

Endnotes

Not Lost, Just Hiding: Eugene von Guérard's first Australian sketchbooks (Pullin)

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- 1 Von Guérard reached 'journey's end', Melbourne, on 28 December 1852. The site, known as Fitzroy Square from 1848, became the Fitzroy Gardens in 1862. George McCrae (b.1833) recalled that in his boyhood the area was clothed in one dense gum forest', Gary Presland, *The Place for a Village: how nature has shaped the city of Melbourne*, Melbourne: Museum Victoria, 2008, pp. 122-4.
- 2 The tally of the number of drawings in the collection is higher when drawings on each side of a sheet are counted as individual drawings.
- 3 Eugene von Guérard, *Panorama of Melbourne*, 1855, pencil on five sheets of paper, 25.5 x 336.0 cm (total), State Library of Victoria (hereafter SLV) [H1547].
- 4 Five drawings fall outside the 1852-56 time frame, and were acquired later:
Yarra Rivulet, 1858, pen, ink and watercolour, acquisition date unknown, [H1924].
Cumberland Creek, 1862, pencil, purchased 1930, [H1846].
Cape Patton, 1862, pencil, purchased 1930 [H1844].
Loutitte Bay, 1862, pencil, purchased 1930 [H1845].
Geelong seen from the Barabool Hills, Highett's Farm, 1859, pencil, pen and ink, acquired 21 March 1928 [H551].
One drawing is unaccounted for.
- 5 Papers of Edward Augustus Petherick, 1846-1917 (bulk 1870-1914), National Library of Australia (hereafter NLA), MS 760/13/1392. Petherick also owned von Guérard's *Victorian Sketches*, now in the collection of the NLA.
- 6 Albums are held by the Dixon Galleries, State Library of New South Wales (hereafter SLNSW), Sydney, the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, and the National Library of Australia, Canberra.
- 7 Letter, Francis Edwards to E. L. Armstrong, 13 July, 1901, Public Record Office of Victoria (hereafter PROV), VPRS 805/PO, Unit 215, 1901/ 944.
- 8 Edwards described the three small oils as 'of Victorian scenery' in the letter of 13 July 1901 (see above endnote) and as 'Melbourne views' in his letter, 2 September 1902, PROV, VPRS 805/PO, Unit 220, 1902, 1249 (attached to 1902/116).
- 9 On approval invoice, Francis Edwards to the Melbourne Public Library, 9 September 1902, PROV, VPRS 805/PO, Unit 220, 1902/1249 (attached to 1902/116). The Library had asked Professor E. E. Morris, the Vice-President of its Trustees, to inspect the drawings while he was on a visit to England but his sudden death there in January 1902 prevented this. They were examined when they arrived in Melbourne by Bernard Hall, the Director of the National Gallery of Victoria, who annotated Edwards's letter of 2 September 1902 with: I shld think some of them would be of interest historical & topographical but do not know the places & subject matter well enough to say which would be the ones to choose'. It was possibly in response to this somewhat lukewarm assessment that the Library decided to offer Edwards £30 for the drawings rather than to agree to his asking price of £40.

- 10 Von Guérard was also the master of painting at the National Gallery School.
- 11 Petherick Papers, NLA, MS 760/13/1386.
- 12 Eugene von Guérard, *Victorian Sketches*, NLA. The groups numbered 5 and 6 on von Guérard's list were titled: *1855-57 St Kilda – Cape Wilson* and *1855-58 Yarra Yarra, Heidelberg, Waldau*.
- 13 Eugene von Guérard, [*Untitled*], colour pencil, 4 September 1901, in Sketchbook [not numbered], 1899, 1900, Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, Sydney, DGB15, v. 6: 3.
- 14 Eugene von Guérard, Sketchbook III, Naples and Sicily, 1834, Private Collection, Coates, U.K.; Bernard von Guérard, Sketchbook, Naples and Sicily, 1832, 1834, 1835, Private Collection, Coates, U.K.
- 15 Eugene von Guérard, Sketchbook III, Naples and Sicily, 1834, Private Collection, Coates, U.K. Inscription, inside back cover: *Dieses Buch hatte ich auf der Strasse v. Palermo n. Alcamo verloren . . .* (I lost this book on the road from Palermo to Alcamo . . .).
- 16 Six of the English sketchbooks are held in the Dixon Galleries, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, and one is in a private collection.
- 17 It should be noted that there are examples of chronological overlaps between some of von Guérard's sketchbooks and at times he alternated between two books.
- 18 'Journal of an Australian Gold Digger by E.v.G.', bound typescript, Dixon Library, SLNSW. Note that this is the title on the cover of the manuscript. The State Library of New South Wales catalogue entry for the item follows the title on the first page of the manuscript, viz: 'A pioneer of the fifties: leaves from the journal of an Australian Digger, 18 August 1852-16 March 1854 /Johann Joseph Eugen von Guerard'. The annotated text of the Journal was published by Marjorie Tipping in *An Artist on the Goldfields: the diary of Eugene von Guérard*, South Yarra, Vic.: Currey O'Neil, 1982 and in Candice Bruce, Edward Comstock, Frank McDonald, *Eugène von Guérard, 1811-1901: a German romantic in the antipodes*, Martinborough, New Zealand: Alister Taylor, 1982.
- 19 Victoria von Guérard was born in Melbourne in 1857.
- 20 This is not the only example of a book from which pages having been removed. Four loose pages from von Guérard's 1844/1845 sketchbook (now missing), are preserved inside Sketchbook no XVI, 1843, Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DGB14, v. 6.
- 21 Eugene von Guérard, September 1894, 'Meine Skizzen Bücher in London 11.Italienische. 7 Deutsch. 22 Australien / im ganzen 40', (My sketchbooks in London 11 Italian, 7 German, 22 Australian / 40 in total), in Eugene von Guérard, Sketchbook XXXXI (No. 2 England), 1892, 1893, 1894, Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DGB15, v. 1: 43.
- 22 Eugene von Guérard, Sketchbook XVI, 1843, Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DGB 14, v. 6.
- 23 Eugene von Guérard, *a.d. Atlantische meer*, (on the Atlantic Ocean), October 1852, pencil, 4.8 x 6.0 cm., SLV [H2387].
- 24 Eugene von Guérard, *Doct. Brigoulite*, undated, pencil, 10.8 x 6.7 cm.; [*Four studies of passengers*], pencil, 10.8 x 6.7 cm., verso, SLV, H2386. At least one of the vignettes of fellow passengers may not be in von Guérard's hand; [*Cloud study*], pencil, 7.0 x 10.6 cm., SLV [H2388].
- 25 Von Guérard, entry for 17 December 1852, 'Journal', p. 8.
- 26 There are thirty pages of notes in von Guérard's Sketchbook XXXV, 1864 and thirty-six in Sketchbook XXXI, 1867-68-69, Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DGB16, v. 14, DGB16, v. 14a.
- 27 They may have been transcribed into a more formal diary that has not survived.
- 28 14 January was a Friday in 1853.
- 29 Eugene von Guérard, [*Unidentified Landscape*], pencil, 2.1 x 7.2 cm., SLV [H2363].
- 30 A phrase above the drawing, 'wenigstens eine halbe Stunde Lang', (at least half an hour long), may refer to the time it took for the wagon to pass. The bullock wagon that appears in von Guérard's painting, *Aborigines met on the road to the diggings*, 1854, oil on canvas, Geelong Art Gallery, may relate to the experience recorded in the sketchbook. Fragmentary notes on the verso of the drawing describe the blue sky with clouds and the dry forest and pretty gumtrees.
- 31 Eugene von Guérard [*Buildings or dwellings*], 14 January 1853, pencil, 4.0 x 7.3 cm., SLV [H2360].

- 32 It is possible that an additional two drawings in the State Library of Victoria's collection came from this sketchbook. However, the watercolour brushstrokes on the verso of the two sketches, each titled [*Rear view of a man, sitting*], [H2351] and [H2352], suggest that the paper was used to remove surplus paint from a brush. This practice does not appear in other sketchbooks, suggesting that these drawings did not come from a sketchbook but were cut down from loose sheets of paper.
- 33 The Sarah Sands nugget weighed 1117 ounces and was found at Canadian Gully, Ballarat on 20 January 1853.
- 34 Von Guérard's sketch portrays the tent at Brown Hill that served as the first Catholic Church in Ballarat. The date of his drawing, 6 August 1853, reveals that the church was still operating at this site at that time whereas church records suggest that the church had moved to the site of the present S. Alipius at least six months earlier. The priest, Matthew Downing, recalled that 'the first summer rains of February 1853 drove me out' to the higher ground of the present site. In his Journal entry for 27 November 1853 von Guérard described the consecration of the tent on the new site: 'Went to the consecration of the large tent which has been erected as a R.C. place of worship [. . .] Dr Goold, R.C. Bishop of Melbourne preached.' 'Journal of an Australian Gold Digger by E.v.G.', p. 34.
- 35 The paper thickness of the drawings in the SLV group varied from between .08 to .11 of a micrometre, with most measuring .09 of a micrometre. The drawings that are the thinnest (.08 of a micrometre) also have a slightly paler tonality and belong to a chronologically consecutive series. The readings for the drawings in the Journal were slightly higher, between .11 and .12 of a micrometre. No watermarks were found in the papers.
- 36 Alice Cannon, Senior Paper Conservator, SLV; Anna Brooks, Senior Paper Conservator, SLNSW.
- 37 Börries Brakebusch, Brakebusch Conservation Studio, Düsseldorf, personal correspondence, 13 September 2013.
- 38 Brakebusch corr. 13 September 2013; See also Börries Brakebusch, Barbara Söhn-Viegl, 'Das Papier im Oeuvre Johann Wilhelm Schirmers', in Marcell Perse, Bettina Baumgärtel, Irene Haberland, Uta Husmeier-Schirlitz, Elmar Scheuren, Wolfgang Vomm, eds, *Johann Wilhelm Schirmer. Von Rheinland in die Welt*, Düsseldorf: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2010, pp. 76-109.
- 39 William Howitt, *Land, Labour and Gold*, Kilmore, Vic.: Lowden, 1972, p. 390. (First published in 1855).
- 40 Eugene von Guérard, *Buninyong* [16 January 1853], pencil on blue paper, 6.1 x 10.0 cm., SLV [H2343]; Eugene von Guérard, *Im winterplatz, Buninyong* [Winter's Flat], 16 January, 1853, pencil on blue paper, 20.9 x 19.5 cm., SLV [H2354]; Eugene von Guérard, *Buninyong nach Jules* [sic] *Station* [Yuille's Station], 17 January 1853, pencil on blue paper, 22.8 x 19.8 cm., SLV [H2353].
- 41 Von Guérard, entry for 11 January, 1853, 'Journal', p. 12.
- 42 Matthew Hargraves, *Varieties of Romantic Experience: British, Danish, Dutch, French, and German drawings from the collection of Charles Ryskamp*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale Centre for British Art, 2010, p. 73.
- 43 Ludwig Richter, cited in Alison Carroll and John Tregenza, *Eugene von Guérard's South Australia*, Adelaide: Art Gallery of South Australia, 1986, p. 5.
- 44 One of the drawings in this sequence is undated but its location, Chinaman's Gully, suggests it was made at the same time.
- 45 The drawings in this sequence are:
In the 'Journal', SLNSW:
My tent on Blackhill, 9 November 1853, pencil, pen and ink, 10.1 x 16.0 cm.; *Black Swamp*, 11 November 1853, pencil, pen and ink, 9.2 x 15.2 x 10.0 cm.; *Chinaman's gully*, 17 November 1853, pencil, pen, ink and wash, 10.1 x 15.5 cm.
In the SLV:
Ed Armand, Eureka, 21 November 1853, pencil, 9.4 x 5.8 cm. [H2362]; *Chinaman's Gully*, 22 November 1853, pencil, 5.7 c 10.0 cm. [H2364]; *Chinaman's Gullet* [sic], undated, pencil, 6.0 x 9.8 cm. [H2346].

In the 'Journal':

Chinaman's Gully, 23 November 1853, pencil, pen and ink, 10.1 x 15.0 cm.; *Edmond Armand, Chinaman's Gully*, 23 November 1853, pencil, pen and ink, 10.1 x 15.6 cm.; *Chinaman's Gully*, 23 November 1853, pencil, pen and ink, 10.1 x 15.3 cm.; *Chinaman's Gully*, 23 November 1853, pencil, pen and ink, 10.1 x 15.1 cm.

In the SLV:

Chinaman's Gully, 24 November 1853, pencil, 6.0 x 10.0 cm. [H2342]; *Chinaman's Gullet* [sic], 24 November 1853, pencil, 9.5 x 5.7 cm. [H2373].

- 46 Eugene von Guérard, Sketchbook XXII, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, Dixon Library, SLNSW, DGB 16, v. 1. The book has a label on the inside cover: G. Mercer / Wholesale & Retail Bookseller / & Stationer / & Account Book Manufacturer / opposite the Tank / Moorabool Street, Geelong.
- 47 The von Guérard drawings in the State Library of Victoria's collection have been cited in numerous studies of goldfields' history. Their value as records of the environment and environmental change has been recognized in recent research. See for example, Gary Presland, *The Place for a Village*; Ron Hateley, *The Victorian Bush: its 'original and natural' condition*, Melbourne: Polybractea Press, 2011.
- 48 Ruth Pullin, 'Eugene von Guérard and the panoramic imperative', in Tim Barringer, Richard Maxwell, Katie Trumpener, eds, *Panoramic Vistas*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, forthcoming (2015).
- 50 Carl Gustav Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting, Written in the Years 1815-1824, with a letter from Goethe by way of introduction*, Trans. David Britt, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002, p. 119. (First published, 1831).

Eugene von Guérard's Views of the Daylesford Region (Marshall)

Author's note: This article grew out of research undertaken for catalogue entries on paintings by von Guérard to be included in the *Eugene von Guérard: Nature Revealed* exhibition at the National Gallery of Victoria (2011). I would like to thank Ruth Pullin for inviting me to contribute to that project, and for introducing me to the subject of von Guérard's European years. I would also like to thank David Endacott and John Lewis of the Daylesford Historical Society for their invaluable assistance.

- 1 Strictly speaking von Guérard's first name was Eugen, but he was known in Australia as Eugene and this has become the generally accepted usage.
- 2 On von Guérard and the 'geognostic landscape', see [Virginia] Ruth Pullin, 'Eugène von Guérard and the science of landscape painting', PhD thesis, The University of Melbourne, 2007, pp. 115 ff and passim, and Ruth Pullin, 'The Vulkaneifel and Victoria's Western District: Eugène von Guérard and the Geognostic Landscape', in David R. Marshall, ed., *Europe and Australia*, Melbourne: The Fine Arts Network, 2009, (*Melbourne Art Journal*, Issue 11/12), pp. 6–33.
- 3 Oskar Bätschmann, 'Carl Gustav Carus (1789-1869): Physician, Naturalist, Painter and Theoretician of landscape painting', in Carus (1831) 2002, pp.1-73 (36), cited in Pullin, 'Eugène von Guérard and the science of landscape painting', p. 117.
- 4 See Pullin, 'The Vulkaneifel and Victoria's Western District', passim.
- 5 Eugene von Guérard, 1855. Oil on board, 68.6 x 122.0 cm. Warrnambool Art Gallery, Acc. No. 06/003. On loan from the Department of Sustainability and Environment. Gift of Miss Effie Thornton, 1966. Pullin, 'The Vulkaneifel and Victoria's Western District', pp. 28-309, fig. 33.
- 6 See Candice Bruce and Daniel Thomas, *Eugen von Guérard*, Sydney: Australian Gallery Directors Council in conjunction with the Australian National Gallery, 1980, passim.
- 7 He was for a while a pupil of the Italian pleinairist Giambattista Bassi (cf. Pullin, 'Eugène von Guérard and the science of landscape painting', pp. 26–35), and in 1831 painted an oil sketch of the Tor di Quinto near Rome inscribed in the back 'Meine erste studi nach der Natur / Torre del Quinto bei Rom / 1831'. See Marshall, in Ruth Pullin, ed., *Eugene von Guérard: nature revealed*, Melbourne: Council of Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, 2011, p. 58.
- 8 The term 'Australia Felix' was famously coined by the explorer Major Mitchell (Major Sir Thomas Livingston Mitchell (1792–1855)) on his expedition of 1836.

- 9 The sketchbook is in the Dixon Galleries, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales (hereafter Dixon Galleries, SLNSW). DGB16, vol. 14. The studies are in other volumes in the Dixon Galleries, SLNSW.
- 10 The sketchbook is inscribed on the flyleaf in a different hand from the rest: 'Lawrence Rostron Junr / Care of Mr W G [sic] Stanbridge / Daylesford'. In the item about the *Breakneck Gorge* in the *Daylesford Record*, 3 September 1864 (see below) it is stated that 'It will be remembered that not long ago that talented artist, M. Von Guérard, was on a visit to Mr Stanbridge'.
- 11 Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DGB16, vol. 14, f. 16r.
- 12 Rostron, the son of a wealthy Lancashire cotton manufacturer, in 1844 took up 160,000 acres beside the Avon River near St Arnaud in the Pyrenees which he called Tottington. The homestead survives, and is on the Navarre Road, Tottington. He was (or became) a racehorse stud breeder and sheep breeder, and is credited with having first introduced artificial fertiliser to Australia.
- 13 The date of transfer is often given as September 1852, about a year after the discovery of gold in the district, and also the date of the first letter in which Stanbridge requested his pre-emptive right. However, Stanbridge's newspaper obituary ('Death of Mr. Stanbridge', *Daylesford Advocate*, 7 April 1897) refers to him having allowed E. S. Parker, whose Holcombe Run had been burned out by the Black Thursday Bushfires (6 February 1851) to graze his sheep on the Wombat run, which had not been affected, and that one of Parker's shepherds found gold at Spring Creek (i.e. Breakneck Gorge) in late 1851 (others say that it was discovered by John Egan). If this is true then Stanbridge already had the Wombat run in 1851, before the discovery of gold. This story may, however, be a later fabrication: the obituarist's source was probably an item in *Victoria and its Metropolis*, published during Stanbridge's lifetime, which states that 'in 1851 Mr. Stanbridge purchased a run near Daylesford ...' and goes on to tell the same story. (Alexander Sutherland, ed., *Victoria and its Metropolis: past and present: the colony and its people in 1888*, Melbourne: McCarron, Bird, 1888).
- 14 The database of parliamentarians gives his date of birth as December 1816, but this was an earlier, still-born child, and other records state that he was born 'at sea' in 1821. His obituary, 'Death of Mr. Stanbridge', *Daylesford Advocate*, 7 April 1897, gives his arrival in Australia as 1841, but other sources say 1842. He leased a 64,000 acre run known as Astley's (after his home town in England) or Tyrrell Downs in the Mallee region of north-western Victoria, followed by other interests. See R. V. Billis and A. S. Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers of Port Philip*, Melbourne: Stockland Press, 1974.
- 15 Eugene von Guérard, *View North From Daylesford*, 1864. Oil on canvas, 65 x 126 cm. Private Collection. Provenance: W. E. Stanbridge; by descent; Sale Christie's Australia. *Australian and European Pictures*, April 1994, lot 165.
- 16 Eugene von Guérard, *View From Mt Franklin Towards Smeaton Hill*. Oil on canvas, 35.5 by 63.8 cm. Signed lower right. Queensland Art Gallery. Provenance: W. E. Stanbridge; by descent; sale Sotheby's, Australia, 2008.
- 17 Eugene von Guérard, *Breakneck Gorge*, 1864. Oil on canvas. Private Collection, on loan to the Geelong Gallery. Provenance: W. E. Stanbridge; and thence by descent.
- 18 Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DGB16, vol. 14, f. 15r. 'M.' Stanbridge's *Haus / 21 Ap. 64 Daylesford*.
- 19 Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DGB16, vol. 14, f. 16.
- 20 The sense of the phrase is made clear in Thomas Hardy and Kristin Brady, *The Withered Arm and Other Stories*, 1874–88, 'The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid', pp. 165–57 (Google Books) which refers to a dense mist at 6 am when 'Margery' comes across a tall dark man, and in conversation says 'Why, this is only the pride of the morning . . . By-and-by it will be a beautiful day'. That it was a common phrase is clear in newspaper reports, for example: 'The day was anything but a promising one, a light drizzling rain having fallen all morning, but the genial driver of the waggon (Mr "Dick" Bradley) assured us that it was only the "pride of the morning", which indeed proved to be the case, for as the day wore on the sun began to pour his beams through the heavy banks of clouds, and cheered us up accordingly.' (J.B. Rooney, 'With Swag and Camera to Lake Hauroro', *Otago Witness*, 1906, page 84.
- 21 Inscribed 'Wombat 27 Ap. 64. Near Daylesford'.

- 22 Eugene von Guérard, *Yalla-y-Poorra*, 1864. Oil on canvas, 69.9 x 122 cm. Inscribed lower left 'Eugen von Guérard 1864'. Bruce, Eugene von Guérard, p. 111.
- 23 It is now the upper reaches of Lake Daylesford. It was discovered by John Egan, who had the Corinella run on the other side, with his homestead at Eganstown.
- 24 One source states that at this time surface gold was found near the Concordia mine on Stanbridge's property.
- 25 Not surprisingly, as an MLA (Member of the Legislative Assembly) in the 1880s Stanbridge argued against the Crown owning mineral rights.
- 26 The Garibaldi shaft was on Crown Allotment 45, Section 2, Parish of Wombat and was sold to a Peter Goyen at the first sale (1854). Crown Allotment 45 remains a General Law deed and has not been updated to a Torrens title. Crown Allotments 44 and 45 of Section 2 were purchased by Giacomo Bonetti and Angelo Cassinelli on 13 April 1860, and were sold to Antonio Bonetti on 21 October 1865. On 2 December 1865 Antonio Bonetti sold it back to Giacomo Bonetti, who retained it until his death on 17 January 1875. The Italian Bonetti was presumably involved with the Garibaldi Mine, named after the Italian nationalist hero. A boy, Antonio Bonetti, born in 1872, was paid by Stanbridge for milking cows from 1885–88, was presumably one of these Bonettis. I am grateful to John Lewis for this property information and the mapping data.
- 27 The Defiance mine paid him £300 for breaking ground in addition to royalties at the rate of one-sixth of the gold extracted.
- 28 *Daylesford Express*, 30 August 1864.
- 29 Henry T. Maddicks with the assistance of Keith H. Butler, *100 years of Daylesford Gold Mining History, August 1851 to 1951*, Daylesford, Vic.: Daylesford Historical Society, 1981, p. 10.
- 30 Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DG XV2B/4. *View in the Hepburn Valley from the station of Mr. Stanbridge Wombat, Daylesford 24-25 April 1864*.
- 31 Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DGB 16, vol. 14, f. 14r, inscribed 'Daylesford 1864. / 21 Ap / Near Hepburne'.
- 32 Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DG*D 17, vol. 1, f. 1. Inscribed 'Garibaldi Claim near / Daylesford / Ap. 64.'
- 33 The contemporary description cited in the following notes talks at some length about the mud.
- 34 'Our first impulse upon arriving is to climb the highest peak of the township, Mount Wombat, and accomplishing this feat, we are repaid, as we expected, by a glorious Australian view. Before us, as far as the eye can reach, the ranges stretch away in gentle swells, rising occasionally into forest-clad mounts.' This passage comes from a description of Daylesford in the *Daylesford Express*, Saturday 22 October, 1864, which was reprinted from the *Australasian*.
- 35 *Daylesford Express*, Saturday, 22 October 1864.
- 36 As is implied when the author quotes (inaccurately) Robert Burns's *The Vision*: 'Deep light and shade bold-mingling threw / A lustre grand; / And showed to our delighted view / A well known land.' The official version is 'Her mantle large, of greenish hue, / My gazing wonder chiefly drew; / Deep lights and shades, bold-mingling, threw / A lustre grand; / And seemed, to my astonished view, / A well-known land.'
- 37 Jim Crow creek runs through the site Wombat Flat diggings. The name is said to be derived from a popular song of the period, or from the name given to one of the pastoral leases north of Daylesford, the Jumcra Run.
- 38 To judge from the size of the mine tailings today, there was not much activity at the mine after von Guérard's visit. It is mentioned in the *Daylesford Express* regularly throughout 1854.
- 39 On 30 August 1864, the *Daylesford Express* recorded that 'some of the working shareholders applied to Mr. Stanbridge for permission to take it [firewood for the mine] from his paddock. The request was readily complied with, and, going further than was asked, Mr. Stanbridge sent a dray with a team of horses and a driver to cart the fuel to the claim.' The *Express* editorialised 'We are aware that the storekeepers and tradesmen of Daylesford are not illiberal in their dealings with miners, who are prospecting with reasonable chances of success, but we yet commend for imitation in other quarters the praiseworthy conduct of Mr. Stanbridge'. There is a moral agenda mixed with a

business one in the way the *Express* stresses that the help was given to 'industrious and struggling miners, whose prospects of success are reasonably well founded'. For the general good, dubious prospects should not be encouraged, but good ones should be. Since the point of the story is the neighbourliness of the action, it is unlikely that Stanbridge was a shareholder.

- 40 The view is little changed today, although obscured by conifer plantations.
- 41 f. 23 r. '(als ...) View from Mt Franklin to Hepburn Hill 2 Mai 64'; the sketch continues onto the next sheet.
- 42 But see the discussion above over a tradition that Stanbridge owned the run prior to the discovery of gold.
- 43 Maddicks, p. 6.
- 44 Dianne Reilly and Jennifer Carew, *Sun Pictures of Victoria. The Fauchery-Daintree Collection, 1858*, Melbourne: Currey O'Neill Ross on behalf of the Library Council of Victoria, 1983, plate 31, *Deserted Diggings, Spring Creek*. The area has since been revegetated and it is not possible to have von Guérard's unobstructed view today.
- 45 For an account of the opening of the bridge, see *Daylesford Express*.
- 46 Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DG*D 17, vol. 1, f. 15. Inscribed 'Break Neck Bridge / Castlemain Road from Daylesford 2. M. / Wednesday 27. Ap. 64'.
- 47 Dixon Galleries, SLNSW, DG*D 17, vol. 1, f. 13. Inscribed 'Hepburn / near Daylesford / 29. Ap. 64 / Chinese Village.' Maddicks, 1981, p. 39.
- 48 *Daylesford Record*, Saturday 3 September 1864.
- 49 *Daylesford Record*, Saturday 3 September 1864: 'VON GUÉRARD'S PICTURE OF BREAKNECK. It will be remembered that not long ago that talented artist, M. Von Guérard, was on a visit to Mr. Stanbridge. During his stay he sketched among other scenery a view of Breakneck from the Old Racecourse. The landscape at this spot is exceedingly romantic, and elicits admiration from every stranger entering Daylesford from that direction. Since Von Guérard's return to Melbourne the sketch has been transferred to canvas, and the result is a picture worthy of the artist's fame. We have not yet seen it, but learn that it will be exhibited today in the window of Messrs Millar and Anderson. The painting has been entrusted to Messrs Daly, Stanbridge, and Hart, who have resolved to dispose of it by an Art Union. The picture is valued at 55 to 60 guineas.'
- 50 Unconfirmed.
- 51 *Daylesford Record*, Saturday 11 April 1863: 'LOCAL SCENERY. We have never seen scenery superior in picturesque beauty and wildness to that which the Jim Crow district affords. On the road to Blanket Flat [i.e. Eganstown, south of Daylesford], for instance, the prospect on every side is savagely grand. From the door of the Mechanic's Institute, on a day such as we had on Thursday last, the view is like fairy land. If Mr Ferris, with his travelling photographic gallery, would take some landscapes in the district, as well as "human faces divine", we have no doubt that he might easily dispose of the same to many of the residents. It is to be hoped that at some not far distant date, Mons. Gaerrard [sic] who was lately sketching in Gipps Land, will visit this district and transfer to canvas some of the "beauty spots" in and about Daylesford'.
- 52 The stables dating from the 1860s survive, and the site of the old house is still visible, not far from the new house. See http://vhd.heritage.vic.gov.au/#detail_places;68506, accessed 11 November 2010.
- 53 An inscription on the school house states that it was paid for from the profits of the Concordia Mine and Defiance Paddock, two of the mines on Stanbridge's pre-emptive right block.
- 54 Eugene von Guérard, *Steavenson's Falls*, 1863. Oil on canvas. Signed and dated lower left in red oil 'Eugene von Guérard / 1863.' 66.5 x 56.0 cm. National Gallery of Australia, 82.596, acquired 1982.
- 55 He was a member of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria (1857–59) and the Royal Society of Victoria (1860). His publications include W. E. Stanbridge, 'On the Astronomy and Mythology of the Aborigines of Victoria', *Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria*, read on 30 September 1857, article XVI, pp. 138–38, which describes the astronomical beliefs of the Aborigines of the Booroung people of the Mallee in the neighbourhood of Lake Tyrell, and the Dja Dja Warrung people in the region of Mt Franklin, written c. 1852; A. W. Franks, George Gibbs, W.

E. Stanbridge, 'Notes on Some Stone Implements from Honduras, Turks and Caicos Islands, and Australia', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 6, 1877, pp. 37-41 (a record of the gift by Stanbridge to the society of seven indigenous Australian stone implements). His views as expressed in parliamentary debates show him to have had a dislike of the unelected hierarchies of his native Britain.

Art and Patronage in Early Colonial Melbourne (Findlay)

- 1 George Mackaness, ed., *The Australian Journal of William Strutt, A.R.A 1850-1862*, Australian Historical Monograph Series 38, Sydney: Privately Printed, 1958, part I, p. 8.
- 2 C. P. Billot, *The Life and Times of John Pascoe Fawkner*, Melbourne: Hyland House, 1985, pp. 273-4.
- 3 For a discussion of the visual arts in early Melbourne, see Mary Holyoake, 'Melbourne Art Scene from 1839 to 1859', *Art and Australia*, vol. 15, no. 3, Autumn 1978, pp. 289-296, and Caroline Clemente, 'Artists in Society: a Melbourne circle, 1850s/1880s', *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, no. 30, 1989, pp. 40-57.
- 4 Billot, *The Life and Times of John Pascoe Fawkner* and Hugh Anderson, *Out of the Shadow: the career John Pascoe Fawkner*, Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire, 1962.
- 5 William Strutt, Letter to his mother, 7 July 1850, 'Autobiography and Other Papers, 1788-1955', Mitchell Collection, State Library of New South Wales (hereafter ML, SLNSW), vol. 5, p. 10.
- 6 Mackaness, *The Australian Journal of William Strutt*, part I, p. 6.
- 7 Strutt's sketches have been divided into three categories of drawing characterised by rapid, rough outlines; more complex sketches with finer detail and cross-hatching; and more highly finished works in ink and pencil with shading. See Sean Loughrey and Robyn Sloggett, 'Revisiting History: William Strutt's *Bushrangers*, Victoria, Australia, 1852', *Melbourne Journal of Technical Studies in Art (Underdrawings)*, vol. 2, 2005, pp. 35-47 (40).
- 8 For Strutt's preparatory sketch of Theophilus see Strutt, 'Collection of Drawings', ML, SLNSW, DL PXX 6, folio 2.
- 9 *Argus*, 16 September 1851.
- 10 Mackaness, *The Australian Journal of William Strutt*, part I, p. 30.
- 11 *Argus*, 25 April 1860.
- 12 For a discussion of the collection see Gerard Hayes, 'A Portrait by Ludwig Becker', *Art and Australia*, vol. 25, no. 4, Winter 1988, pp. 514-515.
- 13 Mackaness, *The Australian Journal of William Strutt*, part II, p. 24.
- 14 There were at least 17 portraitists working in Melbourne in the mid-1850s as listed in contemporary exhibition catalogues, directories and almanacs.
- 15 For a discussion of the portrait by Augustus Earle, see Harold Spencer, 'The Brisbane Portraits', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. 52, pt. 1, March 1966, pp. 1-8.
- 16 A preparatory sketch for this painting is in Strutt, 'Collection of Drawings', ML, SLNSW, DL PXX 9, folio 8.
- 17 *Argus*, 4 April 1860.
- 18 For a discussion of the patronage of the Howitts and Ward Coles, see Caroline Clemente's work: 'Artists in Society: a Melbourne Circle'; 'The Private Face of Patronage: the Howitts, artistic and intellectual philanthropists in early Melbourne society', unpublished MA thesis, University of Melbourne, 2005; and 'Friends and Patrons: Melbourne's early artists' circle', in Alisa Bunbury, ed., *This Wondrous Land: colonial art on paper*, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2011, pp. 109-111.
- 19 Mackaness, *The Australian Journal of William Strutt*, part I, p. 16.
- 20 *Age*, 20 December 1856.
- 21 *Argus*, 6 September 1856.
- 22 *Age*, 2 September 1856. A number of busts of Fawkner were made in 1856 and exhibited at the *Victorian Exhibition of Art*, no doubt in a bid to be considered for the bronze statue commission. The *News Letter of Australasia*, November 1856, notes that two busts had already been modelled in anticipation, which were probably those by Charles Summers and William Lorando Jones.

- 23 In the *Journal of Australasia*, 1856, p. 190, it was stated while it was often inadvisable to put a monument up to a living person, in this case it was acceptable as he was 'the father of the colony' and reported that the proposal was proceeding well. There was speculation that it would be erected outside the Houses of Parliament.
- 24 Tim Bonyhady, 'The Politics of Colonial Sculpture', *Art and Australia*, vol. 28, no. 4, Spring 1990, pp. 102-106.
- 25 After Bourke departed the colony, the people of New South Wales banded together to raise sufficient funds to commission a full length sculpture to Bourke, which now stands outside the State Library of New South Wales. See Maxwell Waugh, *Forgotten Hero: Richard Bourke, Irish Governor of New South Wales 1831-1837*, Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2005.
- 26 See *Melbourne Morning Herald*, 13 July 1853, for the mayor's proposal for a statue of the Queen to be erected in the Town Hall. For the 1860 proposal for a statue of Shakespeare, see Lurline Stuart, 'Fund-Raising in Colonial Melbourne: the Shakespeare Statue, the Brooke Bust and the Garibaldi Sword', *La Trobe Library Journal*, no. 29, April 1982, pp. 1-12.
- 27 For a discussion of *Melbourne Punch*, see Marguerite Mahood, 'Melbourne Punch and its Early Artists', *La Trobe Library Journal*, vol. 1, no. 4, October 1969, pp. 65-81, and *The Loaded Line: Australian political caricature 1788-1901*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1973.
- 28 Mahood, *The Loaded Line*, p. 59, suggests that the gorgon face may be that of a proprietor of *Melbourne Punch*, Mr Kelly. I would suggest that it is more likely to be an image of someone better known to the public and the face bears a resemblance to the bearded Haines.
- 29 *Illustrated Journal of Australasia*, no. 4, 1858, p. 34.
- 30 Ann Galbally, *Redmond Barry: an Anglo-Irish Australian*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995, and 'For the Instruction and Amusement of the Inhabitants', in *The First Collections*, exhibition catalogue, Melbourne: University of Melbourne Museums of Art, 1992, pp. 8-29.
- 31 Mackaness, *The Australian Journal of William Strutt*, part 1, p. 16.
- 32 Heather Curnow, *William Strutt*, Sydney: Australian Gallery of Directors Council with the assistance of the Visual Arts Board of the Australia Council in conjunction with the Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1980, p. 26.
- 33 Mackaness, *The Australian Journal of William Strutt*, part I, p. 16.
- 34 *Ibid*, part II, p. 25.
- 35 *Ibid*. The *Argus*, 18 December 1857, reported that Batchelder and O'Neill were taking the portraits for the oil painting. There are also references in Strutt's journal to his buying portraits from Mr Kennedy and Mr Davis, William Strutt Papers, ML, SLNSW, MS 867, folder 5, fol. 26. Strutt may also have been experimenting with taking his own portraits. There are many references in his journal to him buying equipment from the photographer Batchelder and O'Neill.
- 36 Another similar preparatory sketch is in Strutt, Collection of Drawings, ML, SLNSW, DL PXX 9, folio 2.
- 37 William Strutt Papers, MS 867, ML, SLNSW, folder 5, fol. 17.
- 38 Marjorie Tipping, ed., *Victoria the Golden: scenes, sketches and jotting from nature by William Strutt, Melbourne Victoria 1850-1862*, Melbourne: Library Committee, Parliament of Victoria, 1980.
- 39 T. S. R. Boase, 'The Decoration of the New Palace of Westminster, 1841-1863', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 17, 1954, pp. 319-358.
- 40 For a discussion of the worthy tradition and national portraiture in the mid-nineteenth century, see Paul Barlow, 'The Imagined Hero as Incarnate Sign: Thomas Carlyle and the mythology of the "National Portrait" in Victorian Britain', *Art History*, vol. 17, no. 4, pp. 517-545, and Elisabeth Findlay, 'The Authentic Portrait Reconsidered', in *Art and Authenticity*, Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2010, pp. 34-42.
- 41 P. Just, *An Appeal to the Government and Colonists of Victoria in Favour of the Employment of the Arts and Sculpture*, in *Decorating the New House of Parliament and Merchants' Exchange . . .*, Melbourne: Robertson, 1856.
- 42 *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

- 43 *News Letter of Australasia*, December 1856.
- 44 See Lillian B. Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism: the encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States 1790-1860*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- 45 The first Fine Arts society in the colony was formed several years earlier in 1853 when George Stephen requested a meeting of artists with the hope that 'the interests of the various artists now resident here would be directly promoted and society itself benefited by the addition of a taste for the Fine Arts', (*Argus*, 26 April 1853). It held one exhibition – see *Catalogue of the Victorian Fine Arts Society's Exhibition of 1853*. Strutt participated in this exhibition.
- 46 *Rules of the Victorian Society of Fine Art*, Melbourne: Printed by Goodhugh and Hough, 1856, Rule VI, p. 7.
- 47 'The Decorations of the New Houses of Parliament', *Journal of Australasia*, 1856, p. 146.
- 48 *My Note Book*, 7 February 1857.
- 49 Tipping, *Victoria the Golden*.
- 50 See http://www.publicartaroundtheworld.com/John_Pascoe_Fawknor_Statue.html.

'The premier bird painter of the colonies' (Cabouret)

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- 1 *Lower Clarence Advocate* [Grafton, NSW], 19 January 1883.
- 2 The author has researched the lives and work of Neville Henry, Neville William and Alice Cayley as well as other early Australian Natural History artists, photographers and authors over the last 31 years. This article, along with a further article to be published in the *La Trobe Journal* on Neville Henry Cayley, are a prelude to two encyclopedic works to be published separately; namely, *NEVILLE HENRY CAYLEY: '... the bird artist of Australia. ...'* and *NEVILLE WILLIAM CAYLEY: the Bird Illustrator of Australia*.
- 3 A ghost book; only 2-3 specimen copies were produced.
- 4 *Argus*, 10 May 1894, p. 4. (Republished in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 May 1894, p. 5).
- 5 William Moore, *The Story of Australian Art: from the earliest known art of the continent to the art of to-day*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1934.
- 6 Passenger List, 'Sir Walter Raleigh', 28 June 1877, Public Record Office of Victoria (hereafter PROV).
- 7 Passenger List, 'SS Cotopaxi', 29 June 1880, PROV.
- 8 Passenger List, 'SS Aconcaqua II', 19 October 1880, PROV.
- 9 'CAYLEY BROTHERS', *Argus*, 24 October 1877, p. 1.
- 10 'Caley V. Caley, Court of Chancery', *Bury and Norwich Post and Suffolk Herald*, 3 June, 1873, p. 6 and 10 June 1873, p. 7.
- 11 *Argus*, 5 April 1879, p. 1.
- 12 'Old identities of this district', *West Gippsland Gazette* [Warragul], 2 June 1903, p. 2.
- 13 'Old identities of this district', *Gippsland Independent* [Drouin], 4 June 1903.
- 14 Hugh Copeland, *The Path of Progress: from the forests of yesterday to the homes of to-day*, Warragul, Vic.: Shire Council, 1934.
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- 16 *Warragul Guardian*, 15 July 1886, p. 3.
- 17 'Stroll Round the Town', *Warragul Guardian*, 24 December 1886, p. 3.
- 18 'Early Days of Warragul. Recollections of a pioneer', *Warragul Guardian*, 7 December 1897.
- 19 T. W. H. Leavitt, and W. D. Lilburn, eds, *The Jubilee History of Victoria and Melbourne Illustrated*, Melbourne: Duffus Bros, Printers, 1888.

- 20 'Warragul (from our correspondent)', *Gippsland Independent*, 16 May 1879.
- 21 Colin Silcock, personal communication to the author, 30 January 2014.
- 22 A. J. Campbell, *Nests and Eggs of Australian Birds. Embracing papers on Oology of Australian Birds. Read before the Field Naturalist's Club of Victoria . . . supplemented by other Notes and Memoranda, Shooting etc*, Melbourne: The Author, 1883 [1884]. For Campbell (1853-1929) see his entry in ADB at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/campbell-archibald-james-5483>.
- 23 J. Bolton, *Harmonia Ruralis: or an essay towards a natural history of British song birds . . . illustrated . . .*, Stannary, near Halifax: The Author, 1794-1796; T. Lord, *Lord's Entire New System of Ornithology or Oecumenical History, of British Birds*, London: The Author, 1791.
- 24 O. Goldsmith, *History of the Earth and Animated Nature*, Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1857.
- 25 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 1881, p. 6.
- 26 *Argus*, 10 May 1894, p. 4. (Republished in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 May 1894, p. 5).
- 27 The Hamilton Art Gallery, Hamilton, Victoria. Accession No. 1988.011. Bequest of Mrs Hector Bastin.
- 28 The Hamilton Art Gallery, Hamilton, Victoria. Accession No. 1988.010. Bequest of Mrs Hector Bastin.
- 29 M. Pinault, *The Painter as Naturalist From Dürer to Redouté*, Paris: Flammarion, 1991. Translated by Philip Sturgess.
- 30 A. Clark, J.B. & CO. *Biography of Original Shire Councillors, Warragul (Vic.)*, Nowra, NSW: The Author, [1982].
- 31 James Smith, ed., *The Cyclopaedia of Victoria. . . an historical and commercial review. . . an epitome of progress*, Melbourne: The Cyclopaedia Company, 1903-05.
- 32 *Hamilton Spectator*, 12, 14 and 19 March 1895. Reprint: *In Memorium. H. B. de al Poer Wall, Died 10th March, 1895*.
- 33 'Hamilton at Geelong', *Hamilton Spectator*, 2 March 1880, p. 2.
- 34 Discovery of the Site of Hamilton', *Western Agriculturist* (Hamilton) 22 November 1884.
- 35 'F. C. Morese, Coocalla. Garah. New South Wales'. File, Angus & Robertson Ltd Archives, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, ML MSS 3269 Box No. I.
- 36 'Death of the Old "Governor". Cuthbert Fetherstonhaugh', *Hamilton Spectator*, 22 and 24 December 1892. See also his entry in ADB at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fetherstonhaugh-cuthbert-372>.
- 37 H. W. Wheelwright, (an Old Bushman), *Bush Wanderings of a Naturalist: or, notes on the field sports and fauna of Australia Felix*, London: Routledge, Warne, & Routledge, 1861.
- 38 A d'Toussenel, *Edouard Traviès Oiseaux de Chasse*, Paris: Éditions Duculot, 1991.
- 39 'Hamilton Juvenile Industrial Exhibition', *Portland Guardian*, 25 November 1891, p. 3.
- 40 'Buln Buln Police Court, Saturday, 8th Nov', *Warragul Guardian*, 13 November 1879.
- 41 'Brandy Creek Police Court, Saturday, November 8, 1879. Joseph B. Witton, v. Neville Cayley', *Gippsland Independent*, 13 November 1879.
- 42 'Warragul Police Court, Saturday, 27th December. James Biram v. Neville Cayley', *Warragul Guardian*, 1 January 1880, p. 3.
- 43 'Warragul County Court', *Warragul Guardian*, 25 November 1880.
- 44 'Warragul County Court. Friday 3 December 1880. George Streitberg v. Neville Cayley', *Gippsland Independent*, 9 December 1880, p. 3.
- 45 'Warragul County Court 3 December', *Warragul Guardian*, 9 December 1880.
- 46 'Warragul County Court. Friday 3 December', *Gippsland Independent*, 9 December 1880.
- 47 *Bulletin*, 8 January 1881, p. 13.
- 48 '... the birds of Australia . . .', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 January 1882, p. 5

‘An unpicturesque vagrant’ (Russell)

- 1 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Convention Concerning The Protection Of The World Cultural and Natural Heritage World Heritage Committee, Decisions Adopted, Twenty-Eighth Session, Suzhou, China, 28 June 7 July 2004, p. 28.
- 2 Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, second edition, Carlton, Vic., Melbourne University Press, 2004.
- 3 Ian Morrison, “‘The Accompaniments Of European Civilization’: Melbourne Exhibitions 1854–1888”, *La Trobe Journal*, no. 56, Spring 1995, pp. 6–10.
- 4 *Argus*, 17 December 1880, p. 55. The title – ‘An unpicturesque vagrant’ for this article comes from this report.
- 5 Translation of *Journal des Voyages et des Aventures de Terre et de Mer*, no. 205, June 1881. Cover illustration by S. C. Perrichon, article by F. Demays. Original emphasis. The term ‘original owners’ was by no means commonplace at this time and is probably a reflection of French attitudes to the British colonial project. I am grateful to Lorraine David, French technical specialist, for assistance with this translation
- 6 Chris Cook and John Stevenson, eds, *The Routledge Companion to European History Since 1763*, New York: Routledge, 2005.
- 7 *Journal des Voyages*, no. 205, June 1881.
- 8 The Melbourne Public Library has in fact been established some 27 years previously, not ‘ten years ago’.
- 9 Adeney Diary, MS 8520, State Library of Victoria, p. 305.
- 10 The image can be viewed at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an7021882>.
- 11 Penelope Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous people and settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010, p. 88.
- 12 *Australasian*, 13 March 1867, p. 3.
- 13 *Australian Journal* (Melbourne), 6 May 1866; John O’Leary, ‘The Ethnographic Verse of Mid-nineteenth century Australia’, *Australian Literary Studies*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2007, pp. 3–17.

Arabesques of Beauty (Montana)

- 1 *Table Talk*, 23 August 1889, p. 4.
- 2 Quoted in Terence Lane, ‘The 9 by 5 Impression Exhibition – The Challenge of the Sketch’, *Australian Impressionism*, edited by Terence Lane, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2007, pp. 156–163. Hereafter, in the text the exhibition is referred to as the 9 x 5 exhibition.
- 3 Humphrey McQueen, ‘The Gentle Art of Making Enemies’, in *Tom Roberts*, Sydney: Macmillan, 1996, p. 269.
- 4 Jane Clarke, ‘The 9 by 5 Impression Exhibition, 1889’, in *Golden Summers: Heidelberg and Beyond*, edited by Jane Clarke & Bridget Whitelaw, Sydney: International Cultural Corporation of Australia, 1985, pp. 112–116; Ann Galbally, ‘Aestheticism in Australia’, *Australian Art and Architecture: essays presented to Bernard Smith*, edited by Anthony Bradley & Terry Smith, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 132–133.
- 5 Francesca Vanke, ‘Arabesques: North Africa, Arabia and Europe’, *Art Nouveau: 1890–1914*, edited by Paul Greenhalgh, London: V & A Publications, 2000, pp. 114–125.
- 6 Minutes of the Buonarrotti artists’ Club in Melbourne do not indicate if Cullis Hill was ever a guest of Tom Roberts at this Club’s frequent entertainments, but both Roberts and John Mather were members of this Club. A handwritten essay from 1885 about the use of floral ornament in paintings, costume, fabrics, decorative art and interior décor, which survives in the Club’s minutes book, reinforces the strong aesthetic interaction between art and decoration during this period. Buonarrotti Club Minutes 1883–1887, MS 10977, [illegible author, dated 3. 2. 1885], State Library of Victoria, n. p.
- 7 L. T. Luxton, ‘The Buonarrotti Club: Bohemians of the ‘Eighties’, *Argus Camera Supplement*, 10 August 1929, p. 3; see also Stephen F. Mead, ‘The Search for Artistic Professionalism in Melbourne: the activities of the Buonarrotti Club, 1883–1887’, *La Trobe Journal*, no. 88, December 2011, pp. 136–147.

- 8 Caroline Jordan, 'Tom Roberts, Ellis Rowan and the Struggle for Australian Art at the Great Exhibitions of 1880 and 1888', in *Seize the Day, Exhibitions, Australia and the World*, edited by Kate Darian-Smith, et. al., Clayton, Victoria: Monash University ePress, 2008, pp. 15.1-15. 16.
- 9 David H. Souter, 'Tom Roberts', *Art and Architecture*, vol. 3. no. 4, July 1908, pp. 136-7; a splendid oil painting titled *Roses* painted by Roberts in 1888 is now in the Newcastle Art Gallery.
- 10 Andrew Montana, 'Constance Roth and Ellis Rowan: lady artists and matters of influence', *Fabrications*, vol. 23, issue 2, 2013, p. 209; Leigh Astbury, 'Around the Studios: Girolamo Nerli, *The Sitting*, 1889', edited by Lynne Sear and Julie Ewington, *Brought to Light: Australian Art 1850-1965*: Brisbane: Queensland Art Gallery, 1998, pp. 64-69.
- 11 *Table Talk*, 5 April 1889, p. 6.
- 12 *Table Talk*, 26 April 1889, p. 5.
- 13 'A successful artist: Mr C. S. Paterson', *Table Talk*, 27 April 1888, p. 12; Andrew Montana, 'Villa Alba: a house museum and the Paterson Brothers Scottish influence on decorative painting in colonial Victoria', *reCollections*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2013, n.p.
- 14 Alison Inglis, 'Aestheticism and Empire: the Grosvenor Gallery Intercolonial Exhibition in Melbourne, 1887', in *Seize the Day*, n.p.; *Intercolonial Exhibition, Public Library, Melbourne, 1887*, Grosvenor Gallery (London), Melbourne: Kemp & Boyce, 1887.
- 15 *Table Talk*, 19 July 1889, p. 5.
- 16 *West Australian*, 16 May 1888, p. 3.
- 17 'The Ladies' Page: Home Art', *Australasian Sketcher*, 9 August 1887, p. 122.
- 18 *Age*, 7 February 1887, p. 2.
- 19 *Table Talk*, 21 October 1887, p. 7. It was not associated with the short-lived Kalizoic Society, established in 1884 to instil a love of the beautiful in matters of urban living, whether in health, sanitation, art, parklands, architecture and or ornament, for which see Andrew Montana, 'Kalizoic', in *eMelbourne: the city past and present* (Encyclopaedia of Melbourne), Melbourne: The University of Melbourne, 2008: www.emelbourne.net.au/biogs/EM00786b.htm.
- 20 *Argus*, 29 August 1891, p. 13.
- 21 *Daily Telegraph (Sydney)*, 24 August 1889, p. 10.
- 22 *Table Talk*, 16 August 1889, p. 6.
- 23 See illustrations in *Australian Impressionism*, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2007, pp. 164-179; see illustration in Geoffrey Smith, *Arthur Streeton 1867-1943*, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1995, p. 34.
- 24 See John Payne, *Framing the Nineteenth Century: pictures frames 1837-1935*, Melbourne: Pelius Press in association with the National Gallery of Victoria, 2007, pp. 170-207.
- 25 Mary Eagle, 'The Mikado Syndrome: was there an Orient in Asia for the Australian "Impressionist Painters?"', *Australian Journal of Art*, vol. 6, 1987, p. 51, p. 62 n. 38. 'Five-fold panel screen, by A. Streeton, Tom Roberts and C. Conder', Gemmell, Tuckett's Art Gallery, Collins St, Melbourne, *Argus*, 30 April 1920, p. 2.
- 26 *Once a Month*, 15 June 1886, p. 473.
- 27 *Table Talk*, 16 August 1889, p. 9.
- 28 *Kerang Times and Swan Hill Gazette*, 24 June 1884, p. 3.
- 29 'Messrs Cullis Hill and Co.'s Establishment', *Argus*, 21 June 1884, p. 7.
- 30 *Record* (Emerald Hill), 5 November 1887, p. 3: author's italics.
- 31 *Record*, 5 November 1887, p. 3.
- 32 *Argus*, 12 October 1887, p. 7; *Argus*, 7 October 1887, p. 9.
- 33 *Argus*, 30 April 1888, p. 11.
- 34 *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia . . .*, Sydney & Melbourne: The Picturesque Atlas Publishing Company Limited, part 13 (c. 1887), p. 223.
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- 36 Ken Bethell, *John Beswicke: 1847-1925: heritage architect*, Camberwell, Vic.: Rotha Press, 2011, p. 98, p. 142.
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- 39 'Pavilion of Art', *Argus (Exhibition Supplement)*, 11 November 1880, p. 39.
- 40 *Argus*, 20 January 1882, p. 3; *Argus*, 3 September 1881, p. 11.
- 41 *Australasian Sketcher*, 18 November 1882, p. 315.
- 42 *Once a Month*, 15 October 1884, p. 316.
- 43 Olga Tsara, 'Troedel & Co.: master printers and lithographers', *La Trobe Journal*, no. 62, Spring 1998, pp. 30-38.
- 44 Wallach Bros, *Complete Design Book: furniture, bedsteads, pianos &c.*, Melbourne: Troedel & Co., [1885]; *Argus*, 11 April 1885, p. 11; *Age*, 13 June 1885, p. 16.
- 45 *Table Talk*, 16 August 1889, p. 6.
- 46 Ann Galbally, *Charles Conder: the last bohemian*, Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, Melbourne University Publishing, 2002, p. 56.
- 47 *Argus*, 21 January 1886, p. 5.
- 48 *Argus*, 27 March 1884, p. 6.
- 49 'Messrs Cullis Hill and Company', *Table Talk*, 12 December 1890, p. 13.
- 50 *Williamstown Chronicle*, 29 September 1888, p. 3; 'The Stage', *Fitzroy City Press*, 5 August 1882, p. 3.
- 51 Andrew Montana, 'The Chrysanthemum: a forgotten flower', *World of Antiques and Art*, December 1998-June 1999, pp. 114-117.
- 52 *Argus*, 16 November 1888, p. 4.
- 53 *Table Talk*, 15 May 1891, p. 6.
- 54 See 'Victorian Artists' Gallery', *Official Guide to the Picture Galleries, and Catalogue of Fine Arts, Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne, 1888-9*, Melbourne: Sands & McDougall, 1888, p. 121.
- 55 *Illustrated Sydney News*, 1 August 1891, p. 6.
- 56 'Messrs Cullis Hill and Company', *Table Talk*, 12 December 1890, p. 13.
- 57 Arthur Streeton, *Tambourine*, oil on tambourine, 1891, 25.7 cm diameter, National Gallery of Victoria 2004. 221: Terence Lane, catalogue entry, *The Joseph Brown Collection at NGV Australia*, edited by Kirsty Grant, et. al., Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2004, p. 84.
- 58 'Portrait of C. S. Paterson', in Helen Topliss, *Tom Roberts 1856-1931: a catalogue raisonné*, vol. 1, Text, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 105, illustrated in vol. 2, catalogue no. 110.
- 59 *Table Talk*, 3 April 1890, p. 7; *Age*, 29 March 1890, p. 15.
- 60 Illustrated in Smith, *Arthur Streeton*, p. 56.
- 61 *Argus*, 9 April 1891, p. 2; *Argus* 11 December 1890, p. 2.
- 62 *Table Talk*, 10 April 1891, p. 4, p. 8.
- 63 *Argus*, 4 December 1890, p. 2.
- 64 'Catalogue no. 165, T. Roberts, *Chrysanthemums*, Lent by David Cook, Esq.', *Victorian Artists' Society, Exhibition of Australian Art: past and present*, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, August 1893, p. 16.
- 65 It most likely was. Another study of the flowers by Roberts, though less magnificent in colour and painterly bravura, was sold through Bonhams & Goodman, Sydney (Lot 5, November 17, 2007) in Melbourne as *Glory of the Chrysanthemums*. This work approximated the dimensions of another painting in Topliss's catalogue raisonné called *Chrysanthemums*, also painted by Roberts around the same date, but not dated by him. Clearly the latter was not the work exhibited by David Cook in 1893: See Topliss, *Tom Roberts*, vol. 1 Text, catalogue no. 99, p. 103. Curiously the provenance of the work listed for the sale in 2007 combined the two provenances provided by Topliss.

- 66 Arthur Streeton (Smike) to Tom Roberts (Bulldog), first half of 1891, Melbourne, in *Letters from Smike: the letters of Arthur Streeton 1890-1943*, compiled and edited by Ann Galbally and Anne Gray, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1989, p. 30.
- 67 Charles Conder, 'Old Sydney', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 26 January 1888, p. 4, illustrated in Mary Eagle, 'The Mikado Syndrome', *Australian Journal of Art*, vol. 6, 1987, p. 54; see also Conder's 'Antiquities of Parramatta', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 26 January 1888, illustrated in Galbally, *Charles Conder*, 2002, p. 19.
- 68 Illustrated in *Australian Impressionism*, 2007, p. 249: Shaw Research Library Collection, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.
- 69 Denise Mimmocchi, 'Dreams of the Bohemian Idyll: Charles Conder and his impact', in Denise Mimmocchi, *Australian Symbolism: the art of dreams*, Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2012, p. 92.
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A Forgotten Art Critic: Ellen Augusta Chads . . . (Koster)

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- 9 Graeme Davison *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*, second edition, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004, p. 7.
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- 11 *Once a Month*, November 1884, p. 395; January 1885, p. 76; June 1886, p. 559.
- 12 Smith's account of Dowling's *From Calvary to the Tomb* is in the *Argus*, 10 September 1884, and Chads' description of the picture is in *Once a Month*, November 1884, p. 394.
- 13 See Lurline Stuart, *James Smith: the making of a colonial culture*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1989, pp. 115-7.
- 14 *Once a Month*, January 1885, p. 76; September 1885, p. 231.
- 15 *Once a Month*, February 1886, p. 167.
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- 17 *Once a Month*, February 1886, p. 167.

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- 19 See, for instance, their respective reviews cited in note 12 above.
- 20 Ann Laura Stoler, 'Cultivating Bourgeois Bodies and Racial Selves', in Catherine Hall, ed., *Cultures of Empire: colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: a reader*, New York: Routledge, 2000, p. 91.
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- 32 *Once a Month*, January 1885, p. 76. Said respecting *Forest of Fontainebleau Spring* by H. F. Johnstone.
- 33 *Once a Month*, February 1885, p. 137, and March 1885, p. 235.
- 34 *Once a Month*, February 1885, p. 136. The phrase referred to the work of C. F. Summers.
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- 39 *Once a Month*, February 1886, p. 173.
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- 54 *Argus*, 28 February 1913; *Capricornian* [Rockhampton], 'Melbourne Gossip', 19 February 1898.
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Three Generations of the Lazarus Family in Australia (Gatehouse)

For assistance and advice, thanks are due to Ms Virginia Noonan, Dr Trudie Fraser, Major-General Mike O'Brien, Ms Elizabeth Robertson, Ms Vanessa Robinson and to Ms Marianne Isaacs and Ms Lorraine Furlong, relatives of Samuel Lazarus's wife, Fanny Cassidy.

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- 13 Wright, 'Desperately Seeking Samuel', p. 10.
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Frank Heath: transitions of an architect . . . (Nichols, Freestone, Putra)

The authors wish to thank Blyth and Josephine Johnson, Simon Reeves, Robin Grow, David Helms, John Bayly and Peter Mills for information supplied in the course of writing this article.

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A Tale of Two Motels: the times, the architecture ... (Yencken)

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- 7 Philip Goad, Professor of Architecture, The University of Melbourne.
- 8 Athena Rozenberg, ‘The Work of John Pearce Mockridge and Mockridge Stahle and Mitchell (Architects)’, undated undergraduate thesis, Faculty of Architecture Building and Planning, The University of Melbourne.
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- 10 ‘Motel’, *Architecture and Arts*, October 1959, p. 65.
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- 14 See above.

Four Days in June: the liberation of a teenage generation (Robinson)

- 1 *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 8 June 1964, p. 32.
- 2 *Daily Telegraph*, 9 June 1964, p. 3.
- 3 *Age*, 9 June 1964, p. 3.

- 4 *Sun*, (Melbourne), 11 June 1964, p. 3.
- 5 *Sun*, 11 June 1964, p. 1.
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- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 The temperance movement was sufficiently strong to shape Victoria's 1928 Licensing Act which provided for eight yearly referenda on liquor licenses. The 1938 vote secured 43% support, falling to 34% eight years later – see the *Argus*, 15 January 1945, p. 2.
- 9 *Victorian Year Book*, 1970, p. 120.
- 10 B. Griffen-Foley, *Changing Stations: the story of Australian commercial radio*, Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009, p. 190.
- 11 L. Moore, 'Never on a Sunday: a study of Sunday observance and Sunday public musical entertainment in theatres in Melbourne, 1890-1895', Australian Catholic University thesis, 2009.
- 12 *Victorian Parliamentary Debates (VPD)*, vol. 289, p. 2312.
- 13 Sylvia Harrison, 'Jean Shrimpton, the "Four Inch Furore" and Perceptions of Melbourne Identity in the 1960s' in Seamus O'Hanlon & Tanja Luckins, eds, *Go! Melbourne*, Beaconsfield, Victoria: Circa, 2005, p. 73.
- 14 The creativeness of cinema proprietors and managers was outlined in debate over subsequent reforms. See *VPD*, vol. 289, p. 2312.
- 15 Griffen-Foley, *Changing Stations*, p. 190.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 *VPD*, vol. 269, p. 2105.
- 18 *VPD*, vol. 289, p. 2725.
- 19 *Age*, 13 June 1964, p. 12.
- 20 That this influence lived on into the mid-1960s is evidenced by an advertisement for Graham's Lucia, presented by Christian Cinemas in the *Ringwood Mail*, 25 June 1964, p. 16.
- 21 D. Johnson, *The Wild One: the life and times of Johnny O'Keefe*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2001, pp. 149-150. O'Keefe had travelled to the US earlier in 1960 and continually talked up his arguable impact on the US market. His November 1960 visit to Melbourne was the first in some time and the airport mayhem continued at his promotional event at the newly opened Chadstone Shopping Centre.
- 22 *Age*, 15 June 1964, p. 3.
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- 24 *Truth* (Melbourne), 27 June 1964, p. 1. In the lead up to the Victorian election the paper editorialised about the failure of Premier Henry Bolte to deliver a promised increase in police numbers. The editorial was not persuasive: the government being easily returned.
- 25 *Age*, 15 June 1964, p. 1.
- 26 Estimates of the total turn out for the arrival vary. The *Age* (15 June 1964, p. 1) referred to a Victoria Police estimate of 250,000 while the *Daily Telegraph* (15 June 1964, p. 3) claimed around 200,000. These figures both refer to the total turnout along the route between Essendon Airport and the Southern Cross Hotel.
- 27 *Age*, 15 June 1964, p. 1.
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 *Daily Telegraph*, 15 June 1964, p. 3.
- 30 *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 15 June 1964, p. 1.
- 31 *Daily Telegraph*, 15 June 1964, p. 3. Sydney's *Daily Mirror* reported that 350 fans required treatment on the day. Most Melbourne media reports refer to 200. The higher figure could be due to the Sydney paper's eagerness to promote a story at the expense of Melbourne's reputation. At the same time, the afternoon mayhem may have made a consistent estimate impossible.
- 32 *Age*, 15 June 1964, p. 3.
- 33 Quoted from K. Moore, 'Beatlemania: the Beatles in Melbourne, 1964', in *Go! Melbourne in the*

- Sixties*, pp. 58-71.
- 34 *Age*, 15 June 1964, p. 1.
- 35 *Daily Mirror* (Sydney), 17 June 1964, p. 1.
- 36 *Age* (Editorial), 15 June 1964, p. 2.
- 37 *Australian Year Book* 1965, p. 601.
- 38 *Truth*, 20 June 1964, p. 28.
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 Griffin-Foley, *Changing Stations*, p. 165. The book notes the debate which emerged out of the 1962 fires as to whether the spectator role of the media was appropriate, a debate which has continued to this day.
- 41 *Truth*, 20 June 1964, p. 28.
- 42 *Age*, 11 June 1964, p. 2.
- 43 *Ibid.*
- 44 *Age*, 12 June 1964, p. 2.
- 45 *Ibid.*
- 46 *Age*, 17 June 1964, p. 2.
- 47 *Age*, 16 June 1964, p. 2.
- 48 *Ibid.*
- 49 *Herald* (Melbourne), 15 June 1964, p. 4.
- 50 *Daily Telegraph*, 8 June 1964, p. 10.
- 51 C. Sandford, *McCartney*, London: Century, 2006, p. 75.
- 52 The 2SM chart for the week commencing 2 April 1964 can be accessed at the rate your music website - http://rateyourmusic.com/images/all?type=w&assoc_id=3164715&type=w&assoc_id=3164715.
- 53 *Sun*, 9 June 1964, p. 9: VFL Park's capacity never exceeded 90,000 and, contrary to the VFL's aspiration, the venue only hosted one Grand Final, in 1991, a consequence of the rebuilding of the MCG's Southern Stand.
- 54 The previous highest crowd was 115,802 in the 1956 Grand Final. See Jim Main, *More than a Century of AFL Grand Finals*, Melbourne: Pennon Publishing, 2001.
- 55 *Sun*, 10 June 1964, p. 59.
- 56 J. Cribbin, *Moorabbin: a pictorial history, 1862-1994*, Melbourne: City of Kingston, 1994, p. 176. St Kilda's first home game at Moorabbin resulted in a six point win over Collingwood. The clubs were destined to meet in the 1966 Grand Final which delivered the Saints, by a single point, their first and, to date, only premiership.
- 57 *Ringwood Mail*, 25 June 1964, p. 3.
- 58 B. Carroll & I. Rule, *Preston: an illustrated history*, Preston: City of Preston, 1985, pp 196-197.
- 59 *Ibid*, p. 201.
- 60 *Moorabbin, a pictorial history*, p. 178.
- 61 *Victorian Year Book* 1970, p. 131.
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- 64 *Age*, 16 June 1964, p. 3.
- 65 *Ibid*, p. 2.
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- 68 *Daily Telegraph*, 16 June 1964, p. 3.
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- 70 R. Gerster & J. Bassett, *Seizures of Youth*, South Yarra, Vic.: Hyland House Publishing, 1991, p. 8.
- 71 Ibid, p. 6. The quote is attributed to Robin Boyd in the *Australian*, 4 March 1969.
- 72 *Victorian Year Book* 1965, p. 787.
- 73 Ibid, p. 781.
- 74 *Age Radio and TV Supplement*, 18–25 June 1964.
- 75 *Victorian Year Book* 1970, p. 189. \$30.74 is the decimal currency conversion of the 1964 determination.
- 76 *Herald*, 3 May 1964.
- 77 *The Sound of Melbourne: 75 years of 3LO*, Sydney: ABC Books, 1999, p. 84.
- 78 *Truth*, 20 June 1964, p. 28.
- 79 *Sound of Melbourne*, p. 82.
- 80 C. Edwards, *Brown Power: a jubilee history of the State Electricity Commission of Victoria*, Melbourne: SEC, 1969, p. 225.
- 81 *Age Radio and TV Supplement*, 5–11 June 1959, p. 2.
- 82 Ibid, p. 4 lists prices of 15/6.
- 83 Ibid, p. 3.
- 84 *Herald*, 7 May 1964, p. 17.
- 85 *Ringwood Mail*, 25 June 1964, p. 3.
- 86 J. Walker, *Billy Thorpe's Time on Earth*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2009, p. 48.
- 87 *Victorian Year Book* 1966, p. 768.
- 88 Ibid, p. 773.
- 89 *Age*, 15 June 1964, p. 2.
- 90 *Australian Year Book* 1966, p. 770.
- 91 *Daily Telegraph*, 16 June 1964 p. 3. As well as transistor radios, the booty included instamatic cameras, a further example of technology's rapid post-war progress.
- 92 Griffen-Foley, *Changing Stations*, p. 257.
- 93 Ibid, p. 303.
- 94 *Herald*, 17 December 1954, p. 1.
- 95 Griffen-Foley, *Changing Stations*, pp. 55–56.
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- 97 *Advertiser*, 13 June 1964, p. 1.
- 98 *Australian Year Book* 1965, p. 601.
- 99 Johnson, *The Wild One*, p. 95.
- 100 Griffen-Foley, *Changing Stations*, p. 268.
- 101 M. Arrow, *Friday on our Minds*, Sydney: UNSWP, 2009, p. 69.
- 102 The description is taken from the National Library of Australia's Trove newspaper archive website.
- 103 *Go Set*, edition 1, 2 February 1966, p. 2.
- 104 Murray Engleheart, *Blood, Sweat and Beers: OzRock from the Aztecs to Rose Tattoo*, Pymble, NSW: HarperCollins, 2010, p. 6.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 Billy Thorpe, *Most People I Know*, Sydney: Macmillan, 1998, pp. 130–137.
- 107 Johnson, *The Wild One*, p. 199: the quote is attributed to Thorpe whose band was originally banned by O'Keefe from appearing on his show. The account is disputed by Jeff Apter (see note 113) who claims the edict came from the station management (p. 204) but the fact that O'Keefe's behaviour was becoming more erratic makes Thorpe's account more credible.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 N. Delbridge, *Up There Mike Brady*, Port Melbourne, Vic.: Coulomb Communications, 2004. p. 63.
- 110 J. Tait, *Vanda & Young: inside Australia's hit factory*, Sydney: UNSWP, 2010, p. 19.

- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 Jeff Apter, *Johnny O'Keefe: rocker, legend, wild one*, Sydney: Hachette Australia, 2013, p. 204.
- 114 Ibid.
- 115 Age, 15 June 1964 p. 3.
- 116 Ibid, p. 6.
- 117 Nicol well understood his predicament. The *Advertiser* quoting him: 'just being with the Beatles doesn't last forever', 15 June 1964, p. 16.
- 118 *Truth*, 20 June 1964, p. 24.

Alan McCulloch: cartoonist of distinction (Lindesay)

- 1 Wilfred McCulloch, 1910-1942. See his entry in Alan McCulloch, Susan McCulloch, Emily McCulloch Childs, eds, *The New McCulloch's Encyclopedia of Australian Art*, Fitzroy, Vic. : Aus Art Editions in association with The Miegunyah Press 2006; and Susan McCulloch and Daniel Thomas, eds, *Wilfred McCulloch: works 1934-1941*, Melbourne: Melbourne Fine Art [1992].
- 2 Alan McCulloch, 'Dyson', *Overland*, no. 86, December 1981, pp. 27-31.

The Battle for the Spencer Barks (James)

- 1 Alan McCulloch to J. V. Dillon, Under Secretary, Chief Secretariat Office, Treasury, 17 November 1967, MS13506, Alan McCulloch Papers, La Trobe Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (hereafter McCulloch Papers), Box 40.
- 2 Alan McCulloch, 'Here's our chance to show hidden art treasure', *Herald*, 19 February 1968.
- 3 W. E. H. Stanner, 'The Great Australian Silence', from *After the Dreaming: Black And White Australians: an anthropologist's view*, Republished in the *Boyer Collection*, Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 2001, p. 187.
- 4 See <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10409026>.
- 5 Alan McCulloch, 'Gallery lacks moderns', *Herald*, 16 May 1951; 'Emphasis is on ethnology', *Herald*, 21 April 1954.
- 6 See letter to Alan McCulloch, 29 March 1954, McCulloch Papers, Box 55.
- 7 For example, see by McCulloch, 'Save art form of the Aborigines', *Herald*, 4 July 1951. Although visionary in some of his attitudes, McCulloch was also a man of his times. He consistently maintained that post-European contact had weakened and would ultimately lead to the destruction of a 'genuine' Aboriginal art and culture, rather than either enhancing, adding to or aspects being assimilated back into it.
- 8 See his entry in *ADB*: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/spencer-sir-walter-baldwin-8606>.
- 9 *Primitive Art*, Melbourne: National Museum of Victoria, 1929, was the first major exhibition of Aboriginal art. It was followed by *Primitive Art Exhibition*, Melbourne: National Gallery and National Museum of Victoria, 1943, and 'Australian Aboriginal Art, The Fine Arts Exhibition, part of the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne.
- 10 Leonhard Adam (1891-1960). Anthropologist and lawyer. See his entry in *ADB*: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/adam-leonhard-9962>.
- 11 Leonhard Adam to Alan McCulloch, 9 April 1955, McCulloch Papers, Box 4.
- 12 Margaret Williams, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston to Rodney James, 8 and 12 January 2010. On Sweeney's American career see also Lee Sorensen, 'J. J. Sweeney 1900-1986', *Dictionary of Art Historians*, <http://www.dictionaryofarthistorians.org/sweeneyj.htm>. Accessed 1 June 2014.
- 13 I am grateful to Lindy Allen, Senior Curator, Indigenous Cultures, Museum Victoria for drawing my attention to Museum Victoria's efforts to take its Aboriginal Art Collection to the world in the 1940s. (Lindy Allen to Rodney James, 21 January 2010). McCulloch was also not aware of the inclusion of 11 bark paintings and two pen drawings by Tommy McRae from the Victorian collection included in touring exhibition *Art of Australia 1788-1941*. This large survey exhibition was sent to the United States under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation in 1941 and was

- shown at 29 venues including the Museum of Modern Art in New York.
- 14 Susan McCulloch to Rodney James, 6 January 2014. For a lucid discussion about the background and philosophy underpinning the exhibition see Jonathan Sweet, 'UNESCO and Cultural Heritage Practice in Australia in the 1950s: the international touring exhibition *Australian Aboriginal Culture 1948–55*', *Asia Pacific Journal of Arts and Cultural Management*, vol. 4, no. 1, February 2006, pp 209–18.
 - 15 A selection of 20 works from *Australian Aboriginal Art*, an exhibition curated by Tony Tuckson and organised by the Art Gallery of New South Wales, 1960–61, were sent to Vi Biennial of Sao Paolo, Museu de Arte Moderna, Brazil, 1961 (Steven Miller, Archivist, Art Gallery of New South Wales, to Rodney James, 22 January 2010). This was followed by *Australian Aboriginal Bark Paintings 1912–1964*, organised by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra for the Commonwealth Arts Festival Exhibition, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool 17 September – 2 October 1965; *Aboriginal Bark Paintings from Australia*, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston Texas, 17 December 1965 – 30 January 1966; and *Aboriginal Art from Australia*, Bark paintings and sculpture lent by the National Gallery of South Australia, Worcester Art Museum 17 February – 3 April 1966, Allentown Art Museum, 14 April – 12 May 1966.
 - 16 Plans to bring Sweeney to Australia in 1963 fell foul, so he was invited to Australia for the following year.
 - 17 Alan McCulloch to Arthur Rylah, October 1964, McCulloch Papers, Box 22. Susan McCulloch, present at the time, recalls that her father had to physically restrain himself from stopping McNally (Susan McCulloch to Rodney James, 11 March 2010).
 - 18 J. J. Sweeney to Alan McCulloch, 14 June 1964, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 19 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 31 July 1964, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
 - 20 J. J. Sweeney to Alan McCulloch, undated [August 1964], McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 21 J. J. Sweeney to the Chairman, Board of Trustees, NMV, 31 August 1964, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 22 J. McNally to J. J. Sweeney, 14 October 1964, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
 - 23 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 16 October 1964, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 24 J. J. Sweeney to Alan McCulloch, 17 October 1964, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 25 Alan McCulloch to J. Galbally, 21 October 1964; Alan McCulloch to Eric Westbrook, 21 October 1964; Alan McCulloch to A. G. Rylah, undated [October 1964] and 21 October 1964; Alan McCulloch to J. D. MacDonald, 28 October 1964, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 26 Alan McCulloch to A. G. Rylah, undated [October 1964], McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 27 Alan McCulloch to A. G. Rylah, 21 October 1964, Alan McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 28 According to McCulloch, he and Sweeney were given 'a first-class lesson on how not to handle fragile works; Sweeney shuddered with horror when he saw the nails through the paintings and the way they were unceremoniously hauled out of the racks by McNally and assistant butchers . . .', Alan McCulloch to Eric Westbrook, 21 October 1964. Westbrook wrote in reply that he 'could see it coming', Eric Westbrook to Alan McCulloch, 10 November 1964, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 29 J. J. Sweeney to Alan McCulloch, 21 October 1964, McCulloch Papers, Box 22. Sweeney's recollection was in part incorrect. Following the showing of *Art of Australia 1788–1941* at MoMA, New York in 1941, several works from the National Museum of Victoria's collection were withdrawn from the American and Canadian tour amidst concerns that some of the bark paintings were suffering irreparable damage. See Louise Ryan, 'Forging Diplomacy: a socio-cultural investigation of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the *Art of Australia: 1788–1941* exhibition', unpublished MA thesis, UNSW, 2007, pp 113–114. McCulloch's damning indictment of the decision, which he now considered as 'a national scandal', was followed by a second letter to Arthur Rylah in which he offered his services at no cost to document and catalogue any bark paintings sent to Houston, 'supervise mounting of barks not already mounted' as well as undertake 'everything necessary for their safe dispatch', Alan McCulloch to A. G. Rylah, 21 October 1964, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 30 J. J. Sweeney to Alan McCulloch, 29 Oct 1964, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
 - 31 A. G. Rylah to Alan McCulloch, 13 January 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 22

- 32 J. D. MacDonald to Alan McCulloch, 19 January 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 33 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 14 April 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 22. McCulloch registered the contrary evidence that works from the Spencer Collection had been loaned before. In addition 11 works collected by Spencer from Arnhem Land in 1912 were listed in *Australian Aboriginal Art*, an exhibition organised by the State Galleries of Australia, 1960–61.
- 34 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 14 April 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 35 Sweeney wrote to McCulloch: 'The Adelaide Melville Island barks sound exciting. I hope you get them. Are two or three enough? What about Melville Island grave-posts?', 10 June 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 36 Lindy Allen, 'The Early Collection and Exhibition of Art Work by Aboriginal Artists', in *A Museum for the People: a history of Museum Victoria and its predecessors 1854-2000*, Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2001, p. 142. The formation of the NMV's collection of Aboriginal Barks and complex story of Spencer's relationship with Cahill and subsequent commissioning of works through him has been well-documented by Allen and other scholars including D. J. Mulvaney. For Baldwin Spencer's own account of his travels and the art he collected see his *Wanderings in Wild Australia*, London: Macmillan, 1928.
- 37 For a lucid discussion of the issues concerned, see Nicholas Peterson, Lindy Allen, and Louise Hamby, eds, *The Makers and Making of Indigenous Australian Museum Collections*, Carlton South, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2008.
- 38 McCulloch wrote to Sweeney, presumably tongue-in-cheek, that he 'had to take a bank overdraft to finance the framing'. He was later reimbursed by Houston for this and all his other expenses associated with the exhibition. Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 24 August 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 39 McCulloch wrote approvingly to Sweeney that 'All those nail holes and such defacements have been taken care of and where the bark has warped it has been built up at the back with a light bridge; experiments showed that that in cases where the bark was split it was better to leave it honestly that way rather than attempt to fake it. He has made the frames of maximum strength but in such a way that the barks themselves are readily accessible. All that is needed to get into the glass is to remove the two coach screws at each corner and the screws at the back; this is important as it might be necessary to clean any dead borer dust shaken out during the voyage', 24 August 1965, McCulloch Papers, SLV, Box 22.
- 40 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 15 September 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 41 Alan McCulloch to J. McNally, 25 August 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 42 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 24 August 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 8 September 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 45 Karel Kupka to Alan McCulloch, 12 Oct 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 36.
- 46 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, undated [October 1965], Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
- 47 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 20 October 1965, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
- 48 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 4 November 1965, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
- 49 I am grateful to Lindy Allen, Museum Victoria, for teasing out the authorship of the extended list of works in the catalogue. The initial description, she suggests, are derived from the museum's catalogue, while the expanded commentary which includes comments about 'dreamtime', 'pattern of life' and 'contact with Europeans' were a commentary from the author(s). Lindy Allen to Rodney James, 21 January 2010.
- 50 For an extended analysis of Kupka's philosophies and their links with Levi-Strauss, see Will Owen's blog, *Aboriginal Art and France, History in review*, Pt 1-4, 2005-06.
- 51 Like Spencer, Chaseling identified the necessity of preserving the material culture of what was seen as an increasingly compromised and diminishing race with many of the works he collected later distributed for 'safekeeping' amongst State museums around Australia. Both men were motivated by humanitarian values, however, each had divergent views on what should be collected and why.

See his *Yulengor: Nomads of Arnhem Land*, London: The Epworth Press, 1957. Belying his scientific training and an immersion in social Darwinian theories, Spencer argued for careful and intensive study of the paintings and their meanings and the collecting of artefacts 'uncontaminated' by white contact and outside change. The barks he collected at Oenpelli in 1912 were evidence of an essentialist Aboriginality, at one point decrying the 'substitution of red rag for parakeet feathers in a basket'. Quoted in John Mulvaney, 'Annexing all I can lay hands on "Baldwin Spencer as Ethnographic Collector"', in Peterson, Allen, and Hamby, eds, *The Makers and Making of Indigenous Australian Museum Collections*, p. 147.

- 52 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 17 November, 1965, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
- 53 Alan to Ellen McCulloch, 10 December 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 36.
- 54 Alan to Ellen McCulloch, 18 December 1965, McCulloch Papers, Box 36.
- 55 I am grateful to Susan McCulloch for drawing my attention to these documents.
- 56 Amy Mobley, Archivist, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston to Rodney James, 8 January 2010.
- 57 For example, Ronald Berndt, ed., *Australian Aboriginal Art*, Sydney: Ure-Smith, Sydney, 1964.
- 58 Eleanor Kempner Freed, 'Art of the most primitive people on earth', *Houston Post*, January 1966; Marguerite Johnston, 'No time to farm, but to paint, yes', *Houston Post*, 19 January 1966.
- 59 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 4 January 1966, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.
- 60 J. J. Sweeney to Alan McCulloch, 31 January 1966, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 61 Alan McCulloch to J. McNally, 23 February 1966; J. McNally to Alan McCulloch, 25 February 1966, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 62 Alan McCulloch to J. McNally, 4 May 1966, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 63 Alan McCulloch to J. J. Sweeney, 24 June 1966, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 64 McNally wrote to Sweeney in good spirit at the conclusion of the exhibition thanking him for the catalogues and noting: 'I am most impressed with the excellence and quality of the production and very pleased indeed that our material was treated in such an excellent way', 10 February 1966, Archives, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. See also his letters to Alan McCulloch in which he outlined the Trustees decision to concentrate on the 'display of the barks either in the Museum, or in one of the adjacent exhibitions', 6 June 1966, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 65 Alice Rowan to Alan McCulloch, 13 June 1966; 25 February 1968, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 66 J. D. MacDonald to Alan McCulloch, 10 March 1966, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 67 Alan McCulloch to J. D. Macdonald, 18 March 1966, McCulloch Papers, Box 22.
- 68 Alan McCulloch, 'Here's our chance to show hidden art treasure', *Herald*, 19 February 1968.
- 69 Alan McCulloch to Elwyn Lynn, 10 February 1970, McCulloch Papers, Box 37.
- 70 Alan McCulloch to J. V. Dillon, 21 September 1967, Box 40.
- 71 Alan McCulloch to John F. Rossiter and R. J. Hamer, 25 September 1967, McCulloch Papers, Box 40.
- 72 J. V. Dillon to Alan McCulloch, 17 October 1967; Alan McCulloch to J. V. Dillon, 17 November 1967, McCulloch Papers, Box 40.
- 73 Alan McCulloch to J. V. Dillon, 21 September 1967, McCulloch Papers, Box 40.
- 74 Alan McCulloch, 'What's good enough for Prince Phillip . . .', *Herald*, 12 June 1968.
- 75 Alan McCulloch to Sir Robert Helpmann, 25 July 1968, McCulloch Papers, Box 48.

Notes on Contributors

Mark R. Cabouret is a Melbourne medical practitioner. He has researched the lives and work of Neville Henry, Neville William and Alice Cayley and other early Australian Natural History artists and authors over the last 31 years. He is preparing two encyclopedic works – ‘Neville Henry Cayley: “the bird artist of Australia”, and ‘Neville William Cayley, the bird illustrator of Australia’ – with the aim to restore these significant figures to their rightful place in the history of Australian art and Natural History

Elisabeth Findlay is an Associate Dean in the College of Arts and Social Sciences and a researcher in the Centre for Art History and Art Theory at the Australian National University. Her main research interests are in portraiture and Australian colonial art.

Robert Freestone is Professor of Planning in the Faculty of the Built Environment at the University of New South Wales. His latest book is the co-edited *Exhibitions and the Development of Planning Culture* (Ashgate, 2014).

Tim Gatehouse is a retired Melbourne solicitor with an interest in historical research. He is a member of the Fitzroy History Society and while researching the history of North Fitzroy came across Samuel Lazarus and was encouraged to research further.

Rodney James is a consultant curator and writer. Current projects include an exhibition examining the response of Australian artists to Bali and a combined biography and book of letters to and from the art critic Alan McCulloch.

Pieter Koster is a PhD candidate in the History Department at Sydney University, currently focussing on Willem Siebenhaar and transnational aspects of radical left wing thought in Perth around the turn of the twentieth century. He recently completed an MA by Research on the life and work of Ellen Augusta Chads, and continues to research nineteenth-century Australian fiction from a biographical and historical perspective.

Vane Lindesay is a leading black-and-white artist, cartoonist and bookman whose books include *The Inked-in Image: a social and historical study of Australian comic art* (1979). A portion of his memories, ‘A Bookman Recollects’, was published in the Autumn 2002 (no. 79) issue of the *La Trobe Journal*.

David R. Marshall is Principal Fellow, Art History, School of Culture and Communication, the University of Melbourne. He has a particular interest in European topographical and view-painting.

Andrew Montana is a senior lecturer in art and design history at the Australian National University and the author of *Fantasy Modern: Loudon Sainthill’s theatre of art and life* (NewSouth, 2013).

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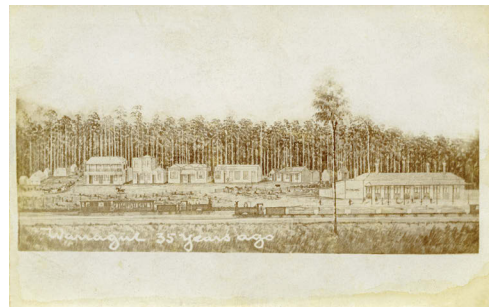
Ruth Pullin is an independent art historian. She was the recipient of a State Library of Victoria Creative Fellowship in 2012 and the C. H. Currey Memorial Fellowship, State Library of New South Wales in 2009, each for research on von Guérard's sketchbooks and drawings. She curated the National Gallery of Victoria's 2011 touring exhibition, *Eugene von Guérard: nature revealed* (with Michael Varcoe-Cocks) and she is the principal author and editor of the book of the same title.

Yvette Putra is currently undertaking a PhD in the Faculty of Architecture, Building, and Planning at the University of Melbourne, where she is researching the significance of architectural drawings in twentieth-century Australia as cultural artefacts.

Tony Robinson holds a Master of Arts in Australian Studies from Monash University. He served 13 years as a member of the Victorian State Parliament including four as a Minister in the Brumby Government and is currently a Senior Manager with the Brotherhood of St Laurence.

Lynette Russell is an anthropological historian based at Monash University. She is currently working on Victoria's nineteenth-century ethnographers.

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Two early twentieth-century postcard reproductions of Neville Henry Cayley's watercolour drawing of the new railway station and township along Queen Street at Warragul, Gippsland, 1879 (see page 62).

Left: Photographer unknown, 'First Train at WARRAGUL. 1879. FRED H. SMALL', 1909.

Right: Photographer unknown, 'Warragul 35 years ago', c. 1914

Both collection of Colin Silcock, Warragul, Victoria.