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Keith Jennings  
*Registrar and Deputy Principal*

\*'Thesis' includes 'treatise', 'dissertation' and other similar productions.

① of 2 vols

**PRINTMAKERS IN COLONIAL SYDNEY  
1800-1850**

by

**RICHARD ANTHONY JOHN NEVILLE**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of a Masters of Arts (Honours).

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#### ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the growth and development of a printmaking industry in Sydney before 1850. It attempts to recover some of the substantial body of visual material which has been hitherto ignored in standard art texts. The thesis also looks at the histories of colonial printmakers, and offers some interpretations of the material. Printmaking in Sydney was an ad hoc affair until the arrival of large numbers of free emigrants in the 1830s, who not only bought out technical printing skills but also created a market for the work of local printmakers. Therefore most of the thesis is concerned with the 1830s and 1840s. Before the 1830s Sydney lacked the technical infrastructure for pictorial printmaking, and the work executed was confined to topography or natural history illustration. After the expansion of the 1830s the industry became much more flexible and was able to respond quickly to all manner of local events. This led to the creation of an urban imagery, which was specifically about Sydney and had no circulation outside the town. Topographical publications continued to be produced and were intended to be sent back to England. These images tried to dispel the unfavourable prejudices that colonists felt English people expressed towards the colony. These publications stressed the public buildings of Sydney as signifying the collective moral worth of the colony. Prints of Aborigines will also be examined; the inherent contradictions of colonial attitudes towards Aborigines are revealed in these depictions.

Printmaking was a vital part of the artistic practice of most colonial artists and this thesis is an attempt to re-establish its importance in the cultural life of the colony.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I should also thank my parents for reading draft copies of the thesis.

The greatest debt goes to Joan Kerr, who has encouraged and cajoled me into finally finishing. However, the mistakes and omissions in this thesis are most definitely mine.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>A.D.B.</u>	<u>Australian Dictionary of Biography.</u>
AGNSW.	Art Gallery of New South Wales.
A.O.	State Archives Office of New South Wales.
<u>Aust.</u>	<u>Australian (1824-48).</u>
<u>B.L.I.S.</u>	<u>Bell's Life in Sydney, (1845-72).</u>
<u>D.A.A.</u>	<u>Dictionary of Australian Artists. Working Paper one. Sydney 1984.</u>
DG.	Dixson Gallery, Sydney.
DL.	Dixson Library, Sydney.
<u>H.R.A.</u>	<u>Historical Records of Australia.</u>
<u>J.R.A.H.S.</u>	<u>Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society.</u>
ML.	Mitchell Library, Sydney.
NLA.	National Library, Canberra.
<u>S.G.</u>	<u>Sydney Gazette, (1803-1842)</u>
<u>S.M.H.</u>	<u>Sydney Morning Herald, (1831- )</u>

## ILLUSTRATIONS

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All measurements are in centimetres; height precedes width.

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## INTRODUCTION

Like any provincial English town most visual imagery produced in Sydney addressed itself almost exclusively to local concerns and issues. High art - oil paintings or fine engravings - were imported as a provincial society generally sees itself as a paler reflection of the parent culture. The range of work produced by Sydney printmakers, therefore, was constrained by the feeling that a provincial, and colonial, society was too young and raw to make sophisticated cultural objects. Sydney's provincialism, too, was compounded by its being a penal settlement. Local artists, then, made images which explained what colonists felt to be the true state of the colony. Such explanations could take many forms. Conrad Martens' conception of the New South Wales landscape as a romantic arcadia appealed to his wealthy merchant or land-owning patrons. Printmakers, on the other hand, generally supplied different patrons such as emigrants or the respectable native born whose experiences differed considerably from those of the colonial elite. Yet the two different ways of describing the same country did not exclude each other. Martens work was well known in the colony, even if only by reputation, and his ability to find aesthetic pleasure in the New South Wales landscape reflected credit on all colonists, not just his patrons.

In these cases the "reality" of the colony was constructed by the interests of the artists and the patrons. Colonial printmakers were always quick to assure prospective buyers that their views or their portraits were the "most correct". Yet what was "correct" was not a fixed and unalterable vision, as many factors mediate between the artist's representation of the object and the audience. While artists can suggest, by stylistic mannerisms or content, the way they intend an image to be interpreted, ultimately the final reading of a print will be determined by the nature of the audience. There is no fixed meaning for any image: different understandings of positions within social hierarchies, classes and gender determine the way an image is both made and read.

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The techniques and interests of colonial printmakers were derived from England, where each particular "genre" of print was understood to have specific intentions and readings. It was the acceptance of these conventions by the viewer that allowed prints to be seen to convey information. Prints and drawings were recreations rather than literal transcriptions of actual events. A lithograph of a horse race obviously owes more to the artist's imagination than to the real sequence of events of the race, yet because certain conventions were followed, drawing on the iconography of an established genre of English sporting print, the image was accepted as truthful. This implies a kind of complicity between the artist and the audience and, of course, audiences often questioned the veracity of an image. Indeed implicit in most image making of the early nineteenth-century was a realization that to some extent an image is always an approximation of what it depicts.

Publication was a major impetus in the creation of art in Australia. The early desire to delineate the landforms, indigenous inhabitants and the flora and fauna of the newly settled land was an incentive to artists in an age when imperialism and colonisation was always accompanied by a thorough documentation of the natural history and indigenous peoples of the new land. For many years the peculiarities of Australian flora and fauna attracted more attention than did the state and history of the colony. Such documentation did not necessarily imply any pride or interest in the places depicted. Yet by the 1830s and '40s locally published views of Sydney, intended to be sent "home" to England, were seen by colonists as more than mere depiction of colonial endeavour. They also signified an expression of pride in the colony.

Until John William Lewin's arrival in Sydney in January 1800 it was impossible for an engraved image to be printed in the colony. It was not until the 1830s that Sydney developed a market and a commercial infrastructure capable of supporting a printmaking industry, so obviously the vast majority of printed images of the colony were

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engraved and published in Europe before this. The sources for these prints were either drawings made in New South Wales or, particularly in the case of natural history prints, from specimens gathered in the colony and sent to European collectors who would then employ workmen to draw up and engrave plates for publication.

Nonetheless a large number of prints were made in the colony, and it is with these that this thesis is concerned. As this imagery has been rarely discussed, apart from cursory comments in standard texts, an important and substantial area of colonial art has been neglected. [1] Many have been reproduced in pictorial histories of Australia, but there has been no attempt to draw the material together or to write an account of its production. Indeed little scholarship has been undertaken in the field, despite the example of Clifford Craig's and Geoffrey Stilwell's work on Tasmanian prints and Alison Carroll's broad history of South Australian printmaking. [2] Cedric Flower's The Antipodes Observed, (1975) while providing a popular source book of images, only offers a basic text. It is generally assumed, therefore, that printmaking was a relatively minor part of artistic production in Sydney. In fact an active printmaking industry developed in the colony, utilised by most artists. The aim of this thesis is to recover and interpret some of this "lost" material, as well as providing a history of the Sydney industry. It is important to realise that these prints are not historical curiosities but were an essential part of artistic practice in early colonial Sydney and that many artists made and sold prints as a means of supplementing their usual income from drawing or painting.

Two distinct periods of printmaking can be discerned in New South Wales before 1850: pre-1830 and post-1830. Before 1830 the prints are mostly concerned with natural history and topographical subjects. During this period the compass of colonial printmakers was extremely limited as the infrastructures necessary to support an industry were absent and the market was small - mainly the narrow circle of the colonial elite. The publications of John Lewin, Absalom West and James

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Wallis [3], while not materialising out of a cultural and social vacuum, were created without the network of support, available in Europe provided by ink suppliers, papermakers, engravers, printers and printsellers. Hence these pre-1830 colonial publications were all one-off productions, dependent on the individual initiative of the publisher to pull together the meagre technical resources available in the colony. Presses were tightly controlled by successive administrations because officials were concerned that they could be used disruptively in the volatile Sydney community. Ephemeral prints do not seem to have been published although drawings, such as the scurrilous watercolour depicting the arrest of Governor Bligh (Bligh being discovered under his bed), were copied and circulated throughout the colony. The early printmakers were still working within the wider ideas of European printmaking but were confined by the basic economic and social structure of the colony to a limited range of subjects and media.

The major structural changes that occurred in New South Wales with the onset of large scale immigration from the 1830s provided a market demand and a technical infrastructure which enlarged considerably the scope and capabilities of the local printmakers. From the 1830s onwards Sydney could be said to have a fully established printmaking industry. Printers, engravers and artists were part of the wave of free immigrants who embarked for New South Wales in the 1830s and their expertise was quickly utilised by enterprising publishers who created a full time industry capable of producing a wide range of imagery, often ephemeral, at any time. Indicative of the change was the formation of printing and publishing companies which employed workers on regular wages mainly for commercial printing. Throughout this thesis a distinction has been made between printing that reproduces a pictorial image and printing for commercial purposes; e.g., bank notes and commercial bills which, like the pictorial images to be discussed, were also engraved on copperplate. Although the two are interrelated the reasons for the creation of each obviously differed widely.

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I have chosen to end this study at 1850 because it demarcates a new period of printmaking. In the early 1850s the Gold Rush, photography and the illustrated newspapers all had a profound effect on the way printmaking was organised and functioned in Sydney. Such pressures were present, but not nearly as strongly, in the colony's first sixty years. Thus 1850 is a convenient and logical place to close the study.

For the first sixty years of settlement the printmaking industry here can be best described as provincial. Its capabilities were those of a small British provincial town: competent but limited. The colony could not match the fine engravings, mezzotints, aquatints and lithographs of historical and landscape subjects that firms in London or Paris produced. Nor did the local industry try to do this as, particularly from the 1830s onwards, such images were commonly imported and thus readily available in the colony's booksellers and auction houses. Indeed in 1856, it was claimed that the major reason the commission for Sir Charles Nicholson's portrait was given to an English rather than a Sydney painter was the impossibility of having a fine mezzotint engraving - promised to each subscriber to the portrait - made in Sydney. [4]

Instead the local industry provided images specifically suited to Sydney issues and interests. It provided images of Aborigines, the Harbour and the city, of murderers and of fires, of prominent personalities who had no history outside Sydney, of sportsmen and horses, and of caricature both political and personal. This is the visual ephemera that every city produces and the themes upon which Sydney printmakers elaborated certainly were no different to those of their European counterparts. As nearly all the printmakers working in the colony were trained in England, it is not surprising that they used idioms with which they were familiar. Few, if any, of these printmakers attempted to make "art" prints. Printmaking in Sydney was not seen as a means of personal expression, but rather as a convenient method for mass producing relevant images.

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The general vision that present day historians have of printmaking in Europe in the early nineteenth century tends to overlook the large but cheap end of the market. Histories of English prints talk of topographical prints, for instance, in terms of artists such as William and Thomas Daniell, Paul Sandby, William Westall, J.M.W. Turner or Samuel Prout and topographical publications in terms of Robert Havell or Rudolph Ackermann. [5] While these expensive and elaborate publications were undeniably influential upon the practices of other artists, their penetration and impact into English visual culture is easily exaggerated. The majority of English people would have been more familiar with the images of printed ephemera; cheap caricature and portrait prints, crude landscapes of English and foreign scenery, quick and generalised reproductions of famous paintings or catch-penny prints.

This British tradition in printed image making, for want of a better term, I shall call provincial. Obviously this tradition was at work in London and other large cities too, but the distinctions I want to principally make are with "high art" as exemplified by work shown in the Royal Academy, British Institution or the Watercolour Society and with the "popular art" of broadsheets and catchpenny prints. Provincial prints sit between these two broad areas: although interested in the subject matter of popular prints, provincial printmakers approached such subjects with stylistic techniques derived ultimately from high art. These prints depicted particular people, events and landscapes rather than the generalities of the broadsheets where one image sufficed as a representation for any number of events. Provincial printmakers rarely attempted to compete with the sophisticated engravings that emanated from centres such as London. Instead they concerned themselves with local events and issues: by depicting local personalities, buildings and beauty spots provincial artists and printmakers helped to construct town, and district, identities.

It is the provincial tradition as it appeared in the British provincial towns and cities which best sums up early colonial art. Few Sydney

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artists were as skilled as Conrad Martens. Although the portraits of the Richard Reads are in most cases undoubtedly fine, or the drawings of John Lewin in some instances spectacular, their work often betrays a misunderstanding of, or an inability to cope with, the conventions of the genre in which they were working. Similarly it is a mistake to think of Absalom West's Views in New South Wales (1812-1814) as being part of the same ideas of landscape that inform the work of the prominent British artists mentioned above. The work of John Eyre and Richard Browne [6], who provided the majority of the drawings for West's Views, clearly shows a lack of detailed knowledge of the conventions of high art landscape. Eyre most likely learned his drawing techniques in Coventry, a long way from London and from the issues with which Academy artists were concerned. [7]

Part of our present enjoyment in colonial art derives from the appreciation of a sense of naïveté engendered by the artists' inability to successfully utilise the more sophisticated aspects of a genre's conventions. And so it is with many of the printed images which this thesis will be examining. Yet it should be stressed that this does not imply that the artists and printmakers were not professionals; they may not have been highly skilled but their services were in near constant demand and they would have considered themselves at least artisans, if not artists.

Printmaking in Europe underwent major structural changes in the early nineteenth century. The volume and speed with which images could be printed increased because of the technical innovations which accompanied the new century. The greater strength, for instance, of the new iron framed presses over traditional wooden ones enabled them to run off more impressions than was possible on a wooden one over the same period of time. Similarly the number of impressions that could be taken from a single plate rose substantially with the development of wood engraving, steel plate engraving and lithography - all of which were viable by the 1830s. They could provide virtually limitless print runs whereas a copperplate could be exhausted after as

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little as three hundred impressions. It is almost impossible to plot how these major innovations, part of course of the "industrial revolution", manifested themselves in the visual culture of Western society. [8]

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As I have already pointed, out the range and depth of printmaking in the colony was always constrained by limited technical resources available, despite developments taking place in Europe. Although a letterpress printing press was brought out with the First Fleet, it was not suitable for engraved copperplate printing, which requires a special press. It is important to chronicle the arrival of such equipment into the colony as this defines local printmakers' capabilities and as such sets the context for the thesis. This material is, unfortunately, sketchy since the evidence is scarce and often informed supposition is all that can be offered.

It is not known when the first copperplate printing press arrived in the colony, but it is probably fair to assume that it came out with John Lewin in 1800 as he spent his first four years in New South Wales at Parramatta collecting, drawing, etching and printing his natural history illustrations. Unfortunately, no press is listed in an inventory of the equipment which Lewin bought to New South Wales. [9] At some point however, he acquired a copperplate press, because he offered it for sale in 1810. [10] Even thus equipped Lewin also had to contend with the poor quality of the inks and paper available in the colony. Most of his ink supplies were spoilt on the voyage out so Lewin had to make it himself from local ingredients. [11] He was also troubled by a lack of copperplates for he quickly used the 52 which he had bought with him. Lewin's complaints to his patron Dru Drury were the first of the many cries of frustration that emanated from colonial artists.

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The fate of Lewin's press is unknown. Absalom West did not buy it, the press he used in March 1812 to print his first two views - later discarded - of Sydney Cove was constructed in the colony by a "workman who had never before seen such a machine". The Sydney Gazette also noted that the engraver of these plates, Phillip Slaeger, "had for many years been out of his profession". [12] Publication of West's views was also delayed by the "sudden indisposition of one of the Persons employed in their Completion". [13] James Wallis faced a similar predicament to Lewin when he tried to have the plates for his Historical Account of the Colony of New South Wales engraved in 1817. There were no copperplates in the colony. The ingenious solution, presumably devised by his engraver Walter Preston, was mentioned by Wallis in the letterpress to the English edition of the views

In the whole Colony it was found impossible to procure a single plate of copper fit for engraving upon; and he was in consequence, forced to content himself with the common sheet copper which is employed for coppering the bottom of ships. [13]

Such was the precarious state of intaglio printmaking in New South Wales before 1830.

One of the most enterprising of all early colonial artists was the travel artist, Augustus Earle, who published the first pictorial lithographs in Australia. Earle used one of the two lithographic presses which Governor Brisbane had bought out to Sydney in the early 1820s for his observatory at Parramatta. Brisbane showed some considerable prescience in his choice of printing press; the lithographic technique was little known in England until 1820. But, as Butler points out, Brisbane had seen it used in the Peninsular War and was therefore aware of its advantages. [15] Lithography was the most important graphic reproductive process developed in the nineteenth-century since it enabled the actual drawing of the artist to be reproduced rather than a reinterpretation by an engraver. Nonetheless, despite its reputation as a graphic medium easily mastered by artists, lithography required skilled tradespeople for successful printing.

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Without competent printers, artists were unlikely to be able to use the process.

Brisbane intended that the presses be used to publish the observations of the two astronomers whom he had appointed to the Parramatta Observatory. One of the astronomers, James Dunlop, learnt lithography in March 1821 at Ackermann's, 101 the Strand, while employed by Brisbane in fitting out the observatory prior to their departure for Sydney. [16] The two presses do not seem to have been used at the Observatory. When Brisbane left the colony he gave one of the presses to Dunlop who then passed it on to Earle. [17] Earle said his Views in Australia, published in Sydney in 1826, was his first attempt at lithography but he did not master it so the quality of the prints is poor. The Sydney Monitor of 11 August 1826 commented on the difficulties that Earle had faced in printing his lithographs. Given that the lithographic method was comparatively new in England, only gaining commercial acceptability in 1820, it is remarkable to find it being used so early in such a distant colony. [18] Nevertheless, because of a lack of knowledge and expertise, it was a novelty that could not be fully utilised until the mid-1830s. Lithography was first used in Tasmania in 1833. [19]

A few months prior to his departure from Sydney in October 1828 Earle advertised the sale of the press. He offered it to the Colonial Government for fifty pounds, but this was rejected on the advice of the Surveyor General, Thomas Mitchell, who not only thought the press too small but wondered at its practicality, feeling that "success in Lithography is precarious without a lithographic printer" [20] - the implication being that no such person was then to be found in the colony. The final fate of the presses is not known, although it is possible that they were used to print the controversial frontispiece to the Blossom magazine in 1828 and Charles Rodius' 1830 portrait of the Aborigine Bungaree. [21]

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Letterpress printing was also troubled by a lack of appropriate equipment and supplies, although John McGarvie, writing in the Sydney Gazette in 1829, noted that

Your readers must be aware that there are several very good painters and engravers in Sydney, and that bank plates, shop bills, silver plate arms, lettering, cards, &c. and all that is technically named job work may be executed here with as much beauty and accuracy as in any provincial town in Britain. [22]

Local printers were, however, less sanguine than McGarvie. In the preface to his Australian Pocket Almanack (Sydney 1823), Robert Howe apologised for the poor quality of the typography but explained that he had not received the supplies of ink and type he was expecting from England. He also noted that he had intended to illustrate the Almanack, "but upon making enquiry, has to regret that it was pronounced impracticable to accomplish for the present year".

Although letterpress printing and copperplate printing are different processes, the presence of an established letterpress printing trade can only have helped printmaking in Sydney, particularly with shared expertise and workers. There were a number of copperplate engravers and printers in the colony before 1830 but, on the whole, they were not interested in pictorial image making. Many were convicts. One of the earliest convict copperplate printers to arrive in the colony was John Austin (1772-1837), a Dublin goldsmith of "very eminent commercial repute" who after committing an unknown crime, was transported for life. [23] He established a business as a copperplate printer and engraver of commercial bills and notes, and in 1817 was appointed engraver to the Bank of New South Wales. Although he did not make pictorial images it should be noted that Austin operated a successful printing industry throughout the early decades of the century.

The talents of the convict reproductive engravers, Phillip Slaeger and Walter Preston - who arrived in the colony in 1807 and 1812 respectively - were quickly utilised by colonial publishers, as will be

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seen in Chapter one. Samuel Clayton, who arrived in Sydney in 1817 to serve a seven year sentence, first advertised himself as a copperplate printer, painter and engraver, but spent most of his colonial career working as a jeweller. Edmund Edgar, transported to the colony in 1826, was described at his trial as a miniature painter and engraver. He was assigned to Earle, at the latter's request, possibly to assist in the production of Views in Australia. [24]

In the 1830s any simple "indian file" chronology of the growth and availability of technology breaks down as immigration restructured the commercial life of the colony. Between 1821 and 1850 well over 130,000 British free emigrants disembarked Sydney - 65,000 of those arriving between 1831 and 1840. This not only provided a market for prints and art works but also supplied tradespeople for the local industry. However, this does not explain why printmakers and artists decided to emigrate. Unlike Lewin who came out with specific goals in mind, for many the decision to leave Britain was taken because of the apparently hopeless prospects facing the tradesperson in their native land. [25] Yet artists were certainly not encouraged to emigrate. Henry Carmichael, writing in the New South Wales Magazine (Sydney) of March 1834, commented that

In the infancy of a society such as this, no artist, as such, is likely to entertain the notion that here he will have the chance of realizing a fortune by the practise of his profession...the fine arts must evidently be practised here by men who depend for their support on the useful rather than the ornamental branches of labour. [26]

Certainly the engraving trade was depressed in the 1830s in London. Work was irregular in the 1830s and 1840s in both the copperplate and letterpress printing industries. Tegg's Complete Book of Trades noted that wages had dropped in this period for all work but the best (i.e. fine reproductive line or mezzotint engraving). [27] Similarly the drift away from line engravings on copper to steel and wood engravings upset traditional work practices and led many engravers, particularly in the early 1830s, to leave for America. [28] Indeed it was during this period that a large number of emigrant printmakers arrived in

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Sydney. Although brief comments will be made on some of these artists in the following pages, fuller biographies can be found in the Appendix. References for most of the following, unless otherwise indicated, will also be found there.

One of the earliest free emigrant artists was the deaf and dumb Edinburgh engraver, John Carmichael, who arrived in Sydney aboard the *Triton* in October 1825. Carmichael's decision to emigrate appears to have been an attempt to provide himself with better prospects than were available in Scotland. It would seem that Carmichael had every intention of making Sydney his home; he died there in 1855. William Wilson, also a free emigrant, arrived in Sydney from Hobart in 1828 on board the *Arab*. Very little of his personal history is known; he was, however, a competent engraver of copperplate and wood.

William Fernyhough, who emigrated to Sydney in 1836, was financed by his father, the Governor of the Military Knights of Windsor in England, who recorded in his will that "as I was at very considerable expense in fitting out my dear son William Henry Fernyhough for Sydney I hereby discharge him from payment". [29] So Fernyhough's removal to Sydney also appears to have been a case of seeking improved prospects. By 1842, however, he was bankrupt. William Nicholas, a trained lithographer and miniature painter, also arrived in Sydney in 1836. He seemed to find more work as a miniature painter than as a lithographer, but, like Fernyhough fell heavily into debt in the economic depression of the early 1840s. [30] Similarly John Skinner Prout, who landed in 1840 planning to collect drawings for a landscape annual to be published in England, was, too, escaping the pressures of the English art world; in his journal written on the voyage out to Australia he alludes to "...continued difficulties and harassment of mind we had experienced during the last two years". It is generally assumed that Prout brought out a lithographic press with him from England, the major evidence for this is the fact he established a company, called the Australian Lithographic Establishment, on his arrival in the colony. [31]

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John Gardiner Austin, a printer from Gravesend England who was probably related to the convict engraver John Austin, arrived in the colony in June 1834, to establish himself as a printer and publisher. [32] Austin, an entrepreneur rather than artist, provided crucial expertise, presses and presumably capital for the Sydney printmaking industry. He imported a lithographic press in 1834 which soon found regular employment amongst the colony's artists. In the next two years he bought out at least five lithographically illustrated publications, a feat impossible before his arrival. [33] He published work by artists such as Robert Russell, William Fernyhough and Charles Rodius. For an unknown reason, possibly connected with the death of the elder John Austin in March 1837, Austin sold his business later in the year and left the printing trade.

Other entrepreneurial publishers also established themselves in Sydney in the mid-1830s. William Baker told the readers of his magazine Heads of the People that he had landed in Sydney in early 1835 as a free settler on an assisted passage determined to start a lithographic and copperplate printing business. [34] When Edward Barlow first arrived in Sydney in 1836 he worked as an interior decorator and architect before taking over John Austin's business in 1837. Raphael Clint had worked in Western Australia and Hobart before moving to Sydney in 1835, where he established himself as a seal-engraver, lithographer and copperplate engraver. He was the son of George Clint, a well known theatrical painter in London, and had trained as a seal-engraver. In 1847, he too, was declared insolvent. [35]

Most of the expansion in the printing industry was not specifically related to printmaking. The new technology and workers generally serviced commercial letterpress and job printing. Like most English provincial printers, publishers of prints such as Austin, Barlow, Clint and Baker probably derived more income from their commercial printing and general business than from printmaking. George Rowe for instance, best known in Australia for his goldfield watercolours, owned a lithographic printing business in Cheltenham England in the 1840s. As

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well as publishing numerous topographical views of his neighbourhood, his firm printed maps, plans, estate and sale particulars, circulars, billheads, tradesmens' cards and tickets. [36] Similarly William Baker's advertisement in Francis Lowe's City of Sydney Directory for 1844 offered wood engraving, engraving, lithographic and copperplate printing as well as letterpress printing.

When particular individuals brought out specific skills they were immediately utilised. For instance William Fernyhough's knowledge of zincography - a process only commercially viable in England since 1830 - was immediately exploited after he arrived in Sydney in mid-1836. It is possible that Fernyhough came out with a zincographic press; certainly there was one in the colony by 1837 for in November of that year Barlow offered for sale by auction

One Splendid Lithographic and Zincographic Printing Press, 78 Zinc Plates, Blocks, Rollers, etc with Patent enabling the purchaser to use the art of Zincography in New South Wales and Van Diemens Land, Also original documents containing full and explicit directions relative to the preparing of the Zinc and Plates, for writing or Drawing, Printing etc. [37]

In a different lot of the same sale Barlow offered another lithographic press which was described as the "most compact in the colony and intended for an Artist's studio".

Both Clint and Barlow expanded their premises to enable them to cope with the increased pressure of business of the late 1830s. In October 1837 Barlow offered constant employment to two or three draftspeople and lithographers, while in April of the next year he announced that because of the increase in business he had expanded his premises and engaged "several first rate workmen" who were shortly expected to arrive from England. Clint placed advertisements of similar intent at the same time, claiming in 1837 that he had made arrangements with "the co-operation of Other Artists [which enabled him] to produce specimens of all the Graphic talent in the Country". [38] In 1842 he proclaimed, not without a certain hyperbole, that he had received a



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supply of materials for printing impressions in Lithograph, as large as the *Herald* newspaper, with every other requisite; also an artist from Day and Hague's Establishment, under which facilities will be afforded for the economical conduct of business, of which no house out of London but this can offer, [39]

Day and Hague were the Queen's lithographers; presumably the unknown artist was a more satisfactory employee than his usual workmen, whom Clint accused of "depraved habits". Although it appears that this equipment was primarily intended to be used for publishing plans of estates and maps, Clint also drew it to the attention of "Draftsmen". This period of expansion of the printing trade was certainly the most prolific time for lithographic printmakers. The depression of the early 1840s very effectively squashed that buoyancy; it was never really to recover for the rest of the decade.

The 1840s were technically a difficult time for lithographers, as the necessary materials were scarce and their quality poor. The special paper required for a superior lithographic impression was virtually unobtainable in the colony. John Skinner Prout had to print his Sydney Illustrated on unsuitable paper, after his orders for proper lithographic paper did not arrive from England, which ruined his lithographs and led him to suspend the publication of the fourth part until he could have it printed in Hobart (although this was probably not the only reason he left Sydney). [40] Prout's predicament created a small controversy in the local press. The Sydney Morning Herald commented that Prout's drawings would be "murdered" by "any lithographic process of which we can yet boast - even *Hullmandel would be certain to spoil their finish*". A correspondent took the paper to task, saying that Prout was "merely waiting the arrival of some lithographic printing paper, to show that we are not so far behind the lithographers of our fatherland...". [41] Prout apologized for the quality of the lithographs in a plaintive note to his subscribers

\* Murtens  
about 3 days  
before in  
advertisement

Mr Prout, in justice to himself, cannot help regretting that he has been obliged to print these views on paper so ill adapted for the purpose... Mr Prout would not have been this dependent on the Sydney Market had he not been disappointed in receiving from England a Supply of the proper material, [42]

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The Sydney Morning Herald in September 1843 advised artists "not to allow their works to be published until there are materials and appliances for lithographing in a style more worthy of the drawing than any we have yet seen." [43] These are new complaints. In the 1830s there had been only praise for lithographic prints. Perhaps the novelty of the process had then blinded critics to its faults; maybe supplies were more regular. Artists, however, trying to publish serious lithographic publications were continually frustrated by poor materials and equipment. Conrad Martens sent the drawing for his lithograph *Sydney from the North Shore, 1842* to London to be printed because of the problems he faced printing it in Sydney; at the end of the decade he was still troubled by colonial printers. In an undated letter written some time before 1850 he told a Miss Morrow of the difficulties he was having printing his Sketches in the Environs of Sydney: "Unfortunately there is no good printer in Sydney and much work remains to be done by me afterwards in order to hide his clumsiness.." [44] Marten's printer was John Allan who had served an apprenticeship with Raphael Clint and was one of the first colonially trained lithographic printers. [45]

There is little evidence as to how copperplate engraving and etching fared in Sydney. Certainly it did not attract the criticism and complaints that seemed to accompany lithography. Copperplate printing was used mainly for commercial work such as billheads, although it was also used for illustrating magazines such as Heads of the People (1847-48) and books such as James Macle hose's Picture of Sydney and Stranger's Guide to New South Wales (1839) and Joseph Fowles' Sydney in 1848. On the whole the industry appears to have coped with the demands placed upon it, but in certain instances the lack of appropriate technology created some problems. When the Post Office printed its twopenny stamp in 1849, it employed John Carmichael to engrave the plate on copper. The plates soon wore, necessitating expensive and inconvenient retouching. Ideally the stamps should have been on steel plates which are much more durable than copper, although harder to work. The Postmaster General, James Raymond, who did not

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doubt the abilities of colonial tradesmen to work on steel, advised the Colonial Secretary that there was not the requisite machinery in the colony for multiplying dies upon steel plates. He recommended obtaining steel plates from England. [46]

It is more difficult to trace the history of wood engraving in Sydney. Wood engravings are particularly suited to newspaper illustration, because of the ease in which an engraved block can be inserted into a forme of type. The visual evidence seems clear enough: wood engravings - occasionally published in the 1830s - were widely used for newspaper illustration in the colony from the early 1840s onwards, as they were in England. There was, however, a dearth of good wood engravers. The Weekly Register, which began publishing in July 1843, was forced to give up its illustrated series of biographies of prominent Sydney identities in October 1843 because the proprietor found the difficulty of procuring competent engravers too great. [47] Nicholas' portrait of Benjamin Boyd, which accompanied Arden's Sydney Magazine for October 1843, was engraved by a Thomas Sheppard, a "self educated wood cutter, from whom of course, neither a finished nor a very good engraving is to be expected...". [48] A G. Maxted, who moved from Hobart Town to Sydney in 1844, advertised himself as an engraver on wood, wood letter cutter, and printing ink manufacturer. [49]

The most prolific wood engraver in Sydney was Thomas Clayton. He and his father Robert - the brother of Samuel - were transported to Sydney in 1834. Both were wood engravers who had become involved with the forging of stamps in Dublin. In return for information they were given £100, and allowed to travel as cabin passengers to New South Wales where they were permitted to go to any part of the colony as free settlers. [50] Only Thomas worked as an engraver in the colony. In October 1846 the Spectator noted that Thomas Clayton could not find sufficient employment in Sydney even though the paper thought that his work could "bear honourable comparison with those of London artists of celebrity". [51] It was seldom, the paper said, that wood

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engravings were seen in Sydney. By the end of the 1840s Clayton found regular work illustrating magazines such as Heads of the People, Bell's Life in Sydney and The Australian Sportsman. He appears to have been the Sportsman's staff illustrator.

The quality and frequency of wood engravings varied enormously. Frequently papers that were normally illustrated would suddenly run for months without any engravings. Just as suddenly, and with no comment, the illustrations would reappear. The crude, obviously unskilled, quality of much of the colonial work was probably due in part to the problems and difficulties inherent in provincial printmaking. But it was also partly the residue of the English popular or catchpenny print tradition where accuracy, detail and craftsmanship were unimportant. When wood engravings of a superior quality were used to illustrate newspapers - a portrait engraving of a prominent European figure such as Daniel O'Connell for instance - these were likely to be European blocks that had found their way to Australia.

Very little is known about relationships between engravers and their publishers. We know nothing about wages or of stability of employment. Sydney did not have the sub-cultures that characterized the London printing industry. There was no Seven Dials, St Giles or Fleet Street, no James Catnachs or John Pitts in Sydney, but the colony did inherit the essential instability and piecemeal nature of the London trade. Engraving premises were rarely closed factories. Generally engravers hired rooms wherever they could in which to work or simply worked from home - particularly if they were employed as outworkers for a master engraver. [52] Printing was not a particularly organised profession; until the 1850s fewer than twenty per cent of London printers employed more than three people. [53]

Relationships between publishers, however, were sometimes strained. In November 1844 Baker blatantly copied, published and displayed in his shop window as his own design, a lithograph of the Mayor's Fancy Dress Ball published by Barlow. Barlow sued Baker for damages but lost the

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case on a technicality. One paper, the Star, noted bitterly the skill that Baker had "acquired in taking off on stone the labours of others." [54]

Most colonial engravers appear to have been jacks of all trades; tradesman and artisans. John Carmichael, for instance, published lithographs, engravings and etchings. He was a trade engraver, one of the many in Sydney, and would tackle whatever work came his way. After his one moment of personal initiative in publishing Select Views in Sydney in 1829, Carmichael relied on piece work to earn his living. Although capable of creating his own designs, Carmichael was principally a reproductive engraver, trained to reproduce other people's drawings. In June 1839 Clint advertised that he had engaged "at his establishment the services of MR JOHN CARMICHAEL, so long known as a first rate Copperplate Engraver..". [55] I do not know how long he stayed with Clint but he continued to accept commissions from other sources throughout the 1840s. Thomas Clayton provided wood engravings - more than likely copies of drawings in London journals - for numerous magazines in the late 1840s, often simultaneously.

The situation for other printmakers such as William Fernyhough, William Nicholas, Robert Russell or Thomas Balcombe was different. From the middle classes, they were defined as artists - even gentlemen - rather than artisans. Fernyhough was the son of the Captain of the Military Knights of Windsor; Balcombe was the son of the Colonial Treasurer; while Robert Russell was a well-educated architect. Nicholas was a skilled artist, whose portraiture, at least, appealed to the colonial elite. He was also part of the small Sydney art community, sitting on the management committee of the Society for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Australia exhibition of 1849. John Skinner Prout, too, appears to have been accepted into Sydney society and was admired for his attempts to encourage art - seen as one of the first steps to raising the moral standards of the colony - in the community. All these artists had links with middle-class society and patrons and participated in fledgling cultural institutions. It is unlikely that any

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would have been described, as was the Irish Catholic William Baker, as "from that class in society better known by the character of a people". [56] Charles Rodius, however, was of somewhat higher status, being generally accepted as a respectable emigrant, despite the fact that he had been transported to the colony in 1829.

For many of these artists printmaking was only a secondary occupation. When printmaking proved unsuccessful for Fernyhough he obtained a job in the Surveyor-General's office which he later left to establish an unknown business, which also failed. His father then interceded on his behalf, writing to Sir Thomas Mitchell in 1843 to ask for William's re-employment. In 1844 William Fernyhough was described as a surveyor and draughtsman. Printmaking appears to have been simply a diversion for Robert Russell while he pursued his career as a surveyor and architect. Balcombe only briefly left the Surveyor-General's office, where he was employed first as a draughtsperson and then as a field surveyor, to look for gold. Yet he was an active artist, both as an exhibiting oil painter and as a printmaker.

While there was clearly a body of professional artists in Sydney - Richard Read junior, Conrad Martens, Charles Rodius, John Skinner Prout, William Nicholas, William Griffiths - who made their living through art, and in many cases, printmaking, there was also a sizeable body of semi-professional artists who exhibited and sold paintings while maintaining other full-time employment. Samuel Elyard, George Edward Peacock (who published a couple of lithographs) and Frederick Garling come to mind. Garling, who worked in the Customs Office, was said to have made £100 per annum from paintings executed after office hours. [57]

The Sydney printmaking industry of the 1830s and 1840s worked on two broad levels, although the distinction between the two was often blurred. On the one hand, there was the commercial, trade printmaking industry which was serviced by artisans and tradespeople such as Carmichael and financed by entrepreneurial publishers; on the other,

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there were middle class, artist printmakers who made prints for sale, using the technology - and often the financial support - of the trade.

\* \* \* \* \*

A few words should be said about the Sydney art market as it relates to the distribution of prints. As was pointed out in the beginning of this introduction, local printmakers did not try to compete with European landscape, subject, sporting or portrait prints; but were restricted instead to colonial matters. Nevertheless, European prints of all manner of subjects, and paintings, were regularly imported into the colony and were freely available. Augustus Earle opened one of the first galleries in the colony in 1826. He had at his "Disposal, a small, yet interesting and valuable Collection of Books, Engravings, and Prints (Proofs), by the most eminent Masters, as various as beautiful". [58] In 1836 £1209 worth of pictures and prints were imported into Sydney; newspapers from the 1830s onwards reveals frequent auctions of these items. [59] Indeed, when Prout arrived in Sydney in 1840, he was surprised at the extent to which houses were decorated with paintings and prints, although he found popular taste wanting:

In houses of a lower class the love of ornament was equally perceptible; but here, the taste was capable of considerable improvement. This class of persons would have to depend on the supply afforded by the colonial market, the importation to which consisted principally of vulgarly-coloured scriptural prints, sporting subjects, unwieldy oxen, &c., &c., [60]

Prints could be bought from bookshops, stationers and businesses such as Austin's (who described himself as a printseller), Baker's and Barlow's. Both Samuel Elyard and the merchant Alexander Brodie Spark recorded buying engravings from local shops. In January 1837 Elyard sent to England for some artists' materials, including on his list a number of engravings after Sir Thomas Lawrence's portraits. The next month he bought three small engravings at James Tegg's bookshop, "viz- Bridesmaid 1/6, Fisher children 1/s & Trojan Fugitives 1/s." Between 1843 and 1846 he spent over two pounds on engravings at shops such as Baker's, William Coleman's and Barlow's. These were not fine

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engravings; some cost as little as a penny. [61] On 13 May 1839 Spark noted "Looked thro' Mr Barlow's collection of engravings and selected a few". [62]

Many of the consignments of prints - paralleled perhaps by the present day importation of containers of antiques - were sold at public auctions. Advertisements were regularly placed in newspapers to this effect, becoming more frequent in the late 1840s. For instance, when Edward Barlow returned from England in the early 1840s he bought with him a collection of engravings which he auctioned, with some colonial watercolours, on 2 April 1845. [63] All manner of prints made their way to Sydney. In 1844 Charles Williams, a broker of Pitt Street, narrowly escaped punishment when it was decided by Sydney magistrates that the prints he was selling were not indecent. [64]

\* \* \* \* \*

It should now be clear that printmaking played an important part in the visual culture of Sydney, and that, particularly after 1830, artists saw printmaking as an easily accessible, and viable, way of supplementing their usual artistic practice. The prints were sold to the broad colonial market of the thousands of free emigrants, who demanded not only views of their adopted city, but documentation of its daily life and events as well. As the images of Sydney were derived from the traditions of English provincial prints, Sydney was, therefore, portrayed as an English town, in a landscape that, though different in detail, was familiar in its artistic presentation. It was a vision of New South Wales as an antipodean England that visitors and emigrants sent "home" as souvenirs of colonial experiences. Sydney printmakers responded to their urban environment in much the same way that provincial English printmakers reacted to theirs. Aborigines, for instance, were accommodated either into conventional popular portraiture or traditional English depictions of the urban poor. In many ways this continuity of interests and methods between England and its colony is at the heart of English settlement at New South

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Wales. Early colonists were forging not only a new nation but a new England.

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### NOTES

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11 "The 1830's was not a great decade for the production of prints in Australia", Ballarat Fine Art Gallery, Outlines of Australian Printmaking, Ballarat 1976, n.p. Roger Butler's Australian Prints in the Australian National Gallery (Canberra 1985) suggests the existence of such imagery but the format of the book does not allow him to go into detail. Nevertheless Butler is planning a major publication on printmaking for 1989. Bernard Smith's European Vision and the South Pacific (Sydney 1984 2nd ed.) does mention topographical printmaking in the 1830s and 1840s but his comments are necessarily brief; p.285.

21 Clifford Craig: The Engravers of Van Diemen's Land, Hobart 1961; Old Tasmanian Prints: Prepared in Great Britain, Europe and on the Mainland of Australia, Launceston 1964; More Old Tasmanian Prints, Launceston 1984.

Alison Carroll, Graven Images in the Promised Land. A History of Printmaking in South Australia 1836-1981, Adelaide 1981.

Cedric Flower, The Antipodes Observed. Artists of Australia 1788-1850, Melbourne 1975.

31 John Lewin, Prodromus Entomology, London 1805; Birds of New Holland, London 1808; Birds of New South Wales, Sydney 1813

Absalom West, Views in New South Wales, Sydney 1812-1814.

James Wallis, An Historical Account of the Colony of New South Wales and its Dependent Settlements, London 1821.

41 "Mr T. Mort and Sir Charles Nicholson's Portrait", S.M.H., 8/2/1856.

51 See for example Richard Godfrey, Printmaking in Britain, Oxford 1978; Ronald Russell, Guide to British Topographical Prints, Newton Abbot 1979.

61 A collection of this artist's work sold at auction in October 1987, contains one drawing signed Richard Browne. This is the first confirmation of Browne's Christian name that has come to light. See Niel Gunson, "Richard T. Browne", D.A.A.

71 Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850, London, 1969, p.162.

81 Louis James ed., Print and the People 1819-1851, London, 1978. James discusses the development of the printed word and the growth of literacy, but many of his examples of popular literature are of course illustrated. Just as the printed word became more accessible so too did the image which accompanied it.

91 ML MSS A358-1, "Invoice of Goods delivered on Board the Buffalo to Mr J.W. Lewin, the returns to be made in Insects from Port Jackson".

101 S.G. 27.10 1810

111 John Lewin to Dru Drury 7 March 1803, reprinted in Bernard Smith, Documents on art and taste in Australia, Melbourne 1979, p.20.

121 S.G. 28.3.1812

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- 131 S.G. 5.12.1812
- 141 Wallis Historical Account..., p.1
- 151 Roger Butler, "Australia's first Lithographs", The Australian Connoisseur and Collector, no.3 1984, p.94.
- 161 John Service Thir Notandums, Edinburgh 1890, p.139.
- 171 Butler, "Australia's first Lithographs", p.95.
- 181 French and German printmakers were initially much more interested in lithography than their English counterparts and experimented widely and successfully with the technique during its hiatus in England.
- 191 Craig, Engravers of Van Diemen's Land, p.153.
- 201 Eve Buscombe, Artists in Early Australia and their Portraits, Sydney 1979, p.67.
- 211 For the controversy over the lithographic frontispiece printed with the Blossom (published by J.W. Fulton) in 1828 see S.G., 20/6/1828. Richard Read junior drew the allegedly compromising portrait. For Rodius' portrait of Bungaree see Sydney Monitor, 6/3/1830.
- 221 S.G. 27.7.1829
- 231 See Appendix.
- 241 "Edmund Edgar", D.A.A.; See also Appendix.
- 251 Ken Inglis, The Australian Colonists, Melbourne 1974, chapter 2; Humphrey McQueen, A New Britannia, Melbourne 1980, p.120-25.
- 261 New South Wales Magazine, March 1834, p.214.
- 271 Anthony Dyson, Pictures in Print, London 1984, p.16.
- 281 Basil Hunnisett, Steel-engraved book illustrations in England, London 1980, p.205.
- 291 Public Records Office, London, Prob. 11 1994 (198).
- 301 Heather Johnston, "William Nicholas", D.A.A., forthcoming.
- 311 Anthony Brown, "John Skinner Prout - his Tasmanian sojourn 1844-48", Art Bulletin of Tasmania, 1984, p.21.
- 321 See Appendix.
- 331 They were: Charles Rodius, Australian Aborigines, Sydney 1834; William Fernyhough, A Series of Twelve Profile Portraits of Aborigines of New South Wales, Sydney 1836, Amores Fantastiques, Sydney [1836], Military and Editorial Sketches, Sydney 1836; Robert Russell, A series of Lithographic Drawings of Sydney and its Environs, Sydney 1836.
- 341 Heads of the People, 25/3/1848.
- 351 "Raphael Clint", D.A.A..
- 361 Stephen Blake, George Rowe. Artist and Lithographer 1796-1864, Cheltenham 1982, p.13.
- 371 Commercial Journal and General Advertiser 15.11.1837
- 381 Aust., 24/1/1837 p.3.
- 391 S.M.H. 1.1.1842, p.4.
- 401 S.M.H. 13.9.1843, p.3.
- 411 S.M.H. 6.8.1842, p.2, 3. This reference is a reply to an as yet untraced item in the S.M.H.
- 421 This lithographed letterpress is inserted in some copies of Sydney Illustrated.
- 431 S.M.H. 13.9.1843, p.3.
- 441 Conrad Martens correspondence at DL MSS 144, transcript, p.5.
- 451 John Allan's advertisement in Low's Sydney Directory of 1844 announced "J.A. having served his apprenticeship to Mr Clint, and being a practical workman in several branches, assures those parties who have not yet favoured him with their orders, that they may rely upon

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having them executed in a superior manner".

461 Andrew Houston, History of the Post Office, Sydney 1890, p.44.

471 S.M.H. 30.10.1843, p.3.

481 See both Weekly Register 21.10.1843, p.196; and Sydney Record 7.10.1843, p.4.

491 The Dispatch, 7/9/1844, p.3.

501 See Appendix.

511 The Spectator 24.10.1846

521 Celina Fox "Wood engravers and the City" in Ira Nadel & F.S. Schwarzarbach eds., Victorian Artists and the City, New York 1980, p.6. It is interesting how often some Sydney engraving premises changed hands. Gregory Hazard, who came free to Sydney in 1826, bought a copperplate press in 1827 (S.G. 19/5/1827) and advertised as an engraver and copperplate printer, He was in financial difficulty in June 1828 but in 1829 he advertised in his wife's name that the business was moving to commodius premises in 19 King Street (Aust. 6/6/1829). In 1831 however Carmichael announced that he was moving to 19 King Street. William Baker then took over the spot when he established his Hiberian Printing Press.

531 James Print and the People, p.23

541 S.M.H., 18/11/1844 p.2,3; The Star, 30/11/1844.

551 Sydney Standard 17.6.1839 p.1.

561 Aust., 16/3/1841 p.2. See also Appendix.

571 William Wedge Dark to Robert Russell 3 May 1847; Russell Correspondence La Trobe Library.

581 S.G., 30/12/1826 p.1.

591 James Macle hose, Picture of Sydney and Strangers' Guide to New South Wales, Sydney 1839, p.183.

601 John Skinner Prout, "The Fine Arts in Australia", Art Union (London), 1/11/1838 p.332.

611 Samuel Elyard "Diaries 1837-38" ML MSS 594/2 Item 19; see entries 21/1/1837 and 4/2/1837. See also his "Diaries 1834-48", Elyard Family Papers, ML MS Q223 Portfolio 16. The references to his expenditure 1843-46 are too numerous to mention.

621 G. Abbott & G. Little, The Respectable Sydney Merchant. A.B. Spark of Tempe, Sydney 1976, p.106.

631 Auction Catalogues, ML 018-2PA1 p.325.

641 The Star, 14/12/1844 p.2; see a similar case Sydney Herald, 25/4/1836 p.3.

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### PRINTMAKING BEFORE 1820

The presence of Phillip Slager's engraving, *Blue Mountain Pheasant of New South Wales*, in Absalom West's principally topographical Views in New South Wales (Sydney 1814) illustrates two of the central interests of colonial art in the first decades of the colony. Although colonial artists were commissioned to paint portraits or devise allegorical compositions, the most consistent demand was for portraits of Aborigines (discussed in chapter four) and natural history and topographical drawings. Yet Slager's *Blue Mountain Pheasant* [pl.16], actually a lyrebird, reveals the different character of West's topographical publication to the entomological and ornithological books produced by John William Lewin. While Lewin undoubtedly saw himself as a professional natural history collector, illustrator and printmaker, Absalom West was an entrepreneurial publisher whose role was to organise artists and engravers into producing his Views.., which were modelled on English topographical publications. He included *Blue Mountain Pheasant* in the Views.., not out of ornithological curiosity, but because it was an animal which had aroused some controversy in the English scientific community, and had therefore become a signifier of the exotic. The image was not taken from direct observation but rather copied from a plate in David Collins' An Account of the English Colony of New South Wales (London 1802). [1] West's "pheasant" was just a gesture towards satisfying popular interest in unfamiliar colonial fauna, while Lewin, on the other hand, in his active years as a printmaker, tried to establish himself as a professional natural history illustrator and printmaker. His topographical studies were of secondary importance.

Although early written responses to New South Wales and its landscape were ambivalent, this is not evident in the images published by West or James Wallis in his An Historical Account of the Colony of New South Wales.. (London 1821, but first issued in Sydney in 1819). The impetus for the production of most visual imagery in the early days

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of the colony was the desire to record the present state, and the potential state, of the colony. The information provided by these images was not necessarily accurate - the lyrebird, for instance, is shown in an unnatural pose - nor neutral and unbiased. The New South Wales of West and Wallis was not a penal colony - there was not a convict in sight - but an infant yet growing outpost of British civilization.

Most art made in the colony was, of course, suitable for publication, and many drawings, from Thomas Watling onwards, were taken back to England to be engraved. Often the drawing was merely a "souvenir" of the colony, not intended for any major publication. Captain Dixon's copy of Richard Read junior's *A View of Sydney Cove, taken from the North Shore*, was engraved in England for the Gentleman's Magazine of May 1824. [2] If a popular image could not be reproduced by mechanical means, multiple copies could be made by hand in the colony. Richard Browne, for example, made multiple copies of his natural history drawings and portraits of Aborigines and John Lewin made at least three copies of his *Gignatic Iyllie of New South Wales* over a ten year period. [3] Had colonial artists had easy access to printing technology, such images would have been engraved and published. The demand for multiple copies of original designs - from travellers, merchants, and land owners - formed a major part of the income of colonial artists.

Although artists would have found easier access to printing equipment desirable, colonial governments were probably not averse to the status quo. Letterpress presses were tightly controlled by all governors until Governor Brisbane allowed the publication of the Australian in October 1824. [4] Presses could be potent tools of sedition in a small town. Although copper plate presses were in the wider community it is unlikely that Macquarie, for instance, would have thought complete freedom of access to presses desirable. It was unlikely that Macquarie would have allowed West to build a press had he felt threatened by its possible issue.

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Two of New South Wales' first printmakers arrived in the colony - under very different circumstances - on 11 January 1800 on board the *Minerva*. One was John Austin, the convict copperplate engraver, whose career is briefly discussed in the introduction. [5] However unlike the other printmaker on the *Minerva*, John William Lewin (1770-1819), he did not make pictorial images, and therefore is of less concern to this chapter.

John Lewin, who travelled on the *Minerva* as a free passenger, was the first active pictorial printmaker in the colony - although he stopped working as a printmaker (though not as a publisher) as early as 1805 - it is appropriate to begin by discussing his career. Lewin, whose principal interests were ornithology and entomology, was the son of a natural history painter and ornithologist William Lewin (1747-1795). For at least the first decade of the nineteenth century John Lewin was the only professional natural history painter resident in New South Wales. Other painters were working in Australia, but were either visiting artists or enthusiastic amateurs such as the deputy-surveyor of Van Diemens Land, George Prideaux Harris (1775-1810). Lewin's career in New South Wales was not simply limited to printmaking, although this is the aspect of his work which will be emphasized here; his *oeuvre* included topographical paintings, portraits, unpublished natural history drawings and some allegorical transparencies. He also opened a drawing school. Of relevance to this thesis, however, are his three published works: Prodromus Entomology Natural History of Lepidopterous Insects of New South Wales (London 1805), Birds of New Holland with their Natural History (London 1808) and Birds of New South Wales (Sydney 1813). The two earlier volumes were published in London but their plates were etched in New South Wales.

Lewin is often seen as a failure - a well intentioned man who always made the wrong decisions: "Dogged all his life by a combination of bad luck and poor judgement, Lewin died in 1819, an artist whose true potential went unrealised". [6] Yet in most respects Lewin's life was typical of provincial artists of his time. It was a struggle for most

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English artists to maintain a regular income; the diversity of Lewin's practice was the norm, rather than the exceptional. He was clearly not a "successful" artist, yet his struggles were paralleled by the experiences of many English itinerant artists. Thomas Gosse, for example, whose eccentric vision of Botany Bay was displayed in the mezzotint *Founding of the Settlement of Port Jackson at Botany Bay in New South Wales 1799*, spent most of his working life travelling through the provincial towns and major cities of southern England seeking portrait commissions. He would stay in a town until he had exhausted its patronage, before moving on. [7]

John's father, William, who probably began his working life as a fabric designer, was a London-based naturalist with a particular interest in the discipline of ornithology. He was the author and artist of The Birds of Great Britain, published in London between 1789 and 1794. For the second edition of The Birds..., published in eight volumes between 1795 and 1801 (most of it posthumously), William enlisted the help of his sons. Of the 336 plates William engraved 112, while John worked on 141 and his other brothers the rest. John's knowledge of natural history, as imperfect as it was, appears to have been acquired whilst assisting his father with his work. [8]

William worked on the periphery of the mid-eighteenth century middle class world which interested itself in science and natural history. The general thrust of this age of Enlightenment was the attempt to find a system of order in the natural world. Thus in the eighteenth century the idea of empirical research, which encompassed both local and international fields, was emphasised as one way of accurately documenting the natural world. Scientific disciplines were not rigidly defined, however, and Lewin would probably have considered himself a naturalist rather than a specialist ornithologist. Most naturalists worked in more than one field; thus for John Lewin to publish books on both birds and insects was not unusual. [9]

The organisation of British science, which differed from practices on the continent, often relied on wealthy aristocratic or middle class patrons; the most well known, and the most important, being Sir Joseph Banks. Others such as Thomas Pennant, Sir Ashton Lever, Marmaduke Tunstall and the Duchess of Portland - all of whom knew each other and Banks (Banks and Pennant were close friends) - were particularly interested in ornithology and all helped William Lewin by providing him with access to their collections. [10] He also corresponded with the foremost ornithologist of the day, John Latham. Yet despite the considerable achievements of his work, uneven as it is, Lewin was always an artisan rather than artist and, unlike the fashionable Sir Joshua Reynolds P.R.A., would never have enjoyed the intimate company of his patrons. He was a tradesman who aspired to be a naturalist. Lewin depended on the support of his patrons, having no substantial independent income of his own. John Lewin, too, used his father's connections to secure official support for his voyage to New South Wales. The third Duke of Portland, then Home Secretary, sent a letter of introduction for John Lewin to Governor Hunter in Sydney in 1798, a letter which also authorised Hunter to issue government rations to Lewin. [11] Presumably the late William's involvement with the Duchess of Portland's collection had helped John obtain this official support.

John Lewin's work was derived from a long series of British natural history illustrator/etchers. [12] His etching skills were most likely taught to him by his father. Although Lewin is most often described as an engraver, he was in fact an etcher. Etching, which relies on acid to excise the ink-holding lines into the copper plate, is an easier technique to master than the engraving process, where the line is physically cut into the copper plate by a sharp implement manipulated by the artist. As publishing a natural history volume was an expensive undertaking, etching was favoured by natural history artists who, to reduce costs, made their own plates. [13] The general programme established by etchers such as William Hayes, James Latham, John Walcott or James Bolton - the classification of specimens and the

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preparation of comprehensive national listings - was actively, though inexpertly, adopted by Lewin.

The work of the Lewins' was very much practical natural history. They went into the field and collected the specimens, rather than relying on exclusively on collections and correspondents. That the artist should travel to the field, rather than work from museum specimens, was principally an early nineteenth-century notion. Normally natural history drawings of the period were taken either from dead examples, sent to the artist by collectors and patrons, or stuffed, museum specimens. Appropriate procedures for the preservation of specimens had not been developed until the mid-nineteenth century. Colours of specimens faded, soft parts deteriorated and the form and size of the bird was at the mercy of the taxidermist. [14] Entomologists were similarly troubled. Dru Drury was encouraged to preserve "from oblivion" his extensive collection of insects by having them "delineated on paper". Drury published his collection in Illustrations of Natural History (2 vols. 1770-1773). He notes that the engraved plates were coloured from nature rather than from the perhaps unreliable original drawings. [15] Thus a naturalist who worked in the field could claim considerable advantages for the accuracy of his drawings. Indeed the sponsors for William Lewin's application for membership of the Linnean Society described him as a "practical naturalist". [16] It is a description that also fits John Lewin.

The technical problems of the eighteenth century natural history artist were instrumental in John Lewin's decision to work directly with the flora and fauna of New South Wales. Lewin was not a scientist (especially in our understanding of the word) although his convict friend John Grant said that:

curiosity & Love of Science brought him from England with the laudable ambition to explore Natural History and particularly the Birds and Insects of New South Wales - with a view to give the World the results of his Labours in due time, [17]

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The natural history of New South Wales proved popular in England; the novelty and apparent contradictions of the subject exciting both the educated and the popular imagination. [18] Numerous drawings, such as those of Thomas Watling or George Raper, and engravings of New South Wales subjects were already circulating in England by the time Lewin set out for the colony. [19] Yet none of these, when printed, could claim that extra element of "truth" of being drawn, engraved and coloured from the original specimens in New South Wales. At the time Lewin decided to embark on the voyage there were no other professional natural history collectors and artists working in the colony although Watling had commented as early as 1794, "Should the curious Ornithologist, or the prying Botanist, emigrate here, they could not fail of deriving ample gratification on their favourite pursuits in this luxuriant museum." [20].

Allan McEvey perhaps best sums up Lewin's status when he describes him as a keen naturalist whose presence in the colony was determined by a spirit of scientific inquiry but who should be seen as a collector and illustrator rather than as a scientist. [21] His endeavours did not have the same intentions, for instance, as Matthew Flinder's survey (1801-1805) of the coast of New Holland which was explicitly concerned with defining the physical limits and economic potential of the continent. The expedition party included the botanist Robert Brown as well as two artists, William Westall and Ferdinand Bauer, whose art training and scientific skills were far greater than Lewin's, whose own field observations were often quite basic. It is clear that the rigour of the scientific practice applied to the Flinder's voyage was not part of Lewin's project.

Lewin's voyage was financed by some of England's leading amateur savants including Dru Drury and Alexander McLeay. Drury advanced Lewin £51.10.6 for equipment and expected an insect collection of equal value in return. Drury, a wealthy London goldsmith who owned one of the best collections of insects in England, also wanted Lewin to look for gold and to suggest possible trading opportunities in the colony.

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Indeed, Drury seemed to regard Lewin as his commercial agent in Sydney. However after being shipwrecked and stranded in Tahiti for nine months Lewin told Drury very firmly that he had resolved "...to set down to my pence and never to go any more in search of gold pearls or anything but Insects and that not out of sight of land." [22]

The Lewins' life in the colony (his wife, also an artist, accompanied him to New South Wales) is well documented by Phyllis Mander Jones and the Rienits so biographical detail will not be repeated unless relevant. [23] Lewin arrived in the colony in January 1800 but could not begin collecting as he not only fell sick but had to help his wife, Maria, defend allegations made against the propriety of her conduct on the voyage out to the colony. Mrs Lewin had been befriended by Governor Hunter, himself a keen naturalist and amateur artist, during her time alone in Sydney so his patronage was readily extended to John. Hunter's successor Governor King, who assumed control of the colony on 28 September 1800, was one of Lewin's most important early patrons, commissioning nearly 300 botanical drawings from him. [24] John Grant's bitter complaint that King "does not encourage Mr Lewin in his arduous pursuits in the same manner that Governor Hunter did." must therefore be understood in the context of the furious dispute that raged between Grant and the Governor. [25]

During the time of King's administration Lewin was at his most active as a printmaker, although troubled by poor materials and little scientific support. Amongst the collecting paraphernalia Lewin delivered to the *Buffalo* in March 1798 in preparation for his departure to New South Wales were 52 copper plates. On these he intended etching his natural history specimens. Unfortunately there is no mention of presses, paper and ink so we do not know how he provided himself with these although as he later complained to Drury that his supplies of ink had been destroyed on the voyage out, it can be assumed that he travelled to the colony with all the necessary printing equipment. [26]

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King granted him 100 acres at Parramatta and this was where he spent most of his time collecting and printing. Grant wrote that Lewin "goes into the Woods here, he collects Birds & Insects, he breeds them to come at their real History, he paints them, Engraves them, Prints them, Colours the Prints wh. Mrs Lewin.." [27] Like so many of his contemporaries, Lewin was initially confounded by the appearance and behaviour of nature in New South Wales. He wrote to Drury that "..every thing in Naturall History is contrary to our known knowledge in England." [28] For Lewin the problem was much more practical than philosophic; ignorance made collecting difficult as he did not know where to look for specimens. But, unlike Watling's somewhat precious response to the artistic challenges posed by the new environment, Lewin faced up to them; after three years he felt he had "got such an insight into their [caterpillars] manners" that he would have few problems in finding interesting specimens. [29]

Some hints about the progress of Lewin's work during his first three years in the colony can be gleaned from his letters to Drury. [30] By March 1803 he had twenty drawings of larva, chrysalis and moths ready for or etching. He was still unsure of the final form that his publication was going to take. Drury saw Lewin's work as a supplement to his own Illustrations of Natural History but Lewin hoped to publish under his own name, bringing out his studies on insects first. He intended to print fifty copies of each of the plates that he had etched; then, while these were on their way to England he planned to begin work in earnest on his Bird plates. Lewin had been troubled by a lack of printing ink (his supplies had been ruined on the voyage out), but he overcame this problem by making his own. He asked Drury for more paper, ink and copper plates on 7 March 1803 but accompanied this request with some first proof pulls of a few of his plates - with apologies for their crudeness - to show his patron that he had defeated his difficulties. [31]

After these apparent successes, Lewin was already contemplating his next project. He thought that beetles, locusts and mantis would make

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good subjects for publications as they lost their colour quickly after being killed and were therefore best engraved in the colony. In May 1803 he sent home on the *Glatton* a box of insects and some coloured proof prints of both birds and insects. [32] In August 1803 Lewin told Drury that he intended to send home by the *Calcutta* - which did not leave Sydney until at least March 1804 - fifty copies of each of his eighteen engraved plates of insects. [33] During the winter months of 1803 Lewin spent all his time engraving and printing these. According to the dates of the imprints on his manuscript copy of Prodromus Entomology, he must finished the engraving by the end of 1803. [34] On 4 March 1804 the Sydney Gazette noted that Lewin was sending the eighteen engraved plates themselves - rather than the fifty impressions of each plate - of the moths to England for printing, so it would appear that he had been beaten by the poor quality of printing materials available in the colony. He had, moreover, now used all his copper plates. He told Drury that he planned to publish a comprehensive account of the insects of New South Wales, and therefore hoped that Drury could arrange to have the specimens named and classified in England. Unfortunately Drury's death on 15 January 1804 deprived him of his major patron.

There were other problems too. Lewin was struggling with the difficulties of scientifically describing his specimens because, according to Grant, he felt unable to clothe his "Ideas with adequate correct language". Grant told his family that Lewin had asked him to provide the descriptions even though he had no specialist knowledge. [35] Lewin's manuscript copy of Prodromus Entomology gives vernacular names only for the moths that he had chosen to depict. Its title page read "Natural History of Eighteen Nondescript Moths with Descriptions" but those descriptions were general and insufficient. It fell to his brother, Thomas, to organise the classification and descriptions of the insects in London where Prodromus Entomology was published in 1805. Each plate shows the caterpillar stage, the cocoon structure and the male and female moth or butterfly on the tree in which it generally fed. [pl.1] Thomas had sought the advice of Sir James Smith and

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Alexander McLeay - in whose library the manuscript volume eventually ended - for their descriptions, noting in the preface to the book, "And it should be observed also, that the natural history, as well as the engraving, was done on the spot, and not from dry specimens, or notes still more abstruse."

Prodromus Entomology could be bought in various degrees of finish. A plain uncoloured copy cost 15s 6d but the edition printed "On Imperial Quarto, the Plates highly finished, with Grounds and Interleaves, in Boards" sold for £2.5.6.. In this edition the very problems which Lewin had hoped to avoid had he been able to publish in New South Wales are evident. The colouring of the plates differs considerably from Lewin's - or his wife's - colouring in the manuscript copy of Prodromus Entomology. The light blue background wash on the plates of the London Prodromus Entomology was merely a contemporary mannerism of professional colourists, but the colouring of the insects and foliage is darker and the tone more sombre than those in the Lewins' own copy. The bright, light browns and greens of the manuscript, certainly naturalistic and well observed, have been toned down to a flatter, blander neutrality. [36] Most of what we would now see as the veracity of the colours in the manuscript has been eliminated. Clearly, distance from the source of the engravings and colouring to a standard formula combined to deprive Prodromus Entomology of some of its accuracy, although such fine distinctions are unlikely to have been made by its English readers who may have even interpreted the formula colouring as a sign of the volume's credibility.

In the Preface to Prodromus Entomology, Thomas Lewin noted that John intended to return to England if the book was a success. Lewin did not return but that does not necessarily mean the book failed. As Lewin was planning further volumes of both his birds and his insects - neither of which eventuated - it does not seem likely that he was imprisoned in the colony solely because of the presumed failure of Prodromus Entomology. However, as Bernard Smith points out, the market for books on natural history and, indeed, the late eighteenth-century

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amateur enthusiasm for the subject, fell away during the European wars. [37] Although popular, general interest in the novelties and curiosities of the colony (displayed in museums and exhibitions around the country) does not seem to have diminished, the upper end of the market - dependent on educated enthusiasts wealthy enough to buy Lewin's book - had.

Lewin continued to arrange further work for publication. The preparation of the drawings for the plates for Birds of New Holland, with their natural history (London 1808) had been undertaken at the same time as he was working on Prodromus Entomology. As noted above Lewin told Drury that he intended to finish the plates for Birds of New Holland while Prodromus Entomology was on its way to England. Unfortunately, unlike Prodromus Entomology, no detailed documentary evidence of the production of Birds of New Holland has survived. Both the 1808 London edition of Birds of New Holland and the 1813 Sydney version, Birds of New South Wales with their natural history have a complex and mysterious publication history which is well covered by both Jones and McEvey and therefore requires only brief comment. [38]

The complexity and mystery is this: the plates for Birds of New Holland were completed by September 1806 when they were sent to England on the *Buffalo*. He advertised for subscribers in the Sydney Gazette on 14 September 1806. Lewin envisaged a work of several volumes, each to cost two guineas. He attracted fifty five subscribers from the leading (and wealthiest) families in the colony. Both Governor Bligh and his predecessor Governor King (who returned to England on the *Buffalo*) ordered two copies. Other subscribers to the book included Lt. Col. William Paterson, Mrs Marsden, Major Johnston, Robert Campbell, Lt. John Oxley and four members of the Macarthur family. The six London subscribers included Lady Arden, to whom Prodromus Entomology was dedicated, Sir Joseph Banks and Alexander McLeay. A presentation copy was given to George III. It has been suggested that the scientific descriptions of the birds was provided by the leading English ornithologist John Latham. [39]

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On 20 November 1808, some two years after the initial proposal, Lewin announced in the Sydney Gazette that he expected, by the next ship, the first volume of the Birds of New Holland. They never appeared and it is presumed they were destroyed in an accident on the voyage out. Only six copies of Birds of New Holland - those distributed to the London subscribers - now survive. [40] The loss of the volumes can only have been a bitter blow to Lewin. However even if he had received the books Lewin's remuneration for four years work would have totalled little more than 146 guineas.

Lewin appears to have given up printmaking entirely after his problems with Birds of New Holland. On 27 October 1810 the Sydney Gazette carried his advertisement, "To be sold by Private Contract, A Copper Plate Press-Apply to Mr J. W. Lewin, George Street, Sydney." But Lewin had not completely stopped publishing. In 1813 he put together in Sydney, perhaps from earlier proof plates, Birds of New South Wales. This may have been issued as compensation to the many original subscribers to Birds of New Holland who were still living in the colony and was possibly inspired by the success of West's Views in New South Wales or the news that Lieutenant Thomas Skottowe was preparing at Newcastle, New South Wales, an illustrated natural history manuscript entitled Select Specimens of Nature. Only eleven copies of Birds of New South Wales, the first illustrated book to be published in the colony, have survived. The history of its creation is a matter of some confusion and only a complete and thorough bibliographic examination of all extant copies (many in inaccessible private collections) will solve the problem.

Both Jones and Wantrup assume that after the non-arrival of Birds of New Holland Lewin simply gathered together old proof prints that he had taken prior to sending the plates to England, added some prints of plates he had discarded and bound them up to form Birds of New South Wales. Like the London Birds, Birds of New South Wales contains eighteen plates. All the imprints on the Sydney Birds (when they have not been cut off) predate those on the London edition which were

standardised to 1808 dates. This is the crucial evidence for the theory that Birds of New South Wales is made up from cast-offs printed before the plates were sent to London. However, as McEvey points out, some of the watermarks on the paper of Birds of New South Wales post-date the plates' journey to London; he suggests that they were sent back to Lewin who, somewhat improbably, re-engraved the imprints to the earlier dates. Without having seen all the copies of Birds of New South Wales it is not possible to pass judgement on what is essentially a bibliographic problem.

Of more interest is the very fact that the book was *produced* in Sydney using colonial technology. The letterpress was printed very competently by the Government Printer, George Howe, and it is assumed that the Lewins coloured the Sydney Birds themselves. In some editions the quality of the colouring varies enormously which would suggest - as the Lewins were fine colourists - that another hand, at a later date, worked on the plates. Unfortunately the letterpress reveals the inadequacies of Lewin's methods. His descriptions of the birds are clearly insufficient for an ornithologist. Of the Spotted Crossbeak he says

Inhabits Forests  
Frequents the Sides of Hills and barren Places  
These Birds go in small Flights in Winter and then visit Gardens and other cultivated Grounds,

McEvey is critical of Lewin's work in terms of its ornithological methodology. Lewin appears unaware of the work of previous natural historians in the colony and indeed many of his engravings were of common birds already illustrated in the drawings of Watling, John Hunter and George Raper. Lewin had no systematic plan; the book is simply a list of local birds that could be found around Sydney and Newcastle. There are inaccuracies, too. He often exaggerates a bird's length and consistently refers to birds' eyelashes when he in fact means their eye rings. [41] Such criticism may seem ungenerous, but it is important as the basic aesthetic of natural history drawing lies in

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its accuracy. Such drawing has a specific task and its success is determined not by its "beauty" but by its ability to fulfil that function.

Lewin's etchings are mid-way between early eighteenth-century bird paintings which concentrated on single birds against a plain background and nineteenth century lithographic bird illustration which exploited that medium's facility by surrounding the animal with its "typical" or usual habitat. Often the early bird illustrator would position the specimen on a branch, or stand it on a patch of ground, simply to locate the bird conveniently within the drawing. This was done more with the design of the drawing in mind or to suggest in general terms the animal's habitat. As drawings were often taken from specimens in a museum, it is hardly surprising that specific detail was missing. When compared with the natural history drawings of Australian subjects already published in England Lewin's etchings reveal the advantages of local knowledge and observation. For instance the natural history engravings which embellish David Collins' An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales (London 1802) reveal a lack of local knowledge. The patch of ground on which the *Mænura Superba* stands is one on which generations of European birds have been placed. [p15]

Lewin's etchings - and indeed his unpublished natural history drawings - show a close and detailed examination in the flora which forms the natural or usual habitat of the bird or insects he is depicting. It is this feature of his prints which give them their particularly Australian atmosphere. Lewin was very successful with small intimate slices of New South Wales bush. He had an ability to describe leaf shape and structure and the textures of bark and branches; there is nothing general or "typical" about the backgrounds to his plates. Plate nine of Prodromus Entomology, *Bombyx banksiae* [p1.2], for instance, places the insects on a clearly local serrated leaf. Similarly *Warty Face Honey Sucker* captures easily the feel of the sprig of gum blossom. [p1.3] Lewin's approach to his plates bears little resemblance

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to those accompanying Drury's Illustrations of Natural History where all that is given is a very fine engraving of the insect alone. Surprisingly, Lewin was not familiar with Drury's highly-regarded book, for he requested a copy from Drury saying he "should a bean expressly pleased if you had sent me your own work of Insects as It would have bean of great service to me as I do not no in what manner these are done.." [42]

Lewin's drawings have an undeniable charm, and are often spectacular. Watercolours such as *The variegated lizard of New South Wales*, a large presentation drawing for William Bligh, is almost a triumph of observation. [43] The texture of the lizard's skin and the swirls of the bark are convincingly carried, although the reptile is most awkwardly sited upon the tree; like much of Lewin's art, the image is undermined by an inability to bring together satisfactorily every element of a drawing. Yet his natural history etchings are better than those of many comparable artists in Europe and, although his technique was by no means unique, he was consistent.

There is no record of how Lewin's work was received in Europe although Prodromus Entomology was reprinted once while Birds of New South Wales was reissued, in different forms, on at least three occasions. [44] Perhaps part of the reason for Lewin's subsequent critical oblivion was the publication of other, more important studies relating to New South Wales which were not only more systematic in their scientific approaches, but also covered a wider area than the Sydney region. In the same year that Prodromus Entomology was published Edward Donovan bought out his An Epitome of the Natural History of the Insects of New Holland, New Zealand, New Guinea, Otaheite which described 153 species, most of which were new and from Australia. The illustrations were drawn from European collections some of which may have originated from specimens collected by Lewin. They are detailed scientific drawings; close attention has been given to the minutia of the anatomy of the insects with a skill Lewin could not rival. [45] Other comparable publications included La Billardiere's Nova

Hollandiae Plantarum Specimen (Paris 1804-6), Robert Brown's Prodromus Florae Novae Hollandiae et Insulae Van-Diemen (London 1810), Peron's Voyage de découvertes aux Terres Australes (Paris 1807), Bauer's Illustrationes Florae Novae Hollandiae (London 1813) and Flinder's Voyage to Terra Australis (London 1814). Not all these publications were exclusively related to natural history but the importance and quality of both the scientific practice and the illustration of these volumes clearly eclipses Lewin's work.

Although Lewin was the only permanent resident natural history artist in the colony for the first decade of the century, visits by artists such as Ferdinand Bauer (1760-1826) and Charles Lesueur (1788-1846), who were accompanying voyages of exploration, provided further documentation of the colony. Bauer travelled with Flinders on the *Investigator* while Lesueur was one of the artists on Nicolas Baudin's ill-fated expedition of 1800-1804. The artistic practice of both artists in many ways paralleled that of Lewin. They too, were concerned with locating the natural history subject in its natural habitat. However, as part of scientific expeditions, the practice and the scrutiny of their drawings was focused by the scientific milieu in which they were travelling. The lack of this type of intellectual infrastructure weakened the value, and limited the horizons, of Lewin's work.

Bauer was a fine botanical draftsman whose drawings, made under the direction of the botanist Robert Brown, reveal a particular concern with plant structure; a special interest of Brown's. [46] Bauer understood plant structures - because of Brown's guidance - and therefore his drawings are more perceptive and thorough than Lewin's. Bauer's watercolour ornithological studies are similar to Lewin's, focusing on specific details of the bird's environment. His *Port Lincoln Parrot* sits on a eucalypt branch which carries carefully observed leaves and gumnuts. [pl.6] The fine colouring, exquisite detailing of feather grouping and the bird's firm grasp of the branch make *Port Lincoln Parrot* a more authoritative drawing than most of

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Lewin's bird illustrations. Bauer, unlike Lewin, was a scientific draftsman trained within universities and patronised by scientists. The reproduction of his drawings was undertaken by specialist engravers.

Lewin, on the other hand, came to the colony as a natural history printmaker with the intention of not only collecting but drawing, engraving and publishing in Sydney. He had to struggle with the difficulties of printing in an environment where he had no support from other printmakers or artists or from a printing industry. Similarly there was no permanent scientific presence in the colony and books were scarce. This forced Lewin to rely on his own resources and must have curtailed his potential to function effectively in the colony as a natural historian. Indeed after the failure of his printmaking Lewin expanded the range of work he would take as an artist. On 18 September 1808 he placed an advertisement in the Sydney Gazette which read

### Miniature and Portrait Painting

Mr J.W Lewin offers his services to the public - painting correct likenesses, landscapes and other works of Nature or of Art. N.B. Miniatures five guineas each - portraits 40s, each.

This advertisement, and his wife's various commercial activities, indicate that natural history alone could not feed him and his family. In June 1812 he opened a drawing school, one of the first in the colony. [47]

Lewin also benefitted from government patronage. It is therefore surprising that Lewin complained that Mrs Macquarie had "not the heart or [soul] to pay for any thing in that liberal manner that the fine art requires to encourage them". [48] Despite the lack of private fortune, the Macquaries' actions, however, speak louder than Lewin's words. Macquarie not only appointed him coroner in Sydney, which provided Lewin with a regular income, but also commissioned several natural history drawings from him. In 1817, at Macquarie's behest, Lewin drew one bird and four botanical specimens collected on the

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Oxley expedition to be sent to Earl Bathurst. Oxley had been so impressed with the beauty and richness of these specimens that he asked Macquarie to arrange for Lewin to draw them. Lewin also painted a portrait of Aboriginal chief at Bathurst. [49] Macquarie proposed that Lewin "might be most Usefully employed here in the Service of Government Exclusively", but nothing appears to have come of the suggestion. Nonetheless, the governor told Bathurst that he intended to continue to employ Lewin "in making Drawings of Such rare Productions as the New Accessions in the Western District may afford..".[50]

Private patrons were similarly interested in buying Lewin's natural history drawings. In 1814 Alexander Riley, a wealthy Sydney merchant, bought a pair of watercolours from Lewin for £12/12/0. Riley described the highly finished drawings, a gigantic lilly and a waratah, as "worthy of the Palace of a Prince". [51] Riley commissioned these drawings more for their promotional value than their scientific; the colony's unusual natural productions symbolised New South Wales then as Uluru does Australia today.

While Lewin was publishing he was making a claim to be a serious naturalist. After his unsuccessful publishing ventures Lewin seems to have given up the idea of a systematic approach to natural history and, and like so many English provincial artists, simply put his wide variety of artistic services on the open market. Although Lewin accepted commissions while labouring on his publications - like the hundreds of botanical drawings he made for Governor King - during his first years in the colony he worked hard to establish himself as an important natural history illustrator and publisher in the English tradition of artist/etchers. While he clearly realised the limits of his knowledge Lewin had hoped to achieve more than fulfilling Governor Macquarie's occasional demands for miscellaneous drawings of "rare Productions".

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Lewin's problems did not deter the next colonial publisher, Absalom West. His Views in New South Wales (1812-1814), made up of twenty-four images on twenty-two plates, was a series of mainly topographical views. Unlike Lewin's publications, really of interest only to an, educated specialist audience, West's series of views had a wide appeal amongst colonists. The Views.. were published at the same time as Birds of New South Wales and while Lieutenant Thomas Skottowe was preparing his illustrated manuscript Select Specimens of Nature at Newcastle, with drawings by the convict Richard Browne. In England, D. D. Mann had just published his Present Picture of New South Wales (London 1811) which was accompanied by a panorama of Sydney drawn by John Eyre, and Edward Orme was issuing John Heaviside Clark's Field Sports, &c &c. Of the Native Inhabitants of New South Wales, (London 1813).

West was an emancipist brewer whose role in the production of the Views.. was simply that of entrepreneur. Perhaps the success of the Views.. suggested to Captain James Wallis his series of twelve views, first issued in Sydney in 1819 as Views in New South Wales, but later reissued in London by R. Ackermann in 1821 as An Historical Account of the Colony of New South Wales (Wallis' views will be referred to as An Historical Account.., even though that is the London title, simply to distinguish them from West's views of the same name). Extensive letterpress was added to the London edition. These two publications were the earliest topographical volumes engraved and published within the colony, though, obviously, they were by no means the first drawings of the colony engraved.

Very little is known about the printmaking history of these volumes [52], but it must be presumed that Governor Macquarie gave his approval for their publication and both make their support of Macquarie's administration quite plain. West's Views.. and Wallis' Historical Account.. were based on topographical publications of English scenery, and both are competent examples of that genre. By the turn of the nineteenth-century, topographic views of English scenery,

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often published in a series, of English scenery were popular amongst print-buyers. The prints tended to concentrate on antiquities and historic ruins, seats of the nobility and gentry and picturesque scenery. [53] Frequently these publications were not well produced, particularly if they were composed from cheap, line engraved copperplate prints made in the provinces. The sophisticated books and single aquatints of artists such as Paul Sandby or Joseph Farington were beyond the reach, and probably the experience, of most English people. [54] As was pointed out in the introduction, provincial artists such as John Eyre (1771-?) were not involved in the debates and theoretical arguments of Royal Academicians

In the eighteenth century engraving, especially line engraving, developed into a systematic and regular ordering of lines, that could most efficiently reproduce an art work or drawing. The growing print trade of the eighteenth century required a technique of engraving that could be widely, and hence cost-effectively, applied to reproducing any number and manner of drawings and paintings. Thus schools of engravers - reproductive engravers - evolved whose task was to translate, using a standard formula of lines and cuts on the plate, the drawing or art work in front of them. William Ivins posits that this led to interest being diverted away from the actual qualities of the work to generalised notions about its subject matter. [55] Certainly topographic line engravings of the eighteenth-century tend to have a sameness of tone about them, even if the geographic forms of the view are accurately delineated. It is difficult to depict nuances of tone in a line engraving. In part engravers were constrained by the conventions of an engraving technique, but it is also true that engraving is a fairly inflexible process that can not draw upon the subtleties of effect available in drawings and watercolours.

It is revealing to compare John Pye's engraving *View of Port Jackson, taken from the South Head* (1814) with William Westall's original watercolour, *Port Jackson 1804*. [pl.7, 8] The watercolour tries to

suggest, by scratchy pen lines and the application of washes, the often scrubby vegetation of Sydney Harbour's foreshores. Pye's engraving, however, smooths out many of the middle-ground features which provide some sense of specific locality. Instead, the engraving highlights a foreground frieze of typical vegetation, such as the bottle brush and grass tree, and it is these which signify the nature of colonial flora rather than the indeterminate, formula engraved background. Obviously the artist was not entirely at the mercy of an engraver but important aspects of a drawing or painting could be eliminated in the engraving process. One of the great strengths of Lewin's etchings (a different reproductive process from line engraving) was their successful delineation of intimate slices of Australian flora which tended to be overwhelmed by the line engraving process.

Both the engravers who worked on Views.. and Historical Account.., Philip Slaeger and Walter Preston, were trained in this line engraving tradition. Slaeger, also known as Slager, arrived in the colony in 1807 and was fully pardoned in March 1812; Walter Preston landed in Sydney some two months earlier, on 18 January 1812. [56] Preston was a reproductive engraver; Slaeger, however, was an artist (though not particularly skilled) as well as a reproductive engraver. For instance he engraved his own somewhat naive drawing, *A View of Part of the Town of Windsor*. [pl.11] The source of the engraving technique of Preston and Slaeger can clearly be seen in eighteenth-century copper engravings such as Francis Vivares' view of the upper works at Coalbrookdale in England (1758), after a painting by George Perry and Thomas Smith. [pl.9, 9a] Vivare's methods of massing foliage and suggesting middle distances are discernible in Preston's engraving of Eyre's drawing *Port Jackson Harbour, in New South Wales*. (1812) [pl.10] Similarly both Slaeger's and Preston's treatment of sky and water is derived from the example of mid-eighteenth-century engravers. It is conceivable, therefore, that the monotony of the landscape discernable in West's Views.. was as much due to Preston's use of a standard engraving mannerism as to Eyre's transformation of the scenery of the harbour foreshores. [57]

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West's role was as an entrepreneur in the creation the Views; he brought together the convict (apart from John Lewin) and emancipist artists and engravers who provided the images. John Eyre, who had received a conditional pardon in 1804, provided ten drawings for the initial twelve engravings. Richard Browne, a convict working in Newcastle, supplied some of the earliest drawings known of that settlement for the other two plates. Ten of the plates were engraved by Walter Preston, the other two by Slaeger. In the second series of twelve plates, Eyre - who had by then perhaps left the colony - supplied four drawings and John Lewin one: these five were engraved by Preston. Slaeger drew and engraved five. The artist for the four half-images on the two last plates is unknown, possibly it was Slaeger as he engraved them.

West issued his first two views in March 1812. The plates, entitled *An Easterly View of the Town of Sydney* and *A North East View of the Town of Sydney*, are almost certainly after John Eyre and, as Bernard Smith points out, were most likely suggested by Eyre's aquatint panorama of Sydney published in London in 1810. [58] The plates, which sold for 10s, were engraved by Slaeger. These are the only views of West's for which there is some contemporary comment; The Sydney Gazette damned them with faint praise. The paper noted that the "buildings and other objects are laid down with a considerable degree of accuracy" but recommended them more for the boldness of the undertaking of their publication than their intrinsic worth as prints. The writer also pointed out, however, that the prints were taken "off at a press constructed by a workman who had never before seen such a machine" and were engraved by "a person who had many years been out of his profession". [59] When West eventually published the first set of twelve views on 1 January 1813 Slaeger's lively plates had been replaced by Walter Preston's sombre engravings (probably more faithful to Eyre's original drawings) of the same view.

West continued to issue prints in dribs and drabs throughout 1813 and 1814. His initial publication date of 30 November 1812 had to be

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postponed since demand for the views exceeded his expectations. They were not cheap; the first twelve views sold for three pounds during the first month of publication but the price rose to £4.10s on 1 February. The complete series sold for a very expensive nine pounds.

Most of the drawings in the Views.. and An Historical Account.. were made specifically for engraving. The only drawing which had pretensions to being a work of landscape art, as opposed to a topographical illustration, was *A View of the Banks of the River Hawkesbury..* [pl.13] which, the plate's caption claimed, was said to have been engraved from an "original painting" by Lewin, owned by Mrs Macquarie. West advertised in the Sydney Gazette that the engraving of "the highly finished Original" could be bought as a single plate for one guinea. [60] Certainly it was one of the best engraved plates in the Views.. and relates closely to a large finished watercolour by Lewin now held by the Dixson Gallery. [61] The soft hues and light of the watercolour indicate Lewin's intention to create a classical landscape of the Hawkesbury valley, the colony's most important farming district. Although the classical atmosphere is not successfully translated to the engraving, the idea of a classical landscape is suggested by the fertile, placid valley.

West's group soon split up. Both West and Eyre appear to have left the colony while Preston was at Newcastle by December 1814 as punishment for an unknown misdemeanour. [62] It was here that Preston must have met his next employer for in June 1816 Captain James Wallis of the 46th Regiment was appointed commandant of the settlement. [63] Wallis' approach to his command at Newcastle paralleled Macquarie's ideas for New South Wales; he was an enthusiastic builder of public works who believed in the moral efficacy derived from a solid and decent physical environment and the humane treatment of convicts. Wallis initiated the construction of a hospital, gaol, barracks for convicts, enlarged the wharf and commenced a breakwater for the protection of Newcastle's harbour. His proudest achievement was Christ Church, which it has been suggested, was built from a design provided by Mrs

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Macquarie drawn up by Lycett. [64] Macquarie, recognising a kindred spirit, was effusive in his praise of Wallis, and indignantly defended him against Commissioner Bigge's charges that his buildings were poorly designed and fraudulently constructed. The tall steeple on Christ Church (seen at the left of plate 18), for instance, soon had to be taken down because it was too unstable and badly built. Macquarie refused to believe that a gentleman would defraud him. [65]

The history of the plates for Wallis' Historical Account.. is quite unclear. The book is composed of twelve plates; six full and six half-sized. Although the imprint on most plates of the book reads "from an original Drawing by Capt. Wallis 46th Regt." there is some doubt that Wallis was the artist of any of the views. It is possible that Wallis may simply have claimed the work of others as his own. The convict artist Joseph Lycett, who arrived in the colony on the same ship as Wallis in 1814, has traditionally been considered the author of some of the plates; especially *Newcastle. Hunters River..* [pl.18] and *Sydney from the North Shore* [pl.19] which are similar to engravings in his Views of Australia (London 1824-25). [66] Lycett was sent to Newcastle in 1815 after he was caught passing forged notes in Sydney, and appears to have soon gained the trust of Wallis. In November 1817, for example, he was issued a pass to travel to Sydney on private business for Wallis. [67] In 1819 Wallis also employed Lycett to paint the altar-piece for Christ Church at Newcastle. For this work Lycett was given a pardon and allowed to return to Sydney. [68] Despite the fact that his originality as an artist must be suspect, I feel that Lycett probably supplied the drawings for the large plates in Historical Account.. But there seems also to be another hand at work for some of the plates, such as *Vaucluse Bay. Port Jackson*, are less skilled and are plainly not by Lycett.

Recently five drawings by Wallis have surfaced at auction, although unfortunately, they shed little light on his Historical Account.. [69] Three of the drawings are of English subjects dated after his time in New South Wales, and these show a familiarity with picturesque subject

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matter and styles. Another, *View of Porto Santo* 1821, perhaps relates to *Vaucluse Bay. Port Jackson* because of its similar composition and treatment of light reflection on the water. Yet the connection is too tenuous to draw any positive conclusion. The most interesting drawing is his *Hawkesbury & Blue Mountains, from Windsor* which Wallis took with the aid of a *camera lucida* in 1815. [70]

A *camera lucida* was an optical device which facilitated the taking of landscape drawings by projecting an image through a series of lens onto a sheet of paper from whence it could be traced. It was a quick and accurate way of taking landscape or architectural details. Wallis consciously and conventionally composed his drawing, then simply filled the outline provided with flat washes of single colours. The colouring and forms are more English than Australian. Wallis clearly enjoyed the design and used the sweeping bend in the river to develop a classical composition with conventional colouring; it is not easy to locate the Australian content.

The drawing does not really relate, however, to the first plate of the Historical Account..., *A View of Hawkesbury and the Blue Mountains* (pl.211). This has been taken from a different position (lower down and closer to the river's edge) and delineates the river valley's features in much greater detail. The engraved plate is a topographical work which, while not oblivious to stylistic conventions, is more concerned with the minutiae of the productive landscape than the watercolour drawing. So the drawing does not solve the problem of the authorship of the Wallis plates, although it certainly indicates that Wallis was himself a competent practitioner, conversant enough with artistic conventions to be able to exercise more artistic control of his views than previously thought.

It is likely that the plates were engraved while Preston was at Newcastle. A proof engraving of *Vaucluse Bay Port Jackson*, inscribed on the verso "For Mrs Macquarie with Capt. Wallis' respectful regards - 13th Dec 1817" [71], was written while Wallis was still in Newcastle.

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This also implies that the Historical Account.. was conceived a good deal earlier than is usually supposed. Indeed plate three of Historical Account.., Sydney from the North Shore New South Wales [pl.19], can be dated to around 1817-18. The plate appears to be based on a watercolour by Lycett, *North View of Sydney Taken from the Shore*, which, though dated 1819, shows Sydney in 1817, before construction work on Fort Macquarie had commenced. [72] Conversely it is also possible that Lycett copied the engraving when he made the watercolour.

Other proof impressions from the plates of Historical Account.. have survived. One plate - a small view of Newcastle similar to, but much cruder than, plate five *Newcastle. Hunter's River* - was dropped from the series. [73] This print is inscribed by Wallis "View of Newcastle New South Wales, from an Original Drawing by Jas. Wallis" but was probably omitted after the addition of the larger and more sophisticated image. Similarly an impression of *View of Hunter's River. Newcastle..*, before letters, is in the same collection. Inscribed, too, by Wallis the plate differs slightly from the published version. In the earlier state Christ Church does not have a weathercock, the Aborigines are without spears and the cattle race and milking shed are missing. Perhaps Wallis hoped the second state of the plate would stress the pastoral improvements undertaken on the Government farms. [74]

When Wallis was relieved from his post at Newcastle in January 1819 he returned to Sydney and immediately advertised his set of twelve views for four pounds [75]. Wallis left the colony in March 1819 and took the plates to London where he arranged for their publication by the specialist travel and topographical view publisher Rudolph Ackermann. The plates were first issued without letterpress or title page as Australian Views, before Ackermann published the work - with a letterpress - as An Historical Account.. in 1821. [76]

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Both West and Wallis were primarily concerned with the topography of the colony, and the impact that "civilization" had upon it. Thus their images do not look for the beauty, or picturesque qualities, of the landscape but rather seek to illustrate growth and development of British culture and industries in New South Wales. Both series take the viewer on a tour of the settled regions of the colony. West depicts most of the major settlements in the colony, from Sydney to outlying centres such as Newcastle, Windsor, Parramatta and the Hawkesbury. He also included views, perhaps to reinforce the similarities between Colonial and English experiences, of the more substantial residences or seats of colonial gentlemen. Undoubtedly the sight of the solid and respectable houses such as *Ultimo* [pl.15] and *Woolloomoola* [sic] in picturesque parkland, would have reassured many English people that pockets of culture and ease could be created amongst the criminals of Botany Bay. Sydney is revealed as an ordered, Georgian town. No reference is made to the convict presence.

Wallis' tour of the colony was not as comprehensive as West's; because of his involvement with Newcastle five of the plates depict that region (one is a large plate entitled *Corroborree* [pl.22]) but no images of major settlements such as Parramatta or Windsor were included. Interest in the natural history of the colony has been catered for with two plates, one illustrating kangaroos and the other black swans. These species were already well documented, and the prints are as much about the scenery in the background as the animals. Like Views..., Historical Account..., works towards making the Australian environment familiar to European audiences, and thus potentially more acceptable. Seeing New South Wales portrayed in the familiar format of the topographical publication - where the very engraved lines of the views suggest an English landscape - must have implied to an English audience the commonality of civilisation in New South Wales with rural England, distinguished only by the peculiar formation of local vegetation, which was pointed out in the letterpress and concentrated in the foreground of the images. In the description of *North and South Head's in Port Jackson* [pl.23] Wallis tells the reader,

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the fore-ground and trees are closely copied from nature. The foliage of the trees, hanging in detached masses, form a singular contrast to the bold outline of English trees; after sunset, on a brilliant horizon, the opaque irregular appearance is rich and beautiful. [77]

The vista leading to the heads is conventionally framed by two trees of indeterminate species, one of which is dead. The foreground is dotted with grass trees, while a camp of Aborigines rest around some fires. In the middle distance the trees are silhouetted against the skyline. Wallis stresses the exotic by the inclusion of obvious visual symbols such as Aborigines as well as through the letterpress. The engraving is a fairly straight-forward topographical delineation of the Harbour, onto which obvious symbols of the exotic have been placed.

In the Course of Empire Robert Dixon argues that West's and Wallis' views are more than simple topography. He sees them elevated to historical epics because they evoke emotions of taste and initiate trains of associative thought which encourage the viewer to reflect upon the course and growth of empires. [78] Doubtless some readers would have been capable of such a sophisticated interpretation and indeed Wallis specifically directs his audience to view his images as evidence of the state of the infant empire of New South Wales, as Dixon points out. But it is unlikely that the artists involved (with the exception perhaps of John Lewin) saw either sets of views as anything but topographical publications. Artists such as John Eyre and Richard Browne - provincial semi-skilled artisans - were unlikely to be familiar with the symbolism that Dixon suggests is replete in their images. Of course viewers can read into a set of stylistic conventions particular meanings not intended by the artist, and it is quite possible that an educated audience could make the associative connections Dixon suggests.

The artists' use of picturesque devices and compositional techniques was more the use of contemporary mannerisms than compliance with current pictorial theory. Dixon's argument cannot be dismissed but at

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the same time his concept of the theoretical base of the work of West and Wallis is greatly exaggerated. When the British Critic reviewed D. D. Mann's The Present Picture of New South Wales (London 1811) it noted that the text would appeal to "every one who can interest himself about the struggles and progress of infant society", but condemned Eyre's panorama of Sydney which accompanied the book. It thought the views "may be looked at as curiosities two hundred years hence, but at present seem not at all too good to be pasted on a fire-skreen [sic]." [79] Clearly the reviewer, although aware of the historical value of the aquatints, was not charged with any trains of associative thought beyond the fireplace.

Unfortunately there is little direct evidence as to who was buying these publications, but it is safe to assume that it was a similar group of people - the colonial elite - to those who subscribed to Lewin's Birds of New Holland. Many of these subscribers, who would have had only a general interest in ornithology, probably saw it as their civil duty to support any evidence of cultural endeavour in the colony; most of these families remained important patrons through out the first half of the nineteenth century. The book would have appealed to the colonial elite's interest in natural history, which reflected similar concerns amongst educated English middle-classes at the end of the eighteenth century. It is possible too, that such an educated audience would have been capable of reading into the views of West and Wallis complicated trains of associative thought, although there is no evidence as to how the images were in fact read.

The nature of the patronage of these views is one of the substantial differences between the prints discussed in this chapter and those produced in later decades. By the end of the 1830s a greater range of cheaper prints were accessible to more people. However for the first two decades of the nineteenth century printmakers, because of a combination of small markets and limited technology, catered principally for the colonial elite.

## NOTES

- 11 Alec Chisholm, The Romance of the Lyrebird, Sydney 1966, p.42.
- 21 Tim McCormick, First Views of Australia 1788-1825, Sydney 1987, p.227 for a reproduction. This is possibly the same Captain Dixon who published Narrative of a Voyage to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (London) in 1822. The frontispiece to this book was an engraving of an Aborigine, Cobawn Wogy, after Richard Browne.
- 31 See AGNSW, The Artist and the Patron, Sydney 1988, p.134.
- 41 Manning Clark, A History of Australia, Melbourne 1979, vol. 2, p.51.
- 51 See Appendix under John Austin for biographical notes.
- 61 McCormick, First Views of Australia, p.277.
- 71 Raymond Lister, Thomas Gosse, Linton 1953 for Gosse's biography.
- 81 For Lewin family biographical details see Christine Jackson, Bird Etchings. The Illustrators and Their Books 1655-1855, Ithaca 1985, chapter 10. See also the first chapter for a general introduction into bird etchings.
- 91 Paul Farber, The Emergence of Ornithology as a Scientific Discipline, Dordrecht 1982, p.77.
- 101 Jackson, Bird Etchings, p.161-62.
- 111 Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, (1960), Sydney 1984 2nd ed., p.214.
- 121 For biographical detail for these artists see Jackson, Bird Etchings.
- 131 Ibid, p.35-37.
- 141 See Jackson, Bird Etchings, p.37; Farber, The Emergence of Ornithology, p.53-4.
- 151 Dru Drury, Illustrations of Exotic Entomology, London 1837 2nd ed., vol. 1 p.xviii
- 161 Jackson, Bird Etchings, p.159.
- 171 John Grant, "Journals and Letters", ML MSS FM4/1141, letter dated 1 January 1805, np.
- 181 Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, p.163.
- 191 Allan McEvey, A Natural History of the Birds of New South Wales, Melbourne 1978, p.xii.
- 201 Thomas Watling, Letters from an exile to his Aunt in Dumfries, (1794) Dubbo 1979, p.26.
- 211 McEvey, A Natural History, p.xii
- 221 John Lewin to Dru Drury, 7 March 1803; letter reproduced in Bernard Smith, Documents on art and taste in Australia, Melbourne 1975, p.19.
- 231 Rex & Thea Rienits, Early Artists of Australia, Sydney 1963, chapt. 5; Phyllis Mander-Jones, "John William Lewin - A Memoir", J.R.A.H.S., vol. 42 1956, p.153-187.
- 241 Rienits, Early Artists of Australia, p.141; Anne McCormick, Rare Books, Paintings and Prints, Sydney 1985, lot 29.
- 251 Grant, who wrote the poem "Panegyric on an Eminent Artist, Parramatta, New South Wales, 1804", claimed that Governor King refused to allow Grant to publish it in the Sydney Gazette because the line

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- "And lest neglect tender Genius blight" implicitly criticised King's treatment of Lewin. However the accusation would appear to be without foundation. See Grant, "Journals and Letters", 1 January 1805.
- 261 "Invoice of Goods deliv. on board the Buffalo for Mr. J.W. Lewin", 22 March 1798, ML MSS A358-1
- 271 Grant, "Letters and Journals", 1 January 1805.
- 281 Lewin to Drury, 7 March 1803, in Smith, Documents, p.19.
- 291 Ibid.
- 301 John Lewin to Dru Drury, "Letters", ML MSS A358-1. These are photocopies of the original letters held in the British Museum, (Natural History), London.
- 311 Lewin to Drury, 7 March 1803, in Smith Documents, p.24.
- 321 Lewin to Drury, 12 May 1803, ML MSS A358-1.
- 331 Lewin to Drury, 6 August 1803, ML MSS A358-1.
- 341 Lewin's manuscript copy of Prodromus Entomology is at ML PX#D258.
- 351 Grant, "Letters and Journals", 1 January 1805.
- 361 ML MSS PX#D258
- 371 Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, p.217.
- 381 Jonathan Wantrup, Australian Rare Books 1788-1900, Sydney 1987, p.278.
- 391 McEvey, A Natural History, p.xv.
- 401 McLeay apparently owned two copies of Lewin's Birds of New Holland. These were auctioned at the sale of his library in 1846; see Auction Catalogues, ML 018.2 PA1 p.201.
- 411 McEvey, A Natural History, p.xv.
- 421 Smith, Documents, p.23.
- 431 See AGNSW, The Artist and the Patron, p.132 or Tim Bonyhady, The Colonial Image, Sydney 1987, p.12 for colour reproductions.
- 441 A second edition of Prodromus Entomology was published in London in 1822 as A Natural history of the lepidopterous insects of New South Wales. Two other editions of Birds of New Holland were published in 1822 and 1838. These later editions comprised 26 plates; the total number of plates from the 1808 and 1813 editions.
- 451 See Colin Finney, To Sail Beyond the Sunset, Adelaide 1984, for a good history of natural history in Australia.
- 461 Finney, To Sail Beyond the Sunset, p.99-104 for some reproductions of Bauer's work. The precision and detail of engraving after his drawing Antiarus macrophylla (reproduced p.95 of Finney's book), which was published in Illustrationes Florae Novae Hollandiae 1813, far exceeds anything Lewin ever drew.
- 471 S.G., 6/6/1812.
- 481 Lewin to Alexander Huey, 7 November 1812, Belfast Public Record Office D3320/2/4. A very poor microfilmed copy is on the Australian Joint Copying Project.
- 491 H.R.A. I/X p.729.
- 501 Ibid, p.730.
- 511 Rienits, Early Artists of Australia, p.137.
- 521 For detailed publication histories see Wantrup, Australian Rare Books, p.282-89; Rienits, Early Artists of Australia, p.174-78 and 189-93; William Dixson, "Absalom West and West's Views", J.R.A.H.S., vol. 31 p. 45-52.
- 531 Ronald Russell, Guide to British Topographical Prints, Newton Abbot 1979, see chapter one, p.33 in particular.

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- 54] Ibid, chapters one and three.
- 55] William Ivins, Prints and Visual Communication, Cambridge Massachusetts 1978, p.71-92
- 56] See footnote 52. Also see McCormick, First Views of Australia p.328-9.
- 57] Note that Preston appears to have added European figures to the drawings of Eyre, very much an eighteenth-century mannerism. Eyre rarely used this pictorial device. See First Views of Australia for reproductions of Eyre's drawings.
- 58] Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, p.219.
- 59] S.G., 21/3/1812; 28/3/1812.
- 60] S.G., 25/5/1813.
- 61] The watercolour is at DG V1B/3; it is reproduced in Baiba Berzins, The Coming of the Strangers, Sydney 1988, p.57.
- 62] S.G., 10/12/1814.
- 63] For some biographical information on Wallis see B.W. Champion, "Captain James Wallis of the 46th Regiment", J.R.A.H.S., vol. 19 1933, p.364-73.
- 64] Joan Kerr & James Broadbent, Gothick Taste in the Colony of New South Wales, Sydney 1980, p.40.
- 65] Bigge Evidence, ML MSS BT Box 11 p.4463; Rienits, Early Artists of Australia, p.191.
- 66] For instance *Newcastle, Hunter's River, New South Wales* [pl.18] is very close to Lycett's aquatint *Newcastle, New South Wales* which was published in his Views in Australia, London 1824. *Inner View of Newcastle New South Wales*, an oil painting by an unknown artist once in the possession of Captain Wallis, is a similar view again. The painting is now in the Newcastle Regional Gallery. This painting bears some stylistic resemblance to *Corroboree at Newcastle* (Dixson Gallery) which has variously been attributed to Wallis or Lycett. I feel the paintings are by Lycett, although Joan Kerr has told me that she thinks his originality is sufficiently suspect to raise serious doubts about attributing these oil paintings to Lycett.
- 67] Colonial Secretary Miscellaneous correspondence, AO Reel 2185 (4/1806) p.95-96.
- 68] John Bigge, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales, (1822) Adelaide 1966, vol. 1 p.104.
- 69] Christie's South Kensington, Topographical Pictures, 28/5/1987, lots 219-223.
- 70] Wallis was in the Hawkesbury region leading an expedition against local Aborigines who were attacking European livestock during a drought. Wallis killed fourteen people. R. Reece, Aborigines and Colonists, Sydney 1974, p.109.
- 71] [Views in New South Wales] ML D373 f.11a.
- 72] McCormick, First Views of Australia, pp. 186 and 229.
- 73] [Views in New South Wales] ML D373 f.13a.
- 74] Ibid, ML D373 f.9b.
- 75] S.G., 9/1/1819. The plates, called in the advertisement "Views in New South Wales", could be bought as two separate sets; the six full-sized plates cost three pounds; the six half-sized plates thirty shillings. Combined the twelve plates cost four pounds.
- 76] Wantrup, Australian Rare Books, p.287. Ackermann himself recieved a land grant in New South Wales in 1819; John Ford, Ackermann 1783-1983,

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London 1983, p.69.

771 Wallis, Historical Account, n.p.

781 Robert Dixon, The Course of Empire, Melbourne 1986, see chapter three, p.74 particularly.

791 Brian Fletcher ed., The Present Picture of New South Wales, (London 1811), Sydney 1979, p.x.

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### 1827-1850: THE URBAN IMAGE

When the colony's Poet Laureate, Michael Massey Robinson, decided to publish a volume of his Birthday Odes in 1822 he hoped that it would be accompanied "with an Engraving of the Author from an original painting by Mr Reid [sic] sen.". "To those who are aware of the expense of such an undertaking, looking at the high price of Stationery in this Country, and the confined limits of the Colonial Press, added to the consideration of the cost of Engraving the Portrait and the Title Page.." Robinson was sure that the £1 price would not seem exorbitant. [1] Robinson was, however, disappointed in his expectations, and in July 1822 he noted the failure of the first engraver to complete the job in time. He then employed Read himself to finish the engraving. [2] Read, too, proved incapable of completing the plate. This led the Sydney Gazette complain that

This work would before now have been published had an artist been found willing to devote his time to the engraving... We are not by any means at a loss for men of talent in the Colony, but their general apathy and indolence is truly astonishing. [3]

Robinson died before he could finally publish his book.

When the Sydney identity, the Jamican water-bailiff Billy Blue, died in 1834, the colonial press managed to publish at least three different, separately-issued prints commemorating his passing. The ten years that passed between these two events was a time of growth in the depth and range of the colonial printmaking industry. Robinson's portrait engraving, which he saw as a "criterion of the advancement of the Arts in this infant Colony" [4], was a relatively simple matter yet even after two years it was not finished. By 1834 the death of a popular, - although not prominent - identity, drew three quick prints: a woodcut, an etching and a lithograph. [5] Because printmakers could now easily respond to local events we see in Sydney the beginnings of an urban imagery. Prior to the 1830s the majority of colonial prints were

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concerned either with views, from a distance, of the city and the satellite settlements or with natural history subjects. They are characterised by a lack of spontaneity, being carefully planned, often over a number of years. They responded not to specific situations, such as the death of the water bailiff, but to general ideas such as the progress of civilization of the colony.

Among the many skilled tradesmen who emigrated to Sydney during the 1830s were numerous engravers and lithographers. Thus, as we saw in the introduction, the capabilities of the printmaking industry expanded considerably. It was only as Sydney evolved into a city that its printing infrastructures developed sufficiently to produce urban images which responded to local conditions and interests. Printed ephemera such as likenesses of murderers could be got up quickly during the trial; cheap caricatures of politicians could appear in the shops; disasters could quickly reach the public; and well known people and local events could be delineated. In the 1840s illustrated newspapers and magazines began publishing in Sydney, offering yet another source of imagery.

The printed ephemera which I shall look at in this chapter had few pretensions towards "high" art although, of course, there is always some flow between popular and academic art. The market for which such ephemera was intended was purely local, dealing with issues that had no currency or interest outside Sydney. Like any large town, Sydney produced a lot of pictorial printed ephemera; much of it has been, inevitably, lost. It still presents a fairly unwieldy mass so I have decided to confine the scope of the chapter to only a few of the subjects touched upon by colonial artists and engravers. It should be remembered that this ephemera was only one part of the local scene; being published at the same time were images of Aborigines - which will be discussed later - and the views of the city which are the topic of the next chapter.

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Ephemera produced in Sydney was based on British models and used British sources, but its content was not that which is normally associated with popular prints. "Popular prints" in the European context usually refer to catchpenny prints, street literature and ballads. These had a very limited range of subject matter; murders, trials, scandals (particularly royal ones), love, religion and major political events, such as the Reform Bill of 1832. Presentation was ritualised, stylised, with little interest in the visual accuracy of the image or the actual truth of the story being told. [6] Very little, if any, of this type of imagery has survived from Sydney. William Wilson's simple woodcut of Billy Blue, printed in 1834, is the only broadside I have seen that was published in Sydney, although it is quite possible that others published have been lost. Some of the portrait wood engravings which illustrated Sydney's newspapers in the 1840s derived their schematic and generalised treatment of their subjects from popular imagery but they did not function as popular images.

Other material, such as caricatures of Sydney Aborigines like *Uncle's Intended* [pl.130] and *Scene on the streets of Sydney* [pl.131], possibly fit the European idea of a popular image, yet even they are unusual in being printed by lithography. Most of the popular imagery in Britain - unlike the French who vigorously exploited the lithographic medium for both high and popular art - were wood engravings. So Sydney's dependence on lithography may perhaps be seen as an adaption to specific local conditions. I have not, for instance, seen many references to lithographed silhouette portraits similar to those Fernyhough published. Indeed, Augustin Edouart, the most famous European silhouette artist, noted that the lithographed silhouette group portraits which illustrated his A Treatise on Silhouette Likenesses (London 1835) were "quite unique in their kind". [7] Fernyhough, who was clearly influenced by Edouart's informal group portraits, possibly adopted the idea for his own publications when he came to Sydney.

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One of the reasons for a lack of a catchpenny print tradition is the absence of a centre like Seven Dials in London, whose labyrinth of alleys formed the core of a small, but vigorous, ballad and broadside printing industry which relied on an network of itinerant vendors for their distribution. Instead Sydney printmakers produced what I have described as "provincial" imagery - neither "high" art nor popular in the strictest sense. It was a kind of middle range of imagery, that drew on, in a fairly unskilled fashion, the conventions of high art. Landscapes, portraits, buildings, horse races, hunting scenes were drawn, engraved and printed by artists working for a market which did not require highly finished "works of art".

The standard of the drawing and finish of these prints was considerably higher than the simple schematic representations of popular imagery; the relatively high degree of finish and comparative sense of specificity implied that the print was an image of an actual scene. Such images seemed truthful, even if the activity depicted - a shipping disaster perhaps - came from the imagination of the artist. *The Despatch Capt.n Pritchard, on fire March 12th 1839*, [pl.24] for instance, is a competent drawing, but is more likely to be an artists' imaginative reconstruction of the rescue of the passengers rather than an actual delineation of the precise sequence of events. Indeed when the Sydney Standard drew attention to the lithograph (Barlow displayed it in his window) it commented that those "who have no idea of such a catastrophe may form *some conception* from this picture." (my emphasis) [8]

The subject matter of these prints still reflected popular interests in sport, disasters and murders. Yet an image such as Rodius' double portrait of the murderer John Jenkins [pl.25], clearly intended to be a life-like, recognisable image of the man, differs greatly from the generalised image of a murderer given in an English broadside. [pls 26, 28] [9] The person scrutinizing *John Jenkins* sought a different type of information than a person examining a murder sheet. *John Jenkins* could reveal "scientific" information about the physiognomical

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and phrenological capacities of the murderer (this idea will be examined more closely later in the chapter); because the image carried such specific information it had to be seen to be accurate. A murder sheet, however, placed the criminal in the broad and continuing flow of the history of crime. *John Jenkins* was similar to many, many prints of murderers published in Britain in the early nineteenth-century. [pl.27]

Apart from the considerable amount of work that has been undertaken on English caricature, this provincial imagery has received scant consideration in Britain and Sydney: it did not attract the attention of either print connoisseurs or nineteenth-century collectors of the popular arts whose interest in street literature preserved much of it from oblivion. [10] Very little is known of the histories of the Sydney ephemeral prints. Apart from newspaper references to their publication, there is virtually no documentary evidence of their creation. It is not known who bought the prints or why; there is little evidence as to the size of print runs, and only a vague understanding of the mechanics of distribution. The biographies of certain printmakers can be pieced together, but here, too, there are gaps. Many have to remain anonymous. Detailed biographies of some printmakers can be found in the Appendix; that material has been selectively used in the following chapter in so far as it reflects upon the histories of the prints.

The market for these ephemeral prints is particularly unclear. Barlow's satirical lithograph, *The Ass That Thought Himself a Lion*, which referred to the less than poetical verse of Beverly Sutor, was displayed in his shop window and sold cheaply at sixpence. The Sydney Gazette said the print sold well and "is likely to sell many more". [11] Yet the joke was literary and specific; the subject was unlikely to appeal to most Sydney people. There was little correlation between the type of image and the class of the buyer. Augusta Maria Mitchell - an educated middle class woman knowledgeable in painting and sculpture - pasted Fernyhough's *Native Dance* into her scrapbook, a

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volume otherwise full of European engravings. The market for ephemeral imagery was most likely not confined to one class of buyer, or stratified by price.

An important or dramatic event was generally all the incentive that was needed for an artist to decide to issue a print. The key was the contemporaneity of the image, for, to maximise possible sales the print had to appear at the height of interest. Charles Rodius' lithograph of the murderer John Jenkins was on sale in the shop window of the bookseller McGarvie just two days after his execution. [12] Sometimes printmakers were too quick; a print of the likenesses of Vidall and Duvall, who had been charged with the murder of a Mr Warne, was ready for publication some hours before the result of the trial was made known. The legend on the print described the two as being convicted of the "atrocious murder of Mr. Warne". Unfortunatley for the publisher Duval was indicted only as an accessory to the murder. [13]

Publishers also commissioned prints of subjects they considered important. In 1826 Robert Howe advertised for a "graphic artist" to engrave Earle's portrait of Sir Ralph Darling which he intended as a frontispiece for his Australian Almanack of 1827. Although he offered liberal remuneration for the successful completion of the plate he was not prepared to pay for an unsatisfactory performance. [14] McGarvie noted that the engraver, Edgar, had to throw aside a nearly completed plate when it sustained a blemish and "proceed to execute his work afresh". [15] A more informal commission was proposed by Clint who offered in 1844 to either share the profits or pay a premium for satirical designs which he considered to be worthy of publication. His caricature "*The Screw*" or *Taking it out of the Squatters* was the result of collaboration with Gother Kerr Mann. [16]

Some six years later, in July 1850, the turning of the first turf of New South Wales' first railway was celebrated with a public holiday, balls and picnics. The day, 3 July 1850, symbolised the arrival of new and progressive technology in the colony. James Grocott, printer and

art dealer, offered to "the artists of Australia"

ten guineas for the best representation of the TURNING OF THE FIRST TURF of the Australian Southern Railway, which will take place on Wednesday the 3rd July at the Sydney Terminus. The drawing to be in either oil or watercolour; the copyright [sic] to be the property of the undersigned. To be produced on or before the 20th July. The size to be not less than 24 x 10. [17]

George Peacock may have "won" the commission. John Allan printed his lithograph, *First Australian Railway*, which was dedicated to the Manager and Directors of the Railway Company. Although it is not clear if he was the artist, William Harris also engraved a drawing of the ceremony. [pl.32] Both these images concentrated on the official party. John Rae's large watercolour drawing of the event, however, ignored the ceremony; instead it recorded the wide cross section of society in the crowd, all of whom, Rae implicitly suggests, were to be the beneficiaries of the new technology. Rae's drawing was not published at the time, but the importance of the event to colonists is implied by the number of images made of it. [18]

Another source of patronage was the illustrated newspapers published in the later part of the 1840s. Both Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer and Heads of the People took their names and principal features from London publications and were quite blatant about copying illustrative work. In its review of the first number of Heads of the People the Sydney Chronicle noted, without criticism, that "the paper contains two sketches copied from PUNCH, and a well executed portrait of Shakespeare". [19] The Weekly Register, which began publication in July 1843, introduced in that year a series of "Heads of the Australian People". Very inexpert wood engravings accompanied brief biographies of prominent local people.

Most artists and engravers contributed at least a few designs or engravings to these local papers. William Nicholas provided a portrait of Benjamin Boyd, which was engraved by T. Sheppard, for the October 1843 issue of Arden's Sydney Magazine. In 1847 and 1848 Nicholas drew numerous portraits of Sydney people which were lithographed and

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reproduced in Baker's Heads of the People; Rodius, Balcombe and the unidentified T. [W] Rider also contributed lithographic work to this magazine. Carmichael was employed to copy, and engrave, H. K. Brown's (Phiz) illustrations from Dicken's Dombey and Son, which was being serialized in Heads of the People, while Thomas Clayton engraved numerous small decorative pieces for it. The artists and craftpeople were not exclusively bound to one magazine or publication; Clayton worked for various other magazines, providing most of the illustrative work - including humorous wood engravings - for the short-lived Australian Sportsman of 1848.

It is obvious, therefore, that colonial artists had many more outlets and sources of work than a traditional art history, concerned with oil paintings, watercolours and major published views allows, despite the fact that attempts to construct histories of clients and markets is very difficult because of the scant evidence. Subject matter is far simpler to uncover; a thematic approach therefore, not only illuminates colonial preoccupations but is the only one that is practicable in the present state of research.

### VIEWS AND PUBLIC BUILDINGS

One of the most common subjects of all prints published in the colony was single views of Sydney and its public buildings. As the implications of this will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three, this section will give only a quick description of some of these views. Briefly the single plates performed much the same function as the more elaborate publications; they provided visual evidence of the impact of British industry, commerce and ingenuity upon the penal colony. They argued that the colony was not tainted by its history but rather flourished under the energy of its free emigrants.

The first single views published in Sydney were bound with the Post Office directories, which also included engraved advertisements. The 1833 edition of the New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory was the first illustrated. It was embellished with two views,

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etched by Carmichael, of the new road pass at Mount Victoria, from drawings provided by its surveyor, Major (as he then was) Thomas Mitchell. The pass was a considerable colonial engineering feat, and the two plates - "before" and "after" the road was built - record the achievement. The plates were reused by Macle hose in his Picture of Sydney and Strangers Guide to New South Wales of 1838 and 1839. Other plates that appear in later editions of the Directory.. were used by Macle hose. Wilson's *Regentville, the Seat of Sir John Jamison*, inserted in the 1835 Directory.., was also taken by Macle hose. In 1837 the frontispiece for the Directory.. was an etching of Mortimer Lewis' new Court House at Darlinghurst. [pl.34]

Other views appeared as resources dictated. Wilson's engraving of the picturesque *Dockcairn of Bathurst, the Seat of Alex.r K Mackenzie Esqre*, published in the December 1833 edition of the New South Wales Magazine, was the first, and last, of an intended series of engravings. Similarly, in 1835 Austin published two lithographs in "a SERIES OF VIEWS in the Vicinity of Sydney, viz. the MONUMENT to the Memory of LA PEROUS [sic] at Botany Bay and the South Head Light-house, coloured and mounted ready for Framing. Price 3s.6d each." [20] The two images, *South Head Lighthouse* and *Monument Erected to the Memory of La Perouse at Botany Bay* [pl.32], were very crudely drawn and printed. Although Austin had already successfully printed Rodius' series of lithographic portraits of Aborigines, these views clearly needed both a competent artist and lithographic printer. The intended series was not completed. By his next major series of views, Robert Russell's A Series of Lithographic Drawings of Sydney and its Environs, Austin had arranged the requisite talent.

In his advertisement Austin suggested a possible destination for his lithographs: "Persons wishing to make presents to their Friends in England will find this particularly adapted, as they may be packed in a small compass." This was an obvious market for views. When discussing Baker's lithograph, *New Government House Sydney* [pl.33], the Temperance Advocate noted in 1841

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Engravings are the best means of conveying a correct idea, both of town and country to an absent friend. And among the efforts of art, lithography often excels in the representation of the wild appearances of nature. The lithograph before us gives a good view of the rough quarrying between Government House and the bay as a bold foreground...The new Palace is picturesque and quite as magnificent as the Colony may demand; it forms an interesting feature in the landscape from almost every point of view. The print is worthy of extensive patronage. Enclosed in a letter to England it would be a fair specimen of the public buildings of Sydney. [21]

New Government House was a favourite subject of colonial artists and one that Baker came back to when choosing illustrations for the almanacs he regularly published in the 1840s. For instance his *City of Sydney Almanack* for 1846 contained views of Parramatta, New and Old Government Houses, La Perouse's Monument and Governor Bourke's statue. [22]

New or renovated public buildings always attracted interest. The addition of a classical façade to the old Post Office in 1847 drew at least two prints, published prior to the completion of the work, of the building as it would appear when finished. In May 1846 Edward Winstanley and the unidentified F. Lewis collaborated on a large lithograph of the "proposed new front" to the Post Office. [pl.35] The foreground was "enlivened by several spirited, characteristic sketches of well known pedestrians, mail coaches etc." [23] The design of the lithograph is based on English coaching prints, particularly those published by James Pollard. It is possible that the figure on the extreme right is the famous Sydney pedestrian, the Flying Pieman. Similarly Baker's almanac for 1847 contained "an excellent etching of the post office as it will be when the alterations are completed, together with a correct view of the shops and houses on either side.." [24]

Prints were occasionally published of buildings outside Sydney. It is not known when W. W. Thwaites' crude drawing of *St Peter's East Maitland* was engraved and published. [pl.36] Thwaites was listed in the New South Wales and Port Philip General Post Office Directory for 1839

as a miniature painter of Castlereagh Street. Possibly it was hoped that the small engraving would attract donations to the church. George Rusden was rector during the late 1830s.

### **MURDERERS**

This was, and indeed still is, a subject that aroused intense interest. The European murder sheet - a cheap woodcut or engraving with a generalised image of the murderer or scene of the crime that could be reused for any number of murders - does not seem to have been printed in Sydney. This was quite possibly due to the fact that there were no artists or engravers in the colony willing or able to publish such imagery. Rodius drew at least two murderers but his professional skill as a portrait painter removed these from the popular image genre. Rodius drew John Jenkins while Jenkins was in the dock putting a question to one of the witnesses called on his behalf. Jenkins was charged, with another, of the murder of Dr Robert Wardell in September 1834. [p1.25] [25] Both accused were executed.

The trial was a matter of much popular interest in November 1834. Rodius' image is a double portrait: on the right is a three quarters half length profile portrait while on the left Jenkins is shown in profile. Rodius is giving the viewer a chance to "read" Jenkin's head phrenologically. That is Rodius' portraits enable the viewer to engage in a pseudo-scientific analysis of the character of a convict (or any other person) by interpreting the shape and structure of the skull. The image, therefore, relies on an aura of accuracy: it has to be perceived as factual if any sense is to be made of it. Phrenology allowed easy and quick summations of personalities and stressed the individual, deterministic nature of character formation; Jenkins had murdered Wardell, it could be argued, because of the shape of his skull. Rodius was allowing the viewer the opportunity to quantify and qualify the convict persona. Although the Rodius print dealt only with one person it is likely that Jenkins' head would be read as representative of the whole convict population.

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Phrenologists were interested in the causes of crime; if, as they argued, an individual could modify inherited behavioural characteristics, then theories of prison reform and punishment had to be reassessed. The heads of executed criminals - people proved to have transgressed the "natural" laws of the land - took on a peculiar significance because of what they revealed about criminal psyches. Artists and cast-takers were often present at trials and executions in England and Australia. At the execution of John Holloway at Horsham, England, in 1831 it was reported that "A young phrenologist was present, who examined the head for scientific purposes, and several casts were taken of the features." [pl.27] [26] In Tasmania, Thomas Bock made a series of drawings of criminals. On Bock's portrait of murderer Charles Routley, which he lithographed c.1830, appears a profile of the dead Routley as well as his dry skull. [pl.29] [27]

On the same day that the Sydney Gazette reported that Rodius had taken "a faithful likeness of Jenkins" it also noted that a "gentleman has taken a cast of this wretches countenance which will be exhibited to the public in a few days.." Clearly Jenkin's physiognomy was an important document in helping people understand the nature of crime. Indeed one Dr Wallace, who left the colony some time after 1844, displayed in his dining room a phrenological bust, a bust of Knatchbull (a murderer who was the subject of two prints), and a bust of a female convict. [28]

Knatchbull, executed in February 1844, was the subject of another lithograph drawn by Rodius and published by William Baker. [29] A somewhat improbable likeness of the death mask of Knatchbull also appeared in the cheap illustrated paper True Sun and New South Wales Independent Press on 24 February 1844. [pl.30] The latter most closely relates to the standardised and familiar formula of the English murder sheet, with its remarkably indeterminate features and highly inaccurate text. [30] It is a very different conception of a criminal to that offered by Rodius. There is no interest in the individuality or to the possibilities of a pseudo-scientific analysis of his head;

instead the image concentrates on the familiar, on the continuity of crime and on the rituals of execution. Knatchbull could have been any number of British murderers whose faces appeared on broadsides. As Gretton points out the alleged accuracy of the illustrated newspapers changed broadside imagery, at the least to be seen to be adopting the idea of visual accuracy. [31] True Sun therefore stressed that its wood engraving was "well-executed" and that their anonymous artist had been "eminently successful". Rodius did not need to give such assurances; his portrait, which drew on different traditions and notions of accuracy, was part of the growing European belief in the benefits of progress and science.

#### HEROES AND PERSONALITIES

The Victorian period has been described as the age of hero worship and indeed Sydney society seems to have invested a lot of time and effort celebrating its particular favourites. Public dinners, expensive presentations of plate, and addresses to worthies points to the very public and often highly ritualised Victorian conception of expressing admiration or gratitude. [32] The hero could be anyone from institutional figures such as the Governor or the Queen, to prominent politicians, sporting favourites, stage stars, explorers or survivors of disasters.

Robert Howe's commission, in 1826, of a line engraving of Governor Darling was the first of many gubernatorial portraits published in the colony. A portrait of Governor Bourke, by Richard Read, was engraved by Carmichael for the frontispiece of the Australian Almanac of 1835. [33] Governor Fitzroy portrait was drawn by Nicholas and published in Heads of the People in June 1847. [pl.37] Heads of the People also issued a portrait of Sir George Gipps, was issued with no. 16 of Heads of the People, as a special supplement, to mark his recent death. [34] A zincograph of their Sovereign, the popular Queen Victoria, was published by Barlow in January 1839. [35] The Australian thought it "particularly well executed; the contour is finely preserved, and the

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drapery light and expressively delineated. We should say that they are quite equal to drawings in the same style at home". [36]

At the same time he also published zincographs of Governor Bourke and the actress Mrs Taylor in the role of "Don Giovanni". The Queen was a popular subject, representing as she did the ultimate authority of the Empire and thus it is hardly surprising that she was so often depicted. Baker included her portrait in the country edition of his almanac for 1848 [37] while Maurice Felton exhibited at least three different pictures of her in his Art Union of 1842. Unfortunately none of these prints have been identified although a lithograph of Bourke that has been preserved is quite likely one of the zincographs advertised. [pl.38] Certainly its high degree of finish, and the delicate rendering of the facial features, indicate both Nicholas' trained hand and the importance of the subject matter of the lithograph. *Bourke* is a character study and was most likely intended to be displayed in the home - either framed or in a portfolio. Nicholas' *Fitzroy* (or any of the other numerous portraits that appeared in the paper), designed for a magazine, is more concerned with giving a straight forward likeness - considerably less ambitious in intention.

Rodius' crayon lithographic portrait of the explorer Dr Leichhardt was published in April 1846 to capitalise on the tremendous public rejoicing that accompanied his sudden return to Sydney on 25 March after his assumed loss on his northern expedition. A public subscription raised £1500 in his honour. [40] Like so many of Rodius' portraits the subject is shown in profile. [pl.39] It is no accident that Leichhardt is revealed to have a high and intellectual forehead. Once again Rodius provided an image that could be read physiognomically. The firm, intellectual countenance was supposed to set off associational ideas around Leichhardt's achievements - his greatness was reflected in his face. Yet Rodius neither clothed nor posed his sitters classically; indeed, even in privately commissioned portraits, he was a scrupulous observer of contemporary dress and his sitter's features. [41] *Dr Leichhardt* was intended for popular circulation

within the colony and hence was an uncomplicated image that did not attempt to allude to associations that could be possibly suggested by high art portraiture. Charles Abrahams, however, sold portrait busts of the explorer for a more formal and permanent record which could be displayed publically.

Rodius regularly published lithographic portraits of people occupying public attention. His portrait of the black boxer, Perry, published in 1849, sold uncoloured for eighteen pence, and coloured at two and six. [42] In March 1849 he also published a portrait of Jackey Jackey, the Aborigine who had distinguished himself on Edward Kennedy's tragic northern expedition. [pl.40] On his return to Sydney Jackey Jackey was feted by Sydney society. A subscription was raised for him, and Governor Fitzroy arranged for him to be presented with a silver breast-plate. [43] Bell's Life in Sydney commented that "The low price which is charged for the portrait, linked with the interest attached to it, will doubtlessly insure the artist an extensive sale." [44] As will be seen in chapter four his first portrait lithographs - of Aboriginal subjects - were published in 1834.

When Rodius tackled the subject of *Billy Blue* he made an etching. [pl.41] The death of Billy Blue in May 1834 attracted, as we saw, three prints none of which have the finish given to most other portrait engravings. The way Billy Blue was perceived determined the manner it was thought appropriate to depict him. The first print of Blue was a woodcut published by James Macle hose on 24 April 1834, just a few weeks before he died. [pl.43] It was initialled W.W. The woodcut was most likely the work of the engraver, William Wilson. Rodius published his etching in late July, after Blue's death. The Sydney Gazette described it as a "rough sketch and executed off hand" but thought the likeness "altogether remarkable". [45] Carmichael's lithograph was published in September 1834 by Austin, just after the printer had arrived in the colony. [pl.42] It, too, was well received although the Sydney Times wondered if it did not sufficiently convey the "idea of a black man, or copper complexion." [46] Blue's memory apparently

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lingered for in April 1835 Austin announced that he had in the press "The Extraordinary LIFE of the OLD COMMODORE BILLY BLUE, with a Lithographed Portrait; and a Drawing of his House and Ground on the North Shore." [47]

Billy Blue was an Jamaican given to lively banter and aphorisms. He used to entertain young Lachlan Macquarie with stories of adventure and travel. Like Bungaree, Blue dressed in cast-off military attire - in his case a naval uniform - and was something of a local jester. Because he was a negro he occupied a somewhat ambivalent position in colonial society. The Sydney Times printed a poem in his memory which reflects this ambiguity:

This Officer's exceeding suavity,  
Grace, humour, and familiarity  
Secure to him vast popularity  
And the regard of blackfellows and white....  
And [Blue] both the rare advantages possess  
Of blending white-man's manners, and his dress  
With the complexion of the Natives wild,  
Who therefore on their brother blackman smiled..[48]

The three prints caricature Blue, positioning him as a jester and comical figure. He is depicted in his uniform, with a sack slung over his shoulder, slightly stooped. Wilson's woodcut presents virtually indistinguishable figure surrounded by, one supposes, some of Blue's favourite aphorisms. The sheet is one of the few broadside images published in Sydney. Its simplicity and lack of internal logic conforms to English popular imagery. Rodius' etching is a particularly vigorous image, but he too, like Carmichael, falls for the stereotype. The prints are souvenirs of Blue rather than portraits. Blue was also the subject of an oil portrait by T.B. East, painted around 1834. *Billy Blue* (Mitchell Library) shows the boatman in his familiar pose at Mrs Macquarie's Chair. It is unlikely that *Billy Blue* was commissioned by Blue himself. The small full length painting is an unusual format for a formal portrait, and East probably intended the work for the market place; the appeal of the painting lying in the depiction of an exotic local character.

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Local Europeans were also the subject of quick and ephemeral prints, which were not bought for their artistic qualities but rather for the humorous, though essentially transitory, insights they revealed into the subject's character. One did not search for the intellectual qualities of the forehead of *Sydney Sam. who has knock'd down thousands* [pl.44]. *Sydney Sam.* was evidently the third in a series an anonymous production of Sydney characters. Perhaps this type of print derived from the "trades of London" publications of the early nineteenth century. The prints were cheap and sold singly; Austin sold "A Variety of Profiles of Sydney characters" for one shilling each. [49]

William Fernyhough put together a series of lithographed profile portraits which Austin began publishing in September 1836; these are possibly the "Profile Characters" that Austin advertised. Fernyhough was the colonies foremost profilist, noted for his skill in this now largely neglected, but then very important, field of portraiture. Profile, or silhouette, art will be discussed in more detail in chapter four in conjunction with Fernyhough's Profile Portraits of the Aborigines. When silhouette artists first arrived in a new town, they commonly advertised examples of their work in shop windows, and made sure that prominent locals sat to them. The Sydney Times noted that "Mr F.fernough! has taken off to the life Bishop Poulding, the Attorney General, the High Sheriff, and many other well-known characters; and a group of children now in his window is highly creditable to him." [50] By lithographing his silhouettes, Fernyhough devised an original way to publicise his work.

Fernyhough's first venture into humorous prints were two lithographs entitled *Ombres Fantastiques* [pls 48, 49] These two unusual images are made up from a series of vignettes of people and scenes around Sydney. A contemporary reader, familiar with the objects of their satire, would find them more enlightening than a present day observer. The Sydney Gazette, who mistakenly calls them *Amores Fantastiques*, hints that some of the vignettes were slightly critical members of the

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local community. The vignette at the top of No. 1, identified on the image in an unknown hand as being the controversial Lieutenant-Governor Colonel Snodgrass, shows, said the paper

the worthy Colonel driving his Stanhope, with a livery servant on horseback behind, and an unfortunate devil of a constable with his staff of office, in full swing after the vehicle, which gives the whole a most ludicrous appearance...The likenesses are striking. [51]

Indeed some of the groups are striking. The bushranging [?] scene at the bottom of No. 2 is particularly effective. Perhaps most peculiar is the vignette of convicts working on a road. Convicts are rare subjects in colonial art; this view may be commenting on the recalcitrance of convict labourers. It is no coincidence that this view - or the grossly caricatured image of a group of Aborigines sitting around a camp fire in No. 1 - appear on a cheap, ephemeral print that was not constrained by notions of style or the conventions of producing an "acceptable" image for polite society. The image was intended, futhermore, solely for a local market.

Fernyhough's other lithographic profile portraits were of local dignitaries. They were not created in the same spirit as *Ombres Fantastiques*, fulfilling more a need for mass-produced imagery that allows the dissemination of images of figures of authority at widespread level in a form more accessible than the complex symbols used in high art portraiture. Again printed by Austin, the series, which was continually added to, was known as Editorial and Military Sketches. Initially published in October 1836, the series included Dr Lang, Sir Thomas Mitchell [pl.45], Archbishop Polding [pl.46], the engraver John Austin [pl.47] and the Town Surveyor Felton Mathews. Although perhaps created with a slight spirit of fun about them they were certainly not satirical and the accuracy of the likeness was important. The Sydney Gazette thought both Dr Lang and Captain Hunter were "capital likenesses" while Fernyhough successfully depicted the Sheriff whose likeness "could not fail to strike the most casual observer". [52] Unlike the Profile Portraits of the Aborigines no names

or identification is given with the Sydney characters. Part of the point of the portraits was the enjoyment that could be had identifying the likeness. Clearly then, these prints were exclusively for the local market.

### SPORTS AND SPORTING HEROES

Sporting heroes are a particularly local phenomenon. The images of sports and sportsmen produced in Sydney were simply adapted from British iconography: scenes of the chase now revolved around emus or kangaroos instead of foxes. Most European sporting interests are evident in the colonial oeuvre although boxing and horseracing were perhaps the dominant interests. As Laverty points out, most of the sporting imagery produced in the colony comes from the later half of the century. However his important exhibition, Pastures and Pastimes, looked principally at substantial oils or watercolours rather than prints - although he did include some early lithographs in his selection. [53] Most of the sporting imagery printed in the colony before 1850, however, was published in illustrated newspapers. A good deal of the illustrations were provided by Edward Winstanley and Thomas Balcombe. Both of these artists were, with Thomas Newall, described by Heads of the People as "animal painters of no mean merit". [54] Thomas Clayton engraved many sporting pieces too, but it is generally unclear whether he was the original artist as well as the engraver.

One of the earliest published sporting images, and certainly one of the most ambitious, was *The Five-Dock Grand Steeple-Chase, 1844*, which was issued as a set of four prints in late 1844 or early 1845 by William Baker. [55] [pl.51] The series, a collaborative effort between Winstanley and Balcombe, illustrated the Hawkesbury Stakes which were run at Five Dock on 19 September 1844. [56] As both men signed the plates their authorship is unclear but it is likely that both contributed to the designs. The prints were coloured, and signed, in watercolours. Like so many of these publications I have not seen any references to the cost, or the success, of the prints. Nonetheless they

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are quite lively lithographs, derived from British hunting prints such as Henry Alken's very popular series of four aquatints, *The First Steeple Chase on Record (1803)*, published in 1839. Steeple chases were a popular genre of sporting illustration in Britain. Both Winstanley and Balcombe must have learnt the art of sporting painting through prints as their knowledge of painting was colonially acquired. Winstanley, who arrived in the colony aged eleven, was only twenty three when this series was published. Certainly their treatment of horse flesh - the shiny flanks and anthropomorphic eyes - is derived from British depictions of the horse in aquatint prints.

Winstanley appears to have embarked upon a full time career as an animal and marine painter. [57] Low's City of Sydney Directory for 1847 gave his address as James Grocott's - Sydney's most active art dealer - and described him as an animal painter. Winstanley probably learnt the craft of painting from his father, a scene painter, and from imported sporting prints. Indeed the Sydney Morning Herald noted that his *A Hunting Scene*, displayed in the 1847 exhibition of the Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, "was drawn with some spirit, in the style of the coloured engravings of similar subjects in England." [58]

Given Winstanley's association with Grocott it is possible that he was the artist "Tufts", who illustrated Yarra-Guinea's monthly serial Frank Kennedy. The Australian Settler, published by Grocott in Sydney in 1847. [59] In the unfinished serial Yarra-Guinea, a pseudonym for an unidentified author, describes the adventures of a new chum, Frank Kennedy, up country. He hoped the book would revive old sporting recollections, while informing city - by which the author meant Sydney rather than England - folk about life in the bush. The book was illustrated with six engravings, two of which were aquatints. A major interest of the book was hunting, both Aboriginal and European. One chapter, illustrated by "Charley" *Spearing Kangaroos* [pl.52], describes, with some admiration, Charley's skilful tracking of a kangaroo. Two other plates, [*Kangaroo Hunt*] and [*Dogs attacking Kangaroo in stream*],

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accompany a chapter on the excitement of a kangaroo hunt. These plates were engraved by William Harris, and stylistically resemble two other plates depicting an emu hunt, *The Start* and *The Death* [pls 53, 54], which were also engraved by Harris.

It is possible that *The Start* and *The Death* were intended for inclusion in Frank Kennedy; certainly the images seem to share the same artist. The engravings also relate to a number of small oil paintings, by unknown artists, of Australian hunting scenes, which appeared around the late 1840s. By this time Australian artists were beginning to create their own genre of bush subjects. Europeans and Aboriginal hunting scenes regularly appeared in local exhibitions and in Grocott's art unions. [60] There are at least two small oil copies of the print "*Charley*" *Spearing Kangaroos*, while another small oil in the National Library, *Kangaroo Hunt, NSW: the kill* is either based on, or is the basis for, "Tufts" [*Dogs attacking kangaroo in stream*]. [61] Obviously there is some relationship between the small oil paintings - all the same size - and the drawings provided by "Tufts" for Frank Kennedy. Perhaps Grocott, a major promoter of colonial artists, sold the paintings in his "Gallery of Colonial Pictures". [62] Certainly these paintings and engravings were made for the Sydney art market, possibly filling local demand for images similar to conventional English domestic paintings - that is, paintings for the walls of the house - but with an Australian content.

As early as October 1846 Winstanley collaborated with Grocott to organise a raffle of his watercolour portrait, handsomely framed, of the famous colonial racehorse Jorrocks. [63] Probably to coincide with the raffle Clayton was employed to engrave the drawing. The Spectator noted "We have received a proof of a wood engraving by Mr T Clayton from a drawing, by Mr E. Winstanley, of the race horse JORROCKS and his rider, which, as a work of art, reflects much credit on both engraver and draughtsman". [64]

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The four issues of the New South Wales Sporting Magazine, published in 1848 and 1849, all contained equine drawings by Winstanley, as well as portraits of famous men. [65] Horse portraits by other artists also appeared in the papers. Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Review carried numerous wood engravings of sporting personalities under a column entitled "Portraits of Sporting Characters", most of which were engraved by Clayton. Some were very good, such as the engraving of Mr Hugh Chambers which suggests that Clayton copied a drawing provided by another. [pl.55]

Boxing was a popular colonial sport that acted as a focus for populist nationalism in the colony, even though disapproved of by the authorities and condemned by the conservative press. Contests between representatives of different states or countries were promoted on national or state lines. When William Sparkes (who was actually a Maori) fought Paddy Sinclair in July 1848 the match was billed as a clash between Ireland and Australia. [66] Clayton's engraving of the fight was so stylised as to be really only emblematic of a boxing match. [pl.56]. John Perry, known in the colony as "Black Perry" was a black English prize fighter who had been transported for forgery. His career in Australia was very successful, though eventually tragic. [67] Clayton's drawing, apart from hinting at his size, gives little sense of personality and it is not obvious that Perry is a negro. [pl.57] The source of this imagery was the popular wood cut where the associations that an image could invoke were more important than its content.

In November 1844 the Star noted that the portrait painter Joseph Backler, whose subjects included the Chief Justice and many of the colonies eminently respectable petit-bourgeoise, had painted a portrait of "Mr George Hough, as he appeared previous to his last fight." [68] Balcombe, too, in 1847, published a boxing portrait. Lithographed copies of his portrait of "Big Ike the Port Phillip Pet" were sold for one guinea each. [69] I have not seen a copy of this print but, given the

price and the medium, it is likely that it was a more sophisticated image than those executed by Clayton.

Although sporting imagery manifested itself in all levels of artistic practice in the colony, in the first half of the century it was principally confined to the print medium.

#### ADVERTISEMENTS AND TRADE CARDS

These plates, which were always engraved or etched, were a major source of work for artisans such as Carmichael, William Wilson or William Moffitt. Even William Baker personally engraved trade plates though he mainly functioned as a printer of such work. This cheap, probably ill-paid engraving, was part of the staple of many engravings. The images were not made to be sold in their own right but rather to be appended to directories such as the New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory (1832-37) or the Australian Almanac and Sydney Directory, also published in the 1830s. The motifs were also used as trade cards and billheads. The work, essentially commercial, should be distinguished from the publications of people like Nicholas, Fernyhough, Russell and Prout. Generally there are two types of trade cards and advertisements. Some used emblems to suggest the trade advertised. Thus tobacconists often chose vignettes of West Indians with a bale of tobacco to illustrate their trade cards or advertisements. [p1.58] On the other hand the business could decide upon a drawing of their premises for their advertisements which implied the solidity and prosperity of the firm. Both forms were used in Sydney.

Many Sydney trade plates were copied from English designs. This was not an uncommon practice in Britain and provincial tradesmen often took older London cards and inserted their own text into the sophisticated pictorial surrounds and vignettes. [70] Sydney artisans may not have had access to the actual London plates but the designs were certainly copied, regardless of their relevance to Sydney commercial circumstances. Wilson's plate for the music seller F. Ellard

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is simply a duplicate of an eighteenth century, highly elaborate, rococo English design.

Moffitt's plates were also elaborate copies of English designs. Moffitt had arrived in the colony in 1827 as a convict and soon established himself in his trade as a bookbinder. He also worked as a stationer, engraver and copperplate printer. Moffitt's employment as an engraver involved him mostly in reproductive work. Moffitt used two plates to advertise his business. One, which first appeared in 1834, showed a muse holding a scroll tripped with roses upon which was inscribed the extent of Moffitt's business. Above her is a vignette of a printer at work and a man reading at an elegant desk. [pl.59] There is a slightly rococo feel to some of scroll work. The muse, a general symbol of the arts and genius in both high and popular art, was incorporated into the designs of other engravers. Wilson's similarly elaborate plate uses the classically dressed muse to suggest his craft. A very simple wooden press sits in the background. [pl.60]

In both these plates the muse acts as a symbol, derived from high art sources, for the engraving trade and is comparable to many British examples. Moffitt's other plate, which appeared in 1836, is a more monumental piece with curious combinations of heavy classical forms and slight rococo touches. [pl.61] Once again the arts are suggested by the statuary, paintings and lute. This type of plate needed little, if any, local references as it draws upon symbols that had widespread currency in British culture.

On the other hand some of these traditional designs did incorporate local motifs. James Broadbent notes that Moffitt's card for Miss Winstanley's benefit (Edward's sister) at the Royal Victoria Theatre incorporates a conventional image of Britannia sitting with her lion on the left, which is balanced with a symbolic female figure of Australia holding a sheaf of wheat surrounded by colonial produce. [71] Sydney merchants depended almost totally on the British market as both a source of imports and a market for exports. For colonial merchants, to

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whom commerce was both beneficial and progressive, this was not a point of contention. Rather it was a matter of pride to participate in the spread of British civilisation and commercial acumen.

Carmichael's billhead for C. & F. Wilson's Wholesale & Retail General Warehouse, designed in the mid-1830s, has Britannia seated to the right of the substantial Wilson premises while on the left of the building lie bales of wool with the firm's markings. [pl.62] In the background are the tall masts of the ships of a flourishing port. An explicit link is made between the Wilson's visible prosperity and the might of Britain. Similarly the design of the Union Bank of Australia's notes is comprised of a seated Britannia, a ship, a sheath of wheat, a plough and a kangaroo. [pl.63] Yet Carmichael also used the most powerful symbol of America, the American eagle, in the advertisement he prepared for C. M. Penny's lemonade powders. [pl.65]

The kangaroo and emu also provided relevance to a plate that would otherwise have no colonial references. *C. M. Penny's Ginger Powder* utilises a muse and putti as the centre of the design. [pl.64] The engraver, however, added a kangaroo and emu to the shield, which is supported by classical figures. Carmichael included a herd of kangaroos and emus into his design for the pastry cook and confectioner W. Blyth. [pl.66] Blyth, who wanted to stress that he catered for picnics, chose as the basis of his card a lush pastoral scene, amongst which sit some happy picnickers. In the background kangaroos and emus graze, providing the only identifiably Australian touch to the view.

If a business did not want an embalmatic card, the engraver was asked to produce a card that simply showed the premises of the firm. The simple aim was portray the prosperity and solidity of the firm. Sydney merchants equated fine buildings with material progress. The plates, therefore, tended to show either the building in which housed the business or the work place of the firm. Hotels favoured a descriptive approach, hoping perhaps that the size and respectability of the hotel shown on the trade card would be evidence of its worthiness. [pl.67]

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On the other hand industrial concerns, such as engineering firms, commissioned fairly literal depictions of the work place, bequeathing to us unusually detailed images of Victorian work. [pl.68] Carmichael, who drew and engraved the factory of an engineering firm (unfortunately the firm's name has been obscured by the binding of the directory in which it has been inserted), provides a remarkably prosaic image of heavy industry. This type of image does not appear in high art depictions of labour, industry being generally considered an inappropriate subject for a painting. However this billhead operated under different conventions, with different intentions. It was an advertisement, designed to be read as a symbol of the prosperity and capabilities of the firm.

Many, many trade cards and billheads were produced in the colony and it is impossible to discuss them all. But it is important that they not be forgotten as they can provide some of the most literal depictions of the work places of colonial Sydney. They are also evidence of the continuity of, and adaption of, British printing and engraving practises into the commercial life of Sydney.

### CARICATURE AND HUMOUR

Given the often vitriolic politics of the colony, there is a suprising absence of caricature and graphic satire from Sydney. Many examples must have simply vanished. Certainly the vigorous English political etchings of the Georgian period were superceeded in the 1830s by the less harsh, and less political, humour of illustrated newspapers. Dorothy George describes the 1830s as "a decade filled with albums, scrapbooks, annuals and almanacks, pages of humorous etchings, wood-engravings or lithographs responding to the vogue for fantasy, whimsy, puns and the macarbe." [72]

In 1835 Austin announced the publication of a "CARICATURE entitled A REVIEW of the FOURTH ESTATE in New South Wales" which was to cost three shillings coloured or two shillings plain. [73] Yet Fernyhough's *Ombres Fantastiques*, while possibly of mild satirical intent, would

appear to be part of the generally uncontroversial humorous material of the 1830s. Similarly his *Matrimonial Thermometer* appeals to the wit of a timeless joke, rather than a contemporary issue. [pl.50] The butt of Barlow's *The Ass that thought himself a Lion* of 1839, which was certainly satirical, was an individual rather than a political situation. [74]

It seems unusual then, for five caricatures to appear on the same subject of Governor Gipp's land regulations. Mahood lists them all and provides an excellent description of their contents. [75] As she points out the images are derived from what George calls the decorous Political Sketches of John Doyle, but retain the "overloaded conversation balloons of the eighteenth century". [76] Barlow published at least three of them: *Raising the Wind, or Sydney in 1844*, [pl.70] *Ways and Means, or the Last Shift* and *A Squatter meeting a Squatter*. Clint published *Ways and Means for 1845, or Taking it out of the Squatters* [pl.71] and *Don Quixote's Adventure with the Cattle*. [pl.69]

As we saw above Clint advertised that he was prepared to offer a premium or share the profits from any design submitted to him of which he approved. He noted his successful collaboration with Goether Kerr Mann who designed "the popular caricature of "The Screw" or taking it out of the Squatters". [77] Mann was a wealthy civil engineer and land owner who supported the importation of coolies into the colony to make up the short fall in convict labourers. It was common practice in the late eighteenth century for amateurs to create satirical designs which publishers then had professionally engraved for distribution on the open market. [78] Clint simply adopted this procedure for Mann's drawing and had Winstanley put it on the lithographic stone as two of the three version of this image that have survived are initialled either "W" or "E. W.". Another version in the Mitchell Library, drawn in a crude pen line is signed "MN", and is a reversed copy of the Winstanley edition.

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In the same advertisement, dated 8 May 1844, Clint announced his intention of publishing another design, "The Boiling Down". This period was when the controversy over the land regulations was at its peak; one suspects that the five caricatures were organised to coincide with the vigorous campaign against the regulations being arranged by Wentworth. Wentworth's motives, however, were being questioned, and the squatter's petulant cries of self-interest were not well received by the public. The publication of these caricatures may have been an attempt to win back lost ground.

Mahood notes other cartoons published in the late 1840s. [79] Yet given the nature rough and tumble politics of the Sydney community it is unusual that more have not been found. One cartoon, which I have been unable to trace, but is reproduced in Rex and Thea Rienits A Pictorial History of Australia, appears to be another of Barlow's Political Sketches. [pl.72] [80] Although undated it refers to claims by the Port Phillip settlement for separation from New South Wales and self-government which would suggest publication prior to November 1850. Port Phillip, represented by a comely young maiden with fashionably set hair, is handcuffed to a convict woman, symbolizing New South Wales. The pair are standing in front of Hyde Park Barracks. The young woman begs for release but is resisted by the convict who wants her to support her "doting old Mother's weakly constitution". This is another unusual and direct reference to convicts; because of the popular nature of the print the normal constraints of "high" art could be ignored. It was not an image made for moral contemplation but rather a cheap, ephemeral picture whose impact depended on slightly subverting conventional image making.

It is also worth briefly noting the humorous wood engravings that appeared in the illustrated newspapers at the end of the 1840s. The Sporting Times and The Australian Sportsman, both shorted lived papers published in 1848, were regularly illustrated with wood engravings. The Australian Sportsman employed Clayton to engrave its comical drawings, which were in the style of English humorous magazines such

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as Punch. Most of the images were probably crude copies of English engravings. Although the papers actively and vigorously engaged themselves in contemporary issues and debates, the engravings ignored all political involvement. *Innocence in an Omnibus* or *Rather Pleasant* [pls 73, 74] were old jokes of universal application. Although Clayton may have designed *After reading the "Herald"* [pl.75] there was no attempt by these newspapers to promote a tradition of humorous illustration which responded to local issues and conditions.

\* \* \* \* \*

This brief outline of some of the themes in popular prints produced in Sydney is by no means exhaustive. But it does provide some indication of the types of imagery available in the colony, and also suggests that the artistic practice of local artists was much broader than previously thought. Although these images were hardly created with the same care and attention that Martens, for instance, would put into one of his highly finished oils or watercolours, for many people the prints represented the most easily accessible record of their new land.

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### NOTES

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1) S.G., 4/1/1822.

2) S.G., 12/7/1822.

3) S.G., 14/10/1824.

4) S.G., 12/7/1822.

5) J. Carmichael, "*The Old Commodore*" *Billy Blue*, litho September 1834; C. Rodius, *Billy Blue*, etching, July 1834; William Wilson, [*Billy Blue*], woodcut, April 1834. These will be discussed later in this chapter.

6) Thomas Gretton, *Murders and Moralities: English Catchpenny Prints 1800-1850*, London, 1980; see his introduction.

7) Augustin Edouart, *A Treatise on Silhouette Likenesses*, London, 1835, p.114.

8) *Sydney Standard*, 8/4/1839, p.3.

9) Gretton, *Murder and Moralities*; see a selection of murder images p.30-42.

10) The writings of Charles Hindley and Henry Mayhew document the history of printers and artists of popular London street imagery. They also record the dynamics of the trade - its distribution, sales and

clientele. Many examples of such imagery collected by Hindley were published in his books: The Catnach Press: A Collection of the Books and Woodcuts of James Catnach Late of Seven Dials Printer, London, n.d.; The Life and Times of James Catnach. (Late of Seven Dials). Ballad Monger, London, 1878. See also Henry Mayhew's, London Labour and London Poor, 2 vols, (1861), New York 1968.

11] S.G., 1/1/1839.

12] S.G., 13/11/1834, p.2.

13] The Star, 18/1/1845.

14] S.G., 27/9/1826, p.3.

15] John McGarvie, "On the State of the Fine Arts in New South Wales", S.G., 27/7/1829.

16] S.M.H., 8/5/1844, p.3.

17] Sydney Herald, 1/7/1850.

18] John Rae, *Turning of the First Turf of the First Australian Railway in the Australasian Colonies at Redfern, Sydney, N.S.W. 3rd July 1850*, watercolour, ML.. Reproduced in AGNSW, The Artist and the Patron, 1988, p.148. Rae's drawing, which remained in his possession until his death (see Artists Files, AGNSW) is very much a history painting in the manner of William Frith's large paintings of English classes, such as *Derby Day*, 1858, (Oil, Tate Gallery, London). Interestingly 3 July 1850 was a wet and damp day; only Peacock suggests the day was anything other than sunny. Rae's drawing reveals bright, blue skies. Peacock's lithograph is reproduced in Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, The Convict Artists, Melbourne 1977, p.49.

19] Sydney Chronicle, 21/4/1847, p.3.

20] S.G., 21/4/1835, p.3.

21] Temperance Advocate, 1/7/1841, p.11.

22] Weekly Register, 22/11/1845, p.251.

23] Sentinel, 7/5/1846, p.3.

24] Sydney Chronicle, 3/2/1847, p.2.

25] S.G., 13/11/1834, p.2; Sydney Times, 14/11/1834, p.2.

26] C. Hindley, The Life and Times of James Catnach, p.242; For some New South Wales newspaper comments on murder and phrenology see Sydney Monitor, 11/8/1826, p.98; S.M.H., 14/5/1842, p.2.

27] Clifford Craig, The Engravers of Van Diemen's Land, Launceston, 1961, p.35-36.

28] Auction Catalogues, ML 018.2 PA1, p.331.

29] Weekly Register, vol. II, no.28 1844, p.411

30] Compare, for instance, the biography of Knatchbull published in True Sun and New South Wales and Independent Press, 28/2/1844, with "John Knatchbull", A.D.B., vol. 2.

31] M. Wolff & C. Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines", The Victorian City, vol. 2, London, 1973, p.566-67; This article discusses the essential inaccuracy of illustrated newspapers, both in terms of subjects they avoided, and in the basic lie that a newspaper illustration had any particular claims to truth.

32] See here Appendix for William Baker's involvement in the presentation of plate to the Attorney-General, John Plunkett.

33] Richard Read painted a full length portrait of Governor Bourke which was commissioned by a Mr Wilson of the Governor Bourke Inn at Penrith, to be used as his inn sign. Hill's Life in New South Wales, 14/9/1832, p.3.

- 341 S.M.H., 31/7/18847, p.3.
- 351 Aust., 1/1/1839, p.3.
- 361 Ibid.
- 371 Sydney Chronicle, 11/12/1847, p.2.
- 381 S.M.H., 7/10/1841.
- 391 Heads of the People, 5/6/1847, p.64.
- 401 Renee Erdos, "Ludwig Leichhardt", A.D.B., vol. 2.
- 411 See William Cox and Sarah Cox, pencil miniatures, private collection. Reproduced in AGNSW, Artist and the Patron, p.34. William Nicholas also drew a portrait of Leichhardt which was published in Heads of the People, 16/10/1847.
- 421 Bell's Life in Sydney, 6/10/1849, p.2.
- 431 See AGNSW, The Artist and the Patron, Sydney, 1988.
- 441 Bell's Life in Sydney, 24/3/1849, p.2.
- 451 S.G., 26/7/1834, p.2.
- 461 Sydney Times, 19/9/1834, p.2
- 471 S.G., 21/4/1835, p.3; I have not seen this particular work.
- 481 Sydney Times, 19/9/1834, p.2.
- 491 See Appendix for a transcript of Austin's advertisement.
- 501 Sydney Times, 3/2/1838, p.2; see also Eduoart, A Treatise on Silhouette Likenesses, p.13.
- 511 S.G., 29/9/1836, p.2
- 521 S.G., 8/10/1836.
- 531 C. Laverty, Pastures and Pastimes, Melbourne, 1983, p.6-8.
- 541 Heads of the People, 28/8/1847.
- 551 Weekly Register, 1/12/1844, p.276
- 561 S.M.H., 20/9/1844, p.4; Although the days racing was generally disappointing, the Hawkesbury Stakes exceeded even the most sanguine hopes of the Herald writer. The race was won by Mr Kemble's Yeoman, with Mr Gorrock riding.
- 571 For biographical details see Laverty, Pastures and Pastimes, p.53. Note that Winstanley was not born in the colony - see Appendix.
- 581 See Appendix for details of Winstanley's family.
- 591 There are two copies of Yarra-Guinea's Frank Kennedy. The Australian Settler in the ML at Q A823Y. Only one of the copies has the six engravings.
- 601 At the 1849 Exhibition of the Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Australia, Balcombe showed Kangaroo Hunt (no. 359) while "G.L." exhibited Kangaroo Hunt; the Chase and Kangaroo Hunt; the Death (no.s 309-310). Frederick Darcy showed Emu Hunt (no. 373) Similarly Grocott's Art Union of April 1850 offered as a prize Bullocks and Dray, Australian Scene, an oil painting by F. Willis, Bell's Life in Sydney, 30/3/1850, p.3
- 611 For copies of these paintings: "Charley" Spearing Kangaroos see Captain Otway [Aboriginal Spearing Kangaroo], c. 1847 oil, NLA; another version in oil was sold at Lawson's Fine Art Sale August 1985, (lot 2), as Australian School; Artist Unknown, Kangaroo Hunt, N.S.W.: The Kill, c. 1847, oil, NLA.
- 621 Grocott operated a "Gallery of Colonial Pictures" to which admission was free; Bell's Life in Sydney, 29/6/1850, p.3. In 1847 he claimed to have sold 957 paintings in the preceding three years, of which 830 were executed in the colony; S.M.H., 5/5/1847, p.3.
- 631 Bell's Life in Sydney, 17/10/1846, p.3.

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- 64] Spectator, 24/10/1846, p.470.
- 65] I have not seen this magazine, housed in the ML, as it has been unavailable to readers due to conservation. C. Laverty's Pastures and Pastimes discusses its content.
- 66] J. M. Houstone, "A Pugilistic Antique", The Australasian Antique Collector, 1979, p.86-89; see also Bell's Life in Sydney, 8/7/1848.
- 67] Ibid.
- 68] Star, 30/11/1844, p.3.
- 69] Houstone, "A Pugilistic Antique", p.88.
- 70] T. Friedman, Engrav'd Cards of Trades-men in the County of Yorkshire, 1976, n.p.
- 71] James Broadbent, "Early Australian Trade Cards", Australasian Antique Collector, 20th ed., 1980, p.91
- 72] D. George, Hogarth to Cruickshank. Social Change in Graphic Satire, London, 1967, p.220.
- 73] S.G., 24/4/1835, p.3.
- 74] S.G., 15/1/1839, p.3; to my knowledge the image has not survived.
- 75] M. Mahood, The Loaded Line, Melbourne, 1973, p.33-37.
- 76] Ibid., p.34; see also George, Hogarth to Cruickshank, p.220
- 77] S.M.H., 8/5/1844, p.3.
- 78] George, Hogarth to Cruickshank, p.129.
- 79] Mahood, The Loaded Line, p.37
- 80] R. & T. Rienits, A Pictorial History of Australia, Middlesex, 1969, p.145.

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### VIEWS AND THE CITY: 1826-1850

The Reverend John McGarvie, writing in 1829, thought the encouragement of the Fine Arts in the colony would have two most beneficial consequences. Firstly, he counted on the moral influence of the Fine Arts, "the most powerful of all agents employed to humanise the affections". Secondly he realised the value of pictures as propaganda, and it was for this reason he applauded the lithographs of Augustus Earle. He wished, he wrote, that

the Government of the Mother Country would do what Mr EARLE is doing on his own account, encourage artists of merit to take connected and detached views of Colonial scenery, and particularly of towns and villages, that the British public might be able to form some definite conceptions of the local circumstances connected with them...A gallery in London with a varied collection of such views...would constitute a pleasing sort of instruction, and fill up a vacuum in our public institutions, much to be deplored, and severely felt. [1]

McGarvie, a Presbyterian minister who had come to Australia at the behest of John Dunmore Lang, was ambitious for the moral and economic growth of his adopted country. McGarvie was interested in the possibilities of promoting the colony to prospective, respectable - the essential epithet - artisan emigrants through pictures. Hence Earle's Panorama was a "very powerful source of attraction" while his paintings and lithographs illustrated that "to whatever climes Britons penetrate, they carry their national vigour, activity, and attainments along with them." [2] Unfortunately it required more than pictures and panoramas to unseat British prejudices; the British reviewer of Burford's panorama of Sydney, while admitting the beauty of the scene noted "Such is Sydney and its vicinity, the abode, unfortunately, of gentlemen, whose enjoyments, for the main part, do not arise from the contemplation of subjects especially calculated for the *fine Arts*". [3]

When McGarvie's article, "On the State of the Fine Arts in New South Wales", appeared in the Sydney Gazette the colony was in a state of transition. Although it had for a long time been recognised that the

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colony was unlikely to remain a penal settlement, the nature of the emigrants arriving in the colony was gradually changing. The gentry emigrants, people with capital who were encouraged to come out in the 1820s gave way to greater numbers of working class and skilled artisans who began arriving in the early 1830s.

It was these people who provided both the market and the labour for the printmaking industry. Their presence in the colony generated a demand for the ephemeral prints which were discussed in the last chapter. This chapter will look at prints of a more substantial nature: those which sought to explain the colony in some way and were aimed ostensibly at an English market. The publications of Earle, Carmichael, Russell, Macle hose, Prout, Fowles and Martens were generally more sophisticated than those discussed in the last chapter and they were intended for distribution well beyond the confines of the Sydney community. These publications required time and effort to bring out and consequently artists put more store by them. All were centred on the city of Sydney and nearly all were advertised as "well calculated for a present from the Colonists to their relatives and Connexions in Great Britain". [4]

Leading colonial figures and families had always sought to legitimise their position within the colony by the possession of obvious cultural symbols, and by the patronage of their creators. It was they who had patronised early colonial artists and it was they who jealously guarded the dissemination of "taste" within the colony. McGarvie, in arguing that a growing interest towards the fine arts in the colony was evidence of its improving moral tone, cited as an example the scientific and artistic pursuits of the families of the highest civil and military officers. [5] Members of this class were the major patrons of artists such as Conrad Martens, whose sophisticated picturesque vision of Australia - which concentrated on the landscape setting rather than detailing the built environment - was employed almost exclusively in the 1830s and 1840s to record the properties and houses of wealthy colonists. It is true that he was also employed

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to paint topographical views of Sydney, but these too, usually placed the city in the distance, in an arcadian or romantic atmosphere. Published views of Sydney, however, were designed to appeal to a wider market than this and were on the whole less self-consciously artistic than Martens' large, highly finished oils and watercolours. Local publications were not concerned with images of substantial private property, to which few immigrants could aspire. Instead they focussed on the city and surrounding districts - where most emigrants would live - and its public buildings. These were the symbols that middle and working class emigrants, and the free born, could point to as legitimising *their* situation within colonial society.

These volumes were produced for the local market of new emigrants with the promise that they were suitable as gifts for friends at "home". For New South Wales this was a particularly powerful motive because of the perceived "stain" of its convict heritage. Fowles told the public that the principal object of his work, Sydney in 1848, was to remove "the erroneous and discreditable notions current in England concerning this City".

Yet this did not mean that Fowles disapproved of transportation. Indeed he attributed the decline of the colony - the depression of the early 1840s - to the abandonment of transportation in 1840. Although he did not want a return to the convict system, and did not approve of the exile scheme devised to replace transportation, Fowles was convinced of capability of the initial system to "reclaim the fallen, and to enable [them] to resume a position in society". [6] The somewhat ambivalent stance that Fowles adopted towards convicts was typical of the colony's ambiguous response to its convict heritage. No simple definition of local feeling, either towards convicts or towards the mother country, existed. The mere presence of convicts in the colony was not necessarily disturbing. The greater evil was the reputation that such a presence gave the colony. The publicity that surrounded the Molesworth report of 1837-38, which, although essentially concerned with the convict system also examined the

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general condition of the colony (the two seen as inextricably linked), painted an extremely bleak picture of its moral state. In the eyes of the British middle class the simple proximity of convicts to the general populace was conclusively damning, for did not the sins of the father visit the son? How could social order be maintained when one did not know, and moreover could not trust, the antecedents of ones neighbour? [7]

These were very real and pervasive attitudes. Like McGarvie the solution offered by Dr Lang was to encourage the emigration of skilled, respectable working-class tradespeople. This became the central theme of much of the rhetoric surrounding the immigration and convict issue. To the Sydney community, of course, the findings of the Molesworth committee had been an outrage and the large numbers of emigrants arriving in the colony were pointed to as evidence of the increasing moral tone of the colony. The material progress of the colony was also emphasized, a telling argument in a society which put so much store on the imperative of commerce and trade. Transportation was defended by some, very much on the grounds that Fowles put forward. Others, particularly the new free emigrants whose labour could be supplanted by convict workers, began arguing that all forms of transportation should be abandoned. Only then could colonial morality be absolved of the convict millstone. [8]

The anger felt towards the findings of Molesworth committee did not imply disloyalty to Great Britain. Indeed the anger was more that the fidelity of the colonials - their fitness to be part of the British Empire - had been questioned. As Richard White points out, the quest for a uniquely Australian identity was not an issue until the late nineteenth century. "Australians" he says "saw themselves, and were seen by others, as part of a group of new, transplanted, predominantly Anglo-Saxon emigrant societies". [9] Emigrants came for different reasons and developed different levels of attachment to their new home, but nearly all believed in Britain and the Empire. [10] Britain's acceptance, then, of colonial society was important and much of the

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material printed in the colony was designed to argue for that acceptance.

This stresses, of course, the important negative impulses behind print-making in Sydney. Positive impulses were at work as well. The very basis for defending the colony was a belief in its worth and it is obvious from the letterpress that accompanies The Picture of Sydney.. or Sydney Illustrated that the authors were just as anxious to promote Sydney as to defend it. These are confident images showing none of the distance of the pre-1825 publications. The city of Sydney itself was now the principal focus of printmakers and satellite settlements were usually ignored. Sydney is depicted as a secure, bustling, well established town. Carmichael, Maclehole and Fowles stress the physical environment, the substantiality of the city's buildings while Russell, Prout and Martens aroused feelings of pride and familiarity in the place through the picturesque treatment of the city and the harbour. In both cases the result is the same; the value of the city is established - Sydney has successfully enmeshed itself within the environment and all former concerns about the an alien landscape and the unfavourable moral state of the colony are subsumed under the façade of bourgeois respectability.

\* \* \* \* \*

The first printmaker to show interest in such new subject matter was Augustus Earle, who arrived in Sydney in October 1825. His lithographs, published in Sydney as Views in Australia in 1826, were as much experiments in the technique of that medium as illustrations of the colony. Earle was an academically trained freelance travel artist whose sojourn in Sydney was the culmination of a series of unfortunate coincidences and accidents. [11]

His printmaking was simply part of his wider artistic activities. Earle opened a school of painting in August 1826, sold artists' materials, prepared transparencies, took many commissioned portraits and

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organised a small exhibition of his own paintings and watercolours, along with imported prints. [12] McGarvie's description of Earle's "Gallery" (as it was known) at No. 10 George Street is limited only to those paintings he considered the most interesting but, as he points out, a great variety and assortment of prints and pictures passed through it. The Gallery appears to have been operating during the latter half of 1826. Clearly Earle was either importing artists' materials and prints himself or was acting as a local agent on behalf of another party. [13] Earle travelled widely in New South Wales, sketching in regions as diverse as the Illawarra, the Hunter, the Wellington Valley region, around Bathurst and as far north as Port Macquarie. [14] Sketches taken on his travels formed the basis for his incomplete book Views in New South Wales and Van Diemens Land which he began publishing in London in 1830.

His decision to embark on a series of locally published lithographic views - the first pictorial lithographs published in the colony - was probably determined more by the chance presence of a press in the colony than any pre-determined plan. As noted in the introduction, the press Earle used was most likely one of the two Governor Brisbane bought to the colony in 1821 and gave to his astronomer, James Dunlop, just before his departure in November 1825. It is likely that Dunlop, a good friend of Earle's (Earle painted his portrait) who had already received some basic training in lithography, taught Earle the rudiments of the technique. Butler suggests that Earle may have learnt some of his fairly elementary lithographic skills from his brother-in-law, Denis Dighton, prior to his departure on his world travels. Dighton was a military painter, draughtsman and engraver who was associated with English lithography from its earliest commercial days in 1820. [15] However Dighton's technique emphasises the chalk line, imitating as closely as possible a crayon drawing. Earle on the other hand, used lithography to simply imitate his own watercolour drawings and the aquatint engraving process. This reveals a lack of familiarity with the lithographic process as practised by Dighton and hints at other, more conservative, teachers.

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Earle's lithographs created a good deal of interest in the Sydney newspapers. Their publication was followed closely and some detailed, formal criticism was offered, unusual for colonial art works. Perhaps it was the novelty of the medium that caught people's attention. Earle began using the press in about August 1826, for in that month the Sydney Gazette commented that "the lithographic press is constantly employed by that indefatigable artist, Mr. EARLE". [16] (He also used the press to print circulars.) The Gazette noted the publication of "His Majesty King *Bungaree*, of Australian renown...The likeness is admirable. His aboriginal princship is showing off at some houses in town to the tune of 50s." [17] *Bungaree* was the first portrait print and pictorial lithograph to be published in the colony. [pl.106] The image, recently re-discovered in the Mitchell Library after being mis-catalogued, was a copy of an oil painting (now held in the National Library of Australia) which Earle exhibited in his gallery. [18] The print was dedicated to Governor Darling and was for sale, according to the Sydney Monitor, at a very low price. (confirming Butler's suggestion tht 50s was a typographical error and that *Bungaree* really cost 5s.) [19] *Bungaree* is a most tentative attempt at lithography. The impression was very weak, with little tonal variation, relying on hand colouring to build up the volume of the image.

Earle then undertook a series of views of colonial scenes, his Views in Australia. He envisaged that the publication would be formed from "a series of the most interesting Views in the Colony, in Monthly Numbers" [20] In late September he applied to have the convict engraver and miniature painter, Edmund Edgar, assigned to him, presumably to help with the printing. [21] Only four of the projected series of views were published, the first two, *Sydney Heads* [pl.76] and *View from Sydney Hotel* [pl.77], being issued in October 1826. [22] The prints were priced at 7s 6d each which the Monitor thought too "expensive for frugal persons, however great their desire to encourage the arts", [23] suggesting that a dollar or 5s was a sufficient price. The next, and last, two views *Sydney, from Pinchgut Island* [pl.78] and

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*Sydney Lighthouse* [pl.79], were published in the middle of December 1826.

Even Earle himself acknowledged that as specimens of the lithographic art the series was not particularly successful, as Earle himself acknowledged. The Sydney Monitor commented, quite properly, that it had seen better plates - but it also noted that it had seen worse. [24] Earle's technique was closely related to the work of British lithographers who began to utilise the medium from 1820. Lithography in Britain evolved from a quite sophisticated topographical watercolour tradition which previously had been serviced by aquatint engraving which to a certain extent, in turn determined the nature of British topographical watercolours. [25] An aquatint is built up from an etched outline over which is applied a series of printed tonal layers to imitate the effect of a wash drawing. To facilitate the reproductive process, topographical watercolourists began using the same technique in their drawings - the scene drawn in outline in pen and then filled in with flat washes of colour. The work of Thomas and William Daniell typifies this technique, and Hackforth-Jones suggests that Earle may have known and been taught by them. [26] Earle's own watercolour style is derived from this aquatint topographical tradition; his drawings often rely on areas of wash sharply defined, or circumscribed by a pen line. [27]

As Twyman points out, "English lithography inherited the aquatint tradition both in its style and in its close relationship with topography". [28] As did so many of his British contemporaries, Earle tried to use lithography to reproduce his own watercolour drawings in the aquatint manner. The hand colouring of the lithograph, a common British practice, was often an integral part of the image. Usually the colouring was transparent to allow the printed impression to show through, but Earle was quite liberal in his application of colour because the images needed the body that washes could provide. For instance in *Sydney Heads* Earle has covered most of the lithographic impression with his own washes. So Earle's lithographs were very much

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of the early generation of British lithography, before the medium's independent possibilities were fully understood. Given his distance from the centre of the industry - London - his struggles with poor materials and his own inexperience, this is hardly surprising.

Earle's depiction of his subjects differed considerably from those of Wallis, Lycett and even Major Taylor. Lycett had done his best to make the Australian landscape conform to English conventions of the Picturesque. Taylor's Panorama not only documented Sydney's physical environment but its social relations as well. [29] Earle, however, modelled his work on publications such as William Daniell's Voyage around Great Britain (1814-1825). Daniell's topographical work avoided the use of picturesque conventions, preferring instead to site the viewer in such a way as to stress the strong internal design of the scene that is revealed through his plate. [30] Earle shared a similar interest in the inherent design of nature and adopted Daniell's programme of planned and extensive tours as the preface to his London Views in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land makes clear. He intended to begin his itinerary at Sydney and then move through Parramatta, Emu Plains, the Blue Mountains, Bathurst and the Wellington Valley. Either forgetful or confused about his colonial geography, Earle next proposed to visit the Illawarra, Hunter's River, Port Stephens and Port Macquarie. Views in Australia did not manage to progress farther than Sydney and its vicinity, but the preface to that work indicates that he hoped to publish "a series of the most interesting Views in the Colony".

His are very sparse images. *Sydney Heads*, a subject covered by West, Wallis and Richard Read junior, [31] is presented by Earle as three simple shapes, with the foreground promontory darkened to provide depth, while some boats give anecdotal and human interest to the calm and uncluttered view. *View from Sydney Hotel* similarly stresses the geometric arrangement of the structures and one feels that Earle found the design that he could extrapolate from the shapes of the buildings in George Street more appealing than the actual

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architecture. He was clearly not an artist in search of the picturesque. Although he invested some of his lithographs with a sense of atmospheric drama - see, for instance, the skies in both *Sydney Heads* and *View from Sydney Hotel* - quite unlike the somewhat static line engravings of Wallis and West, it is quite clear that his work was considered literally topographic. Newspaper comments on his work praised the accuracy of his vision although they sometimes condemned the colouring and perspective of his drawing. [32]

It is illuminating to compare Earle's Views in Australia with Views in New South Wales and Van Diemens Land. The simple change in title indicates the quite substantial differences within the two works. Earle's early use of the word "Australia" in the title of Views in Australia would have linked the work with the young colonial-born whose sympathies lay with an independent (but still British) New South Wales, although it would be reasonable to suppose that Earle intended a much wider market for his lithographs than this small faction. [33] But in the English edition Earle reverted to the more common appellation "New South Wales" and enlarged considerably his selection of views, although, like the Sydney edition, the series was never completed and did not move beyond Sydney, despite his original intentions. Earle depicted some subjects which would not have appealed to Australians but were calculated to appeal to English audiences whose knowledge of the colony probably began and ended with the notion that it was a penal settlement. His somewhat satirical image of a group of convicts, *Government Gaol Gang*, would not have pleased colonials anxious to present the acceptable face of New South Wales, even if only to themselves. [34] Similarly, his depiction of Aborigines changes markedly, with the emphasis in *Natives of New South Wales* [pl.108] and *Bungaree* [pl.107] placed on the most degraded aspects of their lives. They in effect become the Sydney equivalents of London's Hogarthian *Gin Lane* proletariat. Earle was not being critical of New South Wales - the stated aim of Views in New South Wales.. was to strengthen "those feelings of interest towards Australia" [35]; he was

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simply addressing subjects he thought would be foremost in English minds (and characteristic of the colony - even unique to it).

Earle, however, did not merely carp on the bad. Some of the plates, such as *Government House* and *Mrs Macquarie's Seat*, stress positive colonial achievement. The large Government House, set in an established English style garden, reveals the proper ordering of social relations and the successful transplantation of British culture. Clearly there were two separate markets for the two editions of his lithographs. Although the greater sophistication of the English publication was due in part to his deeper knowledge of lithography - Earle put the images on the stone but had them printed by one of the foremost London lithographic printers, Charles Hullmandel, which seems to have freed up his designs - it also reflects his conception of what the colonial market wanted to see. Earle's Views in Australia was conceived to fulfil the colonists demand for images which they perceived as accurate delineations of their community - in other words images which captured the beauty and drama of the harbour, did not mention convicts and pointed to progress in the construction of Sydney's public and private structures. Earle had no such qualms with the English readers of Views in New South Wales, probably correctly guessing that their interests would be in precisely those things the colonists tried to avoid - convicts and Aborigines. [36]

Earle was a skilled artist whose sophisticated topographical work was shaped by his academic training. But unlike the Richard Reads, who made multiple watercolour copies of their views of Sydney, Earle attempted to print his. It should be noted that there are no multiple copies of Earle's topographical watercolours have been located, which in any case, were closer to personal studies than to public drawings. However, some of Earle's painting was public in character. During his stay in Sydney he was commissioned to take a panoramic drawing which was then worked up into an exhibition piece for Henry Burford's Panorama at Leicester Square in London. For the Sydney Gazette it was a timely show:

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A faithful representation of our infant capital, there is no doubt, will be of material service in affording something like reasonable ideas of the actual state of the Colony in England where, unfortunately, it is considered, even by some of the most enlightened amongst the people, as little better than a vast prison for the very outcasts of society. [37]

This was the premise that underlined most of the major series of views produced in Sydney in the 1830s and 1840s. It was the explicit justification for Select Views of Sydney (1829), engraved and published by the young Scottish artisan emigrant, John Carmichael. Unlike the Academy-educated Earle, Carmichael's training involved an apprenticeship with the Edinburgh line engraver, John Horsburgh, a talented historical and landscape line engraver. He executed some plates for Turner's Picturesque Views of England and Wales (1826) and other landscape volumes. It is said that Horsburgh never attempted painting, and it is clear that Carmichael was not a particularly competent draughtsperson. [38] A good engraver also has a thorough knowledge of drawing but an engravers' apprenticeship rarely involved drawing lessons, much to the chagrin of fine engravers who mourned the deskilling of the profession. [39] Carmichael's was probably trained simply as a reproductive engraver. Nonetheless he was confident enough of his own abilities to publish in 1829 his series of six views which he had drawn and engraved, Select views of Sydney.

Like all provincial artists/artisans the range of Carmichael's work was extensive. His first advertisements stressed commercial job work but he was soon offering to copy or engrave landscapes, take miniatures from two to five guineas and paint transparent window blinds. Surprisingly for someone deaf and dumb, Carmichael also offered himself as a teacher of drawing and it is thought that he may have worked as a coach painter, too. [40] One early client was Governor Darling for whom he engraved an armorial bookplate. [41] While Carmichael was not the only engraver in the colony in the late 1820s he seems to have been the only one working as a pictorial engraver. There were at least five other engravers (mostly convicts) living in Sydney in the 1820s: William Moffitt, John Austin (who was employed by

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the Bank of New South Wales), the silversmith Samuel Clayton, Edmund Edgar and John Sly, "an incorrigible drunkard" hanged for forgery in 1829. [42] William Wilson, another engraver who came free, arrived in Sydney in 1828 but I have seen no example of his work executed before 1834.

Carmichael modelled his Select Views.. on early nineteenth century British urban topographical line engravings. His manipulation of the engraved line - closely placed fairly fine parallel lines which give the print a much lighter tone than the often heavily marked and dark late eighteenth century plates - is derived from techniques used in the early nineteenth centuries by topographical line engravers such as John Storer or Thomas Shepherd, whose literal, most unpicturesque, urban scenes of great cities and their buildings were so popular. Thomas Shepherd's Metropolitan Improvements (1827), consisting of straightforward architectural views of the principal edifices of London, were a confident delineation of the success and wealth of the British Empire, of the rich rewards of commerce. Metropolitan Improvements was dedicated to King George IV and was accompanied by a lengthy letterpress. Carmichael, too, provided a short and not particularly useful letterpress for his book. The plates of Metropolitan Improvements, though of a much higher technical standard, show similar concerns to Carmichael's Select Views.. Shepherd used a low, wide perspective and concentrated solely on the building he was depicting. [p1.80] Little use was made of conventional pictorial devices, for the views were about the physical manifestations of the British commerce and industry. Foregrounds are dotted with figures and carriages. Of course London could offer a much wider range of subject matter than colonial Sydney, but it is clear that this was the type of imagery which Carmichael sought to emulate. [43]

Like Earle's lithographs, the progress of Carmichael's engravings aroused some interest in the local press. He began preparing Select Views.. in late 1828 but they were not published until mid-1829. Five of the plates had been engraved by March. [44] Select Views.. consisted

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of six plates and an illustrated title page stitched in a "handsome cover". [45] In the preface to the book Carmichael claimed he undertook the work to occupy his unemployed time. The papers noted the progress of his work with some complimentary, although patronising, comments: the Australian, for instance, thought he had exhibited good taste in the selection of the majority of his views and shown considerable skill in the execution, but independent of these considerations the fact that "this young artist is not only deaf, but also dumb, should also interest the Public in his favour." [46] Select Views.. cost four dollars (that is a pound), although Carmichael also sold single prints for framing for four shillings each.

Carmichael dedicated Select Views.., with permission, to Sir John Jamison and the Members of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of New South Wales. Under Jamison's presidency the Society was one of the most progressive institutions in the colony. Jamison, a friend of William Wentworth, was one of the more prominent lobbyists for the free immigrant classes and had clashed with Governor Macquarie over his emancipist policies. [47] Jamison was an obvious choice for Carmichael since he was an outstanding and successful representative of the very class of person at whom Select Views.. was aimed. The letterpress to Select Views.. makes clear the intended audience. The numerous and respectable body of emigrants living in the colony, wrote Carmichael, would seek the engravings with avidity to send to friends at home "eager to see, or hear, every thing respecting the distant abode of their relations".

The engravings themselves were calculated to show the principal features of Sydney. Unlike the early publications of West or Wallis, outlying settlements appear to have been of lesser interest to Carmichael, although, like Earle, he made the unfulfilled promise - if Select Views.. attracted sufficient subscribers - to "Draw and Engrave, another set of Views, illustrative of the Picturesque landscape and interesting Villages of the Interior". [48] Nevertheless, any sense of a tour through the "course of empire" is considerably diminished,

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although its rhetoric is still evident in the letterpress: Sydney, for instance, has been raised out of the "tractless forest". But Carmichael's principal concern was with presenting Sydney as a solid, respectable city that ill deserved its reputation as a penal settlement and moral morass. The majority of the views are therefore of the most substantial and important public buildings in the town. Perhaps because the edifices were not sufficiently grand to warrant the detailed treatment that Shepherd gave to London, Carmichael preferred long, almost panoramic, views of the city. Only one view, *George Street from the wharf*, shows a city street of Sydney as a bustling commercial thoroughfare (perhaps, however, it was the only street that was).

In *Sydney from Hyde Park* [pl.83] the symbols of respectability and control sweep across the plate: from the square steeple of the Scots Church at the very left through to incomplete Catholic Chapel on the right. The engraving shows the Military Hospital, the Signal Telegraph, the rooms of the Supreme Court, St James Church, the Surveyor-General's office, the Hospital and the Prisoner's Barracks. Four respectable people promenade across the bare park in surprising proximity to some workmen and their cart. To the English viewer, or to the respectable local emigrant, the parade of ecclesiastical architecture was evidence of the improving morality of the colony. The fact that the colony was a penal settlement is only alluded to in the letterpress of *Select Views...*, but is explicitly shown in *Sydney from Woolloomooloo Hill*. [pl.82] Once again the audience looks across at a vista of Sydney's main public buildings. In the foreground, however, are two convicts, who appear to be sober and respectful, hard at work. They have none of Earle's Botany Bay caricature about them but are seen performing socially useful functions on the outskirts of town. Convicts do not overwhelm the streets or threaten the respectable.

It is difficult to gauge whether Carmichael's views sold well. McGarvie said that both Earle and Carmichael published with "considerable success". [49] Earle, however, only managed to publish four of his

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proposed series of lithographs which implies a lack of interest in his work, although perhaps his busy life of portrait commissions and travel did not allow him the time to pursue Views in Australia. Carmichael never again attempted such an ambitious and self-directed project as Select Views.., despite his stated intention of another series of views, but relied instead on commercial piece work. At the end of June 1829 Carmichael sought, unsuccessfully, a job in the Surveying department as an engraver or draughtsman which would perhaps indicate that the Select Views.. had not sold as well as he might have hoped.

For whatever reason - perhaps there simply was not a large enough market - the next series of locally produced views was not published until 1836 when John G. Austin issued Robert Russell's A Series of Lithographic Drawings of Sydney and its Environs. Charles Rodius had planned a series of views in 1832, but he sent the drawing for the first plate, *Sydney Cove, Port Jackson*, to Ackermann's of London for engraving. The aquatint returned to general acclaim in February 1834, but no more plates in the series followed. [50] The image, however, which was taken from Dawes Point and looked down the harbour towards the Heads, was re-used by colonial publishers. Austin lithographed a copy [51] while one N. P. Ringman, who had somehow obtained the plate, issued a very worn edition in 1838 on to which were engraved the three additional ships sitting in the harbour at the time of publication. [52]

Robert Russell had been in the colony at least four months when Rodius's *Sydney Cove, Port Jackson* returned to Sydney. Russell, who had trained as an architect and worked as a surveyor, arrived in Sydney in September 1833 on the *Sir John Rae Reid*. The motivation for his journey is, as for so many other people, unknown but it has been pointed out that he was friendly with a fellow architect who was thinking of emigrating with the idea of professional practice. [53] Governor Bourke had alerted the Colonial Office to a shortage of architects in the colony; perhaps Russell thought his opportunities

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would be greater in Sydney than in the overcrowded London market. [54] Armed with an introduction to Sir Thomas Mitchell, Russell presented himself to the Colonial Government, and was taken into the Government Surveying Office as an Acting Assistant Town Surveyor. By January 1836 his position, with a salary of £220 p.a., had been confirmed. Russell's appointment in September 1836 as Surveyor to the Port Phillip district, effectively ended his association with Sydney.

Russell was born into a comfortable middle class family and had been given a thorough education. His father was a keen amateur artist who developed and encouraged Robert's lifelong interest in art, drawing, prints and printing techniques. Russell began sketching in and around Sydney as soon as he arrived. [55] Russell - who in 1835 was one of Conrad Martens' first pupils - did not appear to consider himself either a finished or professional artist and indeed it is not known if he sold any of his drawings in Sydney. [56] The drawings, often annotated with an explanation of the subject, were apparently intended for family or friends in England. Not surprisingly many of the drawings skilfully document the architecture of the colony; from the hovels of the poor to more sophisticated public buildings. On the verso of a drawing of the front elevation of the Catholic chapel he wrote "This building is not completed - it is an attempt at something very fine but a decided failure a roman balustrade helps to hide the roof - the gable is much too low I have raised it..". [57]

Austin's A Series of Lithographic Drawings.. was made from these drawings although Russell's authorship was not acknowledged. [58] Instead the book was known by the name of the publisher, John Austin. In 1835 Austin had attempted to publish at least one view, but the artist was incompetent and the lithography poor. [pl.32] [59] Presumably then, he was casting around for a suitable artist and Russell, with an already completed series of drawings, would have been an obvious choice. Austin planned to publish twenty-four drawings of Sydney's principal public buildings, to be issued in six parts each of four drawings. Each part was to cost 7s coloured or 3s.6d plain. The

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plates were also sold singly, 2s coloured or 1s plain. There is no letterpress. Publication of A Series of Lithographic Drawings.. commenced in April 1834 and the first part could be bought at most booksellers. [60] However the series was not completed, probably because Russell left for Melbourne; only sixteen were published. The price for all sixteen prints settled around £1.10s coloured, and 16s plain, [61] which made them by far the cheapest views yet offered in the colony. They appear to have had a long print run; Edward Barlow continued to sell them after he had bought Austin's business. [62]

A Series of Lithographic Drawings.. is one of the most unusual of all colonial publications. These are the first views to concentrate solely on the architecture of the colony; any vegetation is given only cursory and generalised treatment. Unlike the simple and very literal copperplate engravings of public buildings which adorned the pages of books such as The New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory or the Australian Almanack and Sydney Directory [p.34], Russell's illustrations were consciously "artistic". Russell was a literate and knowledgeable artist, with an obvious ability for architectural drawing. His lithographs were quite unlike the majority of English, highly finished, lithographic, urban topographical publications which took their cue from artists such as Samuel Prout or J. D. Harding. The lively and loose handling of the lithographic chalk, and the general lack of finish of the drawing, are the hallmarks of a personal drawing style not (necessarily) intended for publication. It is quite likely, however, that Russell did prepare these drawings specifically for publication, despite the fact they do relate very much to the drawings he was sending home. Most of the preparatory sketches in his *Sketchbook: scenes in and around Sydney* (Dixson Library DL PX4) are dated around the time the series was being prepared.

Russell was quite prepared to modify the view he was depicting, apparent in his drawing of the Catholic Chapel, to suit his own taste. His vision of architectural drawing and atmosphere was more Continental - Dutch - than British, and was perhaps derived from the

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dramatic manner of printmakers such as Giovanni Piranesi and the landscape programme of Dutch landscape painters such as Jakob Ruysdael. [63] Generally Russell uses a low foreground that foreshortens quickly to a low horizon, upon which sits the main subject of the drawing. Much of the plate is given over to the often tempestuous and stormy sky. In *St Jame's Church.[&] Supreme Court House* the confident drawing of the church is silhouetted against a dramatic and wild sky. [pl.84] Two figures on frisky horses ride towards the church. It is clear that Russell is aiming for something more than a conventional urban topographic sketch. In other plates of buildings of modest presence, such as the *New Toll Gate, Parramatta Road*. [pl.85], a similar sense of drama is invested in the image, with the toll gate set against a turbulent sky. *Old Windmill. Government Domain* [pl.86] attempts to create a sense of the past, of associations with (an absent European) history in the not yet fifty year old colony. The subject is a ruin and it is depicted in a manner stressing its almost medieval nature.

Indeed, Russell wanted to invest Australian buildings, and ruins, with all the associations that accompanied European buildings. [64] He was trying to "intellectualise" the Australian environment. It was no surprise, for instance, that Austin's first venture at lithography was a print of the *Monument Erected to the Memory of La Perouse at Botany Bay* [pl.32], or that Russell chose to illustrate the same scene. [pl.87] To the precocious James Martin Botany Bay was the only place in the colony rendered sacred "by the transactions of illustrious men". [65] For Martin the simple La Perouse monument was a structure that would always remain

endeared to the man of taste and information, the affecting reminiscences connected with it, will, instead of being diminished by time, be more firaly engraven on.... My feelings on viewing it, were such as it would be scarcely possible for me to describe. As I gazed silently upon it, the history of La Perouse was presented in vivid colours to my imagination. [66]

This appears to be precisely the mood that Russell was trying to invoke in his depiction of the colony's civil architecture. His

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intentions did not pass unnoticed by the papers, whose comments were slightly restrained. The Sydney Gazette thought his drawing of the front elevation of St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney had "an air of antiquity more becoming than actual" but on the whole was pleased with the correctness of the view. [pl.88] Similarly the view of the Police Office in George Street, Sydney while considered correct, was criticised for the "rather outre exhibition of 'Rag Fair' opposite". [pl.89] *Dawes' Battery, Dawes Point* also distressed the critic with its lack of picturesque effect and animation. [67] Their value as a source of information and inspiration to emigrants was not mentioned, although Austin did note in his advertisements "that those who wish to send to their friends at home a trifle characteristic of the Colony, will find the Views...acceptable presents". [68] The colonial critics seem to have been confused by the sub-textual sophistication of A Series of Lithographic Drawings... It is somewhat ironic, then, that these views were the cheapest and most widely available in the colony in the mid-1830s although Wantrup notes that now copies rarely appear on the market which, if survival is an indicator of popularity, would suggest that the views were not a success. [69]

A more prosaic publication, and one designed specifically for potential immigrants, was James Macle hose's Picture of Sydney and Strangers' Guide in New South Wales, published in 1838 and - virtually unchanged - in 1839 and illustrated with forty-three line engravings and etchings. [70] Macle hose, a Scot, ran a general business in Hunter Street from 1834. As with many of the colony's early business people, his shop offered a large range of goods, mostly imported. Macle hose's warehouse contained, at various times, such disparate things as kaleidoscopes, sword sticks, violins, genuine and imitation Eau de Cologne, thermometers, spectacles and fishing rods. He also sold "pictures", magic lanterns, books of Chinese paintings and Chinese natural curiosities. [71] He seems to have taken an early interest in publishing; William Wilson's 1834 woodcut, *True Blue*, printed by W. J. Jones, could be bought from Macle hose's Hunter Street Warehouse.

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Maclehose believed in the colony and all that it seemed to offer the industrious emigrant. The antecedents of the colony were all but neglected in the Picture of Sydney's letterpress descriptions of contemporary city life, although he did briefly note that the one great aim of the convict system was the humane "amendment of the offender." He preferred to concentrate on the culmination of the fifty years that had converted "the horrid and tractless wilderness - the transient resting place of some migratory tribe of naked and unideaed savages - into the busy mart of civilised and enlightened intercourse..." [72] Like so many other successful immigrants, Maclehose delighted in a city where "the tastes, the pursuits, the comforts, and even the elegancies of English society are valued and enjoyed to a far more substantial extent than many of the large towns of Great Britain itself". [73] Feeling disenfranchised of the civilisation, liberties and opportunities that were supposed to be the birthright of every Englishman, Maclehose found them in abundance in New South Wales.

The keystone to this prosperity was immigration, for which, said Maclehose, there is no subject more interesting to a young colony: "It is the main source of their strength, their wealth, their intelligence, and their virtue". Like his Presbyterian pastor, John Dunmore Lang, Maclehose believed this was particularly so in a society whose original constituents were criminals. With the arrival of respectable free settlers - the bourgeois family - not only would the character of society gradually be elevated, but the immigrants' position within society itself would be raised. [74] This nascent respectability could be measured with statistics, historical detail and views of the public buildings of Sydney; only by such a documentary, apparently literal, approach could a potential immigrant be impressed with the conviction that this picture of the Sydney community was accurate. Only then would "respectable and virtuous families among the industrious ranks of society at home" be induced to leave the whirlwind of competition in England for the certain fortune that would reward the "efforts of careful, persevering, and honourable toil". [75] The 1830s were a time of prosperity for many of the new immigrants; hence it was easy to

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assume that the colony's natural state was respectable, bourgeois and commercial. It was to this vision that Macle hose exhorted "Advance Australia". [76] It proved an elusive dream even for the enthusiastic Macle hose; having succumbed to the general depression he was declared bankrupt in 1843. He left the colony in 1844.

Macle hose began planning Picture of Sydney.. as early as 1836 for in October he announced that he had in the press a "Neat Pocket Edition of an Annual" to be published on 1 January 1837 and embellished with "twelve very superior engraved views". [77] This book did not appear. In December 1837 Macle hose announced that he had published the Picture of Sydney.. embellished with "Forty-three Engravings of the Public Buildings and Picturesque Land and Water Views in and near Sydney". Macle hose used most of the major commercial engravers in the city to illustrate the Picture of Sydney.. The flourish of the images provided in Robert Russell's lithographs would have been inappropriate in a work that was trying to be as literal as possible. Picture of Sydney.. was one of the most ambitious publications hitherto undertaken in the colony. Carmichael provided the majority of the plates, engraving and etching thirteen, while William Wilson supplied two plates and William Moffitt and Robert Clayton both contributed one. A number of the architectural plates are unsigned and could be the work of anyone. Many of the plates Macle hose used had already been published, mostly in the Sydney directories. Wilson's vignette of the General Post Office, which formed the title page of the New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory (1836-37), appeared as plate 29 in the Picture of Sydney.. [78] Another engraving, *New Court House (as compleated) South Head Road Sydney*, published in the 1837 Calendar, was also included. [p.34] Carmichael's two etchings after drawings supplied by Sir Thomas Mitchell, *Mount Victoria in its Original state*, and *The Pass as compleated*, which had first appeared in the New South Wales Calendar.. of 1833, were also republished in the Picture of Sydney..

Like all publications up until then, most of the plates, some of which were wood engravings, were concerned with the public buildings of the colony, for, as pointed out, this was considered the surest indicator of the colony's status, prosperity and conformity to British mores. Thirty-three out of the forty-three engravings depicted buildings in the colony. The buildings depicted were those most calculated to impress moral and commercial values upon the reader; churches and banks figure prominently. To fulfil his brief to provide a strangers guide to the colony Macle hose also included general views of Sydney and the harbour, mostly engraved and etched by Carmichael, similar in composition and intention to, but not the same as, his Select Views of Sydney. *Woolloomooloo from Domain Road* shows, for instance, the neat private residences built on the fashionable Woolloomoolloo ridge. Again the focus is on the order and familiarity of the Sydney cityscape, Macle hose not being particularly interested in picturesque views of the colony. The places selected outside Sydney did not include the picturesque Illawarra, for example - which Earle and Carmichael had intended to portray - but were industrial sites or substantial public works programmes. Simeon Lord's mill and the Irrawang Pottery and vineyard were both illustrated as was the major engineering feat of the pass at Mount Victoria.

The Picture of Sydney.. was not a particularly sophisticated work. Much of it was put together from existing material although Macle hose must surely have commissioned some of the engravings. Nonetheless it was an indication of the degree to which the Sydney printing industry had developed within a decade.

The type of project that Macle hose envisaged derived from local guide books, produced in numbers in most large towns of Europe. A Sydney publication which took the notion that the buildings equal the city to its logical conclusion was Joseph Fowles' Sydney in 1848. Although, as the name reveals, it was published a decade after Picture of Sydney.. the similarities between the two make a convenient link and I propose to look now at Fowles' book despite the break in chronology. The book

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was made up of forty plates, twenty of individual buildings and twenty of short lengths of street frontages. [pl.91] It was issued, from July 1848, in twenty fortnightly parts, each of which consisted of two plates (a single building and a streetscape) and letterpress. Each part cost subscribers 1s, while non-subscribers were charged 1s 6d. When the series finished the various numbers were brought together in a single volume. [79] It was understood that the work was in part intended to create "favourable opinion of this young metropolis in the parent company". [80]

Fowles took the drawings himself, but had them engraved by W. Harris and Mansell. Both presumably were reproductive engravers; very little, however, is known about either. Harris worked in Sydney at the end of the 1840s but the only examples of Mansell's work I have seen are in Sydney in 1848. The work was quite well received by the local press, although enthusiasm was tempered somewhat by doubts about the quality of the letterpress. For instance, Bell's Life in Sydney, which initially greeted the work as "superior to any previous attempts at representing Sydney as it really is.", attacked the letterpress which accompanied the fourteenth part as being "of the most *mediocre* character". [81]

Fowles was solely interested in the architecture of Sydney. Landscape has no place in the plan of his work, and, unlike John Skinner Prout, its beauty or otherwise was not an issue in his affection for Sydney. The engravings of the street frontages cover about one block, and appear to be meticulously literal. [82] The individual plates record prominent public buildings such as Government House, the Australian Library, the Museum, the Royal Victoria Theatre, the Union Bank of Australia, the Post Office and "the beautiful and commodious Buildings raised by piety and industry for the use of Religion". [83] Fowles stresses the solidity and permanence of the colonial structures. The images depict the buildings isolated from all context and this tends, of course, to monumentalize them, impressing the reader with the pristine grandeur of Sydney's architecture. His *The Police Office*,

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*Sydney* [pl.92] is a substantial, new Greek Revival building. Russell's interpretation of the same building hints instead its "antiquity". His chalk line breaks up the surface of the walls, thus suggesting that they are crumbling and ageing. [pl.89]

Fowles, however, did not attempt to capture Sydney within the web of British historical associations into which Russell wanted to pin the city. Indeed Fowles noted that while the regularity of Sydney streets may offend those "accustomed to the winding and romantic streets of an ancient English town", the eye soon became reconciled to the change and "what is in so many respects undesirable" is no longer regretted. [84] For Fowles what was important was the city's ability to provide the essential services of any civilized community - places of worship, banks, theatres, educational and law and order facilities. Sydney in 1848 documents the progress of the colony in statistics and bricks and mortar. Instead of reflecting, as had Wallis, upon the nature of the growth of civilizations, Fowles offered the size of Sydney, its population, its geographical formation, and noted, not the beauty of the harbour, but the length of its water frontage.

Sydney in 1848 had its genesis in panoramic depictions of towns and cities. A cylindrical panorama, for instance, scrolled a long drawing - often many hundreds of metres in length - past the viewer and could encompass a huge range of subject matter: the banks of a river or the streets of a town. Ackermann, for example, published a panorama of Brighton, which was enclosed in a box, and wound from one reel to another past a viewing slit. [85] Panoramas were considered to be particularly effective methods of conveying information because they were so comprehensive in the detail they carried. The panorama's great strength was its claim to truth: because they appeared to document everything that fell under the eye of the artist they were felt to be unbiased and accurate, although their exact fidelity was always questionable. [86]

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Sydney in 1848 reduced the city to its barest forms. Unlike Earle's panorama, which revealed Sydney as a picturesque town set amongst a beautiful harbour, Fowles simply depicted its buildings. Whereas Earle introduced into his scene Aboriginal and European figures, few people - five only - inhabit Fowle's world. Although none of the publications discussed in this chapter give anything other than a cursory treatment to Sydney's inhabitants, Fowles was remarkable in almost totally ignoring the human side of the city.

Fowles was not the first to try to document the city so thoroughly. Francis Low(e), a model maker, was advertising his Pavilion of Arts in Hyde Park in 1841. There he exhibited a model of Sydney and displayed works of art which were for sale on commission. He intended taking the model to England, and so that it would be of the "greatest possible benefit to the colony when exhibited" he set about "collecting and collating every information that is valuable relative to the Town of Sydney". [87]

Concentrating on the city alone, however, was not the only approach to illustrating the colony. For some writers accepting that the Australian landscape was worthy of art encompassed a patriotic act towards both the British Empire and the colony itself. In 1826 the Sydney Gazette suggested that Earle should extend his published views to the "magnificent scenery" of the King's Table Land region; "These would be the more desirable from the circumstance that Commodore de BOUGAINVILLE intends publishing them in France, thus depriving our Colonial artists of the credit of a first publication". [88]

By acknowledging the beauty of the Harbour - and by establishing recognised beauty spots such as the Illawarra or Willoughby Falls - colonists could argue against the Botany Bay convict stereotype which imagined New South Wales as a nothing more than a barren, infertile landscape peopled by criminals. The "beauty" of the Australian landscape, therefore, carried an almost moral significance to free emigrants and local born since the concept of beauty was totally

incompatible with the idea of a prison. The Australian, for instance, noted in 1842

There is ample material for the pencil about Sydney; and we have before us nearly a dozen sketches and drawings taken from various points about Sydney. Above all, we would recommend persons, having friends in England, to take advantage of the cheap and easy opportunities afforded them of transmitting to their friends some of these very elegant little sketches, to prove that Sydney is something more than a congregation of wooden houses in the midst of scrub and brush. [89]

These ideas are very much behind the conception of John Skinner Prout's Sydney Illustrated (August 1842 - April 1844) and Conrad Martens' Sketches in the Environs of Sydney (1850). Both Prout and Martens published volumes of lithographic drawings which, instead of simply documenting city buildings, focussed on the Harbour and the city's relation to it.

Prout arrived in Sydney from England in December 1840, determined to establish himself in the colony as an artist, lecturer, publisher and teacher. To a greater extent than Martens, Prout involved himself in the local art community - he gave a series of lectures and attempted to organise an art exhibition of colonial and loan works. Prout did not succeed in this objective, but held his own exhibition of twenty oils and watercolours in October 1843. [90] He was probably a more prolific artist than Martens, and painted works for general sale, rather than waiting for specific commissions. [91] With his social connections with middle ranking civil officers and the occasional patronage of the elite - his lecture series was attended by Governor and Lady Gipps and Bishop William Grant Broughton [92] - and his obvious talent Prout's presence in the colony was welcomed for much the same reasons that McGarvie welcomed Earle.

One writer thought Prout's lectures "would raise the character of the community to which we belong" [93] while another was sad to see Prout so little patronised because the "civilization" of a community was judged by the degree to which the "mind is improved, manners softened,

science cherished, and the fine arts encouraged". [94] Of course this rhetoric surrounded most middle class debate about the impact of high culture on a community; what is unusual is the degree to which Prout himself, and Sydney Illustrated, acted as a catalyst for this type of commentary. Prout himself felt that a "feeling for Art" was growing in the Australian colonies, which

when we consider their importance to Great Britain, and the character of the people by whom this distant land was first colonised, and who still form a large portion of its population, the fact of its being so must be a matter of high gratification to all who would raise the tone of its society, and who cannot but feel how powerfully influential a taste for the Fine Arts must be in effecting that most desirable object. [95]

Prout intended to publish in England, from drawings made here, a landscape annual of Australian views. [96] Annuals of lithographic drawings, accompanied by some letterpress, of foreign subjects had become increasingly popular during the 1830s. The Middle East, Italy, Spain, India and the medieval towns of Europe attracted the pens of artists such as David Roberts, J.D. Harding, Thomas Shotter Boys and John Skinner Prout's uncle Samuel Prout. Skinner Prout had already published a number of volumes of lithographs of English antiquities before he arrived in Australia and was familiar with the lithographic printing process. [97] Sydney Illustrated was conceived as a landscape annual, but Prout does not appear to have sent it to England.

He worked as a printmaker in Sydney from his first days in the colony, publishing single prints as well as Sydney Illustrated. In March 1841 he put on the lithographic stone Captain Westmacott's drawing of the "late Destructive fire at the Albion Mills" while in 1843 he published a drawing of the interior of St. Mary's Cathedral and provided a lithograph of the Tank Stream for the first issue of Arden's Sydney Magazine of Politics and General Literature (September 1843). A number of other small lithographic views of the city have also survived. [98]

Sydney Illustrated was issued in four parts over a two year period at 10s 6d each; the first three contained four plates, the fourth two

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panoramic views of Sydney and a map of Sydney Harbour. The first part was published in August 1842. Each part was accompanied by a lengthy letterpress written by John Rae, a Scottish emigrant who arrived in Sydney in 1839 to work for an investment company. After its collapse Rae joined the newly created city council as an administrator where he stayed for many years. He was an enthusiastic amateur artist and a friend and patron of Prout's. [99]

The production of Sydney Illustrated proved very difficult. Prout decided to print the lithographs using a technique known as tinted lithography, the first time the process had been attempted in the colony. Tinted lithography, developed in the mid-1830s, involves printing a second stone with a sepia tint over the first impression. The tint is left off areas of the image which require highlighting; thus the untouched paper shows through. Prout was not satisfied with his own attempts at the technique - blaming a lack of proper lithographic paper - although, as Roger Butler has pointed out to me, the quality of the printing of Sydney Illustrated compares well with many European publications and was certainly far superior to other colonial lithographs. Nonetheless nearly every newspaper review of the first three parts commiserated with Prout about his difficulties in securing proper paper. [100]

None of Prout's projects were particularly successful, and the onset of the depression made it unlikely that his prospects would improve. Accordingly Prout and his family left for Hobart Town in January 1844. There he had the fourth and final part of Sydney Illustrated printed by Thomas Bluett, a professional lithographic printer. [101]

Sydney Illustrated was well received by the local press who perceived it not as simply a topographical publication - although that element in the book was recognised - but elevated it to the higher realms of a work of art. It was the most sophisticated work yet published in the colony. Prout could draw on all the skills and techniques of a trained artist; the range of options open to him for expressing his artistic

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ideas was much greater than those available to someone like Carmichael. Lithography, an autographic medium, allowed Prout to publish what were in effect his own carefully composed, highly finished drawings. Each plate was a work of "Art", quite unlike the quick lithographic sketches of Russell or the clumsy landscape engravings in Macle hose's Picture of Sydney...

Prout's images mark a departure for publications about Sydney. The predominant subject matter was the Harbour rather than the actual city itself. Rae described Sydney Illustrated as a "faithful representation of the varied and beautiful scenery which nature has scattered around the metropolis of New South Wales", and confessed that the Harbour was the "chief object of illustration". [102] Although the beauty of the Harbour had been recognised from the first days of the colony (most of the views Prout made had already been tackled by earlier artists) Prout's sophisticated picturesque vision, with its conventional compositional techniques and motifs, implied total familiarity with the Harbour and its foreshores. There is little attempt to create an exotic atmosphere in the lithographs; the procession of "typical" vegetation in the foregrounds of earlier views, is largely, though not entirely, replaced by fences, goats, cows, stone gothic gate posts, cannon and, in Sydney Cove, refuse. These were not symbols of difference and unfamiliarity, but rather of the domestication of the Harbour.

For the first time in a publication about Sydney the landscape was presented as a site of pleasure and relaxation. Rae commented that some Europeans "have been accustomed to regard New Holland merely as another name for Botany Bay - merely as an extensive prison for the unhappy inmates of the jails of the mother country; while others expect to find everything strange and foreign in so distant a place." [103], but Prout and Rae tried to assure the viewers that although New South Wales was different it could easily be accommodated into European experiences.

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The quite obviously local vegetation in *Lower Fall Willoughby, North Shore Sydney* [pl.93] is carefully constructed into a frame of upright and fallen trees. An artist figure sits, contemplating the scene. Prout drew upon picturesque motifs to construct this view but he did not sacrifice local effect. In this lithograph Prout has shown Willoughby Falls as a small and intimate slice of bush from which few associational thoughts can be drawn. The landscape here could arouse thoughts on the rise of civilizations. Instead, as Rae's letterpress makes explicit, the plate is included to point out the beauty of the Australian bush;

Our friends on the other side of the globe, who have been accustomed to regard this country as a boundless, arid waste, unwatered by rivers, unsheltered by mountains or trees from the scorching rays of a tropical sun, will be agreeably surprised to behold a scene so fresh and luxuriant as the lower Falls of Willoughby [104]

Rae's letterpress, as well as providing facts and figures about the colony, quite consciously takes the reader on a romantic tour of the Harbour. The text is full of references to objects of picturesque interest. Rae noted that the foreground of *Sydney Cove* [pl.95], though depicting objects that were not particularly edifying, were "certainly more pleasing to the eye of the artist and the lover of the picturesque". However, he pointed out that the view was chosen because of the classical associations that accrued to the site of the first landing and settlement in Sydney which had been converted "not by magic, but by the magical influence of European enterprise, into a large and populous commercial city - the queen of the southern seas - the metropolis of a new world". [105] Yet generally Rae is more interested in the pictorial possibilities of Prout's lithographs. Prout's only reference to convicts, small figures not identifiable as any particular class of person in the middle ground of *Port Jackson from Dawe's Battery* [pl.96], are noticed by Rae for their importance in the pictorial design of the lithograph rather than part of colonial society.

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There is only one interior view of the city streets in Sydney Illustrated. George Street looking north [pl.94], however, contradicts the ideas of Macle hose, Russell and Fowles. Rae notes in the letterpress that George Street was selected because it was the oldest, and principal, thoroughfare of the city: "the portion of the street included in the picture, though not perhaps the finest, and though necessarily curtailing it woefully of its fair proportions, and excluding many of its most imposing buildings, still serves as a fair specimen of the general appearance of this, and of some of the other leading streets in the city." Prout's George Street is modelled on the lithographic works of artists such as Thomas Shotter Boys (1803-1874). Boys was known for his popular series of city views such as Picturesque Architecture in Paris, Ghent, Antwerp, Rotterdam (1839) and London as it is (1842). His drawings, with their low horizons and wide foregrounds, recorded some of the grander facades of European cities. The foreground of Boyes' images were often crowded with anecdotal depictions of street life while the buildings vanished down the perspective lines of the drawing. [pl.99]

Prout has followed this formula; the line of shops and hotels disappears into distant George Street without allowing the viewer uninterrupted scrutiny of any building. A foreground full of human activity animates the scene. Unlike Macle hose and Fowles for whom the actual building signified so much, Prout attempted to capture the living atmosphere of Sydney rather than its buildings. Yet he does so by utilising a conventional pictorial technique for depicting European cities - Boys' formula - thus emphasizing Sydney's links with European culture and civilization. Rae noted that visitors to Sydney were agreeably surprised to "discover, in Sydney, a miniature copy of the English metropolis - to meet with Englishmen and Englishwomen, speaking the English language, using the English garb, and adopting English manners and customs.." [106] The link, however, was too tenuously drawn for the Sydney Morning Herald which noted tartly that it feared "George Street will fail in giving a correct representation

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to strangers of the mercantile and business character of the Cheapside, or Strand, of Sydney." [107]

Sydney papers were, nevertheless, delighted with Sydney Illustrated. The New South Wales Magazine, for instance, was "proud to own it as an Australian production, calculated to show, in more ways than one, the state of the arts and letters in the Colony". [108] The Sydney Morning Herald felt that the work would form "a most admirable and acceptable present for friends in England, who will be able from it to form a more just idea of the capital of Australia than by any other means with which we are acquainted". [109] Yet most papers realised that Sydney Illustrated was more than a descriptive topographical book. For the Australian its publication "must tend to diffuse the love of those arts which soften and refine the mind [and] will say much in its dissemination in England for the tastes and pursuits which are cherished in our community". [110] The New South Wales Examiner commented that

But independently of the direct benefit which such a work is likely to confer on the Colony, it is worthy of the support of everyone who wishes to see the fine arts prospering among us, as the first really good specimen of tinted lithographic chalk drawing, that has been produced in Sydney. In short, in whichever way we regard the work, whether as publishing to strangers, the beauties of our adopted country, or as showing them the high state of the arts among us - or as simply furnishing our drawing room tables with a series of beautiful lithographic drawings of the land we live in, it is well deserving of support. [111]

The New South Wales Magazine hoped that when Europeans read Sydney Illustrated it would remove the "bandages with which prejudice has clouded their vision"; then they "will see in Australia scenes of surpassing loveliness, worthy of the artist's pencil and the poet's pen". [112] Clearly Prout's work acted as a catalyst for colonists who saw their identification with New South Wales as inextricably linked with an appreciation of Sydney's landscape.

Sydney Illustrated was intended to disabuse English readers accustomed to regarding "New Holland merely as another name for Botany Bay -

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merely as an extensive prison for the unhappy inmates of the jails of the mother country.." [113] Like most free, emigrant city-dwellers Prout and Rae wanted a New South Wales untainted by convicts and it was, obviously, to a like-minded audience that Sydney Illustrated appealed. Rae noted that "the plague-spot has been removed from this Colony;...it has now ceased to be a penal settlement" and indeed apart from a small mention in the middle ground of *Port Jackson* the convict presence in the colony - as in so many other publications - was ignored. [114] Aborigines are also dispossessed; as Prout staked so much on European acceptance and domestication of the landscape he clearly could not admit Aborigines into his European arcadia. A single Aboriginal woman sits in the foreground of *The City of Sydney. N.S.W.* [pl.97], although she is summarily dismissed in the text. Prout, referring to imagery already circulating in the colony (see chapter four), shows the woman beside a basket containing bottles of alcohol. Rae's only pictorial contribution to Sydney Illustrated, the covers for the first three parts, are fairly crude pen drawings of groups of Aborigines sitting, smoking and drinking. [pl.98] Again these draw on the elements of 1830s caricatures.

Sydney Illustrated was a departure from previous publications because of its identification of the Harbour with a free, but still British, colony. Furthermore it was seen as a work of art rather than a mere topographical or descriptive publication. It is no coincidence that the only other series of picturesque views published in the colony before 1850 was the work of the most important landscape artist in the colony, Conrad Martens. Martens, however, attached little importance to Sketches in the Environs of Sydney, published in Sydney in 1850, seeing it simply as a means of tiding himself over a difficult financial period. Surprisingly, I have found no newspaper comments on his lithographs. A great deal more, however, is known about the production of Sketches in the Environs of Sydney because of Martens' own documentation in his manuscript "Letterbook 1849-1854" and "Notes on Painting 1835-1877". [115]

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The latter shows that Martens was interested in lithography, transcribing technical descriptions of the process into his notebook. Indeed he told his friend, James Mitchell of Hobart, that he liked "lithography as an art and intention at present is to stick to it". [116] In a lecture on landscape painting, delivered in 1856, Martens noted that a line engraving alters the tone of a picture because it cannot replicate colour which, he felt, disturbed the breadth or atmosphere of a painting. Martens was interested in the depiction of a locality, with an emphasis on the mood of the atmosphere. Thus, for a painting, the specific elements of nature were not as important as its' general effects. He recommended pencil sketches for their ability to provide a summation of the general forms of the scene. Lithography, therefore, which allowed him to virtually duplicate his own drawings obviously appealed as a graphic medium. He could also colour a lithograph easily, thus restoring a vital element in the atmosphere of a drawing. [117] (Martens actually sold his original pencil sketches for ten shillings each.)

Martens' first topographical lithograph was a single plate issued in 1843 entitled *Sydney from the North Shore 1842*. The drawing for the lithograph was taken to London, where it was put on stone by T.S. Boys. The view was taken from a similar vantage point as Prout's *The City of Sydney. N.S.W.* in Sydney Illustrated and indeed the two lithographs are remarkably close, to the extent that both include Aborigines in their foregrounds. Martens told his brother, Henry, in 1849 that he only sold *Sydney from the North Shore* coloured and that in the long run he had "made a very good thing of it". [118] Martens sold most of the lithographs to booksellers such as Kern & Mader, William Ford, William Pidington and J.R. Clarke at a discount - sixteen shillings. They then passed them on to the public at the full price. From December 1846 to the end of 1850 Martens had sold 53 copies, including one to the visiting English artist, Marshall Claxton. [119] The lithograph provided much needed income; in the second half of 1849 he had sold only one drawing and had no pupils. This put him in mind

to "see what can perhaps be done in Lithogy here; something that would do to colour might perhaps be got up". [120]

Martens, too, struggled with printing his lithographs. Like Prout he had to wait for proper paper supplies to arrive from England. He told a friend, Miss Morrow, in an undated letter from about 1850, that since he had last written he had

make a tolerably successful attempt at lithographs having a very large number of sketches which will be never be made use of in any other way. I intend publishing in numbers of four each. Unfortunately there is no good printer in Sydney and much work remains to be done by me afterwards in order to hide his clumsiness notwithstanding which I have grand hopes it will pay me well. In the course of a day or two I shall take my first number to the Governor Sir Chas. Fitzroy on whose patronage I confidently reckon as he never fails, when we meet, to say something kind about his brother with whom I sailed. [121]

Sketches in the Environs of Sydney was first published in January 1850 and could be bought from W. and F. Ford, W. Piddington, William Moffitt and all booksellers. The 1850 edition of the Sketches was hand-coloured by Martens, but the 1851 edition Sketches illustrative of the scenery of New South Wales was issued plain. The complete set of twenty plates cost £1. 10s, although Martens also sold uncoloured individual plates for 1/6 each or coloured at 2/6. His account book reveals other permutations and arrangements for the sale of the plates, indicating that Martens was prepared to sell his lithographs as demand dictated. [122]

The degree of importance he attached to Sketches in the Environs of Sydney can be gauged by his comment to his brother in 1850, "I am indeed much disheartened about painting. There is no sale for anything in that way. Small drawings and lithographs and teaching have been of late the only way of raising a little cash". [123] Clearly Martens felt his traditional sources of patronage were failing him, and publication offered some compensation. The lithographs were still selling four years later, both to bookshops and more traditional clients such as James Macarthur who bought a complete set on 1 March 1854. [124]

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The images are the usual subjects of picturesque interest around Sydney and the Harbour: Governor Bourke's Statue, Mrs Macquarie's Chair, Government House from the Domain, Sydney Heads and the Lower Lodge in the Domain to name but a few. There are no images of the streets of Sydney or any of its buildings. Sketches in the Environs of Sydney were accompanied by only a slight letterpress and Martens clearly did not contemplate writing a book promoting the colony - especially since there was so little to be optimistic about at the time. Like Prout, Martens was mainly interested in the picturesque potential of the Harbour but his audience was somewhat less defined. There is nothing to suggest that he particularly intended Sketches for an ultimately English readership but he must have been aware of that possible market.

The fact that Martens felt no compunction to tailor his lithographs to the obvious needs of emigrants and free colonists, probably reflects Martens artistic interests more than any change of attitude by colonists. From his first days in the colony - when it was announced in the Sydney press that he came in search of the picturesque - Martens had no difficulty finding (or creating) picturesque subject matter. [125] His work does not have the moral imperative of Prout or the earnestness of Fowles. Although he travelled farther afield than either Prout or Fowles - included are scenes of the Illawarra, Brisbane Waters and what is obviously the Blue Mountains in *Blue Gum Tree, "Eucalyptus"* [pl.100] - the impression of Sketches in the Environs of Sydney is that the drawings were chosen for their aesthetic appeal as much any information they may contain about Sydney. Lithographs such as *Rocks, called Mrs Macquarie - Chairs [sic], Government House and Macquarie Fort* and *The Lower Lodge, Domain, Sydney* [pls 101, 102, 103] are pleasantly constructed drawings according to the general formula proposed by Martens in his lecture on landscape painting. His detailed foregrounds, carefully composed to contrast lights and darks, give way immediately to distant vistas.

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Sketches in the Environs of Sydney were as much a product of the burgeoning free society in Sydney as the previous publications discussed. Martens correctly gauged that Sydney would support the publication of his domestic, picturesque vision of the colony. By 1850 colonial printmaking had reached a point where, although still limited in its technology, was able to support a number of different publications about the colony. The demand for these came from a society which was attempting prove both its loyalty and moral fitness to its parent country.

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### NOTES

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1) S.G., 30/7/1829 p.3. In 1820 the merchant Alexander Riley suggested to his brother, Edward, that the two might commission a panorama of Sydney. He told Edward that he knew no measure "more likely to certainly call forth the curiosity of all of all the 'World and his Wife' and to induce some of this World to visit you to ascertain if the representation of the Antipodean Metropolis has been correctly taken". Alexander to Edward Riley, 20/4/1820, in "Riley Papers", ML MSS A110 p.17.

2) S.G., 27/7/1829.

3) Aust., 14/9/1841 p.1.

4) S.G., 16/12/1837 p.3. This was how Maclehoose announced the publication of Picture of Sydney and Strangers' Guide in New South Wales, Sydney 1838.

5) S.G., 28/7/1829.

6) Joseph Fowles, Sydney in 1848, (1848-49), Sydney 1962, p.82.

7) Richard White, Inventing Australia, Sydney 1981, p.20-28.

8) J.B. Hirst, Convict Society and its enemies, Sydney 1983, p.189-217; see also Robert Hughes, The Fatal Shore, London 1987, p.493-496.

9) White, Inventing Australia, p.47.

10) Ken Inglis, The Australian Colonists, Melbourne 1974, chapter two.

11) Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, Augustus Earle. Travel Artist, Canberra 1980, p.2-13.

12) S.G., 26/12/1826 p.1.

13) *Ibid* for a list of the prints and books he offered for sale. Ron Radford, in the forthcoming catalogue of the "Great Australian Art Show", mistakes imported engravings sold in the Gallery for Earle's own lithographic work. He suggests that Earle made a lithograph of Trajan Inconsolable After the Battle of Ctesiphon, but there is no evidence of this.

14) See Hackforth-Jones, Augustus Earle, for a catalogue of the extensive holdings of Earle's watercolours in the National Library in Canberra.

15) Roger Butler, "Australia's First Lithographs", The Australian

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Connoisseur and Collector, no.3 1984, p.84. Butler gives a comprehensive account of the Sydney lithographs; Jonathan Wantrup's description is inaccurate in parts: Australian Rare Books 1788-1900, Sydney 1987, p.292-95.

161 S.G., 23/8/1826 p.2.

171 Ibid.

181 See ML PXn 685.

191 Sydney Monitor, 11/8/1826; Butler, "Australia's First Lithographs", p.95 fn.21.

201 Letterpress statement published with the first number of Views in Australia.

211 Colonial Secretary letters received, AO 4/1903-no.6071, 26/9/1826.

221 Sydney Monitor, 20/10/1826 p.178.

231 Sydney Monitor, 3/11/1826.

241 Sydney Monitor, 20/10/1826 p.178.

251 Obviously this was not the only topographical tradition. For artists such as Carmichael, who worked in line engravings, this watercolour tradition was of little consequence to his engraving technique.

261 Hackforth-Jones, Augustus Earle, p.13.

271 Ibid; see cat. no. 62, *Remarkable Passage in the Cliffs, Port Jackson* and cat. no. 76, *Annual Meeting of Native Tribes at Parramatta*. Both examples are held in the National Library, Canberra.

281 Michael Twyman, Lithography 1800-1850, London 1970, p.

291 Major James Taylor panorama; plate 1., *The Entrance of Port Jackson, and Part of the Town of Sydney in New South Wales*; plate 2., *The Town of Sydney in New South Wales*; plate 3., *Part of the Harbour of Port Jackson and the country between Sydney and the Blue Mountains, New South Wales*. Aquatint London 1823. George Boyes was critical of the drawings and prints: "nothing in the shape of Drawings has yet left the Colony except a few by Major Taylor of the 48th and they have very little merit. I have the prints made from them and they are so deficient in perspective and local character that they lose all effect"; P. Chapman ed., The Diaries and Letters of G.T.W.B. Boyes, Melbourne 1985, vol. 1 p.197.

301 Some of Daniell's aquatints are reproduced in Ronald Russell, Guide to British Topographical Prints, Newton Abbot 1979, plate 26 on p.91.

311 W. Preston after J. Eyre, *North Harbour, in New South Wales, with a View of Port Jackson Heads*, engraving, in A. West, Views in New South Wales, 1812; W. Preston after [J. Wallis?], *North and South Head's in Port Jackson*, engraving, in J. Wallis, Historical Account of the Colony of New South Wales, London 1821; R. Read [snr.] *View of the Heads, Port Jackson*, watercolour, ML.; J. Lycett, *View of the Heads, at the Entrance to Port Jackson, New South Wales*, aquatint, in Views in Australia, London 1824.

321 Sydney Monitor, 20/10/1826 p.178; 3/11/1826; 6/1/1827.

331 Inglis, Australian Colonists, p.42-3; Macquarie was one of the first to use the name Australia regularly.

341 Hackforth-Jones suggests that this type of image draws on the tradition of late eighteenth-century English graphic satire: Augustus Earle, p.38-42.

351 Dedication to Sir Thomas Brisbane, Views in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, London 1830.

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- 361 In some cases Earle's greater knowledge of lithography, acquired after his return to England, enabled him to produce more detailed images. The detail of *North Head of Port Jackson* was an impossible technical achievement for Earle, in Sydney, in 1826.
- 371 S.G., 9/5/1829 p.2. The Australian, too, hoped that Earle's Panorama "may be the means of drawing a considerable number of respectable emigrants towards these shores", Aust., 13/3/1829 p.3.
- 381 John Guy, "Edinburgh Engravers", The Book of Old Edinburgh Club, Edinburgh 1916, p.100.
- 391 Celina Fox, "Wood Engravers and the City", Victorian Artists and the City, New York 1980, p.8-11.
- 401 Aust., 8/12/1825, 7/1/1831; Sydney Monitor, 1/11/1828. See also Appendix.
- 411 This bookplate can be found inside the front cover of the National Library's, Canberra, copy of Earle's Views in Australia.
- 421 Aust., 31/12/1829.
- 431 Donald Grey, "Views and Sketches of London in the Nineteenth Century", Victorian Artists and the City, New York 1980, p.44-47.
- 441 One of the earliest references to the engravings was in the S.G., 10/12/1828; He advertised their speedy publication in May 1829, S.G., 5/5/1829 p.4. See also Aust., 13/3/1829 p.3.
- 451 S.G., 28/3/1829 p.2.
- 461 Aust., 13/3/1829 p.3.
- 471 G.P. Walsh, "Sir John Jamison", A.D.B., vol. 2; Brian Fletcher, "Sir John Jamison in New South Wales 1814-1844", J.R.A.H.S., vol. 65 1979, p.11-13.
- 481 This promise appeared on the back cover of Carmichael's Select Views of Sydney, Sydney 1829.
- 491 S.G., 27/7/1829.
- 501 Sydney Herald, 26/11/1832; Aust., 3/2/1834 p.2; S.G., 4/2/1834 p.2.
- 511 Bound in A Series of Lithographic Drawings of Sydney and its Environs, Sydney 1836, ML Q981.1/A copy 2.
- 521 Kenneth Binns, "Three Early Views of Sydney", J.R.A.H.S., vol. 6 1920, p.289.
- 531 R.J. Foote, "The Life and Work of Robert Russell 1808-1900", B. Arch. Thesis, University of New South Wales, 1981, p.17. The friend was Francis Clarke. This is the best source of biographical detail on Russell, although it is weighted heavily towards his life in Melbourne. Most of Russell's papers were dispersed in a sale of his effects in 1952 and have not been seen since. It is said that Harley Preston, who wrote the entry on Russell for the A.D.B. refuses access to his work. See Appendix.
- 541 Ibid. Russell worked in the offices of architects such as John Nash.
- 551 See his drawings in the collection of the National Library, Canberra. Many of these were obviously intended for England (they have an English provenance) and were inscribed with detailed descriptions of the scenes they depicted.
- 561 In his A.D.B. article (vol. 2) Harley Preston says that Russell corresponded with Martens until 1871, but I have been unable to trace these letters.
- 571 Robert Russell, [*Catholic Chapel (front elevation)*], pen and ink, NLA, loc 1008.

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58] Some drawings in his "Sketchbook: scenes in and around Sydney" (DL PX4) appear to be preparatory sketches for the lithographs. All of those relating to the lithographs are dated before 18 April 1836, which was the first official date of publication. Each drawing is dated specifically and differ little from the lithographs in composition, but are less carefully finished.

59] S.G., 21/4/1835 p.3. See plate 32. Austin published a lithograph, *South Head Lighthouse, Port Jackson, New South Wales*, at the same time.

60] Aust., 15/4/1836.

61] Sydney Times, 10/12/1836, p.1.

62] Wantrup has not realised that Russell was the artist of the lithographs and has the emancipist Austin publishing them, but nevertheless his bibliographic summation of the series is good; Australian Rare Books, p.297-8. Note that John Ferguson, in his Bibliography of Australia lists only twelve plates - sixteen were in fact published.

63] Dutch landscape painters, such as Jacob van Ruysdael (1628-82), were an important influence on British landscape artists, especially through artists such as John Constable.

64] Russell was probably thinking of the theory of Associationism, which was developed by Archibald Alison in his Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste (1790) and had wide currency by the 1830s.

65] James Martin, Australian Sketchbook, Sydney 1838, p.50.

66] Ibid, p.51; note also William Wells entry on Macquarie Tower in his A Geographical Dictionary or Gazetteer of the Australian Colonies (Sydney 1848) p.246;

It is unquestionably the most classic spot on the shores of Australia. The Tower..is indeed a picturesque object, but the scene is connected with associations of too deep an interest to satisfy the eye with what it now presents. There is a charm about the spot where Cook first landed marked by a brass plate on the opposite cliffs, which will be heightened rather than diminished by the lapse of ages, and in the foreground a handsome monument to the memory of La Perouse, surmounted by a gilt sphere, contributes much to the intellectual interest of the scene.

67] S.G., 21/7/1836, p.3.

68] Sydney Times, 10/12/1836 p.1.

69] Wantrup, Australian Rare Books, p.298.

70] Maclehorse, Picture of Sydney, introduction.

71] Commercial Journal and Advertiser, 1/10/1836; 8/2/1837.

72] Maclehorse, Picture of Sydney, p.vi.

73] Ibid.

74] Ibid, p.1; Alan Atkinson & Rod Linn, "Immigration", Australians 1838, Sydney 1987, p.347; Anne Summers, Damned Whores and God's Police, Melbourne 1975, p.302-04.

75] Maclehorse, Picture of Sydney, p.vi-vii.

76] Aust., 4/12/1838 p.3.

77] Aust., 21/10/1836 p.3.

78] Early editions of the New South Wales Calander used an another vignette of the Post Office by Wilson, but this plate was discarded in 1836 - perhaps because it was too worn - for an almost identical plate.

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- 79] Wantrup, Australian Rare Books, p.308-09.
- 80] Sydney Chronicle, 5/8/1848.
- 81] Bell's Life in Sydney, 22/7/1848; 3/3/1849 p.2.
- 82] Compare for Instance A. Tornings [*Corner of George and Hunter Streets 1849*], which is reproduced in Painted Panorama (Sydney 1985) p.107, with Fowles *Hunter Street* (opposite p.20) and *George Street* (opposite p.22) in his Sydney in 1848. The two depictions of the same street corner are remarkably close.
- 83] Fowles, Sydney in 1848, letterpress advertisement.
- 84] *ibid*, p.5.
- 85] John Ford, Ackermann 1783-1983, London 1983, p.102.
- 86] Michael Wolff & Celina Fox, "Pictures from the Magazines", The Victorian City. Images and Realities, Boston 1973, vol. 2 p.561-65.
- 87] Aust., 14/9/1841 p.1.
- 88] S.G., 27/9/1826 p.3.
- 89] Aust., 3/8/1841 p.2.
- 90] S.M.H., 30/10/1843 p.3.
- 91] See Patricia McDonald's work on Conrad Martens' patrons in Artist and the Patron.
- 92] Many of Prout's relatives emigrated to Australia to take up civil appointments. Tony Brown & Hendrik Kolenberg, Skinner Prout in Australia 1840-48, Hobart 1986, p.13.
- 93] Aust., 25/11/1841 p.2.
- 94] S.M.H., 30/10/1843 p.3.
- 95] John Skinner Prout, "The Fine Arts in Australia", The Art Union, London, 1/11/1848 p.332.
- 96] S.G., 23/12/1841 p.3.
- 97] Brown & Kolenberg, Skinner Prout in Australia, p.12.
- 98] *Ibid* p.80; see also Aust., 6/3/1841 p.2, 9/3/1841 p.3. S.M.H., 10/1/1843, 28/8/1843 p.3.
- 99] Nan Phillips, "John Rae", A.D.B.; Rae lent fourteen works by Prout to the 1847 exhibition of the Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Australia.
- 100] Conversation with Roger Butler, Curator of Australian Prints and Drawings, Australian National Gallery, December 1987. For examples of much poorer colonial lithography from the mid-1840s see the New South Wales Magazine for 1843. I. Ellis was the artist of some lithographs published in the magazine which lack tone and strength: see for example *Government House*, July 1843 opposite p.300.
- 101] See Brown & Kolenberg, Skinner Prout in Australia, p.14 and Wantrup, Australian Rare Books, 300-01. It is unlikely that he left for Hobart Town solely because of the presence of Bluett. By his own account it was the depression in Sydney which pre-empted his removal to Hobart Town; "Of course these were no times in which the Arts could be expected to flourish, and I was obliged to abandon my project. In the year 1844, I left Sydney for the neighbouring colony of Van Diemen's Land", Prout, "The Fine Arts in Australia".
- 102] John Skinner Prout, Sydney Illustrated, (1842-44) Sydney 1947, p.89-90.
- 103] *Ibid*, p.61.
- 104] *Ibid*, p.45.
- 105] *Ibid*, p.18-19.
- 106] *Ibid*, p.61.

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- 107] S.M.H., 29/4/1843 p.3.  
108] New South Wales Magazine, April 1843 p.191.  
109] S.M.H., 11/11/1842 p.2.  
110] Aust., 7/11/1842 p.2.  
111] New South Wales Examiner, 29/7/1842.  
112] New South Wales Magazine, April 1843 p.191.  
113] Prout, Sydney Illustrated, p.61.  
114] Ibid, p.80.  
115] Conrad Martens, "Letterbook 1849-1854", DL MSS 144; "Notes on Painting 1835-1877", DL MSS 142 & 143.  
116] Conrad Martens to James Mitchell, 5 April 1851 DL MSS 144 p.9. For the transcriptions of technical information on lithography see "Notes on Painting" DL MSS 142; he also pasted into the same volume cuttings from the Art Journal (London) which described the chromolithographic process.  
117] Conrad Martens, "A Lecture on Landscape Painting", in Bernard Smith, Documents on art and taste in Australia, Melbourne 1975, p.98 & 103.  
118] Conrad Martens to Henry Martens, 19 November 1849, DL MSS 144 Transcripts p.3.  
119] Martens, "Notes on Painting", DL MSS 142 p.124.  
120] Conrad Martens to Henry Martens, 19 November 1849, DL MSS 144 Transcripts p.3.  
121] Martens to Miss Morrow, n.d. [c.1849], DL MSS 144 Transcripts p.5. Governor FitzRoy was the brother of the Captain of the *Beagle*, the ship on which Martens first travelled as expedition artist when he left England. For his problems with paper see Conrad Martens to Henry Martens, 13 September 1850, DL MSS 142 Transcripts p.7.  
122] See Martens own accounts in "Notes on Painting" DL MSS 142 p.124-26.  
123] Conrad Martens to Henry Martens, 13 September 1850, DL MSS 142 Transcripts p.7.  
124] Martens, "Notes on Painting", DL MSS 142 p.121.  
125] Tim Bonyhady, The Colonial Image. Australian Painting 1800-1880, Sydney 1987, p.38.

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### IMAGES OF ABORIGINES 1812-1850

Although Earle's lithograph *Bungaree* of 1826 was the first single portrait print of an Aborigine - or European - made in the colony, Aborigines had been a subject for artists since the first days of settlement. In the 1830s a number of series of portrait prints of Aborigines - the principal focus of this chapter - were published in Sydney by artists such as Rodius, Fernyhough and Nicholas. These prints were the most widely available images of Aborigines in Sydney during the 1830s and early 1840s as few oil or watercolour painters bothered with such subject matter. The demand for these cheap, mass produced images was determined as much by expanding internal markets and the new technology in the colony as by any change in attitudes and ideas concerning Aborigines. In other words the simple fact of publication does not necessarily imply that the 1830s was a time of differing attitudes to Aborigines but rather that now such ideas could be expressed through a technology only recently available.

By the 1830s colonial print buyers had spent many years watching traditional Aboriginal lifestyles wilting under the urban experience. In the first years of settlement, when the colony was still bounded by Blue Mountains, conflict and contact with Europeans and their diseases had substantially reduced the Gamaraigal tribe, who lived around Sydney. As traditional structures broke down Aborigines became dependent on the town for survival. It has been said that by "1845 a combination of violence, alcohol and disease had extinguished the original Sydney tribe and reduced the Botany Bay tribe to one man and three women". [1] Some of the remaining Aborigines who had settled in Sydney or lived in the surrounding districts, including Gooseberry, Punch, Cullabaa (or Culaba), Mary and Bungaree (despite having died in 1830).

Charting European attitudes towards the Aboriginal people is extremely complicated, but a brief outline is necessary here. From the outset it

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should be stressed that the implicit assumption of the innate and inevitable triumph, and superiority, of British civilization is at the heart of nearly every British response to Aborigines. Even if a European critic was sympathetic to the Aborigine's plight, and many were, their comments were still informed by an underlying and fundamental belief in the superiority of western civilization. Europeans were convinced of this simply because of the ideological framework in which they functioned. Such ideas countenanced the destruction of indigenous cultures by the imposition of a Western one simply because they assumed cultural infallibility.

Work by historians such as Henry Reynolds has described in some detail the nature of Aboriginal/European relations. Generally they have been characterised by violence which led to an actual state of warfare on the frontiers of the European settlement. [2] The occupation of the Australian continent was achieved by the waging of a systematic and bitter guerilla war against the Aborigines. It was this experience in particular that determined European attitudes. The skirmishes started around the first farms of the Hawkesbury district but intensified after the 1820s when the squatters began to move into the interior of the continent. The late 1830s was a time of increasing hostility on the frontiers of the pastoral expansion. Between 1837 and 1846 the colony experienced its worst period of racial tension, the viciousness of which is exemplified by the Myall Creek Massacre of 1838. [3]

During the 1830s and 1840s considerable attention was given to what was called the "Aboriginal Question". The treatment of indigenous people and the issue of land rights was widely discussed, yet by the 1830s popular opinion was firmly against the Aborigines. The juror at the Myall Creek Massacre trial who commented that he "looked upon the blacks as a set of monkeys and the earlier they are exterminated from the face of the earth the better" probably summed up the general feeling amongst colonists who, even if they did not adopt such a severe response, by their lack of interest allowed to happen what the juror proposed. [4] Of course as Reynolds points out, and as is obvious

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from reading travel accounts of the period, Aborigines did have a number of European defenders, although such support was often determined by a perception of a denial of natural justice for Aboriginal people in the forced removal from their land, rather than sympathy with Aboriginal lifestyles and culture. [5] Rarely, if ever, did Europeans try to approach Aboriginal culture on its own terms; nearly all European responses to the "Aboriginal Question" were predicated on the notion that Aborigines should first be "civilised" and made useful members of the European community.

It is clear that the majority of Europeans were hostile to Aborigines, often even doubting their humanity, and that these attitudes determined most colonists' responses to Aborigines. However some people, sympathetic to the plight of the Aborigines, were making the important step (in terms of colonial attitudes) of recognising their humanity and working to provide some protection. It is important to stress this duality for although tragically violently racist beliefs predominated, printmakers most often created images which appeared to contradict popular attitudes.

\* \* \* \* \*

Although the idea of the "noble savage" still had some currency in early nineteenth century Britain and Australia, it had to a large extent been superseded by a broader, but superficial curiosity in the natural productions of foreign countries. Instead of looking for answers to debates about the status of European culture, the British public sought the easy and unstructured pleasures of the stimulation of the unusual or the exotic. [6] Indeed Hodgen suggests that the idea of the noble savage was principally the domain of the educated; the general populous was anti-primitivistic. [7] British perceptions of Black peoples came not only through contact with the quite substantial Negro population already living in England, but also, from the early 1800s onwards, through live presentations of individual "savages" at shows and museum exhibitions which remained fashionable until the

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1850s. Thus most people experienced foreign cultures through a veneer of populist interest and showmen's hyperbole. Interest in the "Hottentot Venus", who arrived in London in 1810, centred solely on her enormous posterior; that alone identified her as exotic, foreign and therefore exhibitable. [8] Visitors reacted condescendingly towards these shows, which they regarded as simply proving their belief in the superiority of British culture. So when the Sydney Herald recommended Rodius' series of lithographic portraits of the "sable children of nature", the paper was being facetious rather than philosophic. [9] As Reynolds points out "Many early settlers probably arrived in Australia with, or soon acquired, a view of savagery compounded of godless anarchy, violence, cannibalism and sexual depravity". [10]

Australian Aborigines do not seem to have been considered exotic enough to warrant this type of exploitation although they were judged by the popular theories of the nineteenth century's scientific racism. [11] Countless myths and stories about Aboriginal behaviour developed. Cannibalism, infanticide, polygamy and laziness were only some of the clichés which simply reinforced popular notions about Aboriginal inferiority and their position at the bottom of the great human chain of being. [12] One of the most persistent and influential myths argued that, because of the weakness of an inferior civilisation, it was inevitable that Aborigines would become extinct. George French Angas, writing in 1847, noted that "the degraded natives of the soil are fast disappearing; and in New South Wales especially, they will, ere long, have totally disappeared." [13] He thought of his work as preserving "such records of these people as may prove interesting to ethnologists at a future date". [14] This attitude essentially allowed an abrogation of responsibilities: the consequences of an economic policy were formulated as a natural and inevitable law.

Popular sciences such as phrenology provided a theoretical blueprint for the belief of the inevitability of the demise of the Aborigines. Phrenology (which was closely related to the science of physiognomy) was a reputable and influential science during the first half of the

nineteenth century. [15] It is important to stress this respectability and scientific credibility since twentieth century writers tend to dismiss phrenology as a "pseudo-science". Then considered by many an empirically based science, phrenology proposed that brain size and structure determined an individual's moral and intellectual capabilities. It was thought that particular areas of the brain controlled various moral traits: the size of these areas determined the extent to which that trait was developed. It followed that this was an hereditary characteristic and it did not take much extrapolation to work these ideas into a theory of racial types. In some ways it was a radical theory - although capable of conservative interpretation - because it argued that intelligence and morality were biological features of the brain, and were decided by nature rather than God. However, despite the fact that personality was hereditary one was also capable of self-improvement. Phrenology was, therefore, a reformist movement, attracting philanthropists, prison reformers and other middle-class liberals as well as, it should be said, a fair share of detractors. [16] Initially phrenology was the province of social philosophers but from the 1820s it began to reach a wider audience. George Combe's The Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects (Edinburgh 1828), the most important of the many phrenological texts, was one of the most widely circulated books in early Victorian England. [17]

Its enthusiastic proselytizers ensured that phrenology found ready acceptance amongst artisans and the working classes. [18] General interest centred not on the philosophical aspects of phrenology, but on more practical aspects. It was thought that the shape, size and structure of the brain was replicated in the shape and contours of the skull. Thus the fixed moral and intellectual qualities of an individual could be discerned by the "bumps" of the skull. This easy and "infallible" guide to character was the most popular aspect of phrenology. Phrenology had many colonial adherents. The first lecture of the Australian Phrenological Society was given in Sydney in 1829

and by the early 1840s the subject was on the lecture programme of the Mechanics Institutes. [19]

Inevitably, Aborigines became the object of phrenological research. Combe provided the lead. "It appears to me", he wrote, "that the native American savages and native New Hollanders, cannot, with their present brains, adopt European civilization". [20] Barron Field had decided as early as 1822 that on the evidence of their skulls Aborigines were incapable of "civilization". [21] In 1834 George Bennett tried to document Aboriginal heads: "But as far as procuring an examination of their phrenological organs, it was a labour of some difficulty, and even danger, for they seem to regard it as witchcraft, or some magic ceremony." [22] Of course the results of these examinations always confirmed the comparative inferiority of the Aboriginal people. Phrenology lent itself to notions of a pyramid of racial types (with Europeans at the pinnacle) that proposed that certain races, because of their hereditary brain structure, were incapable of sophisticated thought or a worthwhile culture. Indeed, phrenology was closely linked to the emergence of the idea of the great chain of being. [23]

The general idea that the head and face could provide incontrovertible evidence of the innate and fixed character of individuals has important implications for depictions of Aborigines. Not only did a portrait record a likeness, it could also reveal the "essential character" of the subject. A series of portraits could reveal the very nature of the "race".

\* \* \* \* \*

Neither West's Views in New South Wales or Wallis' Historical Account.. were particularly concerned with Aborigines as an independent source of subject matter. Those two publications were more interested in depicting the spread and the sites of British civilisation. The landscape was imbued with a moral value; unimproved, virgin land was contrasted with sites of British industry. On the whole Aborigines

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were marginalised to the periphery of these topographical illustrations, where they provided a kind of visual foil to scenes of progress and civilization. Their presence in the images indicates the primitive nature of the original land; marking it as a "mournful and desolate wilderness". [24] The marginal picturing of the Aborigines in the publications of West and Wallis is a fair indication of their place in colonial thinking. Both wanted to depict the economic potential of the land as well as a certain pride in what had already been achieved. Aborigines obviously did not occupy a central place in either of these notions.

In most of the views of Sydney published in Views of New South Wales Eyre includes a small group of Aborigines, but they are not at all specific and have no ethnographic importance other than to signify in the most general way possible the nature of the indigenous people. They are simply a symbol of the exotic and of the Australian continent. Browne similarly included groups of Aborigines in the foreground of his two plates of Newcastle. Only in two plates of Views in New South Wales does Aboriginal subject matter predominant. A *Native Camp near Cockle Bay, New South Wales* [pl.14] depicts Aborigines fighting, a favourite theme for colonial artists. [25] However the real subject of the print is still Cockle Bay (now Darling Harbour). The only plate given solely to an Aboriginal subject is *The Funeral Procession of Baggarra a Native of New South Wales* [pl.17], one of four half-sized images engraved on the two final plates of the Views... A detailed description of the burial ceremony, said to have occurred in November 1813, accompanies the image. The crudity of the depiction of the Aborigines is probably partly explained by the inexpert engraving, although one suspects that the artist (who is unidentified) was not a particularly sympathetic observer either. Nonetheless the presence of the image in the Views..., albeit of lesser importance than the other full sized plates, does indicate colonial interest in Aboriginal subject matter, even if this interest was confined to unmistakably exotic subjects such as funeral ceremonies.

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Wallis' Historical Account..., again principally a series of topographical views, also contrasted Aboriginal groups with images of burgeoning "civilization", although they appear less frequently than in Views in New South Wales. However Wallis incorporated a large plate, *Corroborree* (pl.22), in his series. The plate, which relates to a large oil (most probably by Joseph Lycett now in the Dixson Gallery) is one of the six large views in the book. Wallis had attended a corroborree with Macquarie, at the request of the chief Buriejou, when the Governor visited Newcastle in August 1818. Macquarie was impressed with the "high stile" of the dance and ordered the Aborigines be given alcohol and maize. [26] Wallis contrasts "the beauty of the scenery, the pleasing reflection of the light from the fire round which they dance, the grotesque and singular appearance of the savages, and their wild notes of festivity" with anything ever witnessed in "civilized society". [27] The letterpress stresses the truthfulness of the image: the scene has been taken from nature while the figures in the foreground are said to be from original portraits. Wallis tells us that one of the figures is the Newcastle chief Buriejou, "a brave expert fellow, who has lately presented Governor Macquarie with his eldest son, to be placed in the native institution, as a proof in his confidence in British humanity." [28]

Wallis' text celebrated British imperialism, in which Aborigines had no part unless, as Buriejou had done, they actively sought its benefits. In 1815-16 Wallis himself had led three detachments of troops against a group of Aborigines who were plundering farms along the Hawkesbury during a severe drought. He surprised a camp near Appin and killed fourteen people. [29] Neither *Corroborree* nor the accompanying text hint at such experiences. Instead he offers an image of exotic savagery which, like *The Funeral Procession of Baggarra...*, confines itself to defining Aborigines simply by their "strange" rituals.

The enveloping forest, underlit by the fire which half illuminates the dancers and spectators creates a self-contained romantic, image of savages. It is probably not accidental that the specific geographic

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reference to Newcastle in the oil painting is deleted from the engraving. *Corroboree* is more particularly "savage" because it is happening in the middle of nowhere in particular. These Aborigines have been defined by their complete inversion to Wallis' ideas of what constitutes "civilized" behaviour. Removed from any obvious signs of British improvements of the landscape (yet with the dead and blasted tree on the right alluding to classical associations of tempest and drama) the engraving provides an environment where Aborigines are perhaps noble. Many have fine physiques and Buriejou is described as a "brave, expert fellow".

There was still some interest amongst the colonists for images of individual Aborigines, but West and Wallis did not provide these simply because they did not fit the argument of their publications. Both Richard Browne and the Richard Reads are known to have supplied multiple copies of their watercolour portraits of Aborigines, an appropriate expedient when printing technology was not available. Richard Read senior saw his drawings as documenting the colonial exotica yet he did not seem to differentiate between natural history and Aborigines: in his advertisements he offered "Drawings of Birds, Flowers, Native Figures, &c.." [30] Richard Browne appears to have kept a small selection of natural history drawings and portraits of Aborigines which he worked up for clients on request. Many multiples are known of his watercolours. The portraits, while not the convict-inspired caricatures that Bernard Smith suggests (his clients were most unlikely to be convicts) [31], clearly did not attempt to idealise Aboriginal figures.

The idea of the noble savage was clearly not part of Browne's conception of Aborigines. He probably saw them as low on the chain of being. Browne's clients included at least two missionaries, who obviously considered the drawings ethnographically accurate rather than simple caricature. In 1823 the Wesleyan Missionary to the Aborigines, the Reverend William Walker, posted a portrait by Browne, *Bruair* [pl.104], to the London Missionary Society. He described it as

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the very "representation of female wretchedness." [32] For Walker the watercolours were evidence, with so few signs of civilized life visible, of the paganism of the Australian Aboriginal and the necessity of missionary endeavour.

\* \* \* \* \*

The first portrait print known to have been published in Sydney was Earle's lithograph of *Bungaree* of 1826. [pl.106] [33] Earle was not particularly sympathetic towards the Aborigines; his responses were those of the conventional wisdoms of the day. He thought New South Wales Aborigines peaceable but indolent, incapable of "civilisation", who, though of no service to the colonists were not a danger either. He noted that in the "Neighbourhood of Sydney, the natives are growing scarce; the Whites locating (sic) so much land has destroyed their hunting grounds and means of subsistence." [34] However, like many Europeans, Earle responded positively to individuals whom he had observed or knew personally. His watercolour *Desmond, a New South Wales Chief* (NLA c.1827) is one of the finest of all colonial portraits.

Bungaree was a well known Sydney Aboriginal who was something of a local identity. He first came to the attention of the European community when he accompanied Mathew Flinders on his circumnavigation of the Australian continent. He was befriended by Governor Macquarie who, in 1815, presented him with a brass plate which conferred upon him the fictitious title of "King of the Broken Bay Tribe". This sobriquet, often jocularly noted by the numerous European who wrote about him, meant nothing; such a concept did not exist in Aboriginal political systems. In fact Bungaree was far better known for his comic skills, begging and his ability accurately to mimic governors and conspicuous citizens. In Earle's portrait he is shown in his customary pose of greeting new arrivals to the colony, dressed in cast-off military clothing given to him by governors and officers. [35]

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Bungaree's use of humour as a technique for survival was paralleled by similar experiences by Blacks in England, and indeed comic black (African) characters were a staple part of street and popular theatre in the early decades of the nineteenth century. [36] Blacks were also an established part of the iconography of portrayals, often humorous, of the British working classes. Popular songs about black characters were illustrated with cheap wood portrait engravings. One famous London beggar, Billy Waters ("The King of the Beggars"), who died in 1823, was a one legged negro who, like Bungaree, wore colourful cast off military clothing and a cocked hat. [pl.105] He, too, played the buffoon. [37] It would seem that Bungaree was cast in the role of colonial "negro comedian" and in that sense, it was probably no coincidence that Macquarie gave him military clothing and a cocked hat.

The design for *Bungaree* was taken from Earle's oil painting *Bungaree*, now held by the National Library in Canberra. The differences between the two are not great: Earle omitted some ships in Sydney Cove from the lithograph and toned down Bungaree's sartorial splendour. Bungaree's military coat is considerably more ragged in the lithograph and is depicted without the rich gold braid seen in the oil. His countenance appears to be accurately portrayed, with no evidence that Earle intended it otherwise. Although the lithograph marks both his poverty and his confusion of European dress codes it is not a derogatory image. It appeared, to much acclaim from the local press, in August 1826 and was sold at a "very low price". [38] The Sydney Monitor commented that "As a first attempt of the kind in the Colony, it has been dedicated to Governor Darling. The likeness is faithful - and considering the difficulties Mr. Earle has had to contend with, great credit is due to that gentleman." [39]

*Bungaree* was, as Bonyhady suggests, a fairly formal portrait with links (particularly in the situation of the figure) to Earle's other portraits of important colonial Europeans such as *Sir Thomas Brisbane* and *Captain Piper*. [40] Yet these portraits do not have the *obvious*

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theatrical flourish that Earle gave *Bungaree*. Indeed *Bungaree* recalls the numerous theatrical portraits (which were often published) of the Georgian theatre, in which actors were portrayed as their favourite characters. Like *Bungaree* these portraits were generally full length, and depicted a moment of dramatic gesture. [41] *Bungaree* is a much smaller painting than either *Sir Thomas Brisbane* or *Captain John Piper*, and was (obviously) not commissioned by its subject. Earle most probably painted *Bungaree* for sale from his studio, which was where John McGarvie first saw it. McGarvie noted that a print had been taken from the oil painting. [42]

Earle must have lithographed this portrait in the hope of finding ready sales amongst colonists wanting a likeness of an Aborigine and a local identity. As *Bungaree* was not part of European society and its systems of representations, Earle did not expect the viewer to draw the same conclusions about the power and position of *Bungaree* as he would his portrait of Governor Brisbane. Indeed it is likely that he intended the portrait to be populist and humorous, probably hoping that it would function both as a documentary portrait of *Bungaree* and as a symbol of the exotic and unusual in Sydney. The possible allusion to *Bungaree's* status as a "king" of all the land he surveys, implied by the formal pose, is more likely to be a witty (rather than sardonic) comment by Earle; it is clear that he is in fact king of nothing. Like T.B East's *Billy Blue*, this portrait's interest was in its being of an unusual (and exotic) local character. Its appeal lay, not so much in ethnographic detail - though this was important - but in its theatricality and difference, giving a humorous twist to the conventions of European portraiture.

*Bungaree's* portrait was also included in Earle's Views in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land: Australian Scrapbook (London 1830), although the composition differs considerably from his Sydney print. [pl.107] Instead of being posed against Sydney Cove and Fort Macquarie, *Bungaree* stands in an urban setting with one of his wives, who is smoking a pipe while squatting by his feet. A basket containing

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bottles of alcohol sits on the ground. The effect of this plate is very different from that created by Earle's Sydney lithograph.

Earle was probably not prepared to publish such an essentially derogatory image in Sydney because it was not a flattering view of local conditions. The overall tone of Views in New South Wales.. was quite anecdotal: activity and lively human figures were introduced into the London images which were generally absent from his Sydney lithographs. There is even a sense of caricature in *Government Gaol Gang* which reveals the Hyde Park barrack prisoners as similarly stereotypical criminals and lowlife figures to those who appeared in the satirical prints of eighteenth century artists such as William Hogarth. In this context the two prints of Aboriginal subjects from the Views in New South Wales.. - *Natives of New South Wales* and *Bungaree* - are framed within the conventions for portraying the lower, dissolute English working/criminal classes which were just as shocking to a respectable English person as these images. Hogarth's engraving *Gin Lane* (1750-51) [pl.109], is centred on an inebriated, half-naked pock-marked woman who has dropped her child while attempting to take snuff. Scenes of decadence and dissolution surround her. Similarly *Farewell to Black-Eyed Sue and Sweet Poll of Plymouth* [pl.110], by an anonymous artist, shows two women, one bare-chested and the other holding a bottle of alcohol, taking leave of their convict lovers. [43]

While Hogarth's *Gin Lane* is a more complicated image than *Natives of New South Wales*, both are making similar points about low urban life. Both see alcohol as a cause of distress. Earle perhaps suggests the hypocrisy of European constructions of Aboriginal peoples as drunken by making the background to his image a inn, but this is a much milder remonstrance than Hogarth's bitter analysis of Georgian society. Earle still saw urban Aboriginals in terms of a British underclass which brought about its own destruction. He does not satirize the Aborigines, nor resort to caricature, but he does utilise pictorial conventions which imply that their situation is of their own making.

\* \* \* \* \*

Bungaree's renown meant that his likeness was frequently reproduced. As well as indicating the continued interest in Aborigines, this is also evidence of how much urban experience determined visual expression. Generally it was urban Aborigines well known in Sydney, such as Bungaree, who were the subjects of locally produced prints - prints which were the only images of Aborigines widely available in the colony in the 1830s. Sydney residents apparently wanted such images to be uncomplicated likenesses removed from all context. The interest of the early diarists and commentators, such as David Collins, in the customs and lifestyles of the Aborigines (the residue of which can perhaps still be seen in an elementary form in the watercolours of Richard Browne) is absent from these prints although curiosity had not completely evaporated; in the late 1840s and 1850s many oil paintings which dealt with subjects such as Aborigines hunting were prepared by local artists for the local market. [44] Few oil painters painted Aborigines during the 1830s.

One of few oils from this period, *Gunbal (alias Judy)* (Australian National Gallery) painted by James Armstrong Wilson in 1838, was probably intended as a gift for Lady Jane Franklin, the wife of the Tasmanian Governor. [45] Wilson's paternalism is evident in his vision of Gunbal as an Aboriginal "clothes horse". She has been clothed in jewellery and ermine, and is wearing make-up: coy and subtly sexual. Wilson has approached her portrait as he would one of the numerous Italian peasant genre pieces he showed in the 1849 exhibition of the Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Australia. Wilson's confusion is perhaps derived from his attempts to weld an ethnographic portrait into a genre style. Although local printmakers were not troubled by these problems of stylistic collisions unresolved attitudes towards Aborigines are evident in their work.

When Charles Rodius arrived in the colony in late December 1829 he lost no time in preparing a portrait of Bungaree. This was published

in early March 1830. The Sydney Monitor noted: "Mr C. Rhodius uses the Lithographic Press with great skill. He has executed front and profile likenesses of Bungaree in a most superior style." [46] Rodius recognised the existence of a potential market for such imagery and was one of the first artists in the colony with the requisite skills to be able to exploit it. Technically Rodius was considerably more proficient at using a lithographic press than Earle, probably because of his continental background. In October 1834 John Austin published Rodius' fine series of lithographic portraits of Aborigines which cost, according to the Sydney Gazette, a moderate one guinea for a set of six (although seven lithographs of Aboriginal subjects by Rodius are now extant). [47] These were made especially for publication, unlike Earle's *Bungaree* which was an adaption of an existing oil painting. Like Earle's lithograph, Rodius' portraits were well received. The Sydney Herald commended these "portraits of the most prominent Aborigines of the various tribes of New South Wales" for the "The extraordinary fidelity with which the characteristic countenance of these sable children of nature are delineated.." and noted that Rodius proposed to publish by "subscription, at such charges as will place these interesting copies within the reach of all classes." [48] A little ambiguously the Sydney Gazette noted that "The Fidelity of the likenesses will at once strike every beholder who has been any length of time in the colony." while no less an artist than John Glover, who saw the lithographs in Tasmania, told George Robinson that he had "seen several engravings of Blacks by an artist of Sydney his name is Rhodius They are beautifully done..." [49]

The series was popular and went through many reprintings on different coloured papers. Rodius' pencil drawings of Aborigines, the basis of these lithographs, were also popular. Like so much printed material of the period, the lithographs were seen as being particularly suitable to send back "home": the Sydney Gazette felt they would "prove very acceptable presents to friends in England" [50] while John Lhotsky, writing in the Art Journal (London), said that Rodius' portraits of "Natives and Scenery are much sought for by travellers". [51] Some of

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Rodius' work was published, without acknowledgment, by William Baker in 1840; Baker had an unknown artist put on stone at least two of Rodius' drawings. [52] The Australian described Baker's 1840 publication as a series of "very faithful and well executed lithographic likenesses of some aboriginal natives" which would make particularly acceptable presents "to friends in England who may feel some curiosity to know what kinds of beings their relatives and acquaintances, who have settled in Australia, are amongst." [53] The lithographs were probably sold in local shops, particularly booksellers; some copies in the Dixson Library have been stamped by Francis Ellard, a Sydney music seller and instrument maker.

There is a tendency to think of all Aborigines living around Sydney in the first half of the century as ravaged alcoholics and it is this which makes Rodius' lithographs unexpected. These portraits, which admit both the individuality and humanity of the sitters, strike present day viewers as atypical. They are fine portraits, carefully observed and well transferred to the lithographic stone. He successfully adapted the french lithographic portrait style, a genre with which no doubt he was familiar, to the documentation of indigenous peoples. This explains the sophistication of his work. Rodius has treated his Aboriginal subjects with the same gravity, with which he approached European sitters although they would be read as documentary portraiture rather than character studies.

Rodius portrayed his subjects removed from all local context, in a manner least threatening to Europeans. None of the prints show Aborigines in possession of, or involved with, land. In plates such as *Neddy Noora*, *Nunberri*, *Morirang* and *Tooban*, [pls 113, 114, 115, 116] Aborigines are presented as at least being amenable to the surface manifestations of western culture. Their clothing is simple, neat and well kept; the rags of *Male & Female Black Natives* or *Scene in the Streets of Sydney* [pls 130, 131] are nowhere evident. Hair is neatly combed (even parted on both *Morirang* and *Nunberri*). These images provide visual evidence of the potential for the civilization of

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Aborigines, which was seen as the lynchpin of European attempts to ameliorate their "savage" condition. As Reece points out, for most of Rodius' contemporaries "signs of advance towards civilization were thought to consist in an appreciation of the main tenets of Christianity, a disposition to adopt European standards of personal cleanliness, dress and housing..." [54]

In a comparatively minor way the lithographs provided some ethnographic information about Aboriginal peoples. The names and tribe of each person is given underneath the image but, because of their European dress and names, little ethnographic detail, such as costume or body decoration, can be elicited from them. Only *Morirang* is shown with any tribal markings, but her tribal cicatricization is stylized into three elegant lines which grace her arm. She is wearing a blanket - issued by the colonial Government - toga-like, as was the custom amongst Aboriginal women. [55] In two prints, *Biddy Salmander.. Bullkabra..Gooseberry* and *Punch..Culaba..Profile of Culaba* [pls 111, 112], Rodius provides both full face and profile portraits. Although not explicitly directed to do so, most viewers would have understood that the profile portraits allowed them to make physiognomical and phrenological readings of these examples of the indigenous people of Australia. In his lithograph of Bungaree Rodius gives his death date as 1832 and claims to have made the original drawing in 1831, although Bungaree in fact died in November 1830. [56]

It is difficult to fathom precisely what motivated Rodius' portraits. Most striking is a mood of melancholy which appears to pervade the series. It is possible, of course, that this is simply a twentieth century interpretation made with the knowledge of history. Rodius does not depict ideal or noble savages, but unexpectedly personal portraits, unencumbered by popular prejudices. Gibson argues that during the 1830s and 1840s a nostalgia for the idea of the noble savage was current in the colony

In the 1830s and 1840s therefore, with more towns becoming established throughout the colony, evocations of the Australian noble savage take on

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elegiac tones...The image of the Aborigine was being reassessed; perhaps the idealised savage actually did exist in Australia once upon a time, but not in the present, [57]

While these portraits are not of Aborigines in the wild, their sadness could well be a reflection of Rodius' own interpretation of this kind of thinking; his work reflecting his own feelings about the Aborigines' loss of what was perceived to be an idealised state of pre-contact existence. An atmosphere of melancholy appears to have been a feature of European portrayals of Aboriginal dispossession. The sculptures of Benjamin Law and the watercolours of Thomas Bock, both of which deal with Tasmanian Aborigines, are similarly imbued with a spirit of melancholy. Perhaps because of the apparently speedier decline of the Tasmania Aborigines - the demise threatened to be swift and final - these two artists, and Benjamin Duterrau, made careful and thorough ethnographic records of traditional costume and body decoration. This does not appear to have been a New South Wales interest of the 1830s - Rodius' portraits are not as insistently ethnographic as those of the Tasmanian artists - although mainlanders equally believed in the imminent disappearance of the Aborigines.

In the late 1830s and early 1840s William Nicholas, the lithographer and watercolour and miniature portrait painter, also prepared a number of lithographic portraits (most published by Barlow) of Aborigines some of which were imbued with similar sensitivities to Rodius'. The first, a full length portrait of *Mary, A Native Black of Sydney*, was published in November 1838 along with portraits of Sir Richard Bourke and *Mrs Taylor in the Character of Don Giovanni*. [58] This print, which I have not seen, was followed in 1842 by others such as *Gumbo/Billy Good-Day/Patrick Plains, Mary* [pl.117], *Toomba* and *Wollamel/Wallace /Newcastle* which were all signed by Nicholas. *Marang A Native of Kiama* [pl.118] is unsigned but dated 1844. *Johny Crook/Native name Yunbai from Illawara* [pl.119] is neither signed nor dated but as it is published by Barlow, and like *Marang*.. bears definite stylistic similarities to the work of Nicholas, can probably be attributed to him. His sitters were Aborigines from Newcastle and and the Illawarra.

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These lithographs did not receive any press coverage and indeed the early 1840s, troubled by both a depression (Nicholas was heavily in debt in 1843) and the worst frontier conflicts yet seen in the colony, was hardly an auspicious time to embark upon new publishing ventures. Little is known of the history of Nicholas' lithographs - probably they were sold singly - although there is evidence that he was planning a series of published portraits of Aborigines in 1843. [59]

As with the lithographs of Rodius the striking feature of Nicholas' work is the pervasive mood of melancholy and inertness. Unlike Rodius Nicholas draws the full body of his subjects; showing them either standing or sitting, but always placed beneath the viewer which implies an acceptance or understanding of their position. They are similarly neatly dressed in western clothing. Only *Johnny Crook* moves, but even his gesture seems somehow rigid and frozen. Once again the Aborigines' acceptance of, and potential for, civilization appears to be the subject of the prints. *Wollomel's* upturned slightly effeminate, beautiful face [pl.120], for instance, recalls sentimental religious pictures of the period and perhaps could be seen as a precursor to Tom Robert's oil *Charlie Turner* (Art Gallery of New South Wales). These are not images of the ideal savage, being obviously displaced and urban, yet something of Sir Thomas Mitchell's romanticism can be discerned in them.

\* \* \* \* \*

The most notorious images of Aborigines from the 1830s are William Fernyhough's Twelve profile portraits of the Aborigines of New South Wales, published by John Austin in September 1836. Most often Fernyhough's popular profiles have been interpreted as depicting the Aborigines as "monstrous and comical" absurdities or presenting them as "subjects for ridicule". [60] Wantrup, however, considers the profile portraits as "justly renowned for [their] uncharacteristically sympathetic treatment of the Aborigines, pathetically arrayed in the

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cast-off remnants of European finery.." and, although somewhat over-enthusiastic, it is with his assessment that I would concur. [61]

Certainly Fernyhough's work was not seen at the time as caricature. Rather they were praised for their accuracy and their value in conveying information about Aborigines. The very nature of his technique - full length drawing with a black profile head - was seen as providing ethnographic information for the viewer. Twelve Profile Portraits were as much for European audiences as for colonial and relied on viewers bringing to them knowledge of phrenology and physiognomy. The viewer could "read" the heads depicted by Fernyhough and hence draw conclusions about the general nature of Aboriginal people.

In the early nineteenth century profile portraiture, now a novelty art confined to English sea-side resorts, was a common and cheap method of having a likeness taken. Although principally used by working class people, it was also enjoyed by the middle classes as a polite drawing room accomplishment. One of the first profile artists in Sydney was the convict engraver Samuel Clayton who, like many practitioners, used a machine to help him take his silhouettes. As Clayton pointed out, his profiles, for which he charged an expensive ten shillings, were "particularly portable, as they may be conveyed in letters to relatives or friends without injury to any part of the world". [62] In the 1830s both Edward Barlow and William Fernyhough took profile portraits of colonists; J. G. Austin also advertised his willingness to take them. [63] Unlike English profilists, who were often itinerant workers, the Sydney artists were respectable tradesmen. One English itinerant worker, who talked to Henry Mayhew, noted that most of his "customers were working people, and often they'd come and have two or three likenesses, to sent to their friends who'd emigrated, because they'd go easy in a letter." [64] A similar passage, though from Sydney to the northern hemisphere, must have just as often been made.

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For some, profile portraiture was more than a simple likeness. One of its most vigorous exponents was the French *émigré* Augustin Edouart (1789-1861) whose A Treatise on Silhouette Likenesses (London 1835) was a defence and theoretical justification for his particular art of scissor-cut silhouette portraiture. Edouart based his artistic practice on the writings of John Caspar Lavater. [65] Lavater's book Essays on Physiognomy, published at the end of the eighteenth century, argued that there was a "correspondence between the external and internal man, the visible superficies and the invisible contents". [66] He believed that personality could be divined (often intuitively) from the makeup of the face and head by using guidelines that he had established. His work fed into latter phrenological theory, and the two sciences were thought of as companions. Edouart noted that Lavater insisted that the study of silhouettes of heads was essential in developing a knowledge of physiognomy. Lavater wrote "I have collected more physiognomical knowledge from shades alone than from every other kind of portrait.." because they rendered the observation of the human form "more simple, easy, and precise". [67] He noted, however, that profiles could only provide generalisations rather than specifically accurate readings: "The shade [profile] generally expresses much more of the original propensity than actual character". [68]

Edouart believed that the mass of his work - the thousands of profiles he had cut - allowed him to mark out a framework of silhouettes which illustrated what he called the "human passions". In one sense he saw his silhouettes potentially as scientific documents for the study of human nature. He believed that by using full length silhouettes (Lavater only published profiles of the head) he had added:

materially to the effect that produces a Likeness, and combines with the outline of the face, to render, as it were, a double Likeness in the same subject, from the combination of face and figure, arises the pleasing and less surprising result of a striking resemblance. [69]

He illustrated A Treatise.. with a number of full length lithographed silhouette portraits placed in elaborately drawn backgrounds. According

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to Edouart these lithographed illustrations were unique amongst published profiles, although he noted that some of the accuracy and precision of the portrait was lost in printing. [70]

As mentioned earlier, both phrenology and physiognomy were used to describe races and racial characteristics. Indeed had Fernyhough read Lavater he would have been aware of Lavater's belief - a common idea in the early decades of the nineteenth century - that there was a national physiognomy which determined national character. As part of his evidence of this assertion, Lavater quoted the French biologist de Buffon who had written: "The inhabitants of the coast of New Holland...are perhaps the most miserable people on earth, and of all the human race most approach the brute animal." [71] If Fernyhough had read Combe's Constitution of Man, which, by the mid-1830s, was one of the most widely disseminated works of popular philosophy amongst English lower middle and upper working class families, he would have noted that:

native American savages and native New Hollanders, cannot, with their present brains, adopt European civilization, The reader will find in the Phrenological Collections specimens of their skulls, and, on comparing them with those of Europeans, he will observe that, in the former, the organs of reflecting intellect, Ideality, Conscientiousness, and Benevolence, are greatly inferior in size to the same organs in the latter. [72]

Because phrenology, when applied to race, was a typological science it relied upon thorough documentation of numerous examples. Throughout phrenological journals profile portraits illustrated the carefully measured heads of the subjects of case histories. The Phrenological Journal recommended that travellers pay particular attention to the heads of native peoples, which were so "distinctive of race." "It will contribute to facilitate the understanding of other descriptions", opined the Journal, "to have sketches of several typical specimens. A profile and also a front view should be given." [73]

Apart from Edouart's lithographed silhouettes, I have not seen any other printed profile portraits. Because of the limitations of colonial

technology Fernyhough developed a unique publication. Fernyhough's Twelve Profile Portraits.. was initially published in mid-September 1836 and cost 10s 6d. The series, which appeared in covers and with a title page, consisted of eleven full length profile portraits and one plate entitled *Native Dance*. The plates do not appear to have been sold singly. Austin's advertisement recommended that those who wished to send presents to friends "at home" would find the "Profiles (from their correctness) are acceptable presents". [74] Twelve Profile Portraits.. was one of the most successful of all colonial publications, running through many editions, reworkings and interpretations. Versions of the book were still being made in the mid-1840s.

Twelve Profile Portraits.. was well received by the local newspapers. The Sydney Times comment is representative:

We have been favoured with a copy of a publication representing some well known aboriginal characters which are entitled to praise as being for the most part striking profile likenesses of our sable townsmen and are well executed. They will form a pretty present to friends in England, as characteristic of this country. [75]

The Sydney Gazette of 20 December 1836 reported that "Mr Fernyhough has faithfully portrayed on stone, an excellent likeness of Piper, the well known native who accompanied Major Mitchell in his expedition into the interior". [pl.126] This was included in later editions of Twelve Profile Portraits.. when *Native Dance* was relegated to the back cover. Mitchell, whose own careful and romantic drawings of Aborigines as "children of nature" were published in his Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia (London 1839, see his *Talambé*, vol. 1, p.318), had given Piper a red coat and cocked hat in gratitude for his services: Mitchell wrote "His portrait, thus arrayed, soon appeared in the print shops; an ingenious artist (Mr. Fernyhough) having drawn his likeness very accurately." [76] Mitchell clearly did not discount Fernyhough's much cruder images, which were not informed by the surveyor's philosophic interests. As he must have realized, *Piper* was made for a wide, popular audience which did not demand, and was not able to make use of, the greater layers of subtlety in his own work.

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Twelve Profile Portraits.. were, therefore, thought "striking", "accurate" and "faithful" likenesses, part of whose value was derived from the phrenological and physiognomical and hence ethnographic information that could be elicited from the profiles. Fernyhough did not make a particularly detailed ethnographic record but it was not his intention to do so. Instead he was offering easily comprehensible images that could be understood by the artisans and upper working class emigrants who most likely bought them. Familiar with the ideas of phrenology, and aware of the importance of profiles to the science, the idea of "reading the heads" would have suggested itself immediately. Unlike Fernyhough's humorous series of profiles of European Sydney characters, which were unidentified (and sold singly), the name and tribe of each subject is provided in Twelve Profile Portraits.., hardly a thorough ethnographic record, but sufficient for a non-specialist audience of recent immigrants. A pencil inscription on one copy of *Piper* reflects the popular reading of the profiles: "No man was ever prouder of his uniform - Indeed the promise of this gay attire was the great inducement to Piper, for his exertions & fidelity - The drawing is a very bad one/ but the profile is extremely correct". [77]

Each of the figures, all of whom are posed standing and inert, are depicted in the torn and ill fitting caste-off rags of white society. Fernyhough has drawn *Jemmy*, *Punch* and *Gooseberry* [pls 124, 127] dressed in the blankets distributed amongst Aborigines by the colonial government. Some plates, such as *Mickie* and *Boardman* [pls 125, 128], include Aboriginal implements but these are described only in the most cursory manner. Unlike Rodius' clean, and potentially christian, Aborigines Fernyhough reveals a derelict and apparently demoralized race. Fernyhough's Twelve Profile Portraits.. do not suggest potential or hope. Indeed his portrait of *Cullabaa* [pl.123], wearing his unfamiliar and torn suit of clothes so awkwardly, is not the same person who appears in Rodius' two chalk drawings of *Culaba* (one a profile.). [pl.112] Fernyhough was far more interested in racial characteristics than individual and personal traits: Lavater, it will be

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remembered, felt that profile portraits showed extremes rather than specifics. The flattening out of the facial structure to a black shape does not allow any personal expression to be shown. At their very best skilled silhouette artists such as Edouart could intimate emotion by capturing the "body language" of the subject. Fernyhough, however, was not sufficiently accomplished to manage this and his somewhat clumsy modelling imbues the lithographs with a sense of naivety.

Fernyhough's Twelve Profile Portraits.. are not sympathetic images. Yet despite his lack of sympathy Fernyhough was not being derogatory for his lithographs were thought serious documentary illustrations which accurately portrayed the status and condition of the Aborigines. The interest was not in wild savages in tribal situations but in the Aboriginal's place in the civilised world; in how they had coped with European life. Twelve Profile Portraits.. posited the imperfectability of the indigenous people of New South Wales. William Walker, it will be remembered, sent *Bruair* to the Mission Society, London to arouse enthusiasm for his missionary work amongst Sydney Aborigines; he did not consider it caricature. Fernyhough's work, too, allows a similar interpretation. English audiences, preoccupied with missionary endeavours amongst heathens, would have consulted Fernyhough's work for evidence of the potential of the Aborigines to be "civilized."

Although J. G. Austin initially issued Twelve Profile Portraits.. in 1836, other editions of the book were published by Edward Barlow. [78] Austin's initial edition appears to have remained in publication, with slight variations to the plates, imprints and paper, after he sold his business to Barlow in 1837. [79] Both Barlow and Baker published new editions of Twelve Profile Portraits.., neither acknowledging the source of his books. Baker's 1840 edition was made up from lithographed copies of Fernyhough's originals by the anonymous "I. W. R.". Included also in the work were copies of Rodius' Aboriginal drawings and lithographs. Barlow printed at least two editions of the Profiles.. He printed William Nicholas' Profiles of the Aborigines of New South Wales in 1840. [80] Although these, too, were based on Fernyhough, Nicholas

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redrew at least one plate, *Bill Worrall* [pl.121] and designed a new title page, *Natives of New South Wales Drinking "Bull"*. [pl.122] Probably in 1844 Barlow published another smaller and cruder version titled Barlow's Profiles of the Natives, in which the artist was not identified. [81]

Apart from the sheer number of editions of the profile portraits published, evidence is unclear as to how the images actually circulated in the colony. Twelve Profile Portraits.. does not appear in the catalogues of library sales of colonial gentlemen but Augusta Maria Mitchell (wife of leading Sydney physician and industrialist, James Mitchell) pasted *Native Dance* into her scrapbook while the improbably named Abraham Lincolne copied *Mary Botany Bay Tribe* into his pencil and watercolour Australian Sketches 1838-1844. Lincolne, an entrepreneur and journalist who appeared to be preparing a series of views of typical Australian subjects for publication, located Mary in an Illawarra landscape and claimed she was from the Five Islands Tribe of the Illawarra region. [82] Lincolne's own touches, which include a pipe and an attendant dog, emphasize - more so than the original- the displacement of Mary. In contrast James Backhouse, a Quaker missionary and enlightened judge of the Aboriginal people, used a wood engraving of *Boardman* to illustrate his A Narrative of a visit to the Australian Colonies. [pls 128, 135] Backhouse met Boardman in April 1836 at Lancelot Threlkeld's Mission for the Aborigines at Lake Macquarie and noted that Boardman, or Boatman as he was also known, and his companion McGill had

contracted a debasing appetite for strong drink, which was often given them by the military and other persons, perhaps from mistaken notions of kindness. Boatman some years afterwards, lost his life in a drunken fray. [83]

Backhouse met Boardman again in Sydney, but found him always intoxicated. [84] For Backhouse the image is simply a documentary one. He noted that Boardman is shown in the act of throwing a spear "by means of a womera, an implement used to increase the impetus" and is wearing a "ragged, blue jacket, and trowsers [sic]". [85] Interestingly

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the English engraver gave Boardman some imaginery - he was simply copying a blank profile - facial features.

Clearly the images initiated by Fernyhough did not have a fixed meaning. Twelve Profile Portraits.. depicted a race of people displaced by the loss of their land. Fernyhough shows them isolated in the rags of their urban existence. They are "soft" primitives for there is nothing romantic about their existence at all. Nor are they portrayed as a threat to the European occupation of Australia. Every European would know that these Aborigines, who appeared to be the equivalent of the beggars and urban dispossessed of their own cities, were of no account. These are inert faceless people, who are only individuals by virtue of the identifying imprint at the bottom of image. Fernyhough makes no obvious comment on their potential for "improvement" and "civilization", but this was the question that many of his audience would have asked of the images. Some would have seen them as proof that the Aborigines were a race in a decline to extinction; for the evangelical the profiles would have verified the need for mission work amongst the Aborigines.

\* \* \* \* \*

The difficulties Aborigines had dealing with alcohol are well documented. Commentators noted that the conditions of urban Aborigines differed considerably from those of the interior. Geoffrey Dutton chronicles the European reaction to such problematic behaviour. [86] On the one hand there was disgust at their ragged clothing - sometimes it barely covered them - and drunken fighting; at the same time Europeans would aid and abet the violence with gifts of alcohol and shouts of encouragement. Backhouse wrote; "The blacks are not like the same people, when in towns, as they are, when remote from places where they are incited to vice, into which many of the white population take pleasure in leading then." [87]

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While Fernyhough merely hinted at the degradation of the Aborigines, others images were more explicit. During the 1830s a series of prints were published in Sydney which dealt with the problems of urban Aborigines drinking and fighting on city streets. While the prints were less formal than the works just discussed, they appear to be the work of the same artists and publishers. The similarity of the subject matter and design of these images, *Uncle's intended, Scene on the Streets of Sydney* and *Male & Female Black Natives* [pls 130, 131, 133] suggest that the artists gave little thought to the imagery. What perhaps is surprising is the small number of known prints. Given the general hostility of the colonists, one would expect a far greater number of this type of imagery to have survived. It is quite likely that other prints were made, but because of their ephemeral nature, were simply thrown away or abandoned.

How the prints circulated in the colony remains a mystery. As the prints were made by respectable printmakers and publishers such as Carmichael, Rodius, Austin and Barlow - although in London one would expect similar imagery in London to be made and sold by the Seven Dials printmakers - and it is therefore possible that they were sold through the conventional outlets. They were not advertised or acknowledged by the press, and were most likely sold singly. Carmichael's *Male & Female Black Natives* was published as an illustration to James Macle hose's Picture of Sydney. As I pointed out in the first chapter there does not appear to have been a well organised sub-culture in Sydney able to distribute ephemeral material such as this. The prints however do seem to have made an impact; Backhouse says of Aborigines he met around Adelaide in 1837:

The Blacks about Adelaide are not numerous; they are much like those of other parts of Australia, and most persons admit, that the pictures which they have seen of them in England, are caricature likenesses, of much more forbidding aspect than the originals, [88]

In many ways these prints resemble broadside imagery produced in England. They are not folk art images but, like broadsides, made for commercial sale. The designs are repetitious and the printing poor and

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cheap. The images are generalised and sensational; the market to which the prints were most appealing was not particularly visually literate or sophisticated. But there were some differences too. The Sydney prints delineated a specific local issue, unlike broadside imagery which illustrated any number of murders, scandals and religious homilies, often without any relevance to the subject in hand, from a stock supply of images. [89] The Sydney prints were also printed by lithography, an unusual medium, since such matter was usually reproduced as woodcuts and engravings. Probably the exigencies of local technology which determined the method of reproduction.

It is unclear who were the artists responsible for these images. *Uncle's Intended* was attributed to Rodius by Rex Nan Kivell, for reasons unknown; *Scene on the Streets of Sydney* was printed by J. G. Austin but the National Library have told me that none of the copies in its collection mention an artists name. The fact, however, that this type of lithograph was printed by Austin is just as revealing as the identity of the artist. Austin must have judged that there was a market for this type of imagery as well profile portraits of Aborigines. Barlow also published a reversed copy of *Scene in the streets of Sydney*. [pl.132]

The repetitious use of designs is one of the features of this material. *Uncle's Intended* was taken from Earle's *Natives of N.S.Wales as seen in the streets of Sydney*, which was published in the later's *Views in New South Wales..* (London 1830). Earle's background and one figure is omitted from this this version of the lithograph. The unknown artist, probably either Rodius or Carmichael, of the undated *Scene on the Streets of Sydney* would appear to be at least inspired by *Uncle's Intended*. It employs a similar frieze like composition and reuses the figure of the small child. The fighting male and female figures on the right of *Scene on the Streets of Sydney* and the little child were also used by Carmichael for his *Male & Female Black Natives* of 1838.

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The figure of the small child is used by Fernyhough in perhaps his most savage and caricatured portrayal of Aborigines which appears in one of the vignettes of his *Ombres Fantastique No. 1*. [pl.48] Similarly Sydney Quaker Charles Wheeler's illustration of Sydney Aborigines, published in James Backhouse's A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies, utilised these stock elements, showing an Aboriginal group, dressed in rags, smoking and with the ubiquitous cask of alcohol at their feet. [pl.134] Backhouse includes the etching as evidence of the degradation caused by "contact with a population of European extraction.." [90] Other images abuse were published which drew attention to alcohol abuse. Nicholas incorporated into the design of his title page for Profiles of the Aborigines of New South Wales of 1840, Natives of New South Wales Drinking "Bull" [pl.122]. [91]

One of the most famous caricatures of Aborigines, *King Teapot & His Two Gins, Chief Of The Bogen Tribe, N.S.Wales As He Appeared After Having A Tightner*, by "T. B." and dated 1833, was published in London by Webb & Son of Snow Hill, in 1837. The identity of "T. B." has yet to be satisfactorily explained. [92] Interestingly it was this image that George Emmons, a crewman on Charles Wilkes' American voyages of the Pacific, copied and took home with him to America. [93]

When Earle initiated the composition which was the source for much of the later imagery, he did so to explain to English readers the nature of Aboriginal Australians for it was his intention to provide "a correct set of delineations of the Native Savage of Australia." Earle does not caricature the Aborigines but reports them couched in notions of the travel artists factual "delineation". By removing the background of George Street from *Uncle's Intended* the image is effectively ahistoricized. Notions of place or time - suggested in Earle's lithograph not only by the accompanying letterpress but by the visible architecture and costume - are entirely absent. It is in fact an ultimate act of dispossession. Not only are Aborigines removed from their land and indications of tribal identity, but their personalities are dispossessed as well. No evidence is provided that Aborigines have

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any independent political or tribal structure. There is not even the documentary interest suggested in Fernyhough's Twelve Profile Portraits.. or Rodius' Lithographic Portraits.

*Uncle's intended*, and *Scene on the Streets of Sydney*, were almost a shorthand summary of all the Aboriginal people. This type of imagery, which is hardly the sophisticated caricature of a Hogarth or a Gillray, can be a focus of all the arguments of a white and racist Australia. As Gretton points out the key to the genre of broadside imagery is the triggering of associations rather than accurate reporting. [94] This is the strength of prints such as *Uncle's intended*: because they say so little they can imply so much to very disparate groups of people. The print itself is evidence of how this type of image can function. *Uncle's intended* was initially printed without a title; a latter hand has inscribed upon it the apparently humorous appellation by which it is now known. Underneath the image the same hand wrote "This is a very correct likeness". The image has been folded, which suggests that it travelled, perhaps within the colony or possibly to England, were it would have been shown as an amusing, but factually accurate, portrayal of Aborigines. Other prints are inscribed by a similar hand. At the bottom of Barlow's *Natives of New South Wales* [pl.132] is written "Very correct likenefs", again reinforcing the veracity of the scene. Clearly this type of image could have as much authority as Twelve Profile Portraits.. or Lithographic Portraits.

Carmichael's *Male & Female Black Natives* [pl.133] gains some of its authority from the text which accompanys the etching in Maclehorse's Picture of Sydney... It is not known if it was issued as a separate plate. As Reece points out the text, which was reprinted verbatim by W. H. Wells in his A Geographical Dictionary or Gazetteer of the Australian Colonies of 1848, was a summary of popular knowledge and prejudices of the period. [95] The crux of the writer's argument is that the race is disappearing: "In the interior, their numbers seem to be diminishing, from famine and war; and at Sydney and other towns, where they exist chiefly by begging, vice and disease are fast

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destroying them". [96] The text then appeals to the higher authority of *Male & Female Black Natives*: a comparison is invited between it and the following plate which shows a healthy, classically posed New Zealand couple. The heavily caricatured *Male & Female Black Natives* are the antithesis of everything that a respectable English family would hold in highest regard. Alcohol is ruining the familial relations - the father is a drunkard while the mother commits the even greater sin of failing to provide proper mothering. The image is calculated to dehumanise the Aborigines by denying them two of the most essential qualities of the respectable, civilized Europeans: a strong father and a virtuous mother. This image destroys Aboriginal credibility, particularly amongst the English readers for whom the book in which it appears was intended, much more effectively than any text about superstitions and cannibalism.

These images were made at the height of racial conflict in New South Wales and cannot be divorced from that reality. As Parbury suggests, they are images of propaganda which question the humanity of the Aborigines, thereby making the events of the frontier more palatable to the urban audience who were influential in directing the flow of the debate surrounding the rights and treatment of Aborigines. [97] If expansion into the interior was to proceed unhindered, then urban liberals needed to be convinced of the worthlessness of the Aborigines. Surprisingly there are very few, if any, images of frontier conflict published in Sydney in the 1830s and '40s, although this did become a subject for artists such as S.T. Gill and newspaper illustrators later in the century. George Hamilton, an explorer who overlanded cattle from Port Phillip to Adelaide, made several drawings of frontier conflict such as *Natives spearing overlanders' cattle* (Mitchell Library, pen and ink, 1846) and *Bushmen in Danger* (pl.136) which was probably printed in Adelaide. One of his most explicit drawings is the pen and ink *Overlanders attacking natives* (Mitchell Library), which graphically records a group of horsemen raiding a camp of Aborigines who have killed a bull. One rider is swinging the butt of his rifle down onto an Aborigine while another aims his gun at a

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prostrate warrior. However, in the main, there seems to have been a general agreement to avoid this area of subject matter.

By the late 1840s Sydney graphic artists had by and large stopped making series of portraits of Aborigines. Instead oil painters began to establish Aboriginal lifestyles and customs - an area ignored by graphic artists - as a suitable genre for colonial artists. These were exhibited and offered for sale on the market place and were more exhibition paintings than ethnographic records. Scenes of Aborigines hunting were very popular. In the 1849 exhibition of the Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts (Sydney) Thomas Balcombe entered *New Hollander Cutting out a Kangaroo Rat* (no. 331) and *Talambeé, a Native of the Bogan River* (no. 336) which was based on Sir Thomas Mitchell's lithograph of the same name published in Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia (London 1838). Balcombe contributed similar paintings to art unions and raffles. He entered *The bush with an Aboriginal* in Grocott's third art union [98] while his *Aboriginal Native in Pursuit of Game* was on display at Grocott's Gallery of Colonial Pictures. [99] Some months later Thomas Newall advertised that he had ready copies of "Mr Balcombe's celebrated picture of the 'ABORIGINAL IN PURSUIT OF GAME'". [100]

Copies of other hunting paintings have also survived. [*Charley's Spearing Kangaroos*] is known in at least two versions. [101] The composition for this painting was based on an aquatint published in Yarra-Guinea's Frank Kennedy The Australian Settler (Sydney 1847). [pl.52] These paintings restore Aborigines to what the artist has constructed as their natural environment, and are obviously more formal and complicated works than the prints that have been discussed. The content is more sophisticated and their intention - to make a marketable genre picture - differs considerably from a lithographic series of prints. But there does appear to be a link between the rise of this type of painting and the demise of the lithographic portrait prints.

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Perhaps the urban Aborigine was no longer visible enough in the city to warrant special attention; hence artists returned Aborigines to the "wild" or "bush lifestyles" that existed in their imagination. As Dutton points out Conrad Martens excises the two Aborigines which appear in the foreground of his 1842 lithograph, *Sydney from the North Shore* when he re-issued the print in 1854 as *View of Sydney, NSW*. This act of omission parallels the history of the urban Aborigine in colonial graphic art. Of course Aborigines do not disappear totally from views of the city thoroughfares; they could still be seen, poor and begging, in cityscapes and in the cheap prints which accompanied alamacs during the late 1840s and early 1850s. No longer, however, are they considered worthy of the attention of major publications.

When in March 1849 Rodius published his lithographic portrait of Jacky Jacky, Edmund Kennedy's companion, Bell's Life in Sydney commented that it was "an excellent likeness and touched off in a spirited and artist-like manner; the intelligence of the countenance, (so unlike the mass of the aborigines,) is very happily caught." [102] *Jacky Jacky* was not as much about Aborigines as heroes; Rodius published the lithograph to capitalise on recent news - although it should be said that he probably realised that Jacky Jacky's Aboriginality added considerably to the interest of the print. [pl.40] Indeed what astonished Sydney people about Jacky Jacky was that an Aborigine had acted as a hero; heroism was normally the domain of European males. Revealingly, Bell's Life in Sydney was surprised at the intelligence of Jacky Jacky's face. The newspaper's attitude is typical of colonial thinking. It was only when colonists were forced to look at, and deal with, individual Aborigines that they glimpsed their humanity.

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### NOTES

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11 R.H.W. Reece, Aborigines and Colonists. Aborigines and Colonial Society in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s, Sydney 1974, p.5.

21 Henry Reynolds, Frontier, Sydney 1987, part 1; Reece, Aborigines and Colonists, chap.s 1 & 4.

31 For discussion of Myall Creek Massacre see Reece, Aborigines and

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Colonists, pp.21-61; Marion Aveling & Lyndall Ryan, "At the Boundaries: Dispossession", in Alan Atkinson & Marion Aveling, Australians 1838, Sydney 1987, pp.36-63.

4) Reece, Aborigines and Colonists, p.149.

5) Reynolds, Frontier, chap. 4.

6) The substantial trade that developed in the collection and sale of the colony's natural productions has been discussed in chapter one.

7) Margaret Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Philadelphia 1964, p.366-67.

8) Richard Atlick, The Shows of London, Massachusetts 1978, chapter 20.

9) Sydney Herald, 2/10/1834.

10) Henry Reynolds, "Racial thought in Early Colonial Australia", Australian Journal of Politics and History, vol. 20, April 1974, p.51.

11) Nancy Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960, Oxford 1982, chapter one.

12) Ibid.

13) George French Angas, Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand, London 1847, vol. 1, p.210.

14) Ibid.

15) For discussions on phrenology see Roger Cooter, The cultural meaning of popular science, Cambridge 1984; David De Giustino, Conquest of Mind. Phrenology and Victorian social thought, London 1975; T. Parssinen, "Popular Science and Society: The Phrenology Movement in Early Victorian Britain", Journal of Social History, no.7 1974, p.1-20.

16) Cooter, The cultural meaning of popular science, chapter five.

17) Parssinen, "Popular Science and Society: Phrenology and Victorian social thought", p.9.

18) Cooter, The cultural meaning of popular science, chapter five; Parssinen, "Popular Science and Society: Phrenology and Victorian social thought", p.2.

19) S.G., 10/3/1829 p.2; see also Reynolds, Frontier, p.113; Reece, Aborigines and Colonists, p.85-93. A phrenological society was meeting in Sydney in 1828; see Sydney Monitor 21/6/1828 p.1. In 1840 Sydney merchant and self-appointed man of culture Alexander Brodie Spark spent a wet January day marking a phrenological head: Spark "Diaries", ML MSS 4869 13 Jan. 1840. A Mr Stewart gave a series of lectures on Phrenology in Sydney - under the auspices of the School of Arts - in 1841: S.G., 23/12/1841 p.3.

20) G. Combe, Constitution of Man Considered in Relation to External Objects, (Boston 1834), New York 1974, p.117.

21) Reece, Aborigines and Colonists, p.84

22) G. Bennett, Wanderings in New South Wales, London 1834, vol. 1, p.242-43: Bennett records several instances of mishaps occurring during phrenological examinations. Angas also commented on the phrenological construction of the craniums of Aborigines in Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand, p.210.

23) Stepan, The Idea of Race in Science, chapters one and two, see particularly p. 23.

24) James Wallis, Historical Account of the Colony of New South Wales and its Dependent Settlements, London 1821, p.1.

25) The Port Jackson Painter established this interest. John Heaviside Clark also included the subject in his Field Sports & of the Native Inhabitants of New South Wales, London 1813. Joseph Lycett drew

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Aborigines hunting and fighting in his unpublished manuscript "Drawings of the Natives and Scenery of Van Diemen's Land 1830" (neither the date or the title are correct), now held in the National Library, Canberra.

26] Lachlan Macquarie, Journals of Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1810-1822, Sydney 1979, p.137.

27] Wallis, Historical Account, description of plate VI, *Corroborree*.

28] *Ibid.*

29] Reece, Aborigines and Colonists, p.109.

30] For Richard Read snr. see S.G., 17/12/1821; Richard Read jnr. see S.G., 24/2/1821.

31] Bernard Smith, European Vision and the South Pacific, (1960) Sydney 1984, p.221.

32] Christies South Kensington catalogue, Topographical Pictures, 28 May 1987, lot 225-26.

33] The lithograph was only recently identified in the Mitchell Library, miscatalogued as being by Rodius. However the image is the same Earle's oil portrait of Bungaree (see Tim Bonyhady, The Colonial Image, Sydney 1987, p.20 for a colour reproduction), now in the National Library at Canberra, and its printing technique is similar to Earle's Views in Australia, Sydney 1826. Furthermore there is no reason for its attribution to its Rodius. Two copies of the lithograph have been uncovered; one in ML. P 2/4 and one in DL Pe 11. See also ML Picture notes PXn 685.

34] Augustus Earle, Views in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Australian Scrapbook, London 1830, n.p.

35] F. McCarthy, "Bungaree", A.D.B., vol. 1; Bennett, Wanderings in New South Wales, vol. 1, p.338.

36] David Dabydeen, Hogarth's Blacks. Images of Blacks in Eighteenth Century English Art, Denmark 1985, p.21.

37] For Billy Waters see C. Hindley, The True Story of Tom and Jerry, London n.d., p.103-08. Waters was written into in the popular play "Tom and Jerry" which he said destroyed his trade as a beggar. Dabydeen, Hogarth's Blacks and Peter Fryer, Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain, London 1984, discuss the position of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Blacks in England.

38] S.G., 23/8/1826 p.2; Sydney Monitor, 11/8/1826 p.98.

39] Sydney Monitor, 11/8/1826 p.98.

40] Bonyhady, The Colonial Image, p.18. Joan Kerr has identified a similar theatricality in Earle's *Captain John Piper* (oil, ML); forthcoming catalogue entry in forthcoming Great Australian Art Show catalogue.

41] Iain Mackintosh, The Georgian Playhouse Actors, Artists, Audiences & Architecture, London 1975, cat. no's 133-65.

42] John McGarvie, "On the State on the Fine Arts in New South Wales", S.G., 30/7/1829.

43] Robert Hughes, The Fatal Shore, London 1987, chapter 6.

44] See end of this chapter.

45] See Tim Bonyhady, Australian Colonial Paintings in the Australian National Gallery, Melbourne 1986, p.208-10; AGNSW, Artist and the Patron, Sydney 1988, cat. 36. Wilson exhibited a number of paintings in the second exhibition of the Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Australia including *Florentine Girl* (no. 259), which was for

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sale, as was *Savoyards* (no. 280).

46] Sydney Monitor, 6/3/1830: note that Sir William Dixson erroneously records the reference in his J.R.A.H.S. notes; Hackforth-Jones repeats the error in her The Convict Artists, Melbourne 1977, p.84

47] S.G., 7/10/1834 p.2. Jocelyn Gray, "Charles Rodius", A.D.B., vol. 2, assumes, mistakenly, that the portraits were issued over a number of years - from 1831 to 1834.

48] Sydney Herald, 2/10/1834 p.3.

49] John Glover to George Robinson (the protector of Aborigines in Tasmania), n.d. [1835], ML MSS 7058. The spelling and punctuation are Glover's.

50] S.G., 7/10/1834 p.2.

51] See Bernard Smith, Document on Art and Taste in Australia, Melbourne 1975, p.74.

52] Unfortunately Baker's lithographs, which were in the Mitchell Library at ML Q572.991, has been lost for some time. His *Gooseberry, Queen of Bungaree* (NLA NK7422), appears to have been taken from Rodius' *Biddy Salamander.Bulkabra..Gooseberry*. Baker's *Kangaroo Jack* (ANG, reproduced in R. Butler, Australian Prints in the Australian National Gallery, Canberra 1985, p.8) is possibly derived from Rodius' drawing *Broken Bay Tribe* (DL Pd 43). Jonathan Wantrup mentions the Baker edition but gives no details; Australian Rare Books 1788-1900, Sydney 1987, p.300.

53] Aust., 22/10/1840.

54] Reece, Aborigines and Colonists, p.88.

55] Glynn Barratt, The Russians at Port Jackson 1814-1822, Canberra 1981, p.66.

56] S.G., 27/11/1830 p.2.

57] Ross Gibson, The Diminishing Paradise. Changing Literary Perceptions of Australia, Sirius Book 1984, p.175.

58] Commercial Journal and Advertiser, 17/11/1838.

59] See a series of pencil sketches in the Mitchell Library at PXA 74 titled "Portraits of the Aborigines of New South Wales, Sydney 1843". These are amongst the papers of Sir Thomas Mitchell but are possibly by Nicholas. The pencil sketch of Johnny Crook was published by Barlow in c.1844 as *Johnny Crook* [pl.119]. I have suggested that this lithograph is by Nicholas. Because of this, and on general stylistic grounds, I feel that the drawings at PXA 74 are by Nicholas - although Mitchell himself was capable of both their technique and their content.

60] Smith, European Vision in the South Pacific, p.269; Alan McCulloch, "William Fernyhough", Encyclopedia of Australian Art, Hawthorn 1984, note that McCulloch mistakenly describes Baker as the publisher of the 1836 series of profiles; Geoffrey Dutton, White on Black, Adelaide 1975, calls the profiles "cruel".

61] Wantrup, Australian Rare Books, p.298.

62] S.G., 4/11/1820; see for general literature Sue Mackechnie, British Silhouette Artists and their work, Sotheby's 1978; P. Hickman, Silhouettes: A Living Art, Newton Abbot 1975; E. Nevill Jackson, Silhouettes: A History and Dictionary of Artists, (1938) New York 1981.

63] See Appendix for details of his advertisement.

64] Henry Mayhew, London Labour and the London Poor, (1861) New York 1968, vol. 2 p.21.

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- 651 Augustin Edouart, A Treatise on Silhouette Likenesses, London 1835, p.11.
- 661 John C. Lavater, Essays on Physiognomy, 14th ed., London 1869, p.11.
- 671 Ibid p.188-89.
- 681 Quoted in R. Megroz, Profile Art through the Ages, New York, p.66.
- 691 Edouart, A Treatise on Silhouette Likenesses, p.55.
- 701 Ibid p.114.
- 711 Lavater, Essays..., p.339-43.
- 721 Combe, Constitution of Man, p.117.
- 731 Phrenological Journal, no. LVXII 1841, p.295
- 741 See Appendix for details of this advertisement.
- 751 Sydney Times, 17/9/1836 p.3: see also S.M.H., 15/9/1836; Aust., 16/9/1836 p.3;
- 761 Thomas Mitchell, Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, London 1839, vol. 2 p.338.
- 771 This volume is at DL F83/24.
- 781 For some notes on Mitchell Library holdings see ML MSS Af 90; The Dixon Library holds five copies at DL Q83/44-88.
- 791 Aust., 12/9/1837 p.3.
- 801 NLA NK708.
- 811 See ML 572-991/B and State Library S.C. 504; These were probably published in 1844 because that is the only date that he gives as his address 9 Bridge Street: S.M.H., 9/5/1844 p.3. See also footnote 91.
- 821 Augusta Maria Mitchell Scrapbook at ML MSS PXC 323; Abraham Lincolne's "Australian Sketches 1838-44" is at ML MSS C305.
- 831 James Backhouse, A Narrative of a visit to the Australian Colonies, London 1843, p.379.
- 841 Ibid p.385.
- 851 Ibid p.380.
- 861 Dutton, White on Black, p.27-32.
- 871 Backhouse, A Narrative of a visit..., p.385-86.
- 881 Ibid p.512.
- 891 Thomas Gretton, Murder and Moralities. English Catchpenny prints 1800-1860, London 1980, see introductory essay.
- 901 Backhouse, Narrative of a visit..., p.240.
- 911 This drawing, from a collection of pen and ink drawings in the Mitchell Library, has been attributed to Fernyhough by Dutton. However, as the image appears as the lithographed frontispiece of Nicholas' Profiles of the Aborigines of New South Wales (NLA NK708), it is reasonable to assume that the drawing is by Nicholas.
- 921 There is some debate as to the identity of the artist. Buscombe attributes the print to Thomas Balcombe but gives no reasons for this decision. She ignores the fact that it is a print and was published in London. Eve Buscombe, Portraits of the Aborigines, Sydney 1980, n.p.
- 931 Jacques Brosse, Great Voyages of Exploration. The Golden Age of Discovery in the Pacific, Sydney 1983, p.197
- 941 Gretton, Murder and Moralities, introduction.
- 951 Reece, Aborigines and Colonists, p.97.
- 961 James Maclehorse, Picture of Sydney and Strangers' Guide in New South Wales, Sydney 1839, p.164.
- 971 Nigel Parbury, "Portrait of Gunbal", unpublished mss.
- 981 B.L.I.S., 22/6/1850 p.2.
- 991 S.M.H., 20/7/1850.

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1001 B.L.I.S., 14/9/1850 p.3.

1011 Captain Otway, [*"Charley" Spearing kangaroos*], NLA NK 863/T 394,  
James Lawson, Auction catalogue, August 1985, lot 2.

1021 B.L.I.S., 24/3/1849 p.2.

## CONCLUSION

By 1850 Sydney displayed the concerns and interests of any English provincial centre. Yet Sydney's self-perception was troubled by its origins as a penal colony. Proving the colony's worth, overcoming English stereotypes about Botany Bay and establishing a valid economic and intellectual English presence in New South Wales, were crucial influences in the creation of art in the colony. Self-justification was, however, by no means the only impulse stimulating local artists. The city itself generated much of the art discussed in the preceding chapters. The day to day incidents of city life: murders, sporting events and heroes, local characters - such civil or military officers and Aborigines - and satire provided artists with subject matter that was intended for purely local circulation.

To a great extent the subjects which colonial printmakers tackled were determined by the colony's provincial footing. As was pointed out in the introduction high art was always imported into the colony; when local artists attempted classical or historical subjects their work was examined with interest, but always found wanting. Colonial patrons, preferred to buy major oils - no matter how dubious or unlikely the attribution - from the consignments of paintings regularly shipped into the colony. Generally, therefore, artists had to confine themselves to local matters.

In the early years of settlement - up to 1830 - the interest amongst colonial artists in the documentation of flora, fauna and indigenous peoples was much stronger than the decades after 1830. John Lewin, the Richard Reads Senior and Junior and Richard Browne all sold or offered to sell natural history and ethnographic drawings; little more than souvenirs of the colonial exotic for English audiences. They were not scientific drawings destined for a scientific *milieu*, but rather popular drawings which signified the exotic and different environment of New South Wales.

## CONCLUSION

Prior to the 1830s colonial society was dominated by a small number of wealthy families and government officers, and it is their middle-class interest - which paralleled similar interests among English middle-classes - in natural history which is reflected in colonial art. John Lewin's presence in the colony attests to the strength, and ultimately the decline, of such interests. He travelled initially to New South Wales to capitalise upon the then current curiosity in exotic natural history.

It cannot be said that view paintings of this period were made with any positive identification towards the landscape (although sometimes this was the case); while the beauty of the harbour was early on recognised and pleasure in it expressed, this was not manifested in views, which tended to be fairly straight-forward depictions of the harbour and town. Often individual examples of the exotic and the unusual attracted the notice of patrons and artists. Alexander Riley's pleasure with *Gigantic Lily* and *Waratah*, two highly finished watercolour drawings he commissioned from John Lewin, derived partly from them being unusual specimens; the plants were Riley's way of emphasising the difference, which was assumed to signify good qualities, of the land in which he and his brother's merchant firm had invested so heavily.

In this closed society printmakers could not expect to flourish as the available technology was limited and the potential market small. The publications of West and Wallis reflected the concerns of this market which comprised the colonial elite. Apart from anything else, the prices of these books would have ensured that they remained confined to the wealthiest families. The format of both Views in New South Wales and Historical Account suggest eighteenth-century English topographical publications, which familiarised English people with aspects of the landscape of their own country. They are carefully planned and thought out works; both required some technical ingenuity before they could be published. Apart from the use of a foreground screen to carry symbols of the exotic such as groups of Aborigines or

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vegetation peculiar to certain localities, the engravings suggest there is little ostensibly different about the Australian landscape.

Indeed Views in New South Wales almost implies the world of eighteenth-century England. Elegant figures promenade across the Australian landscape, contemplating, one presumes, its beauties and potential. For its first thirty years New South Wales, like many other British rural towns, was still very much an eighteenth century community in its ideas of social control and power. Both West and Wallis confirm the continuation of those systems in New South Wales. The city itself does not seem to have occasioned any urban or provincial imagery. This was because the city was not large enough for the necessary infrastructures to develop, and of course, there was a dearth of technicians. Therefore the fact that West and Wallis were prepared to put so much effort into the production of their publications indicates clearly their understanding of the colonial market.

By the end of the 1840s, however, the structure of colonial society had changed considerably. The almost feudal aspects of convict New South Wales gave way to a urban society. The nineteenth-century city, even in places as distant as Sydney, generated new markets for artists as greater numbers of people found themselves in a position of not only being able to buy art, but also of wanting to buy art objects. Similarly, the technology to reproduce such art improved with the new century. Wood engraving, steel engraving, lithography and the more efficient iron-framed printing presses all contributed to the enormous rise in the number of printed images available to a wider cross-section of the community.

Most of this technology, as has been shown, often found its way to Sydney quite soon after development in Europe. Yet some elements of the printmaking industry did not make it to the colony. There does not appear to have been many popular - or broadside - images made in Sydney. This was not because of any lack of market but probably simply

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because the sub-culture that surrounded its distribution throughout England did not form in Australia.

Yet it is certainly true that most of these provincial prints were aimed at a wide market amongst Sydney people. These were truly urban images in a way that Views in New South Wales and Historical Account.. were not. The type of Sydney suggested by the latter publications was, as pointed out above, one dominated by eighteenth-century social relations. West and Wallis wondered at the potential of the landscape, and hence took the viewer on a tour of the colony and its various settlements as might an English gentleman make an excursion through rural England. The presence of associative symbols, the emphasis on the pastoral and the contemplation on the developing landscape was an irrelevant aesthetic for the prints of the 1830s and 1840s. A different set of patrons demanded a different set of images of their environment. Most of the emigrants who arrived in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s were not potential landowners but rather lived and worked in the city. They were probably largely unaware of the eighteenth-century idea of the intellectual landscape or the sophisticated ideas of the "course of empire".

Interest in the productive potential of the land was not a characteristic of urban imagery. Indeed, as was discussed in chapter three, it is a marked feature that most of these urban prints concentrated on the city itself and the harbour. Of course property owners commissioned portraits of their land or houses, yet art destined for the public domain ignored the very source of the colony's wealth. Other early nineteenth-century art interests were also ignored. Few artists worked as popular natural history illustrators during the 1830s and 1840s. Artists, such as the ornithologist John Gould and his wife Elizabeth, did visit the colony, but the work was published in England. Many cultured colonial women also painted natural history subjects but, as Joan Kerr has pointed out, these were not intended for the public domain. [1] There was still strong interest in natural history, however, during these decades, particularly amongst the circle that surrounded the McLeay and King families. [2]

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For most emigrants, however, it was the town and harbour of Sydney that signified their ambitions and affections. Perhaps rare specimens or unusual flowers did not carry for less well-educated emigrants the special significance, put upon them by early settlers. The delight in the harbour, however, which became such an overwhelming symbol of the colony, probably explains the absence of published images of frontier life or the outer settlements. West and Wallis included satellite settlements as a matter of course in their tours of the colony, and indeed both Earle and Carmichael made unfulfilled promises to travel into the interior. Yet printmakers of later decades do not appear to have contemplated moving beyond the Sydney region. John Skinner Prout, for instance, who travelled to the Illawarra on painting expeditions and worked up and sold many watercolours based on that area, did not make any prints of the region. Admittedly his major publication focussed solely on Sydney, yet Prout does not seem to have intended to publish views of scenes outside Sydney. There are many possible reasons for Prout's reluctance to publish. It is quite likely that he felt that the quality of the available lithographic printing was not sufficient to do justice to his work. [3] But nor was there a local tradition of publishing views of scenes outside Sydney.

By the end of the 1840s artists were beginning to realise the potential of bush subjects and views: Yarra-Guinea's Frank Kennedy. The Australian Settler included an engraving of a scene in a stockyard as well as images of kangaroo hunting. A genre of oil and watercolour paintings dealing with bush life began to develop. These subjects became a staple source of imagery for the illustrated newspapers of the 1850s. Possibly this late interest in bush life was due simply the early difficulties artists faced travelling into the interior.

Another absence often noted in New South Wales art are convicts. [4] It is hardly surprising that convicts are not depicted in major oil and watercolour paintings as they would have been considered unsuitable subject matter for a high art work. Convicts, however, are depicted in colonial prints, where there was less constraint on the contents of the image. Carmichael was the only artist to include convicts in his

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views of the city as generally they did not appear in images intended as souvenirs of the colony. Other prints which refer to convicts, *Ombres Fantastiques* [pl.48] and *Political Sketches by B.B. No.3* [pl.72], were for local circulation only, and thus would not have compromised colonial reputations in England.

Aborigines, however, who were numerically far less of a presence than convicts in Sydney, were commonly portrayed by printmakers. They were generally cast as the urban dispossessed; the equivalent of the poor of English cities and towns and for which there were established traditions of portrayal. While the delicate lithographic portraits of Rodius and Nicholas hinted at hope and potential, other artists savaged the Aborigines' lifestyle in vicious depictions of fighting and drinking.

Colonial printmakers therefore were central to the creation of ideas amongst colonists as to the identity of Sydney and their response to its landscape and indigenous peoples. It is important to stress again that the prints themselves - often seen as inherently more truthful images than the work of artists such as Martens because of their apparent lack of artistic artifice - were operating in a visual culture which provided its own systems of readings and signifiers. Simply because provincial artists were less well trained than Academy landscape painters does not mean that their vision is purer - unspoilt by education and training. Carmichael, for instance, who was a fairly clumsy but careful draughtsman, did not create his topographical views simply through the honest eyes of an artisan engraver, untouched by the Academies and drawing schools. Instead he utilised the conventions developed by (amongst others) the London engraver Thomas Shepherd for his books of the urban topography of major British cities. Like any images, Carmichael's engravings had their own systems and codes of representation which suggested particular readings to their audience. Anyone familiar with Shepherd's work - his steel engraved plates were very popular - could have recognised similar intentions in Carmichael's work. Shepherd's engravings, and the accompanying text, argued that the imperial might of the British Empire was reflected in the glories of

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its cities. While Carmichael was obviously not as ambitious as Shepherd, the composition and subject matter of his Select Views of Sydney implied that similar conclusions could be drawn about Sydney. Colonial printmakers did not simply mirror colonial society, but were rather actively engaged in the creation of its myths.

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## NOTES

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1] Joan Kerr, "Views, Visages, Invisibility", AGNSW, The Artist and the Patron, Sydney 1988, p.16-17.

2] See Shar Jones & Jennifer Stackhouse, Gentlemen Collectors Natural History in New South Wales 1826-1891, Sydney 1983.

3] For bickering on the quality of colonial lithography see S.M.H., 6/8/1842 p.2,3.

4] Kerr, "Views, Visages, Invisibility", p.18. for a more recent discussion on this question.

## APPENDIX Biographies

These biographies have been compiled from notes made while researching the thesis. They have been included in this appendix as the information is not available elsewhere. The biographies of artists such as John Lewin, Augustus Earle, John Skinner Prout or Conrad Martens are well documented in existing literature and do not need restatement here.

### AUSTIN, John (1762-1837)

John Austin was a Dublin goldsmith of "very eminent commercial repute", who was convicted of an unknown crime and transported for life. He arrived in the colony in 1800 on board the *Minerva*. He was granted local emancipation in 1802 by Governor King, and promised an absolute pardon from Lieut-Governor William Paterson but this Governor Macquarie cancelled the order in 1810. [1] He eventually received his free pardon in January 1811. [2] His main work in the colony was the execution of bill plates for banks and commercial houses. In 1809 he felt called upon to publically deny that he was neither the engraver or printer of bills issued by the merchants James Hardwicke or Thomas Jones. [3]

In 1818 Austin was appointed engraver to the Bank of New South Wales, a position he appears to have held until his death in 1837. In a letter of 28 April 1818 accepting the appointment - the Bank intended to employ him for one day a week only - he felt constrained to note that

I would say that the Situation of Engraver and printer to a Bank is a Situation of Respectability and great Confidence and Under those Circumstances must have a Character to lose, and that it behoves the Engraver to be truly Circumspect in Every Act of his on Which so much depends, particularly in this Colony where there are Artists Capable of Doing almost anything, and Whose Character and Conduct have often Reason to be Called into Question, [4]

Austin felt that this responsible position would require more than one day a week to be done well. He estimated his salary at one hundred pounds a year "which is only one third of the sum Given by the Bank of Ireland". The Bank obviously did not agree for in 1829 the Australian noted, when commenting on the illiberality of the Bank towards its employees, that Austin was paid only £78 sterling, then about to be increased to £96 sterling. The Australian considered that double this salary was only fair recompense. [5]

When Austin's new banknotes appeared the Australian commented that they

were designed and executed by Mr Austen [sic], the very clever and correct engraver employed by the Bank Establishment, If neatness of execution, and general accuracy in the engravings, create any merit in an elderly person like

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Mr Austen [sic] for his performance, he is justly entitled to a very considerable degree of it. [6]

Austin appears to have worked for the Bank of New South Wales until his death. In March 1837 the Australian reported his death: "On Monday Morning, at his residence, O'Connell-Street, Mr John Austin, engraver to the Bank of New South Wales." [7]

1) John Austin, Petition for mitigation of sentence 19/2/1810, A.O. Reel 1227, p.107.

2) A.O. COD 18 vol. 1, p.270 [3] S.G., 22/10/1809. p.1

4) John Austin to John Thomas Campbell, 28/4/1818, ML MSS A329 p.15

5) Aust. 13/3/1829 p.2 [6] Aust. 16/2/1826 p.3

7) Aust. 28/3/1837 p.2

### AUSTIN, John Gardiner

One of the most important figures in early colonial publishing was the printer John Gardiner Austin, who arrived in the colony in 1834. Unfortunately his antecedents are unclear and he has often been confused with the convict engraver John Austin to whom he was probably related, although there is no concrete evidence of this. John Gardiner Austin appears to have spent only a short time in Sydney but in that time he established one of the first general lithographic and copperplate printing businesses in Sydney. Certainly Austin's arrival in Sydney - probably because he brought with him both capital and printing skills previously unavailable in the colony - facilitated the production of lithographic publications. Austin was not an artist, but a commercial printer and publisher - one of the first nascent emigrant capitalist class who began arriving from the late 1820s. Indeed Austin was unlikely to have provided the services he offered, being rather an entrepreneur who employed others to perform these for him.

Austin published most of the major publications of the 1830s. He printed Rodius' Portraits of the Aborigines in 1834, Russell's Sketches in the Environs of Sydney and Fernyhough's Profile Portraits of the Aborigines, Military and Editorial Sketches, and Amores Fantastiques all of 1836. He also published ephemeral prints related to contemporary events such as his 1835 caricature "A REVIEW of the 4TH ESTATE in the Colony of New South Wales - April 1835" [1] or Rodius' lithographic drawing of Dr Wardell's murderer, John Jenkins.

John Austin, a printer, arrived in Sydney from London on board the Bristol on 12 June 1834 [2]; shipping arrivals (listed in the Australian [3] mention that he was from Gravesend. One of his first advertisements, in the Sydney Times, reveals that he imported both a lithographic and a copperplate press:

J.G.AUSTIN in returning thanks to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Sydney for the liberal support he has received since his arrival in the Colony, begs respectfully to inform them, that in addition to the Lithographic, he has lately received from London a COPPER-PLATE PRINTING PRESS... [4]

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He appears to have obtained the patent rights to the zincographic process later sold, with the business, to Edward Barlow, although it is possible that William Nicholas or William Fernyhough bought out this new technology.

One of the addresses that Austin gave in this early Sydney Times advertisement was 16 O'Connell Street, the same address as that of the convict J. Austin. This clearly points to some relation between the two. The directories of the period, however, list the men separately with different occupations and addresses. The elder J. Austin is described as an engraver of 16 O'Connell Street while the younger is listed, from 1835, as a lithographer - first of Phillip Street and then of Hunter Street. However upon the death of the elder John Austin on 27 March 1837 all clear references to the younger Austin cease. Although both are listed in the 1837 directory, neither appear in the 1839 directory. At around this time too, Austin sold his apparently flourishing lithographic business to Edward Barlow. Perhaps the elder John had financed the younger's business. J.G. Austin & Co. seem to have continued working but in much reduced circumstances. In early 1838 an Austin, J.G. was assigned one convict copperplate printer [5] while in 1840 J.G. Austin & Co. published a plan showing the site for the new Government House. In 1842 a J.G. Austin surrendered an insolvent estate. [6]

A large part of Austin's business was purely commercial work and it was this that probably formed the staple source of his income. He was continually expanding the range of his services. In April 1835 he announced that he had moved to Jamison Place in George Street and that he intended to combine with his lithographic work, copperplate printing, engraving, printselling and publishing. [7] In January 1836 he offered to make picture frames of every description, clean paintings and mount and varnish prints and maps. He also had for sale a quantity of mounted European sporting prints. [8] The full range of his services is best exemplified by an advertisement he placed in the Sydney Times: [9]

J.G. Austin and Co., Engravers, Zincographic, Lithographic and Copper Plate Printers, Printsellers, Publishers and Stationers, No. 12 Bridge Street. Drawings, Maps, Plans of Estates, Circular Letters, Facsimiles, Bill Heads, Cards, Law terms, Labels etc etc, Engraved, Zincographed or Lithographed.

Picture Frames made, Prints, Maps etc, colored, mounted and varnished.  
Door Plates Engraved

Profiles taken at the following charges viz-

Full Length (bronzed)	£1, 0, 0.
Ditto Ditto (tinted in white)	15. 0.
Half Ditto ditto	5. 0.
Ditto Ditto bronzed	7. 6.

Persons desirous of furnishing their Friends with a remembrance, can have them drawn on stone full length £1, half length 10s 6d and as many copies as they may require at 1s each.

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On Hand

Forms of all kinds etc

Sixteen Views of Sydney in cover, coloured, £1.10s; plain 16s,

Twelve Profile Portraits of the Aborigines drawn from life in covers 10s 6d.

Those who wish to send their friends at home a trifle characteristic of the Colony, will find both the Views and Profiles (from their correctness) are acceptable presents.

A Variety of Profiles of Sydney Characters 1s each.

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|---|---|
| 1] <u>Sydney Herald</u> , 20/4/1835 p.3 | [2] A.O. COD 28                         |
| 3] <u>Aust.</u> , 17/6/1834             | [4] <u>Sydney Times</u> , 7/11/1834 p.3 |
| 5] <u>Aust.</u> , 10/7/1838 p.4         | [6] <u>Aust.</u> , 22/2/1842 p.3        |
| 7] <u>Sydney Herald</u> , 20/4/1835     | [8] <u>S.G.</u> , 5/1/1836 p.4          |
| 9] <u>Sydney Times</u> , 19/12/1836 p.1 |   |

**BAKER, William Kellet**

William Baker, an engraver, printer and publisher, was born in Dublin. He arrived in Sydney in early 1835 as a free settler on an assisted passage. According to his brief biography published in his magazine Heads of the People on 25 March 1848 Baker emigrated with the intention of setting up a lithographic and copperplate engraving business. In February 1835 he announced that he had commenced business as a general engraver - both copperplate and lithographic - at the corner of King and Castlereagh Streets. [1] But "finding the time was not sufficiently ripe for the successful prosecution of these pursuits" he accepted the position of Clerk to the Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, a situation he held until 1845. He resigned in 1845 after breaking his leg and being laid up for twelve months, remaining as Clerk to the Medical Board.

However these clerkships cannot have provided full time employment as he continued to operate his business through-out this period. He imported catholic books and sold enamelled cards in 1838. [2] In August 1838 he announced that he had received a fresh supply of Dixon's Map of the colony which could be had "at Baker's Old Established Engraving & Copperplate Printing Office, King St..N.B. every article in the stationery line." [3] The Australian of 27 March 1839 carried this interesting notice:

Mr Baker, of King Street copperplate engraver, has received by the last arrival from England, some finally executed engravings from the principal and most celebrated views of Scottish scenery - amongst which are included the romantic scenes so ardently described by Sir Walter Scott, which are well deserving the attention of our Scottish Colonists who desire to view in miniature the scenes of their youth, also the readers of the Great Unknown, who may trace in faithful outline, the site of many of the most interesting events recorded.

In October 1840 Baker bought E.D. Barlow's lithographic equipment and continued the business of printing and selling views and portraits. He

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also gained lithographic stones and supplied copperplates prepared with etching ground "for Artists". [4] It is possible that the purchase of Barlow's apparatus also included the plates or the rights of use of several Barlow productions for in this month Baker published a series of untitled portraits of Aborigines. [5] Although the plates were signed "I.W.R.", most were copied from Fernyhough's 1836 Profiles of Aborigines...; others were chalk lithographs very similar to Rodius' 1834 portraits.

Some of Baker's earliest publications concerned the Catholic Church, for whom he published, at 19 King Street East, a view of St. Mary's Cathedral and a portrait of the Right Reverend Dr Polding, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Australia. [6] He also published other views of public buildings. In March 1841 he issued a lithograph of St. Peter's Church and Parsonage at Cooks River [7], while in July he bought out *New Government House, Sydney*. [8] Other works from Baker's office (there is no evidence that he was the artist for these works) included *Fort Macquarie, Sydney Cove, N.S.Wales, and Garden Island and the Domain from Lindsay [sic]* which was dedicated to "Sir T.L. Mitchell by his obedient servant Wm. Baker."

Baker was as much a publisher as an engraver and regularly brought out pamphlets and almanacs, some of which were illustrated. One of his earliest almanacs - that of 1844 - was illustrated with a "tolerable" view of Sydney from the North Shore. [9] He often produced two editions of his almanacs - one for the city and one for the country. The city edition of Baker's 1847 almanac was adorned with an "excellent etching" of the Post Office while the country edition was illustrated with lithographs of two New Zealand subjects - the assault and capture of Kowiti's pah, and the storming of John Heki's pah; as well as a likeness of Dr Leichhardt. [10] In 1848 his country almanac carried a lithograph of Queen Victoria, and both editions shared a lithograph of the new Custom's House. Baker used such extra illustrations to supplant the obviously irrelevant - for country readers - harbour signals that appeared in the city editions.

Baker possibly chose to emigrate because he saw the potential to improve his "prospects". By trade a copperplate engraver, Baker - unlike the businessmen Barlow and Austin - used his burin while in the colony. An example of this is his engraved bill head for the Australian Brewery's factory, a copy of which is bound in Low's City of Sydney Directory for 1844. Similarly he engraved on copper a drawing of Thomas Bird's St. Peters Church at Newtown for his magazine Heads of the People. [11] However he seems to have preferred being an entrepreneur and publisher, and when writing his autobiography he entirely ignored his continued links with the trade of engraving, commenting only that his initial engraving business failed. Instead the article concentrated on more "respectable" clerkships and his achievements as a publisher.

In 1841 Baker organised the presentation of silver plate to the Attorney General, John Plunkett, who was returning to England. Plunkett was both a Catholic and an Irish nationalist, emotions probably close

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to Baker's heart for he called his company the Hibernian Press and imported Catholic books. The Australian reported that the engravings on the plate by Baker, who was "well known to be a first rate engraver", were admirably executed "and do the artist great credit." Baker formed part of the delegation who presented the service to Plunkett [12]; an illuminating paragraph the Australian reported Plunkett's response to the gift

The Attorney General has not failed to acknowledge the gratuitous services of certain individuals, who, stepping forward from that class in society better known by the character of a "people", had no place to maintain in keeping, and was not spurred thereto from a sense of gratitude for favours received, benedictions for the future. It really is gratifying - it is something truly refreshing - to see a marked difference made, and advantage taken thereof, to single out an individual deserving of the notice and attention of such a man as Mr Plunkett, Mr Baker, the engraver of King Street, we know to have had sent him a valuable present, the gift of the Attorney General. [13]

Frank Melthorpe remembered Baker as "one of the best natured, most lively and genial of men" and provided one derivation of Baker's nickname "Go a head": "It arose from his preaching the Gospel of Go-a-headism to the then drowsy, moping and insouciant body politic of Sydney". [14]

In 1844 Baker was sued by Barlow for the piracy of the later's print *The Mayor's Fancy Dress Ball*. Baker sold the print in outline form for 2s 6d or coloured at 5s. [15] The Star commented on the case

..we find by an advertisement in the Sydney Morning Herald that Baker, of King-Street, has been guilty of the meanness of transferring onto stone a spurious copy of Mr Barlow's beautiful lithograph of the Mayor's Ball. We are not at all astonished at anything base that Baker can be guilty of, but as Mr Barlow has commenced legal proceedings against him, we shall leave him in the hands of the law. [16]

Barlow lost the case on technical grounds.

Baker's principal interest was publishing and Melthorpe recalls him "flinging pamphlets worthy of survival amongst the people". One of his first and most ambitious projects was the publication, in a "cheap edition for the people", of C.J. Lever's Charles O'Malley. An Irish Dragoon which cost sixpence illustrated or fourpence unillustrated. Baker issued the novel in fifty weekly parts during 1842 and 1843. The general quality of production was good, with a high standard of typography. The illustrations were locally engraved (on copper) copies of those by H.K. Browne (Phiz) which had appeared in the original London edition. The Australian was delighted to see the introduction of the literature of the old country into the colony, feeling that the serial would foster a taste for the pleasures of literature "and as a consequence exalt the moral and intellectual faculties". [17]

Baker's other productions included the Australian Atlas, charts, maps and Acts of Council. In 1846 he took on the Australian Medical Journal

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but soon disposed of it. In 1847 and 1848 he bought out the illustrated journal Heads of the People which was a serio-comic magazine filled with light literature, poetry and occasional contemporary comment and news. Throughout its run, for instance, the magazine carried Dickens' serial Dombey and Son, again illustrated with local copies of the original plates in the London edition. Although based on English models Heads of the People, one of its main attractions was the series of lithographed pen portraits of local identities, ranging from the Governor to William Baker himself. Most of the original portraits were the work of William Nicholas though Charles Rodius contributed a couple. Other work in the magazine was done by people such as Thomas Balcombe, T. Rider, the wood engraver Thomas Clayton and John Carmichael.

Sidelines from Baker's business premises at King Street included importing and selling books and prints, as well as a "Stationery Warehouse". He established a general reading room above the printing office which was also advertised as a circulating library in the 1844 directory. It held newspapers and periodicals from both Britain and Ireland as well as New South Wales. Public subscription was ten shillings per annum after a five shilling entrance fee. He also ran a registry for servants.

In 1847 Baker lent seven paintings by such prominent local artists as Frederick Garling, Joseph Fowles and the obscure T. Rider to the first exhibition of the Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Australia, held in Sydney. He also subscribed to George French Angas' South Australia Illustrated (London 1847). These are the last references to Baker that I have been able to trace.

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|---|---|
| 1] <u>Aust.</u> , 24/12/1835 p.3  | [2] <u>Aust.</u> , 9/2/1838; 16/2/1838    |
| 3] <u>Aust.</u> , 17/8/1838 p.3   | [4] <u>Aust.</u> , 17/10/1840 p.3         |
| 5] <u>Aust.</u> , 22/10/1840  | [6] <u>Aust.</u> , 8/12/1840 p.3          |
| 7] <u>Aust.</u> , 16/3/1841 p.3   | [8] <u>Temperance Advocate</u> , 1/7/1841 |
| 9] <u>Weekly Register</u> , 25/11/1843  | [10] <u>Sydney Chronicle</u> , 3/2/1847   |
| 11] <u>Heads of the People</u> , 26/6/1847 opp. p.92  |   |
| 12] <u>Aust.</u> , 9/3/1841 p.2; 11/3/1841 p.2  |   |
| 13] <u>Aust.</u> , 16/3/1841 p.2  |   |
| 14] F. Melthorpe, "Other Days, Sydney Litterateurs in '48", <u>Sydney University Magazine</u> , October 1878, p.37. |   |
| 15] <u>S.M.H.</u> , 18/11/1844 p.3  | [16] <u>The Star</u> 2/11/1844 p.2        |
| 17] <u>Aust.</u> , 21/4/1842 p.2  |   |

**BARLOW, Edward D(avid)**

Barlow, a lithographer, printer and entrepreneur, arrived in Sydney on 30 August 1836 aboard the *Lord Goderich* from London and Brighton where he claimed he had served a regular clerkship as an "architect and surveyor." [1] He established himself as a decorator, first in George Street and then in Hunter Street, offering to undertake ornamental decorating, graining, gilding, and cleaning and varnishing pictures. He also imitated wood and marble for which the Sydney Times [2] - calling him an ornamental painter - described him as unrivalled

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in this "very useful and interesting art". Perhaps because of an alleged lack of patronage [3] - which he in fact denied in the Australian [4] - he resumed the profession of architect and surveyor from January 1837 working from the premises of Raphael Clint. By June 1837 Barlow was taking profiles from Bridge Street at 15s full length, 5s half length plain, or 6s 6d if tinted white. In the Commercial Journal of 28 June 1837 he advised his sitters to defer their visits as professional pursuits had called him to the country.

In September 1837 Barlow announced that he had undertaken and reopened the "Original Zincographic Printing Establishment" [5] which can only be the business once operated by Austin as the product he advertised is virtually the same as that sold by Austin. The business apparently flourished for in October 1837 [6] he offered constant employment to two or three draftsmen and lithographers, while in April of the next year he advertised that because of the increased pressure of his business he had taken the house adjoining his present premises. [7] Barlow's address was now No.s 3 & 4 Bridge Street. Barlow appears to have made use of the bounty system of assisted immigration for he also announced that he expected to arrive shortly from England "several first rate Workmen" whom he had already engaged. When the men arrived on the *Ferguson* in May 1838 Barlow immediately employed them in the carving and gilding business. [8]

For some reason, in November 1837 he auctioned, through Hebblewhite, some household furniture. But of more interest was the sale, on the same day, of

A Lithographic Press, with Rollers, Stone, Ink, Varnish etc being the most compact in the colony and intended for an Artist's Studio

ALSO

One Splendid Lithographic and Zincographic Printing Press, 78 Zinc Plates, Blocks, Rollers, etc with Patent enabling the purchaser to use the art of Zincography in New South Wales and Van Diemens Land. Also original documents containing full and explicit directions relative to the preparing of the Zinc and Plates, for Writing or Drawing, Printing etc. [9]

In about May 1838 he took over the Domestic Bazaar which operated from the John Verge designed Colonnade shops in Bridge Street. This business provided facilities for the placement of servants in families. In July 1838 he promoted a lottery of 160 engravings - by John Martin and others - imported from London. With prizes varying from twelve pounds the winning tickets were to be drawn from a "Wheel of Fortune". The lottery was to be drawn at an "Entertainment" provided by Barlow where participants in the lottery were given a door ticket that was placed in the Wheel of Fortune. [10]

In spite of the offer for sale of the zincographic press and its patent in November 1837, Barlow still held the title to the process one year later. In September 1838 he accused Raphael Clint of advertising, untruthfully, that he was capable of working a zincographic press. He warned Clint that "the Patent for executing Drawings etc, etc upon Zinc, in this colony and Van Diemen's Land

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belongs exclusively to me, which Patent I have registered in the Supreme Court.." [11] About this time he began to call his shop *Repository of Arts* presumably after Ackerman's famous business in London. The range of Barlow's business is indicated by his advertisements. In the Australian of 1 January 1839 his general business was described thus

A Variety of New Music, Engravings and Drawings - Flowers and Landscape - Varnishes, Brushes - Water Colours - Oil Paintings - Looking Glass Frames - splendid Mounted engravings by Martin and Others - forming the largest collection in the Colony.,

Barlow also worked as a picture restorer. On 19 May 1837 the merchant Alexander Spark opened a packing case of paintings which he had had bought out from England. In his diary he noted that, much to his vexation, the very finest of the pictures, *The Gladiators* by Stroeling, appeared to be utterly destroyed, while many of the other pictures had been damaged by mould and damp. This discovery ruined his appetite for dinner. [12] Spark employed Barlow and an assistant to renovate the pictures and their frames. On 1 June he noted that Barlow had been successful in repairing a few of the smaller pictures while on 16 June Spark wrote that "Mr Barlow has suprisingly recovered the Gladiators, and most of the other paintings, as far as he has gone, are bought out as if fresh from the hand of the artist." Barlow was paid £50 in part for this work. [13] Spark also visited Barlow's shop to look at engravings. On 13 May 1839 he noted in his diary "Looked through Mr Barlow's collection of engravings and selected a few." while on 7 December 1839 he wrote "Went to Mr Barlow's Exhibition in Bridge Street with a party of our own formation."

Portraits of Queen Victoria, Sir Richard Bourke, the actress Mrs Taylor as Don Giovanni, and Mary "a black of New South Wales" were published in November 1838, all put on zinc by William Nicholas. These were much admired, particularly the first, and were judged "quite equal to drawings in the same style at home". [14] Barlow, somewhat disingenuously, recommended an early purchase of these prints to secure a perfect impression, although it is really only with intaglio prints that the earliness of the impression is important. [15] His zincographic portrait caricature of the notorious poet Beverley Sutor showed "the face of our hero nicely fastened to the carcass of a Jackass which is covered with a Lion's hide" the Sydney Gazette of 15 January 1838 reported. Barlow displayed this in his shop window, selling the prints at sixpence each. Similarly, capitalising on a contemporary disaster, he showed in his shop window a lithographic print of the burning shipwreck of the *Dispatch*. [16]

About 1840 Barlow opened a Theatre of the Arts which showed a "Magic Lantern", dioramas of the conflagration of the Royal Hotel, views of Hobart Town, and the Storm at Sea. [17] This period was apparently a time of flux for Barlow as he seems to have divested himself of much of his business. In October 1840 William Baker announced that he had bought Barlow's lithographic press, [18] while Nicholas was said to be conducting Barlow's business. [19] Barlow then returned to London; the

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Post Office London Directory 1842 lists his Lithographic Establishment at 33A Red Lion Square. But he was soon back in Sydney running his Repository of Arts. The Dispatch noted his recent return, and recommended a visit to his exhibition of engravings and paintings. [20]

In 1844 he published Nicholas' drawing of the "Mayor's Fancy dress Ball" which Barlow himself had attended, dressed as a fire sprite. The print, ready for delivery on 21 October 1844, sold by subscription only. [21] According to John Rae the sketch represents the moment when

An Australian Chief, with his blanket, vaults,  
With hop, step, and jump, to the midst of the waltz;  
And, armed with a womera, waddy, and lance,  
Exults in a wild Aboriginal dance. [22]

William Baker obtained a copy of Barlow's print and issued his own spurious edition. Barlow sued him for damages, only he said, to prove that such practises could not be tolerated, Barlow lost the case on technical grounds.

He also published a series of caricature lithographs entitled Political Sketches. [23] His other publication of 1844 Barlows Profiles of the Natives was a cheap, small, crude edition of Fernyhough's 1836 Profiles. In early 1845 Barlow lithographed and published (from 9 Bridge Street) Captain Clayton's drawing entitled "Koroareka in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand. Sketched Mar. 10th 1845 on the morning before the assault and destruction by Honi Heke". It was put on stone by Nicholas.

Barlow's life was beset by family problems. His eight-year-old son died at Bridge Street on 8 December 1843, and two years later he was involved in a very public separation from his wife, a music teacher. His wife sued him for the recovery of her pianoforte which he had kept for the use of his mistress, thus depriving Mrs Barlow the means of earning her income. The Police Court, which sat for two days to dispose of Mrs Barlow's suit of maintenance, eventually ordered Barlow to pay her £1 10s aweek. [24] Perhaps to pay for the settlement on 2 April 1845 George Moore auctioned Barlow's collection of "English and Foreign" engravings which were framed and glazed in "the newest style" and had been selected by Barlow in London. This is the last Sydney reference to Edward Barlow.

1] Aust., 6/1/1837 p.3

3] Sydney Times, 24/12/1836 p.3

5] Aust., 8/9/1837

7] Aust., 24/4/1838 p.3

9] Commercial Joournal, 15/11/1837

10] Aust., 13/7/1838 p.3

12] A.B. Spark, Diaries, ML MSS A4869

13] ibid, 1/7/1837

15] Commercial Advertiser, 17/11/1838

16] Standard Standard, 8/4/1839 p.3

17] Aust., 9/1/1840 p.3; 7/5/1840 p.2

[2] Sydney Times, 12/11/1836 p.2

[4] Aust., 6/1/1837 p.3

[6] Aust., 3/10/1837 p.3

[8] Aust., 4/5/1838 p.3

[11] Aust., 28/9/1838 p.3

[14] Aust., 1/1/1839 p.2

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- 18] Aust., 17/10/1840 p.3 [19] Aust., 3/11/1840 p.2  
20] Dispatch, 7/11/1843 p.3  
21] S.M.H., 27/9/1844 p.3; 21/10/1844 p.3  
22] John Rae, Gleanings from my Scrapbook, Sydney c.1876, vii  
23] S.M.H., 9/5/1844 p.3 [24] The Star, 15/2/1845 p.2

**CARMICHAEL, John (1803 - 1855)**

John Carmichael was perhaps the first free professional engraver to arrive in the colony with the intention of permanent settlement. His decision to emigrate was particularly courageous since he was deaf and dumb, although it was not uncommon for deaf and dumb people to enter the workshops of engravers. [1] Carmichael, born in 1803, served his apprenticeship with the prominent Edinburgh engraver John Horsburgh, who worked chiefly in line on copper, concentrating on historical and landscape subjects. Horsburgh had engraved plates for J.M.W. Turner's England and Wales as well as works inspired by Sir Walter Scott. [2] Carmichael, who certainly did not have his employer's talents, had reached journeyman status when he decided to emigrate at the age of twenty-two. He sailed from Leith for New South Wales as a steerage passenger on board the *Triton* which arrived in Sydney in October 1825. In no time at all he was making known his business; in the Australian of 8 December 1825 he advertised that he engraved

coats of Arms and initials on gold, silver and ivory; also plates for Bills of Exchange, Bills of Lading, Ornamental Cards, Tickets, and Bills of Parcels etc., on the shortest Notice, in a style superior to any hitherto attempted to be executed in the Colony.

In 1828, while living at No. 6 King Street in the house of the apothecaries Messrs McNaughton and Rowell, he advertised in the Sydney Gazette of 10 December that he took miniatures for two to five guineas, painted transparent window blinds to order, copied landscapes and executed all kinds of fancy work. The breadth of his skills were not unusual; provincial artists, because of the lack of specialist workers that a large city could provide, were forced to do all manner of work - often none of it particularly well. Elsewhere he is described as a coach painter and somewhat intriguingly for a deaf and dumb person, a teacher of drawing and engraving. [3]

In late 1828 Carmichael began the most ambitious project he attempted during his time in the colony - the engraving and publication of his Select Views and Sydney. This eventually appeared in mid-1829. The six views, principally topographical portraits of Sydney, cost in covers four dollars, although they could be had separately for four shillings a plate. The Views were dedicated by special permission to the members of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of New South Wales and their president Sir John Jamison. [4]

Carmichael promoted his engravings as more than mere topographical prints, stressing their worthiness in the "portfolio of the connoisseur, as superior works of art"; pointing out the necessity of quick subscription to secure an early impression - the most perfect

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being the first - before the plates, as with all fine engravings, began to wear. [5] Carmichael hoped to sell his prints to emigrants wanting to show something of their new environment to family and friends in Europe.

There is no evidence of the success or otherwise of Carmichael's Views. In an accompanying letterpress he announced his intention to publish another set of views "illustrative of the Picturesque Landscape and interesting Villages of the interior" provided there were sufficient subscribers to the Views. However Carmichael did not publish any other views. The Reverend John McGarvie, nonetheless, noted in the Sydney Gazette of 27 July 1829 that the "spirited productions of Mr Earle, and subsequently of Mr Carmichael" were engraved with great success, but by the end of June 1829 Carmichael was soliciting for a position in the Surveying department either as an engraver or as a draughtsman. He gave no reason for his application, merely informing the Colonial Secretary Alexander McLeay that

Although a humble individual and labouring under the disadvantage of being deaf and dumb I flatter myself that my acquirements in those branches joined with unremitting assiduity will enable me to satisfactorily to discharge the duties of either situation... [6]

Unfortunately the diffidence of the Surveyor General, Sir Thomas Mitchell, led to the rejection of his application. Mitchell, replying to the Colonial Secretary, stated that he thought:

copies of Parish Maps required according to the King's Instructions might be easily etched, and that Mr Carmichael's services would therefore, when these are ready, prove very useful, and that as he is no doubt a tolerable draftsman, they may at all times be available to this office. [7]

McLeay interpreted Mitchell's reply as indicative of a lack of interest in Carmichael's appointment, and, despite Mitchell's protestation to the contrary, rejected the application.

That Carmichael was looking for a position so soon after the publication of his Views suggests they were not a commercial success. Never again did Carmichael attempt such an ambitious project, preferring to rely on commercial work. He took on a variety of jobs including bill heads, maps and illustrations for magazines and books. He engraved numerous advertisements which appeared in the Sydney directories - often to his own designs.

Carmichael engraved a considerable amount of work for Mitchell, ranging from a zodiac chart designed by Mitchell to maps. In 1851 Carmichael submitted a bill for £68/14/0 for engraving an additional plate for the map of the colony as well as altering and adding to the existing map and printing the whole. When the Deputy Surveyor General, S.A. Perry, forwarded the bill to the Governor-General he noted that the engraving was executed "with the concurrence and sanction of Sir Thomas Mitchell under whose immediate supervision and inspection the work was I believe, performed..." [8] He also engraved the first survey

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of Port Phillip Bay taken on H.M.S. Rattlesnake's 1836 exhibition to the area.

Carmichael was employed by James Maclehole to execute thirteen of the twenty-eight plates in the later's Picture of Sydney; and Stranger's Guide in New South Wales. The quality of Carmichael's work varies enormously which indicates that he copied very closely the characteristics of the drawings given to him to engrave or etch. One only has to compare his etchings *Mount Victoria, in its original state or The Pass at Mount Victoria on the Bathurst Road with Irrawang Vineyard & Pottery East Australia* to see that Carmichael's interpretation of Sir Thomas Mitchell's mountain drawings are far superior in both technique and over-all effect than his renderings of the slightly primitive drawing of Irrawang. With more success Carmichael provided four etchings - two of Sydney and two of Boyd Town - for William Well's Geographical Dictionary of the Australian Colonies of 1848. *Sydney N.S.Wales. 1788*, the frontispiece of the Dictionary, was copied from *View of the Settlement on Sydney Cove.*, which accompanied John Hunter's An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island (London 1793).

In September 1834 J.G. Austin printed Carmichael's "*The Old Commodore*" *Billy Blue*. The lithograph (unusual for a pictorial print Carmichael) commemorated the death of the popular Jamican Water Bailiff who had died in May 1834. The Sydney Times announced that an

admirable and spirited likeness of our lamented facetious and patriarchal colonist, BILLY BLUE, has been lithographed with great felicity by Mr Carmichael, and no less to encourage a skillful and afflicted artist, than to commemorate so celebrated a character as the OLD COMMODORE of happy memory, a large impression will doubtless be sold, [9]

According to the Sydney Times the only imaginable defect was that the image did not sufficiently convey the idea of a black man. Carmichael also worked on silver and in 1847 engraved, apparently after his own drawing and design, a championship silver belt for the boxer Isaac Read. The belt was made by J.J. Cohen & Son of Sydney. [10]

Carmichael always appears to have been thought of as the foremost engraver in the colony. In June 1839 Clint advertised that he had engaged "at his establishment, the services of MR JOHN CARMICHAEL, so long known as a first rate Copperplate Engraver...". [11] It is not known how long Carmichael remained with Clint. It was because of his reputation that Carmichael was employed by the Post Office, in late 1849, to provide a copper-plate of twenty four engravings of the two-penny stamp. He was paid £12/12/0. The plate, being copper, wore quickly and had to be repaired four times. [12]

However in November 1850 Carmichael was contracted to engrave on steel plates the designs for the one-penny, two-pence and three-pence stamps. Raymond recommended him "as being the most competent engraver in Sydney". For £150 Carmichael had to engrave the three plates with fifty postage stamps each, and have them finished by 30 June 1851. He

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refused to sign the bond, however, required by the Colonial Secretary to hold him to the contract. This was probably just as well for he was unable to finish the job within the required time. [13] Throughout the early 1850s Carmichael was employed many times by the Post Office to engrave new and recondition old plates. One of his plates, a three-penny, finished in November 1852, was criticised by the Colonial Secretary as being "executed in a very inferior manner to those previously engraved by the same artist". [14]

In June 1851 his wife Margaret died during childbirth. If she was his first wife she must have married Carmichael when she was about sixteen since his eldest daughter was born in 1837. [15] Carmichael himself died on 27 July 1857 at his home in Princess Street North. The Empire (11/9/1857) appears to have mistakenly given his age as forty-five for he was most likely fifty-five.

- 1] R. Engen, Victorian Engravers, London 1975, p.7
- 2] J. Guy, "Edinburgh Engravers", The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, 1916, p.100
- 3] Aust., 3/12/1830
- 4] S.G., 28/3/1829
- 5] Ibid
- 6] J. Carmichael to A. McLeay, 30/6/1829, A.O. 4/2047
- 7] ML Q A923-5/C
- 8] Ibid
- 9] Sydney Times, 19/9/1834 p.2
- 10] J.M. Houstone, "A Pugilistic Antique", The Australain Antique Collector, 1979, p.86
- 11] Sydney Standard, 17/6/1839 p.1
- 12] A. Houison, A History of the Post Office, Sydney 1890, pp. 44-45
- 13] Ibid p.45
- 14] Ibid p.64
- 15] A. Dunstan & J. Poole, "John Carmichael", D.A.A.

### CLAYTON, Samuel (c.1782 - 1853)

A comprehensive biography of Samuel Clayton's life is provided in the Dictionary of Australian Artists. Walter Strickland's Dictionary of Irish Artists, however, offers some interesting details of his early career. [1] Samuel Clayton was the son of Benjamin Clayton, a Dublin engraver who worked principally on book illustration although he also engraved clocks and mathematical instruments. He also painted miniatures. At the time of his trial for an unknown crime, Clayton was said to be thirty-three years old, a native of Dublin, and a miniature painter and engraver by profession. [2] He arrived in Sydney on the Surrey on 20 December 1816.

- 1] W. Strickland, Dictionary of Irish Artists, Shannon, 1969, p.184
- 2] A.O. Surrey records, MFR 393

### CLAYTON, Thomas

Thomas Clayton was convicted in February 1834, with his father Robert, of forging and uttering forged stamps in Dublin. The two were sentenced to life transportation, but because of information they passed to the authorities about their crime, they were allowed to

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travel to the colony as free settlers on the *Royal Admiral* which arrived in Sydney in 1835. It was understood, however, that they were not to leave the colony under any circumstances. [1]

Thomas Clayton's father Robert, was the brother of Samuel Clayton and was himself a wood engraver, although the only examples of his work I have seen are some well executed wood engravings in James Maclehole's Picture of Sydney and Strangers' Guide to New South Wales (Sydney 1838-39). Thomas Clayton, however, found employment throughout the 1840s as Sydney's leading wood engraver. He was principally a reproductive engraver; it is not clear if he was an artist as well, although his skills as an engraver were highly regarded. [2] Clayton's illustrations appeared in the magazines of the late 1840s such as Heads of the People and The Australian Sportsman. He appears to have been the Sportsman's staff illustrator and wood engraver.

1] "Right Hon. T. Spring Rice to Governor Bourke", Historical Records of Australia, vol. XVII, p.546

2] The Spectator, 24/10/1846 p.470; Sentinel, 10/12/1846 p.2

**CLINT, Raphael** (1797 - 1849)

Raphael Clint was the second of the five sons of George Clint A.R.A. (1770 - 1854). George Clint was a portrait painter, miniaturist and engraver who had worked as an itinerant painter before establishing a successful career as a theatrical portraitist. Four of his five sons embarked on artistic careers but two of them died young. George Clint's obituary in the Art Journal of July 1854 noted that Raphael was a gem sculptor of considerable talent. Raphael's career is covered in both the D.A.A. and the A.D.B.

Clint first emigrated to Western Australia in 1829 where he worked as a surveyor until he resigned in 1832 after his salary was reduced. He then moved to Van Diemen's Land with his wife where he was appointed temporarily to the Surveyor's department before before setting up an engraving business which failed through want of trade. [1] In 1834 the activities of his wife appear to have caused him some embarrassment so the couple decided to move to Sydney. Once in Sydney Clint established a seal engraving and general copper plate printing business which, initially at least, prospered in the general booming Sydney markets. He told Lady Franklin in 1839 that his business "succeeds well". [2] Clint specialized in heraldic and armorial painting and engraving. In the Sydney Gazette of 21 January 1836 he reminded country gentlemen on their annual visit to Sydney of the opportunity that it presented them to obtain an "Engraved Seal which, whether comprising the Family Armorial or a subject of taste, is equally essential to the safety and the etiquette of Correspondence....A copious Collection of Heraldic work for Export."

A year later he advertised in the Australian

Seal & Copper-plate Engraving, Printing, Herald Painting, The undersigned having removed to George Street for the convenience of the Public, begs to

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reiterate for the thousandth time his anxiety to draw from the overflowing measure of the wealthy, a small annual tribute to those arts which so greatly enhance the pleasures of life.

Seals and Card Plates Engraved, Arms found from Heraldic books, Maps coloured, mounted and engraved, [3]

Many of his book-plates have survived. [4] They are carefully engraved, mostly plain heraldic designs with little of the baroque flourish that was so popular in the eighteenth century. Clint's clients were prominent citizens such as Sir James Dowling, Charles Nicholson, James Street and William Riley.

Clint's business expanded rapidly during the late 1830s which brought him into conflict with Edward Barlow (see Barlow biography). He planned to bring together artists to enable him to "produce specimens of all the Graphic talent in the Country". [5] He also renovated his shop and engaged new workmen, announcing optimistically that

The undersigned has now on passage to the colonies, workmen in every department of art, whose talent he has secured by high remuneration; and he is confident that no establishment in Europe will rival his own in Australia. [6]

Despite Clint's optimism he was declared insolvent in 1847, and died two years later on 13 September 1849.

1] Lady Jane Franklin, Diary of a Journey from Port Phillip to Sydney 1839, NLA MSS114, 25 May 1839 p.273; Thanks to Joan Kerr for showing me this reference.

2] Ibid

[3] Aust., 13/1/1837 p.3

4] John Lane Mullins Book-plate collection, ML

5] Aust., 24/1/1837 p.3

[6] Aust., 20/4/1838

**EDGAR, Edmund** (1804 - )

Most of the known details of Edgar's life are recorded in the D.A.A., but a few comments can be added. The Times (London) recorded his trial:

Before Mr Sergeant Arabin and a Middlesex Jury Edmund Edgar alias Edmund Edgar Bult, aged 21, was indicted for stealing several articles of plate and wearing apparel to the value of 130s, the property of Miss Elizabeth Smith, of Alpha Cottages. The morning after the robbery the prisoner was detected with a bundle containing the whole of the stolen property in his possession. In his defence he said he had found the bundle - Guilty - Death.

The prisoner is a respectable looking young man and was described as very clever in his profession - that of engraver and miniature painter. [1]

Edgar taught Samuel Elyard drawing at Mr Gilchrist's school, where presumably because he was literate, Edgar was an assistant. Elyard remembered years later that Edgar - whom he described as an engraver by profession - "painted miniatures very nicely, and had he kept steadily to his profession, would perhaps have been an eminent artist.

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He was of a kind disposition, and was glad to impart a knowledge of the Art to any one who had a taste for it". [2]

1] Times, London, 22/9/1825 p.3.

2] Samuel Elyard, Scenery of Shoalhaven, Nowra 1892, n.p.

**FERNYHOUGH, William Henry** (1809 - 1849)

William Fernyhough was the third son of Captain Thomas Fernyhough (of the 40th - the 2nd Somersertshire - Regiment) who ended his career as the Governor of the Military Knights of Windsor. Thomas Fernyhough, well known as a genealogist, was employed by William Salt F.S.A. to help form his Staffordshire Collection. [1] One of Captain Fernyhough's bothers appears to have been an artist who studied under John Glover. [2]

William Henry Fernyhough was born at Rugeley on 17 March 1809. His mother, Susannah Masters, died in 1811. [3] Thomas subsequently remarried. William's early life remains a mystery. The William Salt Library holds a zinograph of Stowe, and a pen and ink sketch of a tomb at Uttoxoter - both by William - while sketches initialled "WHF" appear throughout the notes and transcripts of his father (also held by the William Salt Library). He excelled particularly at heraldic work and Mander, the compiler of Collections for a History of Staffordshire 1942, notes that he was "presumably a professional armorial painter". [4]

The reason for William's decision to emigrate is not known but the move was financed by his father. Thomas Fernyhough recorded in his will "as I was at very considerable expense in fitting out my dear son William Henry Fernyhough for Sydney I hereby discharge him from payment." [5]

William married the daughter of the quarter-master of the Ceylon Rifle Corps prior to their arrival in Sydney in mid-1836. His skills as a lithographer and zincographer found him almost immediate employment with J.G. Austin & Co. Indeed the Sydney Times noted, perhaps somewhat unfairly to Charles Rodius,

It would have been next to an impossibility before the arrival of Mr. Fernyhough in the Colony a few months ago, to have obatined such excellent lithographic and zincographic prints, as may now be used to embellish our Colonial literature. [6]

Fernyhough appears - although Nicholas may have also known of the process - to have introduced zincography into the colony. Austin only called himself a zincographer after Fernyhough arrived in Sydney. Zincography had only become a commercially viable printing process in England since 1830.

Fernyhough's first months in Sydney were very busy. In September 1836 Austin published his A Series of Twelve Profile Portaits of the Aborigines of New South Wales which cost ten shillings and sixpence. [7] These were well received by the press and ran to many editions

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and re-printings. Later in that month he had published *Amores (or Ombres) Fantastiques* which were at least two sheets of silhouette vignettes of several well known gentlemen. [8] Then in early October Austin bought out Fernyhough's series of lithographic sketches entitled Military and Editorial Sketches; formed from portraits in profile of prominent military men and civilian figures such as Dr. Lang, Sir Thomas Mitchell, and Bishop Polding. [9] The series became known as the *Sydney Characters*. The Dixson Library also holds a humorous print of the course of a marriage entitled *Matrimonial Thermometer*. All these prints sold for a shilling.

Fernyhough lithographed the illustrations for W.E. Brockett's Narrative of a Voyage from Sydney to Torres Straits, published in November 1836. In the same month Fernyhough drew a full length silhouette portrait of the Aborigine Piper, who had distinguished himself in the service of Sir Thomas Mitchell. [10]

Beyond this first busy period, little is known about his life and work. In late 1837 he appears to have set up his own lithographic and profile portrait establishment in Jamison Street. [11] But things do not seem to have gone well for him for in February 1838 the Sydney Times complained

It is to be regretted, and we should think can only be attributable to the remarkable lack of encouragement which is given to the fine arts, and to persons of real respectability in this anomalous community, that Mr Fernyhough does not devote himself to portrait painting in its various styles, as no other person in the colony succeeds so well in profiles, or is so happy in his likenesses, which are ever striking. [12]

The paper also noted that Fernyhough had provided the ornaments which decorated the roof of the Roman Catholic Chapel.

Fernyhough was apparently unable to support himself through the printing industry for at some stage he began working in the Surveyor-General's office. However he left his situation to establish some unknown enterprise, the failure of which caused his bankruptcy in 1842. His debts totalled £278/10/9 while his assets only amounted to £188/10/0. [13] Fernyhough decided to rejoin the Government service and enlisted his father's influence to strengthen his claim by having him write to Sir Thomas Mitchell in January 1843. Captain Fernyhough told Sir Thomas that William had been "induced to resign his situation in the Surveyor General's Office at the instigation of a friend who held out delusive hopes to him which were not realized." [14]

Captain Fernyhough also told Sir Thomas that he was writing a book entitled Order of the Garden: Military Knights of Windsor (unpublished) which William had illustrated, with "exquisite" heraldic achievements and pen and ink drawings, while in Sydney. [15] I do not know whether he was re-instated to the Surveyor General's Department but in the Directory for 1844 he was listed as a surveyor and draughtsman of Pitt Street.

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Fernyhough died on 15 August 1849 at the age of forty "leaving a wife and six children to lament his loss" said the Sydney Morning Herald on 25 August 1849. Moore attributes his death to injuries sustained after falling down in a fit, and states that his family established his widow in the business. [16]

- 1] Gentleman's Magazine, (London), 8/1/1844
- 2] Thomas Fernyhough, Military Memoirs of Four Brothers, London 1838, p.63
- 3] Letter to author from William Salt Library 4 September, 1985
- 4] Ibid
- 5] Public Records Office, London, Prob. 11 1994 (198)
- 6] Sydney Times, 17/9/1838 [7] Aust., 16/9/1836
- 8] S.G., 29/9/1836 p.2 [9] S.G., 8/10/1836 p.3
- 10] S.G., 20/12/1836 p.2
- 11] Commercial Journal, 11/10/1837 p.2
- 12] Sydney Times, 3/2/1838 p.2 [13] S.M.H., 16/4/1842 p.4
- 14] Captain Thomas Fernyhough to Sir Thomas Mitchell 6/1/1843, Sir Thomas Mitchell, vol IV, ML MSS A292 p.287
- 15] Ibid
- 16] W. Moore, The Story of Australian Art, Sydney 1933, vol. 1, p.23

**RODIUS, Charles (1802 - 1860)**

Although Rodius' career has been comprehensively discussed by Eve Buscombe in her Artists in Early Australia and their Portraits, she was unaware of the full details of his crime. [1] The Times of London, however, reported the committal proceedings with some interest, although it did not cover his trial. [2] Rodius was charged with snatching a reticule belonging to a Lady Merrick at the Kings Theatre. He was also observed attempting to pick the pockets of other women in the crowd of theatre-goers. At the first hearing Rodius was described as a young foreigner dressed in a most fashionable style. The prisoner, the Times continued, said in broken English that he was "A German, and had been about 18 months in this country; he taught music, painting, drawing, and languages in families of the first distinction, and also architecture." He claimed he had been a pupil "at the Academy in Paris for eight years." [3] It is clear that Rodius was a regular criminal, as many stolen articles were found in his lodgings.

It is also worth noting that on at least one occasion in Sydney Rodius was paid as an architect. In 1837 he entered an architectural competition for the premises of the Royal Exchange Company. Alexander Spark noted in his diary for 14 December 1837 "Today the Exchange Committee had invited the candidates for the best plan to be in attendance. The preference was given to the Drawing of Mr. Thomas Bird who prefers superintending the building to the present reward of £100. Mr Rhodius [sic] came next and was quite satisfied with the award of £50." [4]

- 1] E. Buscombe, Artists in Early Australia and their Portraits, Sydney 1978, p.70-83
- 2] Times (London), 19/2/1829 p.3; 23/2/1829 p.4; 2/3/1829 p.6;

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27/3/1829 p.3

3) Ibid, 19/2/1829 p.3

4) A. Spark, Diaries, ML MSS A4869

**RUSSELL, Robert** (1808-1900)

The following is taken largely from R.J. Foote's University of New South Wales Architecture thesis of 1981, "The Life and Work of Robert Russell 1808-1900". It can be consulted at the Architecture Library of the University. Most of Foote's research however, is concerned with Russell's career in Melbourne.

Russell was born in Kennington, England in 1808. He was the son of a London merchant who was an enthusiastic amateur artist. In 1815 he was sent to Ealing College, and left seven years later after he was articled to prominent Edinburgh architect William Burn. Russell stayed with Burn until 1828 when he returned to London, where he worked in the offices of Robert Abraham, W. Donthorne and, from 1830, John Nash. He then spent ten months with the Irish Ordinance Survey, before returning to Nash's office. There Russell became friendly with Francis Clarke who was planning to emigrate to New South Wales with the idea of practising professionally. Governor Bourke had told the Colonial Office that professional architects were needed in the colony.

For an unknown reason Russell decided to emigrate, and arrived in Sydney - with letters of introduction to the Surveyor General, Thomas Mitchell - on the *Sir John Rae Reid* on 24 September 1833. He was taken into the Survey Office in October 1833 as an Acting Assistant Town Surveyor at a salary of £120 per annum. Eventually, by February 1836, he had been promoted to Assistant Town Surveyor on £220 per annum. In September 1836 Russell was appointed Commissioner of Crown Lands at Port Phillip, and, after a two week trip, arrived at the settlement on 5 October 1836. It was at this time Austin stopped publishing new parts to A Series of Lithographic Drawings of Sydney and its Environs. After complaints about the slowness of his survey work, Russell returned briefly to Sydney, but again left for Melbourne where he spent the rest of his life.

**WILSON, William** (1795- )

William Wilson emigrated to Sydney from London in 1828 on board the *Arab* with his wife and four children. The family travelled as steerage passengers. [1] Wilson established himself as a general engraver. He engraved several plates in the Australian Almanack and Sydney Directory of 1834 as well as the vignette on the title pages of the New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory between 1833 and 1837. In 1834 his offered to undertake with "neatness and dispatch":

Card, invoice, and copper-plates of every description; door and harness plates; coats of arms; crests and cyphers on plate, ivory, &c, gun locks, steel punches, and dies; official seals and stamps; book-binder's tools; small models for fine casting; crests and raised letters for carriage harness, &c;

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wood cuts for embellishing letterpress, plates for marking wool bags, &c, motto rings; watch and clock dials, bright cutting. [2]

The last reference I have seen to Wilson is an advertisement of 1839 where he describes himself as an "Engraver in General & Copper Plate Printer". [3]

1] A.O. COD 21 (4/5199). See also the 1828 census.

2] Sydney Times, 7/11/1834 p.3.

3] Sydney Standard, 8/7/1839 p.1.

**WINSTANLEY, Edward (1820 - 1849)**

The biographical notes in Colin Lavery's Pastimes and Pastures catalogue are the best source of information on Winstanley. [1] However he is in error when he says that Winstanley was born in the colony. Edward arrived in Sydney on the *Barque Adventure* with his parents and five siblings on 3 May 1833. [2] His father was a scene painter - he worked at the Theatre Royal - and the rest of his family appear to have been theatrically inclined. [3] Edward Winstanley must have learnt his skills as an artist and printmaker, however, in the colony.

1] C. Lavery, Pastimes and Pasture, Melbourne 1983, p.53

2] A.O. COD 26 (4/5204)

3] Sydney Times, 28/10/1834 p.3; 31/10/1834 p.1

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