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Picturing Sydney: Using portraiture to offer a biography of a colonial city

ABSTRACT

Sydney is a city about people. In this paper, a pictorial biography—of a small, remote settlement that has evolved into one of Australia’s largest cities—is presented through oil paintings, silhouettes and sketches, medallions, miniatures, watercolours and contemporary photographs. In a creative response to the portrait collection held at the State Library of New South Wales, this biography is also told through the voices of artists and subjects who produced pictures of people from the celebrity to the obscure. This research also looks at how portraiture, once the domain of the privileged few, has been democratised. The tradition of grand pictures commissioned to hang in stately homes replaced by digital images we can carry in our pockets. Portraiture has been used to remember and to be remembered. From the first Australians to new Australians. From famous faces to family images and those who, despite many efforts, are now forgotten.

KEYWORDS

art
biography
colonial
photography
portraiture
State Library
of New
South Wales
Storytelling

INTRODUCTION

Portraiture allows us to remember the faces of those we have admired, loved, loathed and lost. Yet, such images do more than present individual faces of the past. Portraits offer a window into a shared history.¹ The first chapters of this story, in Australia, were written by those in positions of privilege; those with the wealth to commission a picture as well as a grand home in which to hang a large oil painting in an elaborate frame. In the colonial era, a portrait demanded attention and served as a statement of social standing.² Men, looking serious, dominate. In some instances, these men share wall space with their wives or children. A few colonial women, their personal achievements so significant they are difficult to ignore, disrupt the pattern and appear in portraits to celebrate work, instead of family, life. In the settlement’s formative years, the incarcerated, the obscure and the poor were unable to access the resources

that would have seen their own face recreated, framed and hung to return their gaze.³ In sharp contrast to many settlers, the first Australians were subjected to portraiture in ways that denied agency over how they were represented. Aboriginal peoples were routinely documented, their likenesses reproduced as ethnographic studies or as curious souvenirs.

Of course, Sydney is a place of reinvention.⁴ As the decades passed, chapters on portraiture benefitted from many different storytellers. Women began to emerge, though often still resisted, as more equal partners in the national project. Convicts became citizens. People actively sought social mobility, seeking to better themselves and their families. The unknown and under-resourced, over time, had more opportunities to contribute to a pictorial essay of Australian history, as cheaper forms of portraiture became available. Immigrants brought new ideas of style and value. And Aboriginal Australians began to be afforded rights long overdue, including rights to their own image.

Of the various portrait formats presented here, the most significant is photography. Photographs took portraiture off walls and placed it on dressing tables, mantle pieces and into our pockets. Photography allowed for mass production with images eagerly distributed by the press.⁵ The increasing affordability of photography placed portraiture in the reach of many instead of a few. A photograph is, too, considered a more reliable likeness, though these images, like all portraits, can be fabricated or staged. Portraits are rarely concerned with truth, rather they offer us a vision of what the sitter wanted to be. Images can be treated much like a text: questioned, debated, endorsed or accused of lying. This paper explores the power of portraits to offer a biography of a city. Images of men, women and children—supported by introductory statements and contemporaneous voices—offer a suite of biographical sketches of Sydney.

THE 1770s, 1780s and 1790s: THE FIRST COLONISERS

The early portraits, which contribute to the story of modern Sydney, reflect the great men of history;⁶ those who were leaders in the scientific, administrative and military communities.

Joseph Banks (1743-1820)⁷ led a successful scientific career, becoming one of the most impressive naturalists on record a subject of grand paintings and simple caricatures. His journal from *Endeavour's* first Pacific voyage (1768-71) offers observations of land, people, plants and animals that help inform our understanding of Australia before European settlement.⁸ The Sydney suburbs of Banksia, Banksmeadow and Bankstown are named in his honour. He noted in his journal, in 1770: “An opening appearing like a harbour was seen and we stood directly in for it. A small smook [sic] arising from a very barren place directed our glasses that way and we soon saw about 10 people.”⁹



Figure 1: Matthew Darly, 12 July 1772, Etching 12.2 x 17.6 cm
“The Fly Catching Macaroni” Sydney: State Library of NSW, PXA 1353

Arthur Phillip (1738-1814)¹⁰ was the first Governor of New South Wales (1788-92). Charged with the complex, and controversial, task of establishing a penal colony, he chose Port Jackson as a suitable site for the new settlement (over James Cook’s and Joseph Banks’ suggestion of Botany Bay).¹¹ A very careful documenter of his experiences, and the world around him, he wrote about the beauty of the body of water that would become known as Sydney Harbour: “... here a Thousand Sail of the Line may ride in the most perfect Security”.¹²



Figure 2: Francis Wheatley, 1786, Oil Painting 30 x 25 cm
“Captain Arthur Phillip, RN” Sydney: State Library of NSW, ML 124

William Cox Senior (1764-1837)¹³ was born in Dorset, England. A soldier and builder he arrived in Sydney in 1800. His first wife died in 1819 and he married Anna Blachford in 1821. Miniatures emerged from decorations for early manuscripts; though often expensive they remained popular until photography emerged.¹⁴ The inclusion of hair offers a physical reminder to a pictorial keepsake. Cox wrote, after being charged with building a major road in 1814: “His Excellency [having explained his want for a road across the Blue Mountains ...] requested me to give a written detail of everything that would be wanted to commence the undertaking.”¹⁵



Figures 3 and 4: Artist Unknown, c.1797-98, Watercolour on Ivory 6 x 5 cm (hair, gold thread, seed pearls)
“William Cox Senior” Sydney: State Library of NSW, MIN 382

THE 1800s, 1810s, 1820s, 1830s and 1840s: CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE

Relations between the traditional owners of the land and the colonists were fraught. Competition over resources resulted in displacement of Indigenous communities by settlers and often led to violence.¹⁶ This dark chapter in the story of Sydney does reveal that some efforts were made to understand peoples and cultures.

Bennelong (c.1764-1813)¹⁷ was a Wangal man, raised near the Parramatta River. He was approximately 24-years-old when the First Fleet arrived in January 1788. In 1789 Bennelong was one of two men captured to provide Governor Phillip with information on the Aboriginal peoples of New South Wales. Bennelong spent time in Sydney with the Governor and he travelled to England.¹⁸ He famously took up residence on the harbour-front site now occupied by the Sydney Opera House. In a 1796 letter to Phillip, the first document in English produced by an Aboriginal Australian, he wrote: “All my friends alive and well. Not me go to England no more. I am at home now.”¹⁹

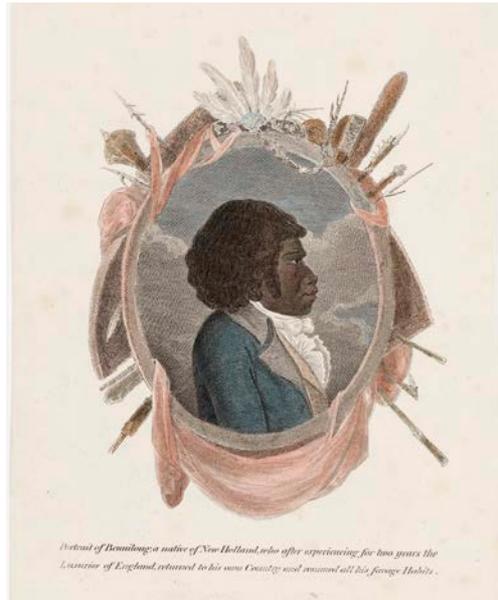


Figure 5: Artist Unknown, c.180?, Hand Coloured Engraving 21.2 x 16.5 cm
"Bennilong [Bennelong]" Sydney: State Library of NSW, P2 / 511

Thomas Laycock (c.1786-1823)²⁰ arrived in Sydney in 1791 with his wife Hannah. He entered the New South Wales Corps and served in Sydney, Norfolk Island and Van Diemen's Land. After Hannah's death, he married Isabella (1787-1817)²¹, a daughter of Eber and Margaret Bunker. In 1811, he served in the American War, returning to Sydney with Isabella in 1817 who died that year. He then married Margaret, daughter of John Connell. The gravestone of Isabella and her mother, in Sydney's old Devonshire Street Cemetery, was inscribed: "Weep not, our husbands and children dear, We are not dead, but sleeping here."²²



Figures 6 and 7: Artist Unknown, c.1811, Watercolours on Ivory 6.2 x 5.3 cm
"Thomas Laycock" and "Isabella Laycock" Sydney: State Library of NSW, MIN 322 and 321

Bungaree (1775-1830)²³ was a well-respected leader, one who adopted a role of mediator between the newly-arrived colonists and the Aboriginal peoples. Sailing with the famed cartographer and explorer Matthew Flinders, in the early nineteenth century, he became the first Australian to circumnavigate the continent. A talented mimic, he greeted ships as they came through Sydney Heads: doffing his hat, bowing and welcoming people to ‘his’ Country.²⁴ Bungaree was the colony’s earliest celebrity and the first local icon of popular culture, there were many more portraits (plus illustrations) of him than there were portraits of Governor Lachlan Macquarie. A brave man, he “frequently put his own life at risk in order to re-establish peace.”²⁵

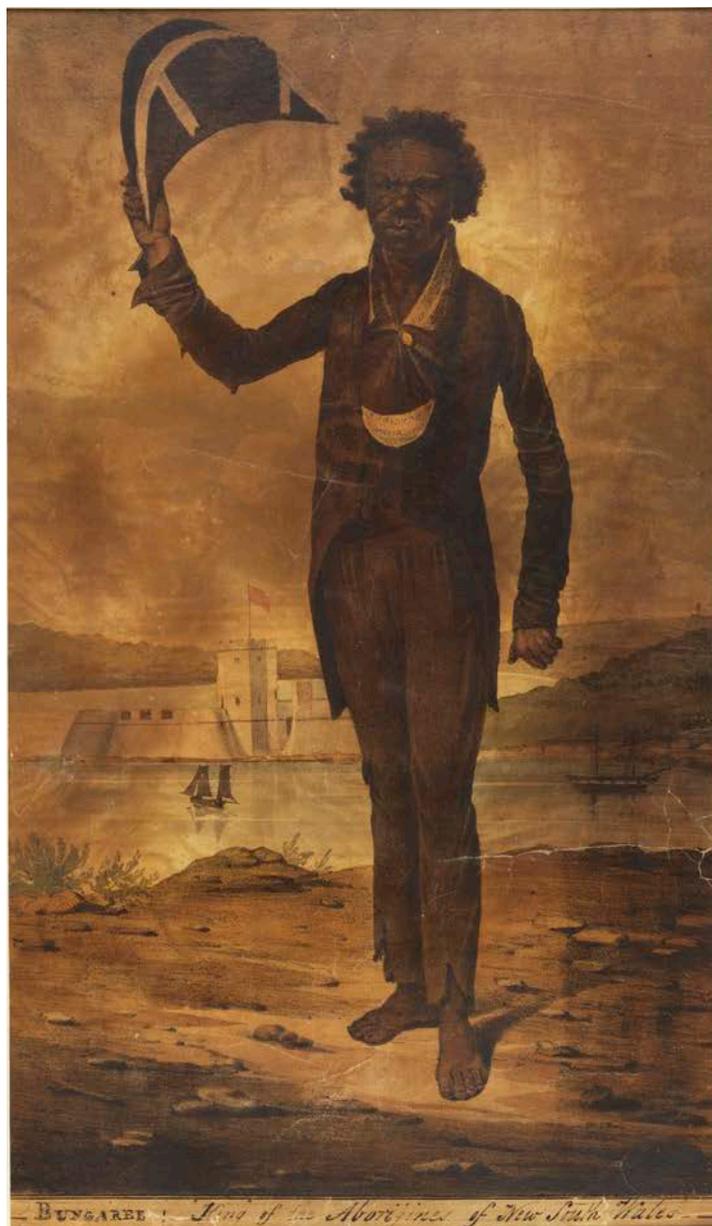


Figure 8: Augustus Earle, 1826, Hand Coloured Lithograph 40.5 x 23.4 cm
 “Bungaree: King of the Aborigines of New South Wales” Sydney: State Library of NSW, DL Pe 11

William (Billy) Blue (c.1767-1834)²⁶ was possibly born in Jamaica, New York City. He arrived, as a convict, in Sydney in 1801. He was appointed harbour watchman and constable by Governor Macquarie in 1811, allowing him to acquire a new home overlooking Sydney Harbour. Blue's location offered several "opportunities" for additional business and he was accused of regularly smuggling goods and harbouring escaped prisoners.²⁷ Blue died in his North Sydney home, the ferry terminus is still known as Blues Point. "[Of] William Blue of Northampton near Sydney."²⁸

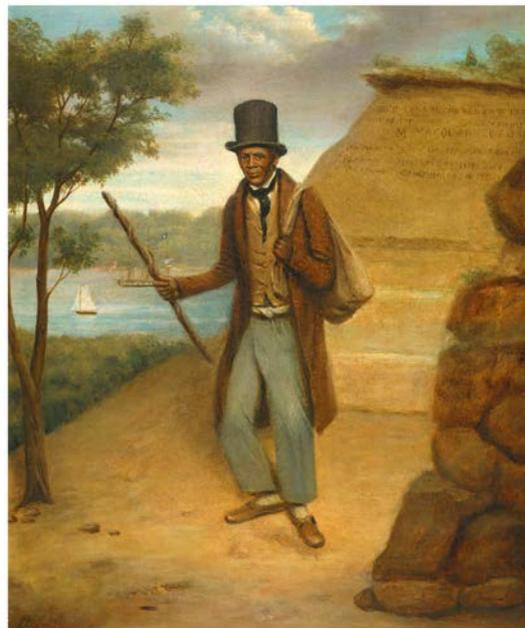


Figure 9: J.B. East, 1834, Oil Painting 63 x 50.2 cm
"William Blue" Sydney: State Library of NSW, ML 560

Miss Mary (?-?)²⁹ was from Botany Bay in Sydney. In sharp contrast to many settlers, the first Australians were subjected to portraiture without permission; they certainly had no control over images once they were created. Aboriginal peoples were routinely documented, their likenesses reproduced as ethnographic studies or as curious souvenirs. Cora Gooseberry (c.1777-1852),³⁰ an Eora woman, was a daughter of Mooroo boora, or Maroubra. In Sydney, she was also the well-known wife of Bungaree. Silhouettes, much more affordable than grand oils or miniature watercolours, were a cheap and popular form of portraiture. Phrenologists used silhouette profiles to study racial and personality types, in the belief the shape of a person's head revealed their characteristics.³¹ "Because [Bungaree and Cora] were born before Europeans arrived, their knowledge of language and cultural practices was considered 'authentic', but the changes in their lives became parables about the inevitable demise of the Aboriginal culture in the face of European civilisation."³²



Figures 10 and 11: After W.H. Fernyhough, c.1836-40, Pen and Ink Drawings 21.5 x 17 cm
 “Miff [Miss] Mary!!!” and “Gooseberry, wife of Bungaree” Sydney: State Library of NSW, PXB 207

Conrad Martens (1801-78)³³ was born in London, England. When his travels brought him to Sydney, he made the city his home. A talented artist he is best-known for his landscape paintings and his glorious views of Sydney Harbour.³⁴ Martens was appointed Assistant Parliamentary Librarian, for New South Wales, in 1862 and was the Acting Librarian from 1867 until 1878.³⁵ In a lecture on painting, he advised: “It is very good to have the sun in the picture, for besides its being of necessity either morning or afternoon, which are always the most picturesque times, it at once gives a focus of light.”³⁶



Figure 12: Maurice Felton, c.1840, Oil on Commercial Artists Board 30 x 33 cm
 “Conrad Martens” Sydney: State Library of NSW, ML 28

Caroline Louisa Waring Atkinson (1834-72)³⁷ worked as a writer, botanist and illustrator. An extraordinary example of the early efforts of women in journalism and natural science in Australia,³⁸ she was regularly published in Sydney papers including the *Illustrated Sydney News*, *The Sydney Mail* and *The Sydney Morning Herald*. Her obituary recorded that: “This excellent lady, who has been cut down like a flower in the midst of her days, was highly distinguished for her literary and artistic attainments, as well as for the Christian principles and expansive charity which marked her career.”³⁹



Figure 13: C.E. Atkinson (Attributed), c.1842-46, Watercolour and Pencil Drawing 22.5 x 18.2 cm
“Caroline Louisa Waring Atkinson” Sydney: State Library of NSW, P2 / 371

Warrah Warrah (often referred to as Ricketty Dick) (1795-1863)⁴⁰ was a well-known Sydney character. A cousin of Cora Gooseberry, he suffered from a disease of the lower limbs which eventually crippled him. He was a favourite of William Charles Wentworth (despite Wentworth’s appalling record in fighting *against* Indigenous rights⁴¹) who is said to have paid a man to look after him in his old age.⁴² Warrah Warrah collected a toll (sixpence, one shilling or tobacco) on Sydney’s South Head Road.⁴³ This toll was regularly paid in an early, if grossly insufficient, acknowledgement of the lands that were taken by the colonists.

[I]nhaling the fresh sea breeze, which wafts its welcome influence around, we climb the opposing hill, and, passing old ‘Ricketty Dick’, as he squatted on the ground he extends his tawny hands to receive the small coin we bestow on him, as a tribute to one of the last specimens of the tribe that once held undisputed sway as monarchs of all they surveyed, but are now rapidly disappearing before the white-faced intruders on the soil.⁴⁴



Figure 14: Charles Meryon (Possibly), c.1843-46, Charcoal and Pastel 61 x 49 cm
 “Ricketty Dick” Sydney: State Library of NSW, ML 488

THE 1850s: EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT SOCIAL CHANGE

Throughout the nineteenth century, several high-profile Sydney-siders worked to bring about change: to re-direct the city’s narrative and craft a more inclusive story.

Caroline Chisholm (1808-77)⁴⁵ was born near Northampton, England. She married Captain Archibald Chisholm of the East India Co on the condition she could continue her philanthropic work. The Chisholms arrived in Australia in 1838, settling at Windsor.⁴⁶ On trips to Sydney the difficult conditions that faced immigrants arriving in the colony were obvious. An extraordinarily strong, and very feisty, woman the indefatigable Mrs Chisholm established the “Female Immigrants’ Home” and Sydney’s first free employment agency: the home helped many thousands of people while thousands more were found accommodation and employment.⁴⁷ She wrote that: “[T]he height of my ambition is to lead a *useful life*”.⁴⁸



Figure 15: Angelo Collen Hayter, 1852, Oil on Canvas 99.9 x 124.5 cm
“Caroline Chisholm” Sydney: State Library of NSW, DG 459

William Charles Wentworth (1790-1872),⁴⁹ son of a convict and a doctor, became a central figure in colonial Sydney as an explorer, author, barrister, landowner and statesman. An imposing and sometimes difficult man, he lobbied passionately for many freedoms we take for granted today.⁵⁰ Having died in England, his remains were sent home to Australia for burial. His eulogist declared on 6 May 1873: “What he claimed for himself he claimed also for others,” in fighting for “a free press, trial by jury, and for a share in the making of the laws by which he was to be governed, he fought the battle of the humblest as well as of the highest.”⁵¹



Figure 16: Thomas Woolner, c.1854, Bronze Medallion in Timber Frame 7.6 cm diameter
“W.C. Wentworth” Sydney: State Library of NSW, DL pa 103

Colonial Australia was, for many, a place of reinvention. Convicts became citizens. Tradesmen became wealthy business owners. In the rush towards respectability, portraiture was an obvious symbol of success. When Edward Samuell—a successful Sydney publican⁵²—commissioned a portrait of his daughters Emma (1850-), Harriet (1853-) and Fanny (1847-)⁵³ he, perhaps, betrayed his working-class beginnings. A more class-conscious person may have chosen one of the better-known names of colonial art, instead of Fortescue Hitchens,⁵⁴ to paint this work. This ambition was reflected by the youngest daughter Fanny when she wrote to her mother, shortly before her return home in 1855: “I hope you will find me improved.”⁵⁵



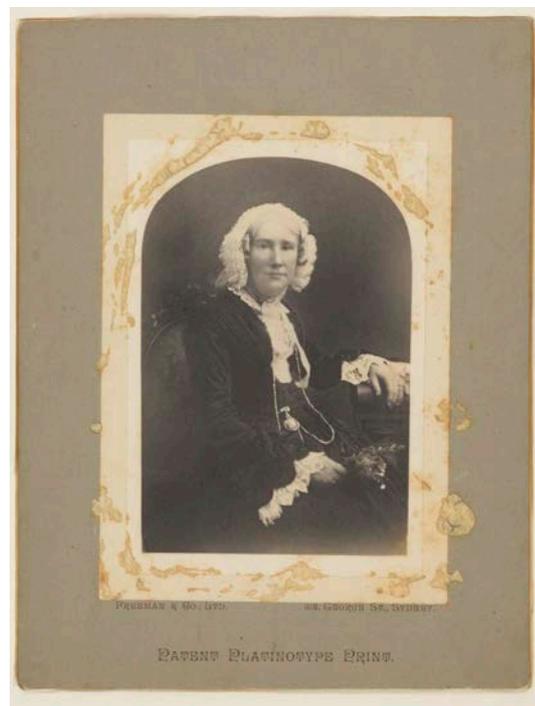
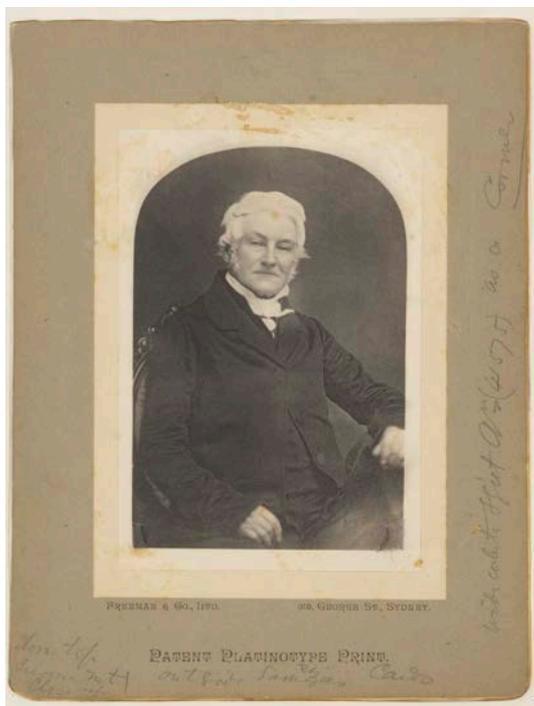
Figure 17: Fortescue Hitchens, c.1857, Oil Painting 81 x 91.5 cm
 “Emma, Harriet and Fanny Samuell” Sydney: State Library of NSW, ML 1199

THE 1860s and 1870s: THE RISE OF PHOTOGRAPHY

The earliest photographs, taken in Australia, date back to the 1840s.⁵⁶ The increasingly affordable, and by extension increasingly popular, medium changed portraiture in Sydney and across the country. So, as individuals worked to effect a change in the Sydney story, technology also played a vital role in extending Sydney’s stage to include many more characters. People

who would never have been able to have their story told through a traditional portrait now had an opportunity for their image to be recorded and so contribute to the visual history of a city.

Edward Charles Close (1790-1866)⁵⁷ was born in Rangamati, Bengal. After being educated in England he joined the army. He arrived in New South Wales in 1817, spending several years in Sydney before moving to Newcastle. He had a contentious career as a magistrate before entering politics and is associated with establishing the Church of England in the Hunter Region.⁵⁸ As an amateur artist, he produced a now significant set of illustrations known as the New South Wales Sketchbook.⁵⁹ “The *Matilda*, on which I embarked, arrived at Sydney Cove August 3rd, and anchored at 1 p.m.”⁶⁰



Figures 18 and 19: Freeman and Co. Ltd, c.186?, Albumen Photographic Prints
“E.C. Close and Mrs E.C. Close” Sydney: State Library of NSW, PXA 1755

Emily Macpherson (1863-1936)⁶¹ married Frederic Moore in 1887 and Isabel Macpherson (1867-1942)⁶² was the NSW Associate Golf Champion in 1910. The painter, of these portraits of sisters Emily and Isabel Macpherson, is unknown. It is believed the Macpherson family took advantage of a growing Chinese population in New South Wales and some of the many new services Chinese businesses offered. The Chinese and Oriental Photographic & Oil Portrait Co, in Sydney’s George Street, was just one company that forwarded small photographs to China by post, where full-scale portraits were painted by local artists and then sent to Australia. This allowed families to retain the prestige of an oil painting for a fraction of the cost of a locally produced portrait.



Figures 20 and 21: Artist Unknown, c.187?, Oil Paintings 75.5 x 58.5 cm
 “Emily Macpherson” and “Isabel Macpherson” Sydney: State Library of NSW, ML 1441 and ML 1442

Photography changed portraiture. Large studios, such as Freeman & Co (Sydney, established 1850s) and the American & Australasian Photographic Company (Melbourne and Sydney, established 1860s), took tens of thousands of images.⁶³ By the 1870s the preference for photographic portraits, over painted portraits, was increasing as photography was more affordable and so much more accessible. Yet, the style of composition remained relatively unchanged. These photographs closely resemble the poses of oil paintings completed around the same time: a young woman, Mrs Harrison,⁶⁴ stands erect, behind a chair and a small child, Baby Carroll,⁶⁵ sits waiting for the photographer to finish their task (you can see someone, behind the curtain, holding the child still).



Figure 22: Freeman & Co, c.1877,
 From a Wet Plate Negative “Mrs Harrison” Sydney: State Library of NSW, ON 268, Box 2



Figure 23: American & Australasian Photographic Company, c.1870-75,
 From a Glass Photonegative “Baby Carroll” Sydney: State Library of NSW, ON 4, Box 14 No. C-310

THE 1880s and 1890s: ON THE EVE OF FEDERATION

As the colonial era drew to a close, the city of Sydney and the colonies across the continent, began to consider more critically who they were and who they wanted to be. Sydney was, slowly, becoming more inclusive.

Mei Quong Tart (1850-1903)⁶⁶ was born at Hsinning, China. On the goldfields and in Sydney, he overcame the anti-Chinese sentiments held by many.⁶⁷ As well as being a prosperous merchant, he was an incredibly successful restaurant operator and a popular public speaker. An active philanthropist he also campaigned against opium importation.⁶⁸ His wife, Margaret Scarlett, described her husband as a man who: “[N]ot only established himself as a tea and silk merchant, but also opened various restaurants in the arcades between George, King and Pitt Streets, on a scale of splendour never before seen in in Australia.”⁶⁹



Figure 24: Artist Unknown, c.1880, Oil on Canvas 61 x 45.5 cm
“Quong Tart” Sydney: State Library of NSW, ML 1346

Mary Gilmore (1865-1962)⁷⁰ was born in Crookwell, New South Wales. She moved to Sydney where she worked as a journalist and poet. A prominent socialist she campaigned for many causes including better working conditions for women, the welfare of children and the rights of Aboriginal Australians.⁷¹ Her work as an advocate extended well beyond the colonial period and into the era of Federation. Her emphasis on the role of women never waned, she noted that the Australian Parliament: “[N]eeds more women, the type of women who will neither wrangle nor cajole, but work as a unity with a single purpose towards a single end. [...] Women should fight for better housing and anything that concerns domestic usage.”⁷²



Figure 25: Ethel Anna Stephens, 1891, Oil on Canvas Laid Down on Board 60.5 x 50.3 cm
“Mary Gilmore” Sydney: State Library of NSW, ML 952

POSTSCRIPT

Despite many of our efforts to remember others, or to be remembered ourselves, there are thousands of the stories within the grand narrative of portraiture that have been lost.



Figure 26: Crown Studios, c.1894, Black and White Toned Photograph 13.4 x 9.8 cm
“Rococo Portrait” Sydney: State Library of NSW, PXB 265 / f.2

It is not unusual for the artist who produced a picture—the painter or photographer—to be listed as “unknown”. Sometimes, the subject of the portrait also becomes, over time, “unknown”. This little Japanese boy,⁷³ who was carefully dressed, staged and photographed at Sydney’s Crown Studios, is just one of many portrait sitters who is now listed as unknown or

unidentified. This paper offers insights into the changing face of colonial Sydney—a brief biography of a city—and provides a picture of how techniques and technologies have changed portraiture, thus changing the way we tell stories. From imposing oil paintings, delicate miniatures, beautiful medallions and watercolours, via silhouettes and sketches to contemporary photography: this is the story of Sydney, its people and its artists. It is also the story of the democratisation of portraiture. The art form that was once reserved for the elites of our society is now available to all of us.

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¹ This paper was delivered as an experimental piece. Each portrait was presented on a slide with a caption as an example of how a curated collection of pictures could be presented in an exhibition. Thus, the context of artists, subjects and formats is necessarily brief. This work's aim is not to offer a full history of portraiture in Sydney across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but rather to posit that a series of portraits, one from each decade of the Australian colonial period, demonstrates the changing face of a city.

² Richard Neville, "Face Time," *SL Magazine* Autumn (2016): 17-19.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Grace Karskens, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney* (2009; repr., Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin, 2010), 9.

⁵ Photographs would, once printing technologies allowed, replace woodblocks and engravings in both illustrated and general newspapers. Fay Anderson and Sally Young, *Shooting the Picture: Press Photography in Australia* (Melbourne: The Miegunyah Press, 2016), 1.

⁶ Neville, "Face Time," 17; and Richard Neville, *Faces of Australia: Image, Reality and the Portrait* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 1992), 20.

⁷ Matthew Darly, 12 July 1772, Etching "The Fly Catching Macaroni," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: PXA 1353.

⁸ Joseph Banks, "28 April 1770, Reaching Botany Bay," *Endeavour Journal*, vol 2, 15 August 1769-12 July 1771, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: Safe 1/13.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Francis Wheatley, 1786, Oil Painting "Captain Arthur Phillip, RN," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: ML 124.

¹¹ Michael Pembroke, *Arthur Phillip: Sailor, Mercenary, Governor, Spy* (Richmond: Hardie Grant Books, 2013), 195.

¹² Arthur Phillip, 3 July 1788, Letter to William Petty the Marquis of Lansdown, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: MLMSS 7241 Safe 1/234.

¹³ Artist Unknown, c.1797-98, Watercolour on Ivory "William Cox Senior," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: MIN 382.

¹⁴ Portraits were expensive undertakings, silhouettes and miniatures were more affordable but both art forms faced fierce competition with the emergence of photography. Neville, *Faces of Australia*, 11.

¹⁵ William Cox, *A Narrative of Proceedings of William Cox [...] 1814&1815* (Sydney: F.W. White, 1888), 1.

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²⁰ Artist Unknown, c.1811, Watercolour on Ivory “Thomas Laycock,” Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: MIN 322.

²¹ Artist Unknown, c.1811, Watercolour on Ivory “Isabella Laycock,” Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: MIN 321.

²² No Author, “Devonshire Street Cemetery: Removal of Remains of Distinguished Colonists,” *Truth*, 31 March 1901, 3.

²³ Augustus Earle, 1826, Hand Coloured Lithograph, “Bungaree: King of the Aborigines of New South Wales,” Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: DL Pe 11.

²⁴ Bungaree was also the subject of the first printed portrait in Australia and he became the most depicted person in the country in the first half of the nineteenth century. Neville, *Faces of Australia*, 62.

²⁵ F.G. Bellingshausen in Glynn Barratt, *Russians at Port Jackson* (Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1981), 44.

²⁶ J.B. East, 1834, Oil Painting “William Blue,” Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: ML 560.

²⁷ Margaret Park, “Blue, William (Billy) (1767-1834),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/blue-william-billy-12804>.

²⁸ William Blue, 28 October 1823, Petition from William Blue to Sir Thomas Brisbane, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: Ab 31.

²⁹ After W.H. Fernyhough, c.1836-40, Pen and Ink Drawing “Miff [i.e. Miss] Mary!!! Botany Bay Tribe. N.S.W.,” Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: PXB 207.

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³¹ Brian Lane, *The Encyclopedia of Forensic Science* (London: BCA, 1992), 295.

³² Paul Irish, *Hidden in Plain View* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2017), 88.

³³ Maurice Felton, c.1840, Oil on Commercial Artists Board “Conrad Martens,” Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: ML 28.

³⁴ Elizabeth Ellis, *Conrad Martens: Life and Art* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales Press, 1994), for such views see, for example: 21 and 26.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

³⁶ Conrad Martens, 1856, Manuscript Notes for a Lecture upon Landscape Painting, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: C 338.

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³⁸ A.H. Chisholm, “Atkinson, Caroline Louisa (1834-72),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/atkinson-caroline-louisa-2910>.

³⁹ No Author, No Title, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 1872, 7.

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- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Caroline Chisholm, *Female Immigration Considered in a Brief Account of the Sydney Immigrant's Home* (Sydney: James Tegg, 1842), 1, emphasis original.
- ⁴⁹ Thomas Woolner, c.1854, Bronze Medallion in Oval Timber Frame "W.C. Wentworth," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: DL Pa 103.
- ⁵⁰ Including a free press, trial by jury and self-government. Tink, *William Charles Wentworth*, xv.
- ⁵¹ Sir James Martin in Tink, *William Charles Wentworth*, 273.
- ⁵² Richard Neville, *Backler & Friends in The Picture Gallery* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 1999), 9.
- ⁵³ Fortescue Hitchens, c.1857, Oil Painting "Emma, Harriet and Fanny Samuel," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: ML 1199.
- ⁵⁴ Neville, *Backler & Friends*, 9.
- ⁵⁵ Fanny Samuel, 6 June 1855, A Letter to her Mother, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: A 4867.
- ⁵⁶ The earliest Australian photographs were taken soon after the 1839 inventions of two distinct photographic processes: the daguerreotype (in France) and the negative/positive process (in England). Therese Mulligan and David Wooters, eds., *A History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present, the George Eastman House Collection* (Hohenzollerning: Taschen, 1999), 36.
- ⁵⁷ Freeman and Co. Ltd, c.186?, Albumen Photographic Print "E.C. Close and Mrs E.C. Close," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: PXA 1755.
- ⁵⁸ Ann Beaumont, *A Man of Many Parts: The Life and Times of Edward Charles Close, 1790-1866* (Mittagong: Highland House Publications, 2016), 118-20.
- ⁵⁹ Edward Charles Close, c.1817-40, New South Wales Sketchbook: Sea Voyage, Sydney, Illawarra, Newcastle and Morpeth, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: Safe PXA 1187.
- ⁶⁰ Edward Charles Close, "28 March 1817," Diary of Edward Charles Close, 1808-17, 1821, 1849 and 1858, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: MLMSS 4415.
- ⁶¹ Artist Unknown, c.187?, Oil Painting "Emily Macpherson," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: ML 1441.
- ⁶² Artist Unknown, c.187?, Oil Painting "Isabel Macpherson," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: ML 1442.
- ⁶³ Alan Davies, *Freeman Studio in The Picture Gallery* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 2003), 4.
- ⁶⁴ Freeman & Co, c.1877, From a Wet Plate Negative "Mrs Harrison," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: ON 268, Box 2.
- ⁶⁵ American & Australasian Photographic Company, c.1870-75, From a Glass Photonegative "Baby Carroll," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: ON 4, Box 14 No. C-310.
- ⁶⁶ Artist Unknown, c.1880, Oil on Canvas "Quong Tart," Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: ML 1346.

⁶⁷ EJ Lea-Scarlett, “Mei Quong Tart (1850-1903),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mei-quong-tart-4181>.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Mrs Quong Tart, *The Life of Quong Tart, or, How a Foreigner Succeeded in a British Community* (Sydney: W.M. Maclardy, 1911), 8.

⁷⁰ Ethel Anna Stephens, 1891, Oil on Canvas, Laid Down on Board “Mary Gilmore,” Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: ML 952.

⁷¹ W.H. Wilde, “Gilmore, Dame Mary Jean (1865-1962),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography Online*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gilmore-dame-mary-jean-6391>.

⁷² Mary Gilmore, No Title, *The Sun*, 16 August 1939, 14.

⁷³ Crown Studios, c.1894, Black and White Toned Photograph, “Rococo Portrait,” Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, Call No.: PXB 265/f.2.

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