' drawing. But the art which a Durer invented, a Bewick and Dalziel enriched, has at last had its position of supremacy challenged, so far as its applicability for the purposes of the pictorial press is concerned. The apparently conflicting conditions - how to secure efficiency at a small cost of time and labor - under which those purposes have to be achieved, are met by the invention employed in the preparation of THE AUSTRALIAN GRAPHIC, and it is this invention which we venture to assert issues to the older art the challenge to which we have just referred. It was reserved for a native of one of these colonies to discover a process which should remove the serious difficulties to the development of pictorial journalism. In this fact - that the invention is an Australian one - every intelligent Australian will, we think, find cause for congratulation. It marks a distinct and progressive departure from the usual course followed by the inventive talent of the colonies. It indicates that they are passing out of that stage of their existence, when the necessities of colonising enterprise monopolise attention, when the hard fight with Nature and Nature's forces is all potent in its rule over man's energies. The achievements of the inventive mind are expressions of age-spirit; if the age be strictly utilitarian, they are also; if they be proof of the devotion of individuals to the arts which add beauty and refinement to life, the age will have realised with more or less clearness that the moment has arrived, when some degree of national thought may be transferred from the national pursuit of material things to national culture without calamity resulting. And insomuch as the invention of Crocker's a process points out this advancement of the Australians, does it deserve, and will, we are assured, meet with appreciation. The inventor the process, Mr. Samuel Henry Crocker. formerly of Railton, Tasmania. but now of Sydney, devoted himself for some years to considering how the pictorial press could be supplied with a cheap, rapid and durable means of reproducing drawing. After careful study of current methods, and almost incessant experiment, he at last resolved to take as the basis of a new process the erosive action of fluoric acid on glass. Various metallic substances suggested themselves to the inventor as the material to be engraved, but were rejected in favor of glass for the reason that the fluoric acid has a vertical or deepening effect only on glass, while in the case of metals, it has a lateral or undermining influence as well. And, in point of cost besides, glass has a very great advantage over all other substances of being inexpensive. In testing the processes, it was, of course necessary that a drawing should be made on the glass, and it was equally

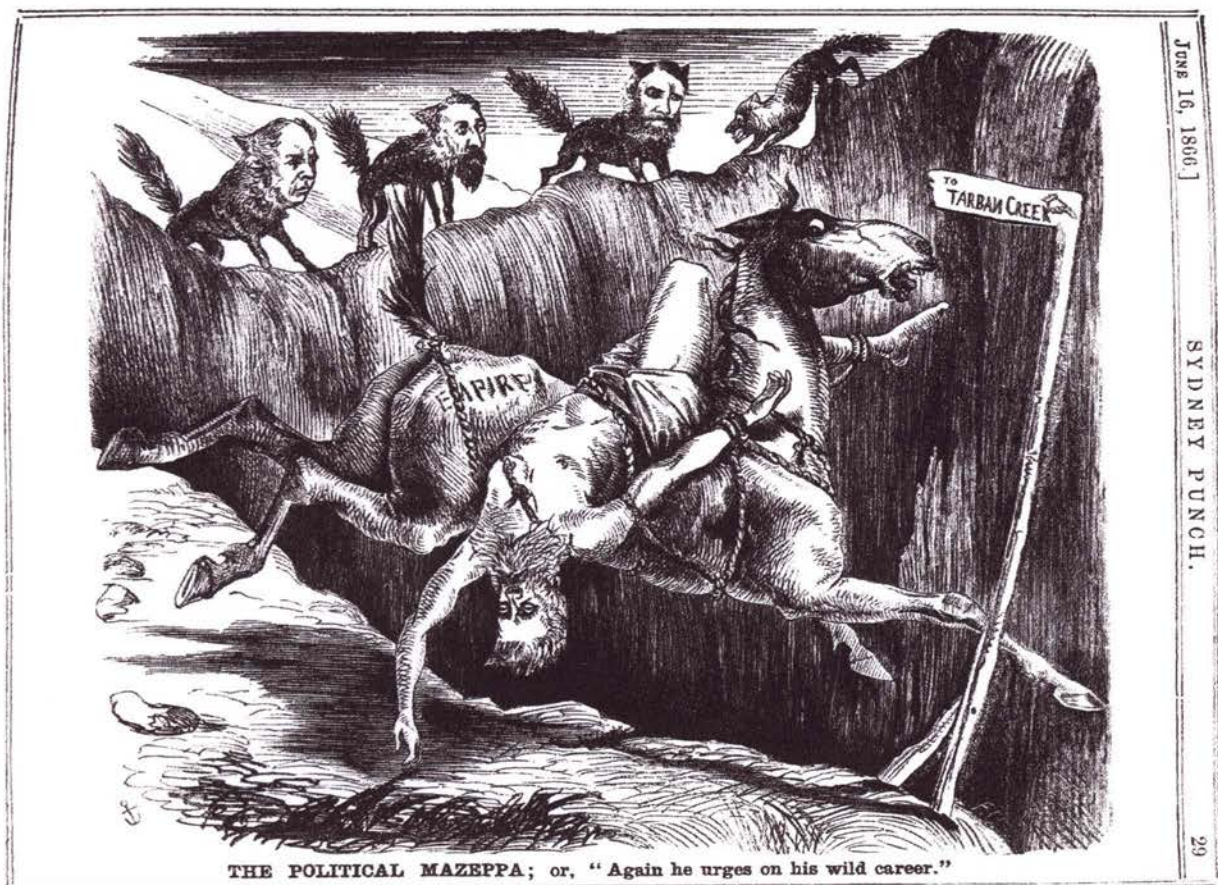
necessary that the ink used should resist the solvent action of the acid, a new ink was devised, consisting of a compound of resin, wax, and lampblack. The properties of these substances, however, are such that the resultant compound solidified, and it became necessary to design a pen which should keep the composition in a sufficiently fluid state to permit of its free use in drawing. An ingenious form of pen was accordingly employed, by which the ink is maintained as a fluid by gas or an electric current, the heating communication being effected by means of a fine india-rubber tube terminating in a burner underneath the nib of the pen. A "nib-full" of fluid ink is thus always available, while communication with the gas bracket or battery is kept up. Drawing on glass with a pen of this description is as easy as with a pencil on paper or wood. The finest lines, and most graceful curves can be produced as readily as the touch and free-hand ability of the artist permits, and as the ink dries on the glass immediately, lines can be crossed and re-crossed to produce that delicate effect known to wood engravers as "cross-hatching," without the slightest blurring at the intersections. The drawing completed, a first application of the acid is made and the whole of the surface not covered by the design is etched to a uniform depth. Those portions of the drawing which require only little relief are now "stopped off," and a second application of acid is made to those parts where the depth is requisite, to prevent contact with the printing roller. The acid and protecting substance was then washed off, and the process of engraving is completed. To adapt the engraved plate to typographical purposes, it has to be mounted on an iron block, the cementing being one of the registered features of the process. Thus fixed, it is "type-high," and ready for printing from. At first sight glass appears too brittle a substance to pass through the printing machine, but experiment has proved the contrary, and it was not found necessary to carry out the inventor's first intention to print from electrotypes taken off the glass. Not only has experience proved that the risk of fracturing the glass in printing is reduced to a minimum, but it has also shown that the glass has decided superiority over the boxwood used by wood engravers, in that it is not affected by any variation of temperature. The finer portions of a wood engraving are subject too to deterioration through the pressure and damping involved in printing ; but the most delicate engraving on glass will appear as vivid and exact at the last copy of a large impression as at the first.

The process, the *modus operandi* of which we have thus described, is, it will be apparent to all, as expeditious as it is economical. for the fluoric acid is a more rapid, and therefore cheaper operator than the skilled engraver. As regards the former feature of the process, it has to be remarked that a drawing which by wood engraving takes days to prepare for the press, under the new process can be got ready in as many hours. In the preparation of the present number of THE AUSTRALIAN GRAPHIC it has not been thought necessary to consider speed of production as of primary importance; but it may be stated that the illustration on our first page was engraved and mounted ready for printing within four hours from the time the artist had completed his work. Another cardinal advantage of Crocker's process is that under it the artist has no interpreter but himself. In wood engraving the artist's conception is frequently modified in the treatment it receives at the hands of the engraver. In THE AUSTRALIAN GRAPHIC process, the suggestiveness of the artist's work is faithfully retained, while, from the ease with which lines drawn on the glass can be erased, any defects in the drawing may be remedied.

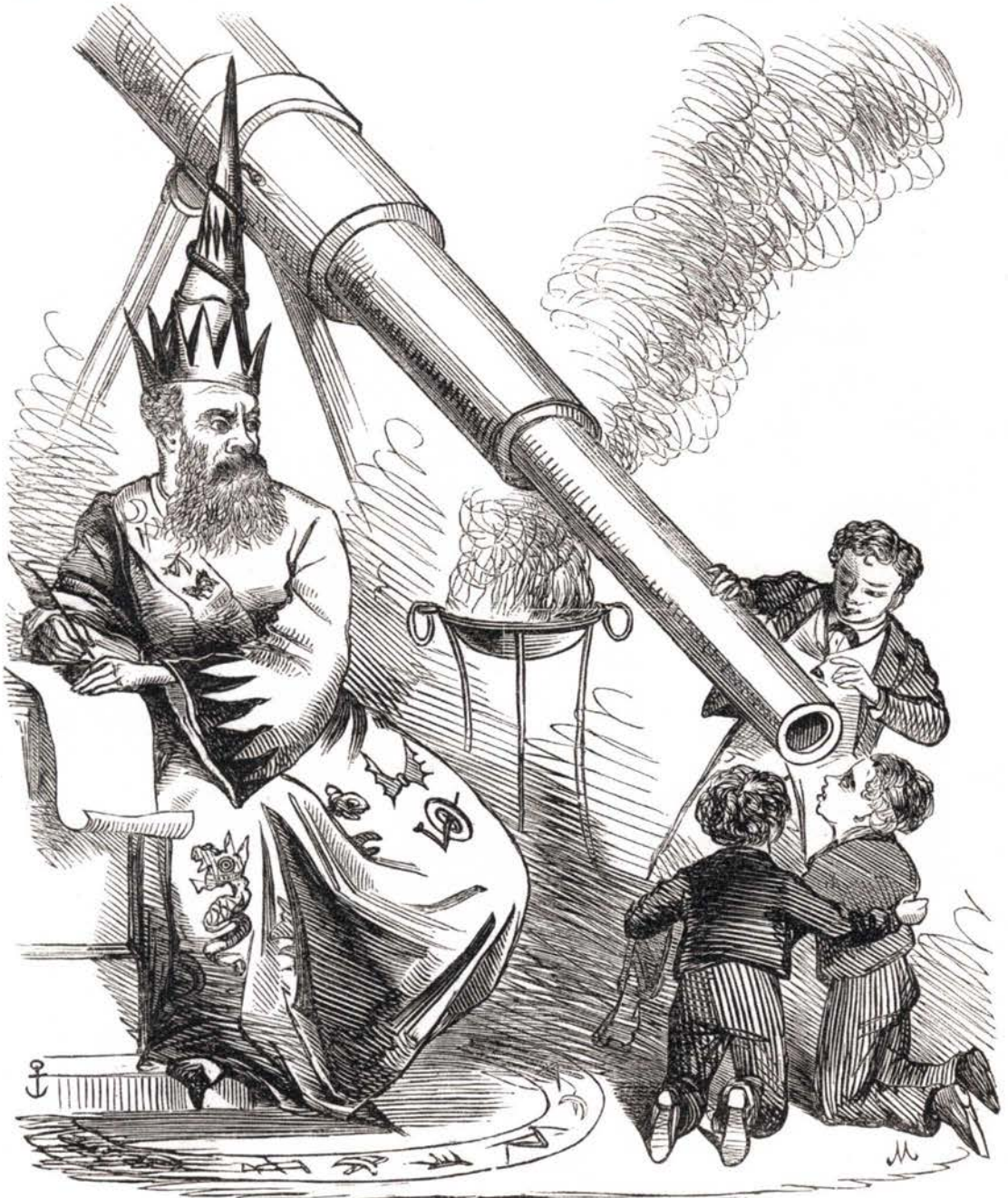
APPENDIX III

The Physiognomy of Henry Parkes - a pictorial survey 1866 - 1885.

Monte Scott cartoons featuring Henry Parkes. (All reproductions from full or double-page images. Examples to end of 1868 are wood-engravings; thereafter chalk or pen lithographs. Unless noted otherwise, images are from *Sydney Punch*)



16 June 1866



'EAVENLY 'ENERY;

OR, THE AFTER-DINNER ASTRONOMER.

NOW, MY LITTLE DEARS, TAKE A PEEP INTO FUTURITY THROUGH MY PATENT REVOLVING POSTAL CONFERENCE TELESCOPE. "I DO NOT MEAN TO SAY THAT YOU WILL SEE A NEW CONSTELLATION OF SIX STARS," BUT YOU WILL SEE—WHAT YOU WILL SEE.—*Vide* PARKES' RIVERINE DINNER SPEECH.

6 April 1867



The Fitz-Punch follows the example of the Fitz-Roy Deputation.

(TOBY WISHES THEY MAY GET IT!)

15 June 1867

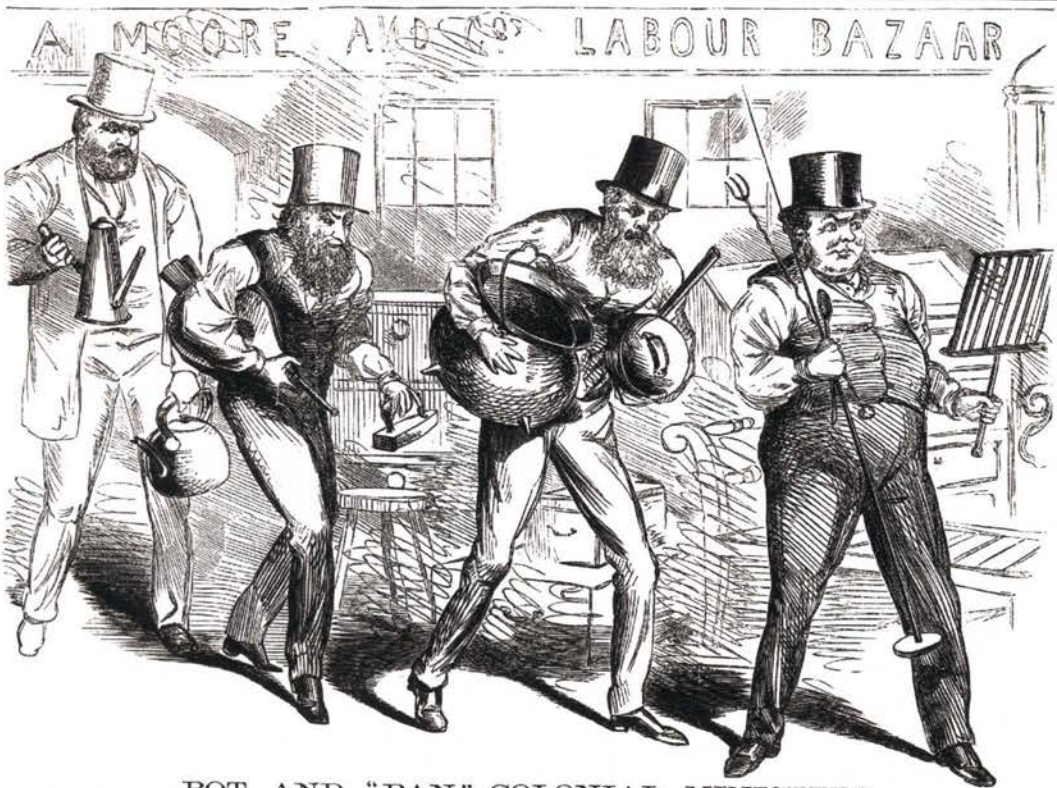


BOTANICAL SPECIMENS;

OR, "DISCRETION BETTER THAN VALOUR."

[THIS IS WHAT WOULD DOUBTLESS HAVE BEEN SEEN ON THE LATE TRIP UP THE LACHLAN STREAM—IF A "LITTLE THING," CALLED DIFFIDENCE, HADN'T "PREVENTED IT."]

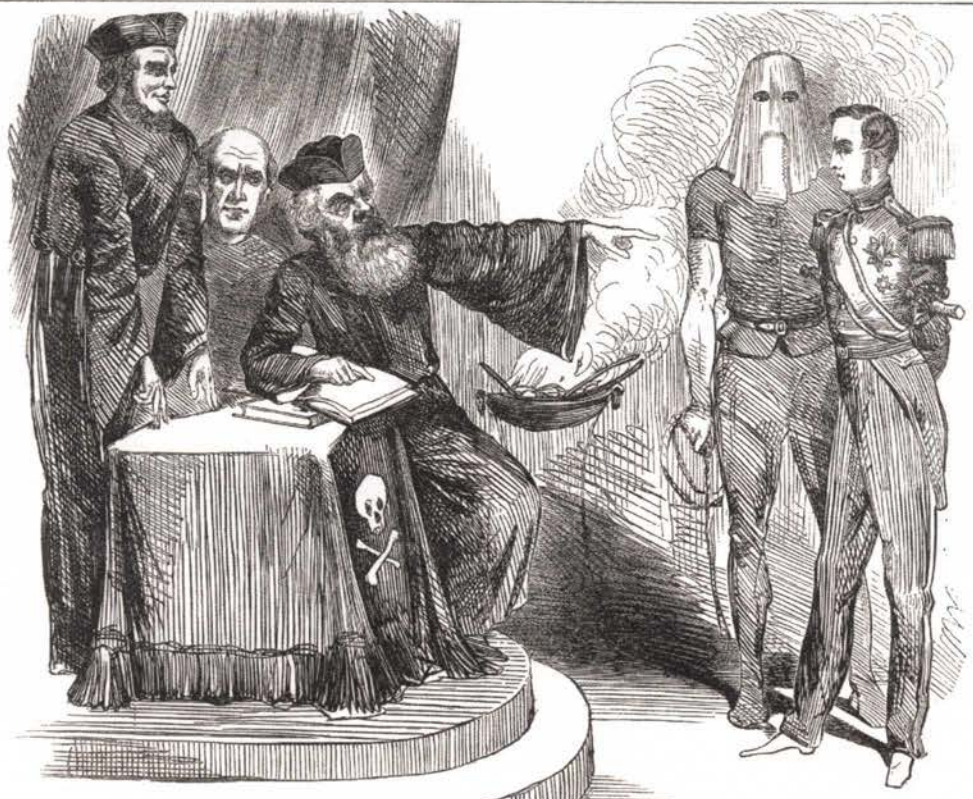
22 June 1867



POT AND "PAN"—COLONIAL MINISTERS.

"His Excellency had made arrangements for selling all his furniture. * * * The kitchen and other portions of the place were furnished by His Excellency, and of course the Prince could not go into a house destitute of furniture. * * * The Government would have cast upon them the task of providing all the appliances necessary to fit up the house."—*Extract from Mr. Martin's Speech, November 27th.*

7 Dec. 1867



THE MODERN INQUISITION; OR, THE PRINCES TORTURERS.

The Prince: H.R.H. Grand Inquisitors: MESSRS. PARK-S, MURRY, AND MOORE.

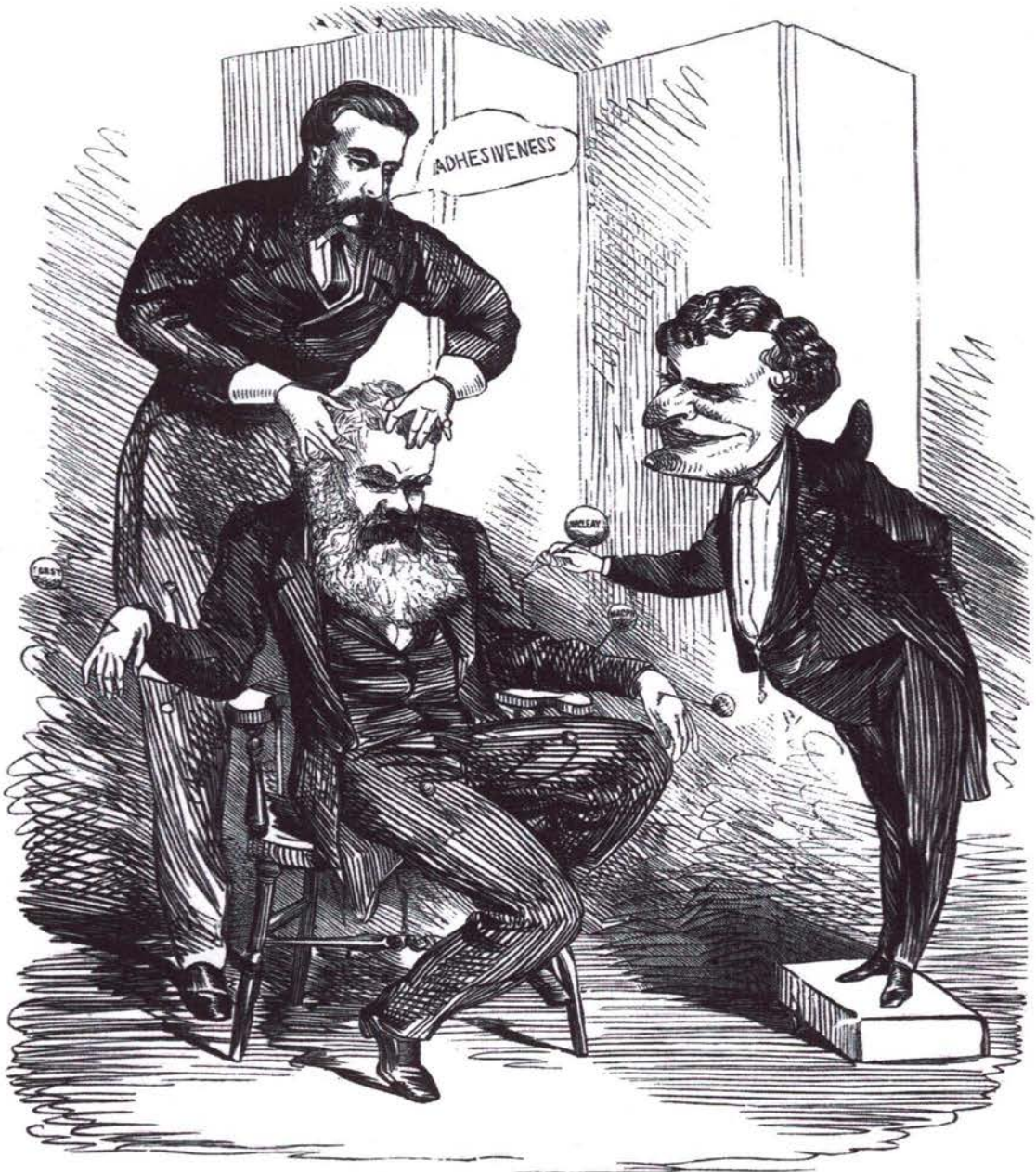
8 Feb. 1868



“SPECIAL” SERVICE.

Mr. P—r—s: NOW THEN, WHERE'S MY “SPECIAL?” *Railway Porter:* JUST GONE, SIR! *Mr. P—r—s:* GONE!
Railway Porter: YES, SIR—MR. B—RN—S TOOK IT, SIR—SAID IT WAS FOR THE GOOD OF THE COUNTRY, SIR—HIS DINNER GETTING
 COLD, SIR. HAVE ANOTHER READY FOR YOU IN A BRACE OF TWO'S, SIR. (*Mr. P. looks unutterable things.*)

25 April 1868



MR. PUNCH INVOKES THE AID OF SCIENCE TO DISCOVER

THE "NEW CRIME."

Eminent Biologist: YOU SEE HE IS IMPERVIOUS TO ALL FEELING. STICK AS MANY PINS AS YOU LIKE INTO HIM, he WILL STILL STICK WHERE HE IS.

2 May 1868



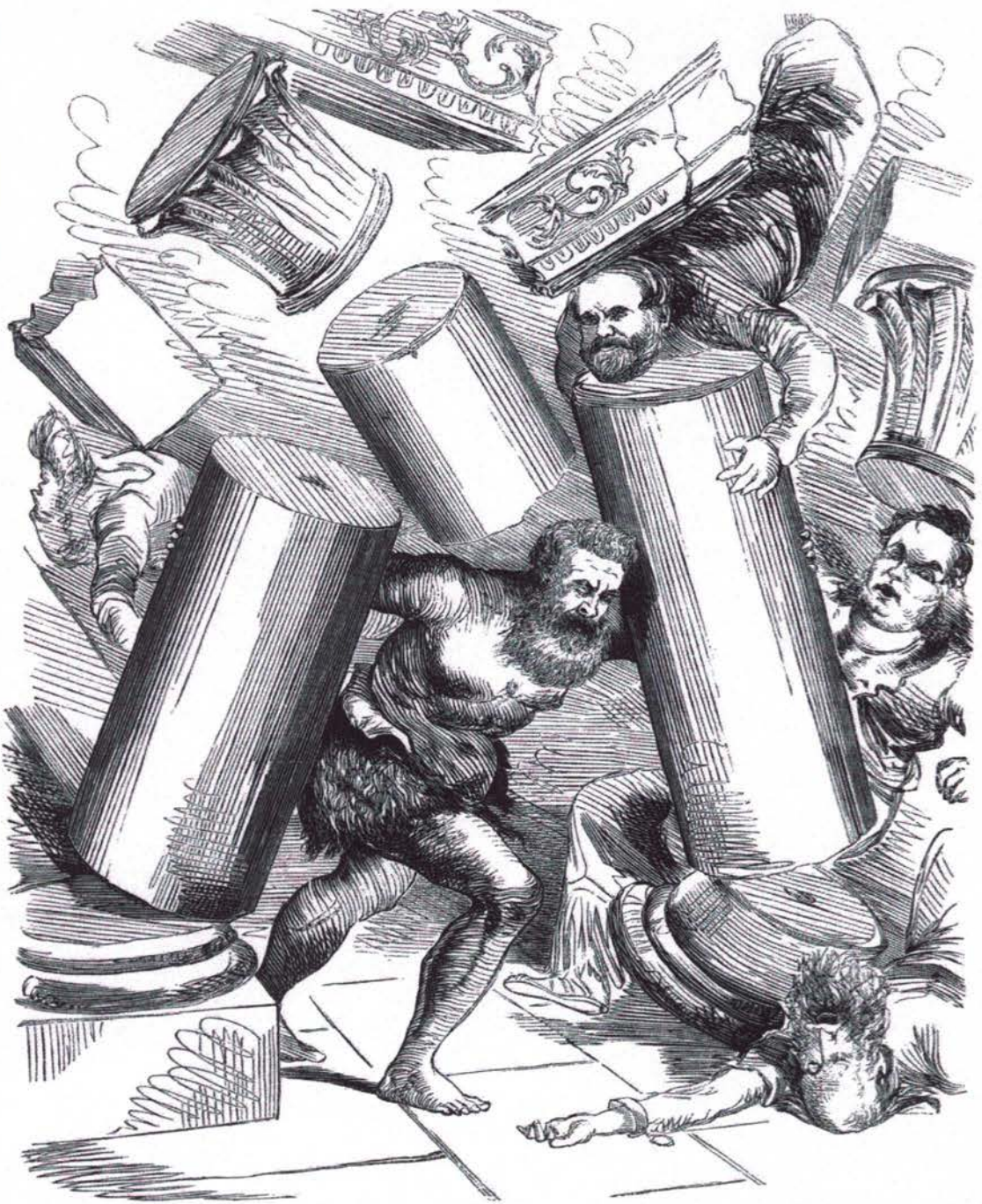
HARRY AND BETSY; OR, ARCADES AMBO.

THE ABOVE BEAUTIFUL IDEA SUGGESTED ITSELF TO MR. PUNCH'S ARTIST WHEN HE REFLECTED THAT MESSRS. MARTIN, WILSON, AND BYRNES HAVING GONE AWAY ON VARIOUS EXPEDITIONS, HARRY IS LEFT ALONE WITH "BETSY."

Oh that the desert were my dwelling place,
With one fair spirit for my "minister."—Byron.

"If I were young and disposed to go to a picnic I should like to have only one other with me, but then I should not mind how rural the scene, or how remote."—Parkes on Picnics.

11 July 1868



THE MINISTERIAL SAMSON AGONISTES; OR, TOO EAGAR BY HALF.

Like Samson . . . Samson hath quit himself . . . —Milton.

26 Sept. 1868



A POSER FOR PARKES; OR, NOTORIETY NOT RENOWN.

*Mr. Henry Parkes, upon perusal of the English papers, discovers to his intense annoyance that he has gained Notoriety not Renown.
Mr. Punch (looking in at window): Ha! Ha! Mr. PARKES—I ALWAYS TOLD YOU HOW IT WOULD END.*

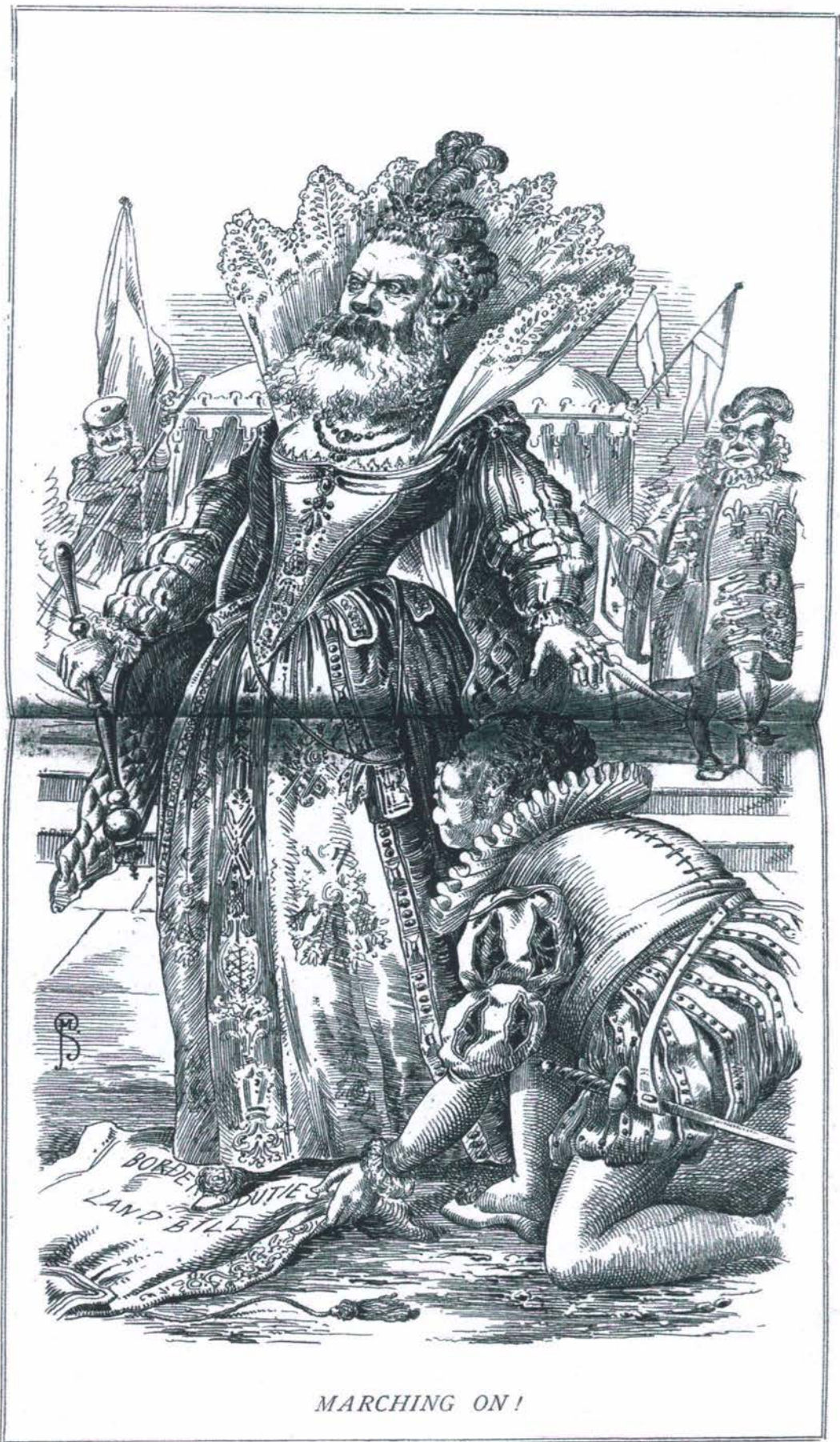
17 July 1869



ROBERTSON AND BEAUTY; OR, THE TAMWORTH GIRLS.

*"Ladies on horseback joined in the procession, and a beautiful bouquet was presented to Mr. Robertson by a party of 'young girls.'" —Empire, 27th July.
MR. PUNCH GIVES PORTRAITS OF "THE GIRLS."*

31 July 1869



MARCHING ON!

15 Feb. 1872



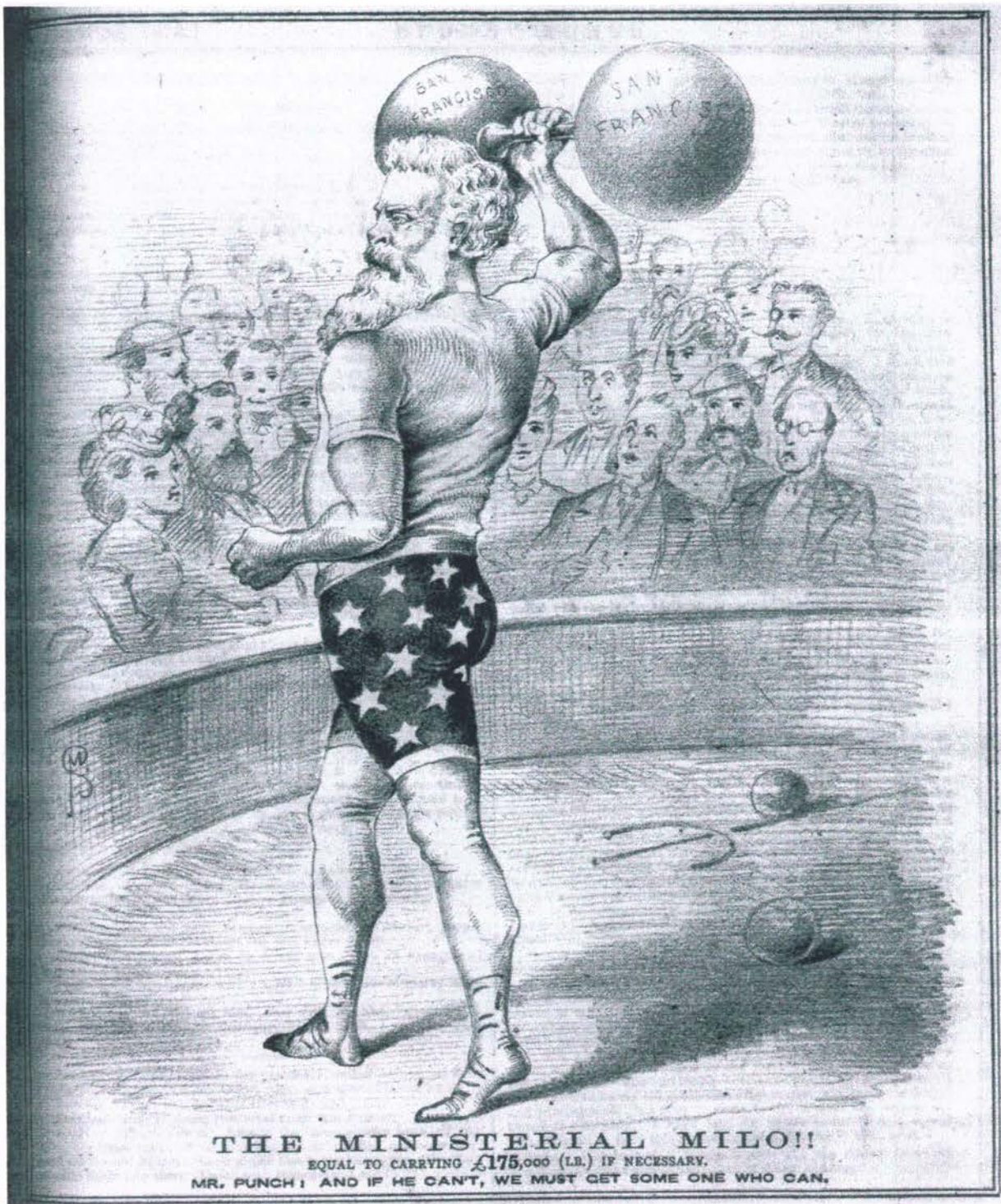
THE PREMIER'S VALENTINE.

13 Feb. 1873



DOCKER'S DEFIANCE! Or, THE CHAMPION OF THE COUNCIL.

20 Mar. 1873



25 July 1873

PARKES INNES & CO
 SOFTGOODSMEN BY APPOINTMENT TO HER
 MAJESTY THE GOVERNMENT

Senior Partner (loquitor): WILL YOU ALLOW Mr. INNES, Mrs. NEW SOUTH WALES, TO SHOW YOU OUR CHOICE ASSORTMENT OF
NEW GOODS FOR THE SEASON?

10 Oct. 1873



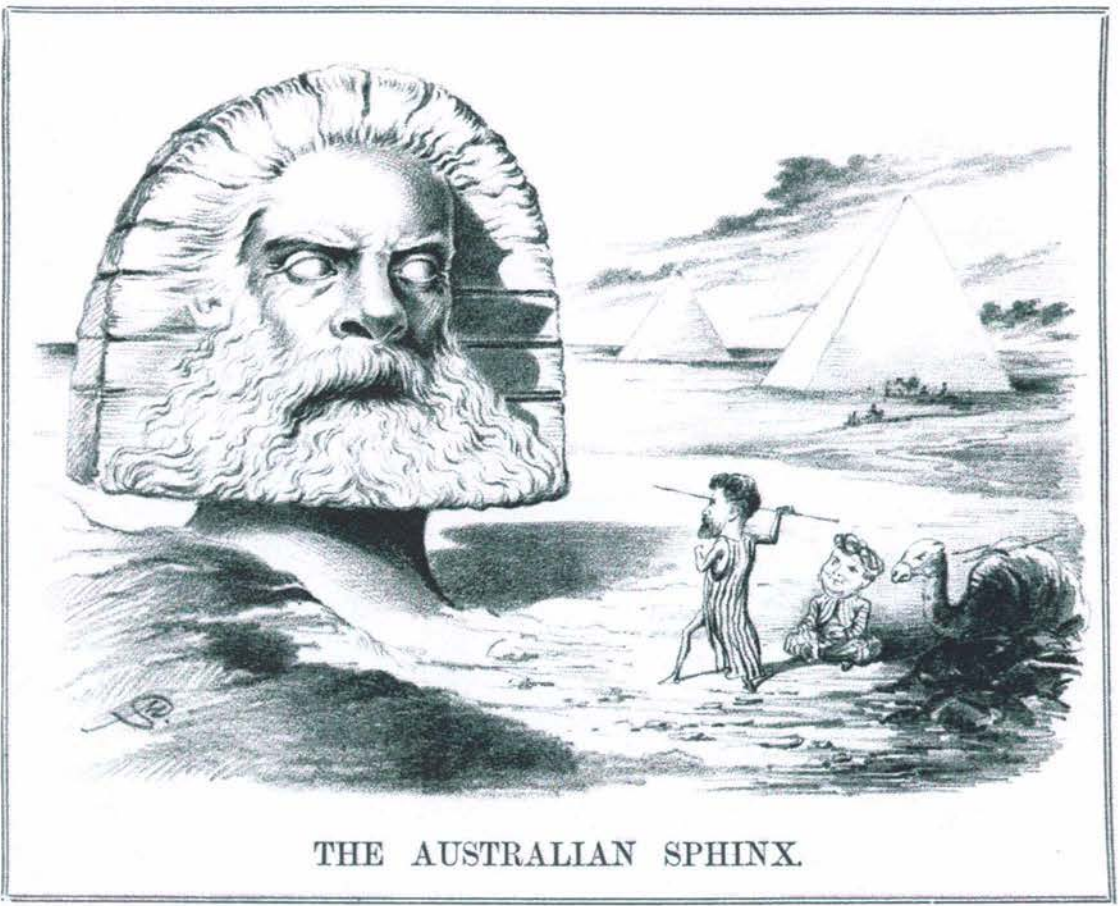
“SAINT” AQUARIUS.

“AQUARIUS, THE WATER-BEAKER.—JANUARY.”—CALENDAR.

“This commission, it was proposed, should consist of seven members, three of whom shall be appointed by the Government, two elected by the ratepayers of Sydney, and two elected by the ratepayers of the surrounding municipalities. And it was proposed to ask Parliament to sanction the vote of a necessary sum to procure the services of the ablest hydraulic engineer that could be obtained.”

—Speech of the Hon. Henry Parkes, Legislative Assembly, January 25th, 1874.

6 Feb. 1874



THE AUSTRALIAN SPHINX.

5 Dec. 1873



THE MISCHIEVOUS MONKEYS!

3 July 1874



JACK IN THE BOX!

"DISORDERLY MEMBERS—THOSE WHO MOST FREQUENTLY 'RISE TO ORDER.'"

—*Punch's Parliamentary Memo.*

"MR. SPEAKER SAID THAT IT HAD NOW BECOME SO COMMON TO USE LANGUAGE OF THIS SORT, THAT IT APPEARED TO HAVE ALMOST LOST ITS SIGNIFICANCE. HON. MEMBERS DID NOT SEEM TO BE AWARE OF THE KIND OF LANGUAGE THEY USED."

—*Proceedings in Parliament.*

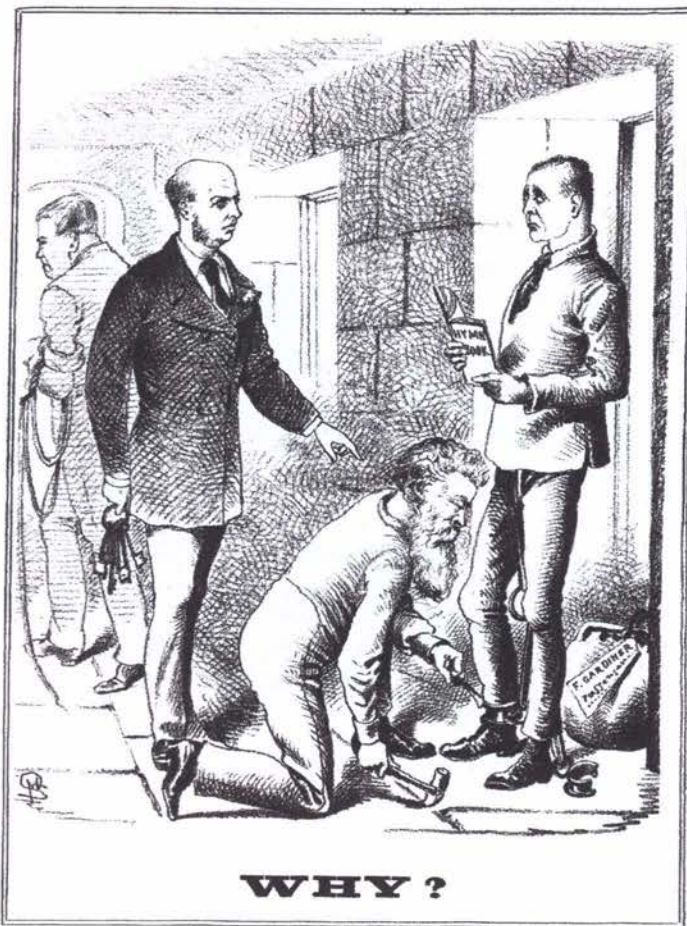
13 Mar. 1874



IS THERE A DEVIL?

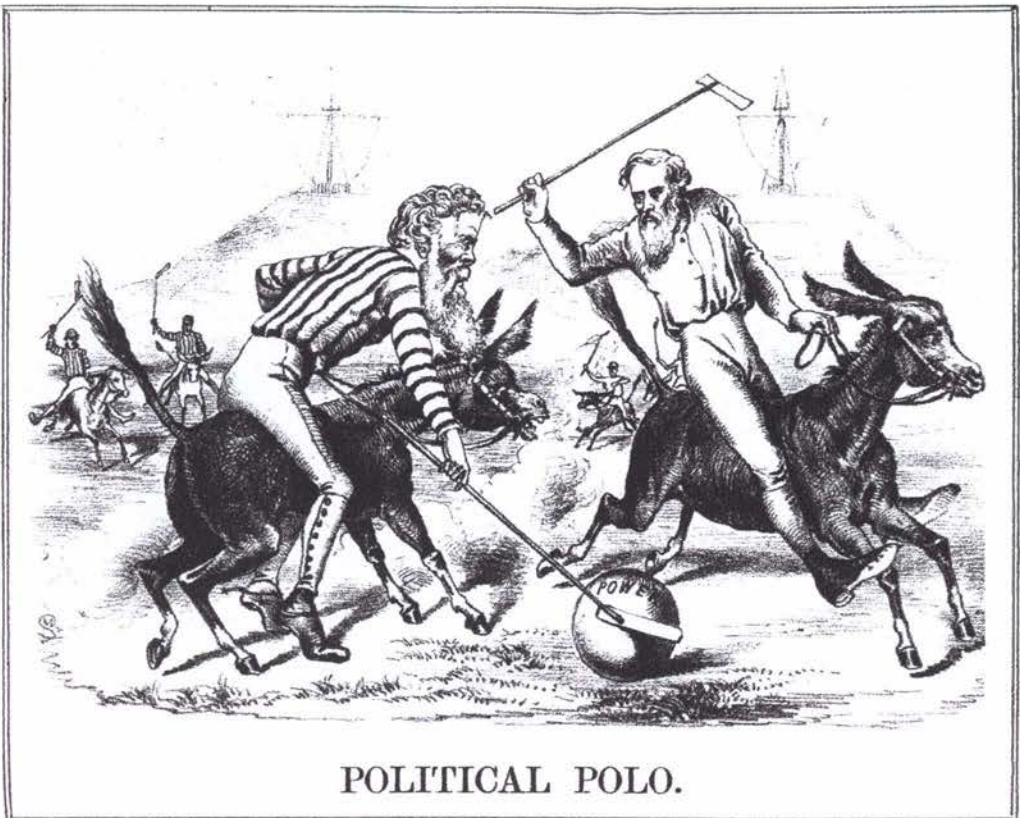
Answer by reflective Student in Spiritualism: YES; AND OUR OWN ACTIONS ARE THE SPIRITS WHICH HE CALLS UP TO THREATEN US WITH DESTRUCTION.

19 June 1874



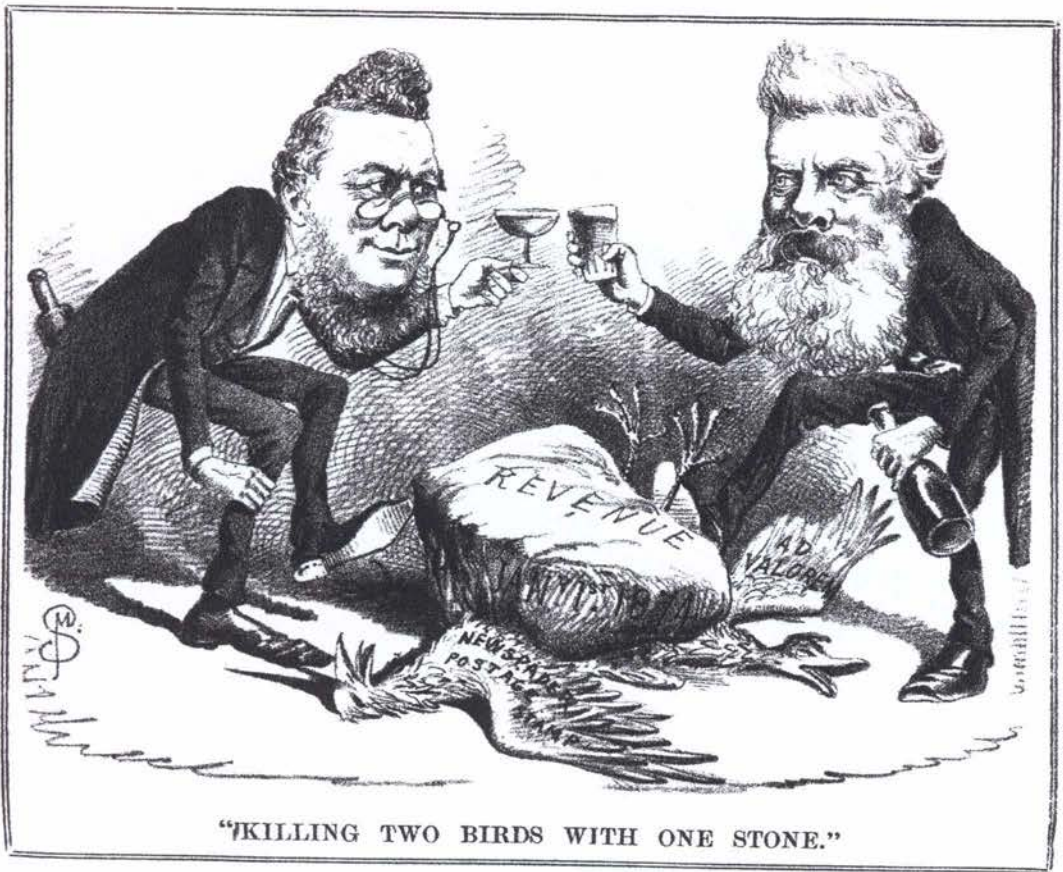
WHY?

8 May 1874



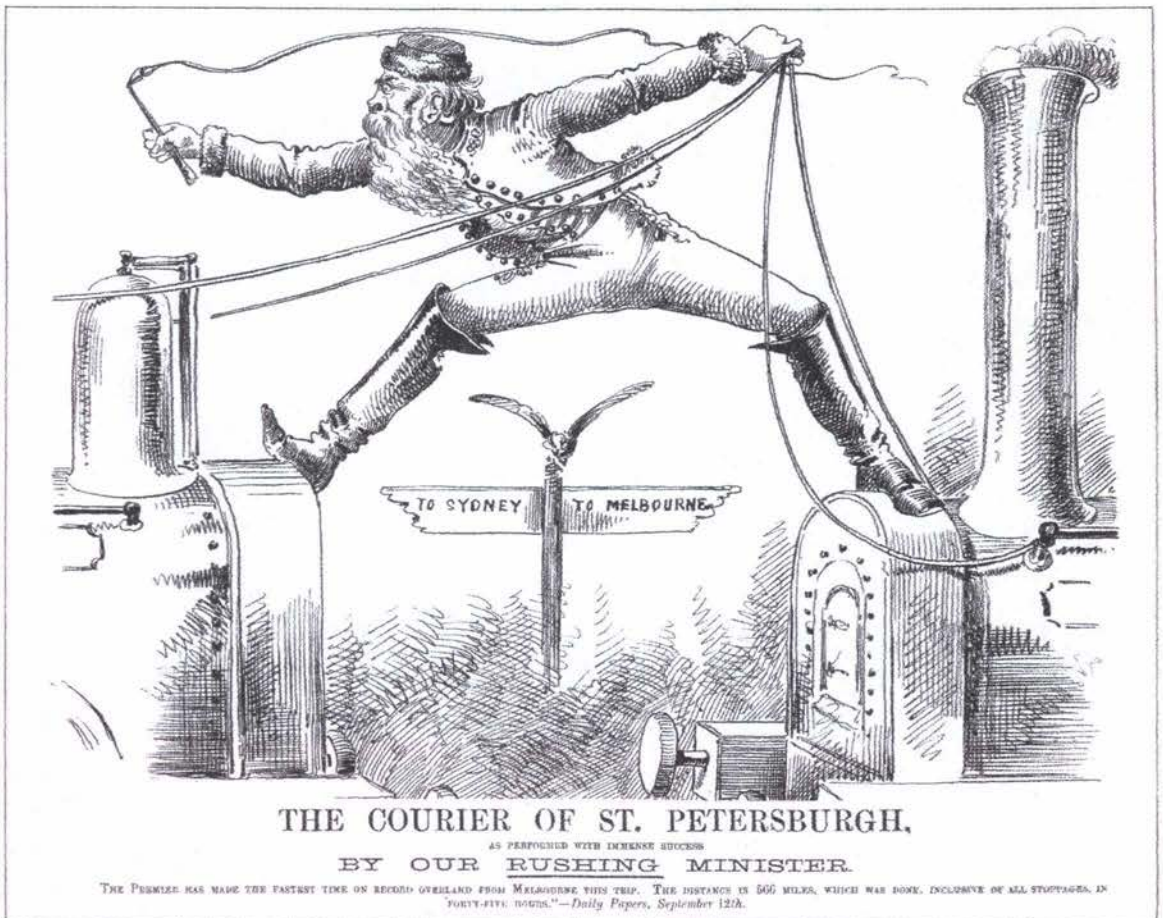
POLITICAL POLO.

28 Aug. 1874



"KILLING TWO BIRDS WITH ONE STONE."

2 Jan. 1874



THE COURIER OF ST. PETERSBURGH,

AS PERFORMED WITH IMMENSE SUCCESS

BY OUR RUSHING MINISTER.

"THE PREMIER HAS MADE THE FASTEST TIME ON RECORD OVERLAND FROM MELBOURNE THIS TRIP. THE DISTANCE IS 506 MILES, WHICH WAS DONE, INCLUSIVE OF ALL STOPPAGES, IN FORTY-FIVE HOURS."—Daily Papers, September 12th.

18 Sept. 1874



"OUR" BLONDIN.

BEING UNABLE TO OBTAIN AN OPPORTUNITY IN THE NEIGHBOURING COLONY FOR THE DISPLAY OF HIS BRILLIANT TALENTS, HE RETURNS TO SYDNEY, BUT FINDS MORE ENCUMBRANCES IN HIS PATH THAN HE ANTICIPATED, BUT HAS TAKEN CARE TO PROVIDE HIMSELF WITH A LOOPHOLE OF ESCAPE.

9 Jan. 1874



MAN THE LIFE BOAT!

PILOT PARKES: "THAT OLD TUB 'LL SWAMP, AS SURE AS MY NAME IS PARKES; BUT IT 'LL DO MY WORK WELL ENOUGH FIRST."

24 July 1874



A REAL FOUNDLING!

Nurse P-r-k-s: It 'AVE A LITTLE RASH ON IT TO-DAY, SIR, AND DO SEEM A BIT FARTFUL: BUT IT 'LL COME BOUND, SIR, BLESS YOU: WE 'RE A TAKIN' CARE ON IT.

Dr. M-r-l-n: WELL, IF ANYTHING PARTICULAR 'S THE MATTER, YOU CAN SEND FOR ME: I SHALL DO QUITE AS WELL AS THE OTHER DOCTOR.

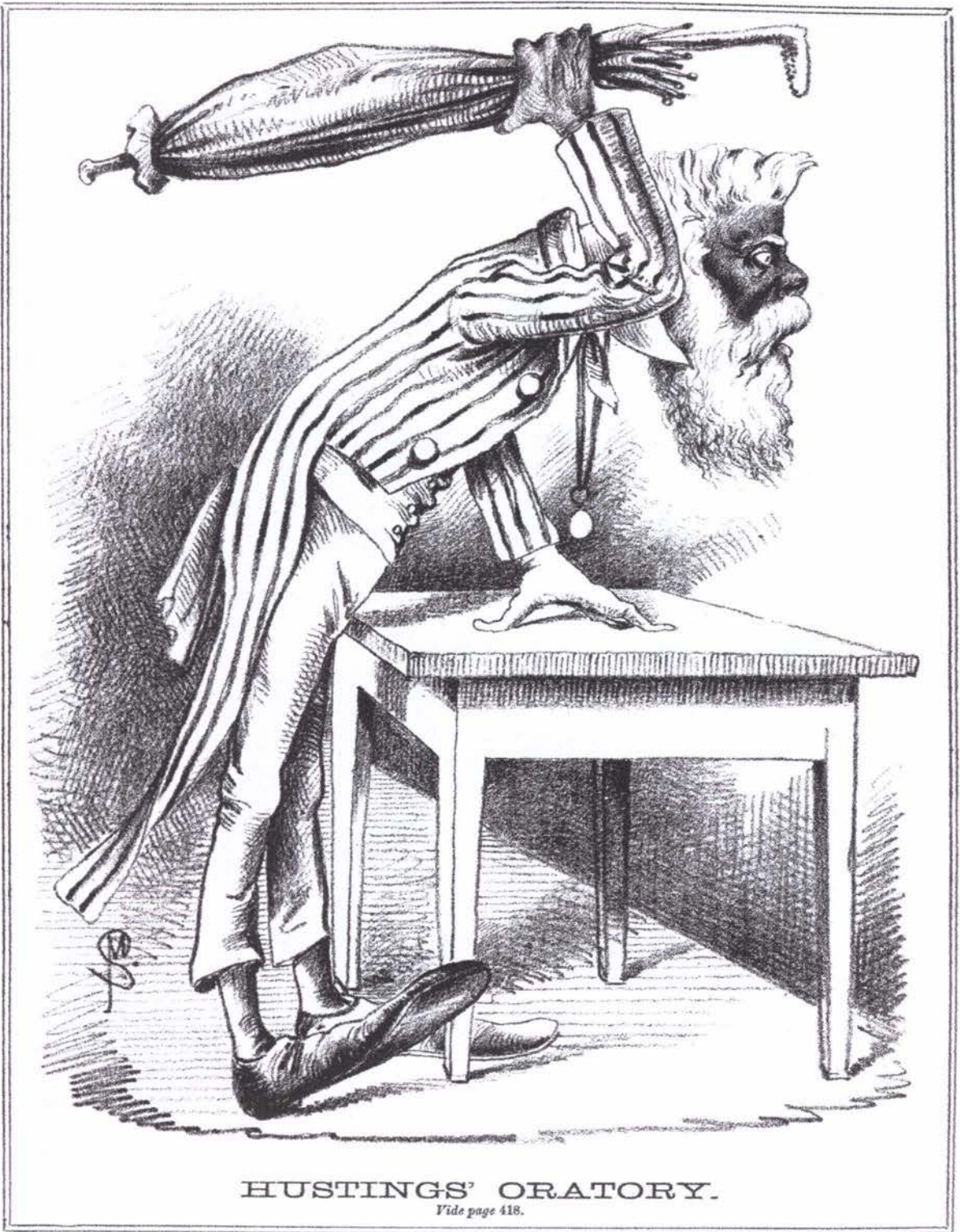
Lady Visitor (on the Committee to other Ditto ditto): I THINK, MY DEAR HE'D BETTER TAKE CARE OF THE INTERESTING LITTLE DARLING ALTOGETHER: I SHOULDN'T WONDER BUT THERE 'LL BE TROUBLE ABOUT IT.

2 Oct. 1874

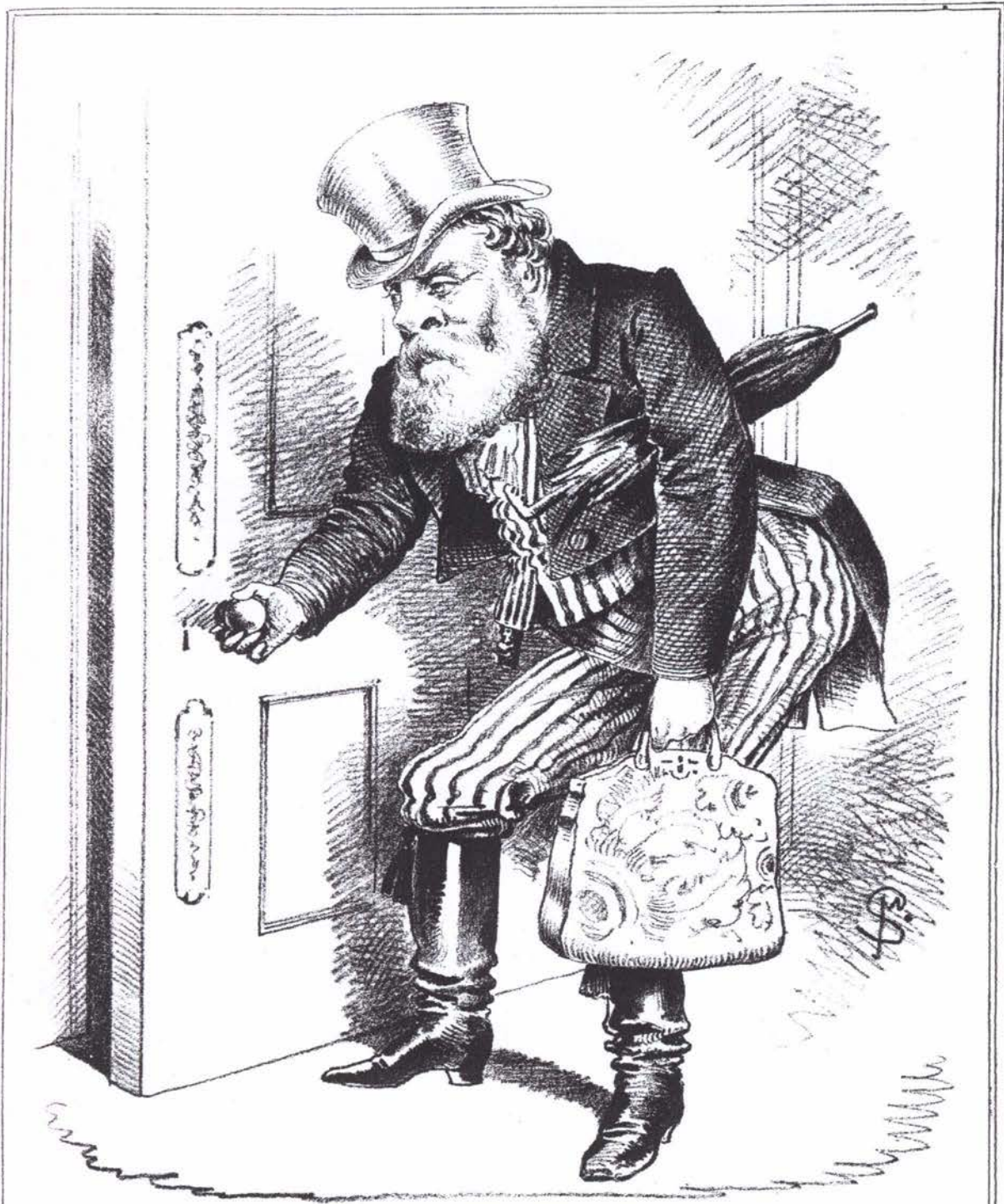


THE POLITICAL AJAX DEFYING THE OPPOSITION ^{AND} LIGHTNING!

11 Dec. 1874



18 Dec. 1874



STRUCK COAL!

PAUL PRY (the Modern): WHAT 'S THIS? BURNS GONE TO MELBOURNE! LAMBTON GONE TO MELBOURNE!! CRACKNELL GONE TO MELBOURNE!!! OH, SOMETHING MUST BE UP! THERE 'S MISCHIEF AFOOT! I MUST BE OFF, TOO, OR THEY 'LL UPSET ALL I 'VE BEEN DOING ABOUT THE MAILS, AND PERHAPS, SPOIL MY LITTLE ILLAWARRA COAL MINING GAME! OFF TO MELBOURNE.

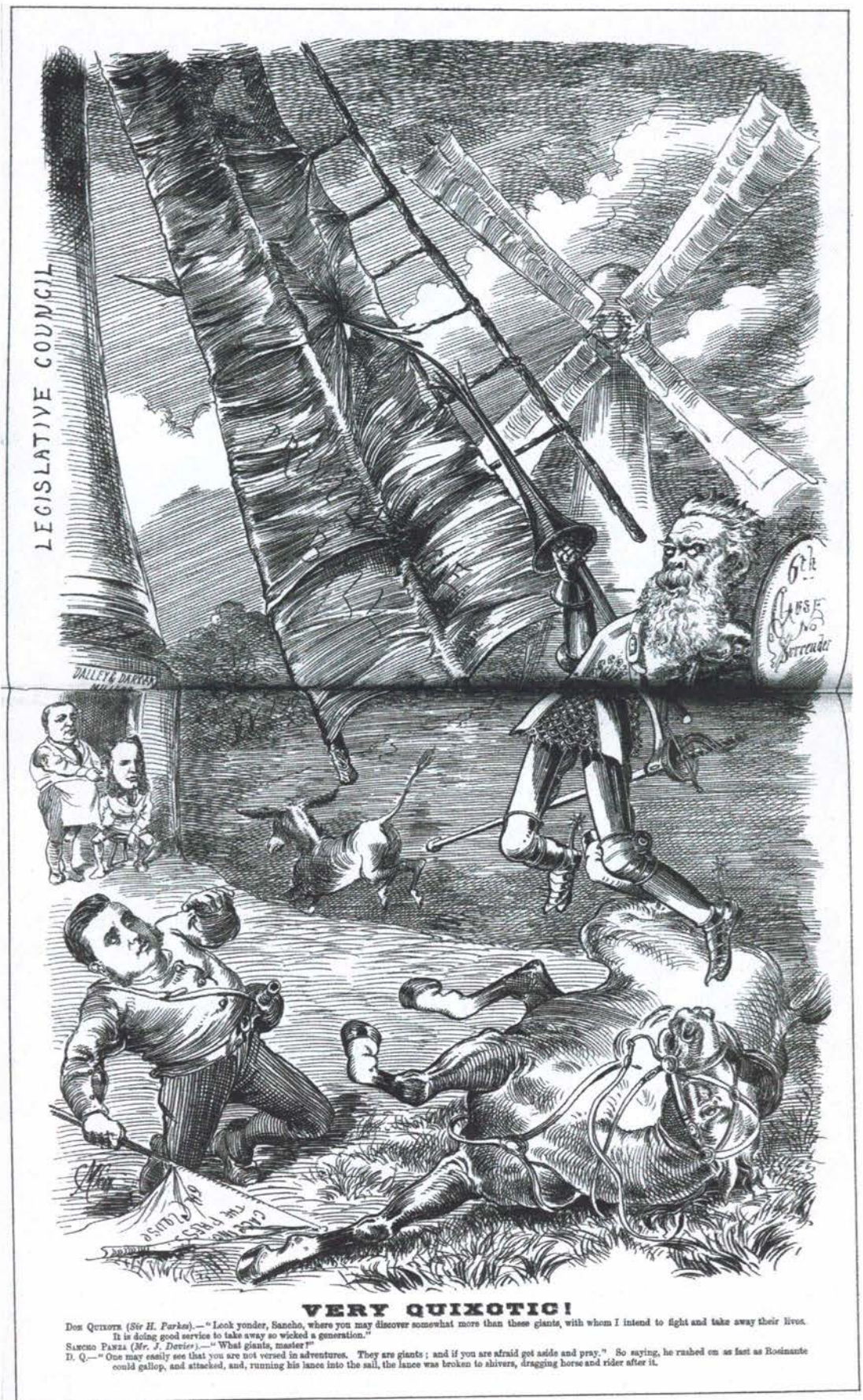
19 Mar. 1875



21 Jan. 1876



25 Nov. 1876



VERY QUIXOTIC!

DON QUIXOTE (Sir H. Forbes).—"Look yonder, Sancho, where you may discover somewhat more than these giants, with whom I intend to fight and take away their lives. It is doing good service to take away so wicked a generation."
 SANCHE PANZA (Mr. J. Devies).—"What giants, master?"
 D. Q.—"One may easily see that you are not versed in adventures. They are giants; and if you are afraid get aside and pray." So saying, he rushed on as fast as Rocinante could gallop, and attacked, and, running his lance into the sail, the lance was broken to shivers, dragging horse and rider after it.

17 May 1879

The Australian Anthem—
(As sung at the OPENING of the INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.)
 Words by E. Cyril Haviland; Music by P. Giortza. Published at Elvy and Co.'s 321 George Street, Sydney. Price, 2s.



FREE TRADE v. PROTECTION.

Coachman Parkes to David Buchanan: "Now Dave, my boy, out of the way there, or you'll be run over. You Protection coves are about the stupidest cusses out. None of your obstruction there." (Vide page 17.)

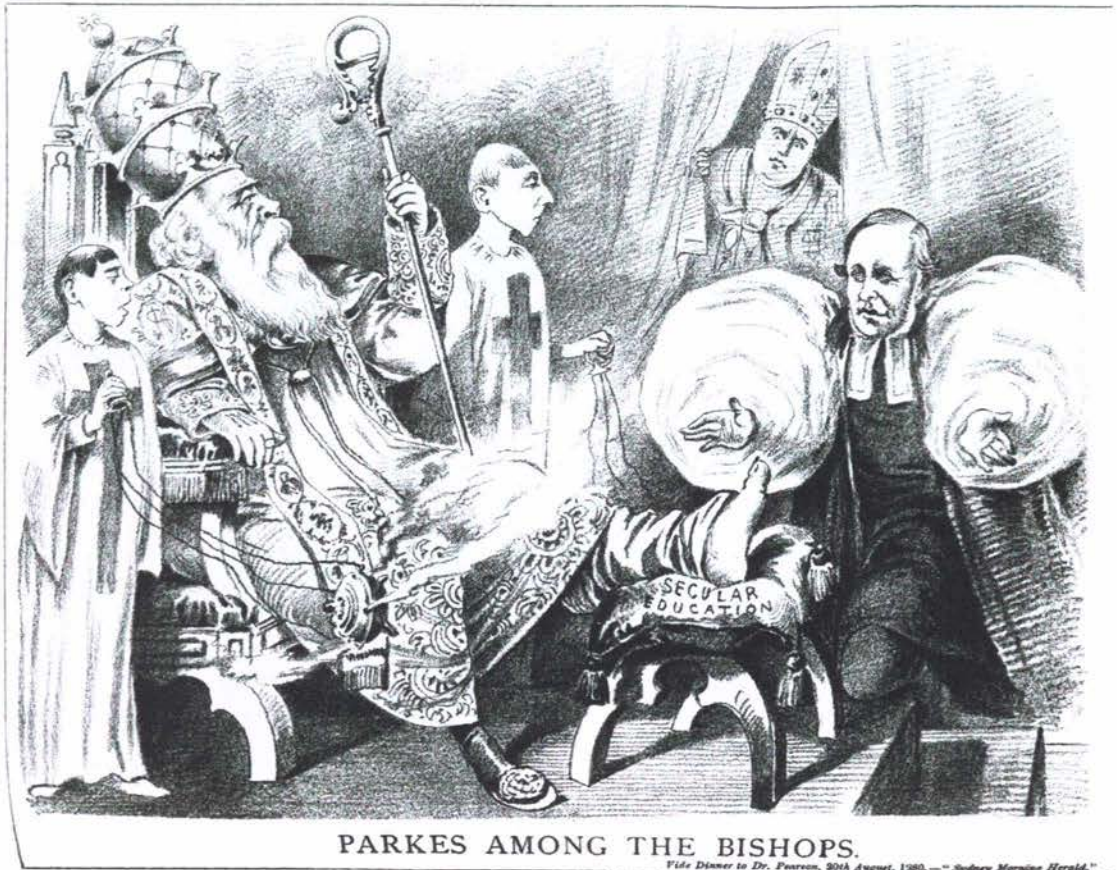
A. BECHET, Barrack Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

Sole Agent for Australia, New Zealand, New Caledonia, and the Colonies for Herring's Patent Champion Safes, and Steinway and Sons' Pianos, and Direct Importer of every description of Merchandise from Europe and America.

17 Jan. 1880

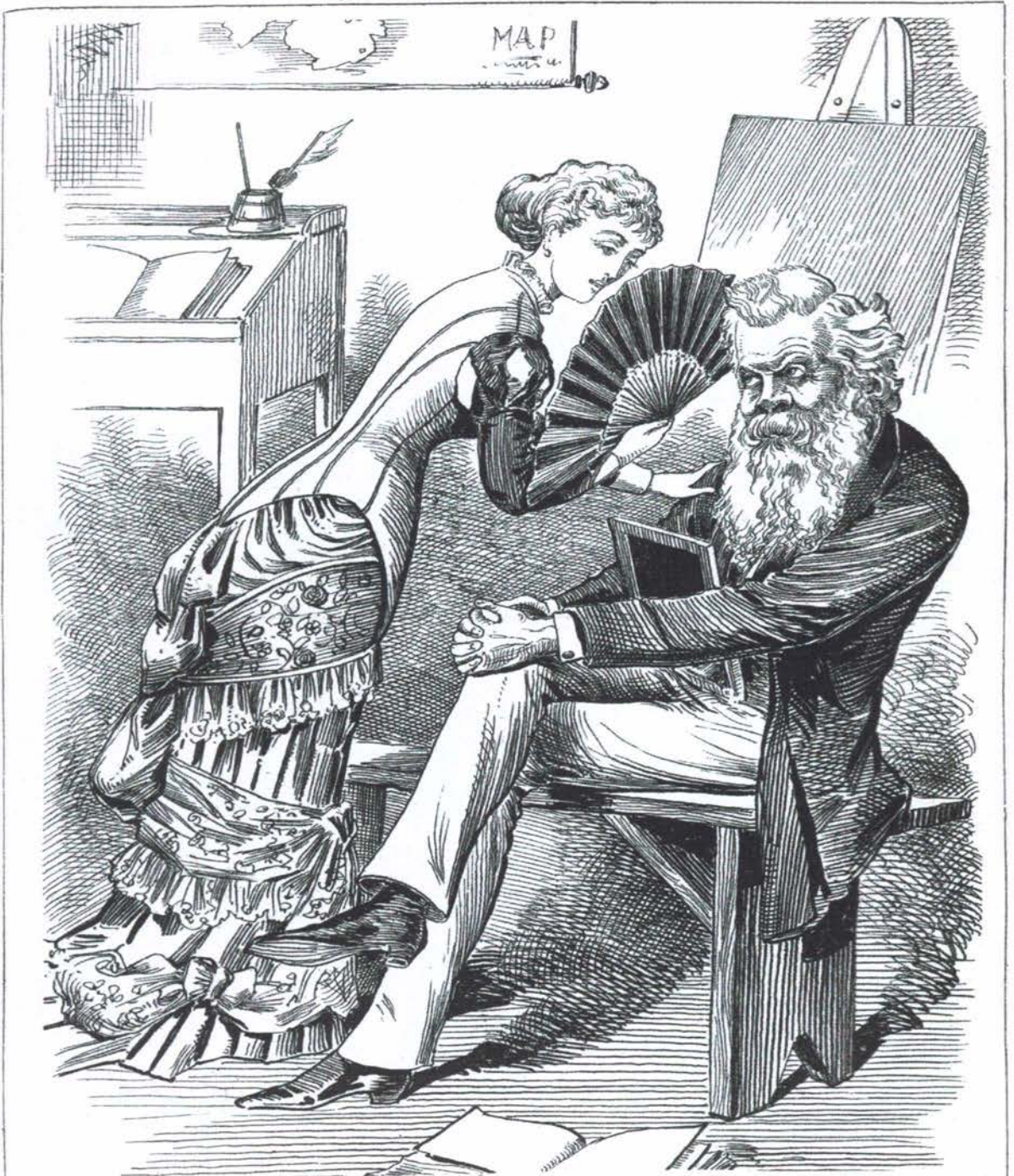


15 May 1880



28 Aug. 1880

267



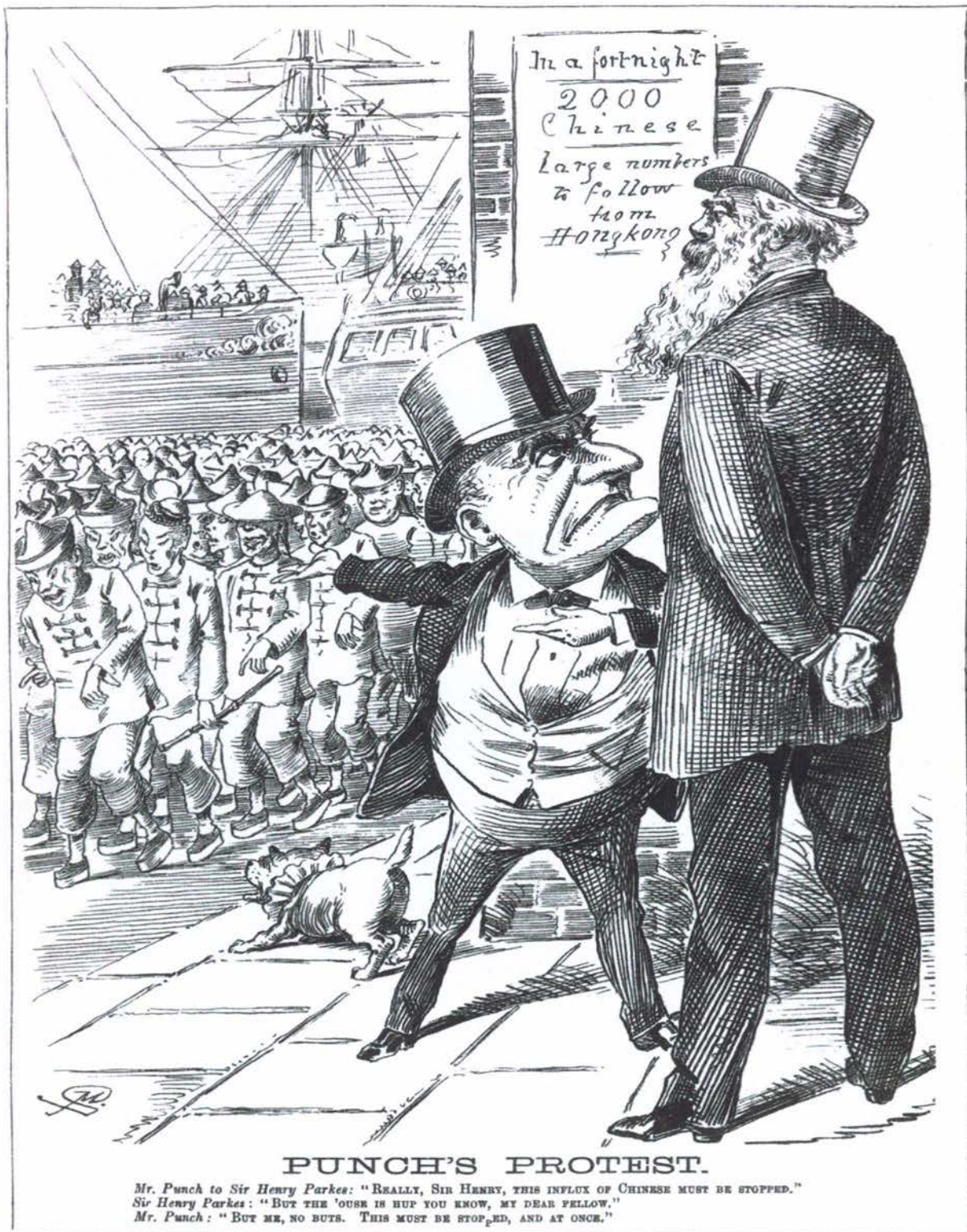
AGAIN AT SCHOOL !

Young Lady Teacher: "NOW, PLEASE, READ THIS SENTENCE, 'RUN WITH THE HARE AND HUNT WITH THE HOUNDS.'"

Sir H. Parkes: "RUN WITH THE 'ARE AND 'UNT WITH THE 'OUNDS."

Young Lady Teacher: "DEAR ME, HOW TIRESOME YOU ARE, SHALL I EVER BE ABLE TO MAKE YOU PRONOUNCE PROPERLY."

12 Mar. 1881



23 April 1881



WAL, STRANGER, I GUESS I'M WITH YER !

'RAYTHER CALC'LATE YOU AINT GOT HALF A BAD 'LOT' YONDER !—WHAT SAY, GIVE US A 'SHAKE DOWN?'—'KINDER TAKES TO YE' OLD HOSS !—*PH* BE OVER !!

4 Mar. 1882



Parkes' Purity, or Sirenree and the Spirit of the N.S.W. Electoral Act.

Section 45: All and each of the following acts shall be deemed and taken to be corrupt practices, that is to say:—

- (2.) Holding out to any Elector any promise or expectation of profit advancement or enrichment to himself or to any of his family or kindred friends or dependants in any shape in order to influence his vote.

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