



**Augustus Earle (1793–1839), *Bungaree, a native of New South Wales*, c.1826, oil on canvas, 68.5 x 50.5, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia, on loan to the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra<sup>1</sup>**

‘This fellow’s wise enough to play the fool,  
And to do that well craves a kind of wit.’<sup>2</sup>

‘[In silent films:] We didn’t need dialogue. We had faces.’<sup>3</sup>

How well can we judge a person from their face? The question tears us two ways, so that we half-believe that ‘you cannot judge a book by its cover,’ but also that the look and expression of the face tells all. When to the evidence of the face is added the details of a person’s clothes and posture we are probably more confident of being able to assess a person’s character, and even more so if the person is seen in their context.

This man stands on bare ground leading to a shrub-fringed cliff top overlooking a bay. The opposite point is dominated by huge stone fortifications with flag flying, and many sailing ships are using the bay and the shipping channel in the distance. This is Sydney Harbour in about 1826, and the man is Bungaree, an Aboriginal native of New South Wales.

Moreover, he was painted by an artist, Augustus Earle, who, as a witness to the lives of indigenous people under colonial rule in several continents, may be able to be trusted. It is true that history is usually painted, as well as written, by the winners, and that is the case here; but Earle, as a temporary resident, probably did not completely identify with his compatriots in New South Wales; on the other hand he did wish for their patronage, and therefore no doubt produced his artistic work, partly at least, with that end in view.

What I hope to conclude from the following discussion is that the more we get to know a portrait, the more we realise how little we can ever know of the person who is its subject, if only because the medium gets in the way of the message.<sup>4</sup> Nicolas Peterson, following Rochelle Kolodny's division of professional photographers of anthropological subjects into three classes – primitivists or romantics, realists, and documentary makers – found that over eighty per cent of 291 postcards produced between 1900 and 1920 and showing Aborigines were 'realistic.'<sup>5</sup> The four features signalling realism were (i) 'Contextualisation in contemporary living situation' (as opposed to the romantic decontextualisation of blank backgrounds or recontextualisation in bush settings); (ii) 'Clothed more or less completely in European attire' (in contrast to the romantic nakedness of traditional attire); (iii) 'Front-on artless posing' (romanticism favouring considered posing, rarely front-on); and (iv) 'Presence of European artefacts' (as opposed to their romantic absence).

Peterson found – significantly for our present quest – that the documentary category, meant to contain photographs recording a disappearing way of life or to inspire action to improve the situation, proved almost impossible to use without the aid of accompanying text or captions. But in any case, the whole romantic-realist distinction was based on the false assumption that the 'contemporary living situation' for Aborigines did not include 'bush settings' for any of them; and in the event, as Peterson himself stated, 'The predominance of images in the realistic framework [showed] impoverished, run-down shanty dwellers,'<sup>6</sup> a far from realistic image of Aborigines living in, say, Arnhem Land.

As an alternative to the use of such over-simplistic *a priori* categories for penetrating the medium of the portrait, let us empty our minds as far as we can of everything else we might know about Bungaree, and analyse only what we can see. Bungaree is shown to be a brown-skinned man with a large head surmounted by a great mop of frizzy curls. His eyes are close together, and deep lines curve outward and down from his big nose to each side of his equally big mouth. The artist could be said to show Bungaree as having quite pronounced non-European and non-Asian features.

He wears only a ragged pair of pants without a belt, and what looks like a red army or navy jacket<sup>7</sup> faced in black with gold braid and brass buttons. Tied around his waist is what appears to be a length of red cloth. He is holding a cocked hat, as though doffing it in greeting.

With his bare chest and feet making it clear that he wears no shirt or shoes, the overall effect is incongruous in the extreme. It is anomalous that a poor native should be decked out in the uniform of the British Army or Navy. One has to wonder whether the overall effect was intended by Earle to be ludicrous,<sup>8</sup> he being aware that the chances of his selling his works of art in Sydney would be boosted if he could reassure settlers of their racial superiority and confirm the correctness of their decision to take possession of the continent.

Yet as soon as we say that, we realise that Bungaree's intense, solemn and almost searching expression make it very unlikely that we are meant to mock him. Rather he comes across as a man of enormous dignity. His chest and feet may be bare, but that can be a sign of closeness to nature. The clothes that he is wearing add to the impression that he must have been a very statuesque figure, someone who stood firmly and proudly upon the earth, an embodiment of the wisdom and experience acquired by his people over countless millennia.

Earle's intention to bring out the 'stature' of the man would be why he has presented him on so monumental a scale, for he did the same in his watercolour of the unquestionably impressive Desmond around the same time.<sup>9</sup> More than half of Bungaree's body towers above the horizon into the sky, and he looms above the picture's viewpoint, too, so that his gaze has to be depicted as directed downwards in order for it to engage with ours. He must certainly have struck Earle as superior in almost every respect to the rum-sodden soldiery and convicted criminals and prostitutes of Sydney Town at that time. How easy it is to see him not as a figure of fun at all, but as a person of the greatest nobility!

The opposite impression, however, may be gained from the lithograph resembling this painting that Earle made in England in 1830.<sup>10</sup> In it the harbour background has been replaced by a street scene in which another Aborigine, probably a woman, and therefore probably one of Bungaree's wives, sits smoking a pipe on the left, and what look like two bottles of wine rest in a basket to the right. This was enough for the National Library of Australia to say in a wall text in 1998: 'While repeating the pose of his earlier oil portrait...the lithographic image portrays Bungaree as a beggar and drunkard,' even though the image itself shows him as neither begging nor drinking. The text accompanying the picture's publication in 1830 merely described him as a 'harmless savage.'<sup>11</sup> In 2013, Betty Churcher and Lucy Quinn could not resist the urge to denigrate either, describing the setting in the lithograph as 'in a run-down, slum-like townscape,' even though the only buildings shown are fine structures, well-maintained and immaculately clean.<sup>12</sup>

That being the case, may we not also see that the oil painting emphasises the poor living standards of the people of Bungaree's race? The range of messages conveyed in a picture such as this is difficult to determine. Readings of one picture by Earle – *A native family of New South Wales sitting down on an English settler's farm, c.1826*<sup>13</sup> – range from Sasha Grishin's that it records 'native degradation'<sup>14</sup> to Michael Rosenthal's that 'it is difficult not to detect hints of a Holy Family, represented, perhaps, in the way of an indigenous flight into Egypt.'<sup>15</sup>

I see the main impression as uprootedness and dispossession, thereby raising the question as to whether Aborigines should be segregated into settlements of their own or quite ruthlessly assimilated into the British way of life, there obviously being no other future for them in the colony than on the fringes, like Bungaree here.

Indeed, may we not see that a sense of doom is written very clearly on Bungaree's face? There seems to be a fatalistic look in his eyes, like that of a man who knows he is slowly dying of an incurable disease, and who puts on a little brave smile: but the pain is still in his eyes. It must have seemed to Earle, and may even have been believed by Bungaree, that Aborigines as a race would inevitably die out; this very painting and its derivatives may have contributed to such a view being generally accepted among settlers by the 1850s.

What about his funny clothes? Well, perhaps they looked even funnier to him. May we not credit him with a sense of humour as keen as our own? It is even possible that he donned them as a deliberate sendup of the fine feathers so many of the colonists felt they needed before they could consider themselves ladies and gentlemen.<sup>16</sup> Surely Richard Neville grossly underestimated Bungaree's intelligence when he wrote that 'he [Bungaree] did not understand the intense symbolism to Europeans of the cast-off military clothes he was given'; it is more likely that he understood all too well. Neville went on to argue that just as the African Billy Waters in London played the comic, while also wearing cast-off military clothing and a cocked hat, Bungaree 'was cast in the role of antipodean "negro comedian"'.<sup>17</sup>

In this connection it is useful to recall that Ralph Ellison, author of *Invisible Man*, in arguing that other Americans replaced their image of African Americans in the United States as darkie minstrels with the notion of the trickster, the smart man playing dumb in order to protect himself, added: 'Very often, however, the Negro's masking is motivated not so much by fear as by a profound rejection of the image create to usurp his identity.'<sup>18</sup> Darryl Pinckney commented: 'The tragic face behind the comic mask that Ellison felt was so central to black folk culture was really intelligence, the black person's conscious refusal to accept any interpretations of reality other than his own.'<sup>19</sup> J.J. Healy used George Deveraux's study of the Plains Indians of America, about an 'areal culture pattern' outliving a tribal one, to speculate in Bungaree's case that 'actions which from the outside look absurd, like his dressing up, do not necessarily or logically imply internal, non-purposive absurdity.'<sup>20</sup> Therefore Candice Bruce and Anita Callaway had good reason for their judgement: 'It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Bungaree's performance (for that was what his life had become) was aimed at the pomposity of white authority.'<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, he can be seen to look not only remarkably handsome in the British army or navy jacket, he also looks surprisingly at home in it. Combine that with the way in which Bungaree's dominating figure dwarfs Fort Macquarie and HMS *Warspite*, *Fly* and *Volage* and possibly the French corvette *Astrolabe* in the background<sup>22</sup> and the painting could be interpreted as saying: 'Do not underestimate the Aboriginal people! Do not misinterpret our welcome as weakness! For we, too, can be warlike, as the armed struggles that have already occurred make clear. Treat us properly, or you will find the cocked hat raised in welcome turning into a boomerang in our hand that will inaugurate a general and prolonged war of Aboriginal resistance!'

However, if we were to see that in the painting, it might be a most imaginative piece of back-projection. Any Australian who could cheerfully wear the uniform of the occupying colonial power must have been acting more as some kind of stooge for the settlers from abroad than as a champion for his own people. Such misplaced trust in the intentions of the British, if true, would show him up as quite an Uncle Tom.

Ludicrous, dignified, noble, uncivilised, doomed, self-mocking, belligerent, or a stooge: which is it to be? Neville ruefully concluded:

None of these portraits can be said to reveal Bungaree. Nor can any one portrait be taken as being exclusively representative of European attitudes towards Aborigines. The nature of these portraits were [*sic*] very much determined by the nature of the contact the artist had with Bungaree. For all of these images, and anecdotes, one never quite feels that a man emerges.<sup>23</sup>

Bruce and Callaway wrote of Earle's several portraits of Bungaree as seeming 'to lie on a puzzling gradient between sympathetic representation and caricature,' concluding that 'much of the ambivalence in interpretation...has to do with different layers of interactive caricature: whites parodying blacks parodying whites – ad infinitum.'<sup>24</sup> Even the most progressive Europeans of the time were hopelessly prejudiced, Denis Diderot, for instance, a leading philosopher of the French Enlightenment, opining in 1767 regarding the associations of night and day, darkness and light:

I believe that negroes are less beautiful to themselves than whites to negroes and to other whites. It is not in our power to separate ideas that nature has brought into association. I'd change this view, if told that negroes are more intensely moved by darkness than by the brilliance of a beautiful day.<sup>25</sup>

Earle himself wrote in his journal, published in 1832, that Aborigines were the 'last link in the great chain of existence which unites man with the monkey.' That Charles Darwin told his sister in 1835 that 'I had read Earle's book,' and that Earle spent almost a year with Darwin on the *Beagle*, persuaded history professor Paul Moon at the Auckland University of Technology that it was highly likely that Earle played a role in helping Darwin formulate the theory of evolution in *On the Origin of Species* published in 1859.

Does all this prove that we cannot learn what actually occurred in the past from works of art? In some cases, most decidedly yes! For example, if one were to take Fiona Foley's *Land deal* at face value (see illustration),<sup>26</sup> one would assume that Batman's deal with the Aborigines of Port Phillip Bay was successful. After all, the text that is part of the installation reads:

After a full explanation of what my object was, I purchased two large tracts of land from them – about 600,000 acres, more or less – and delivered over to them blankets, knives, looking-glasses, tomahawks, beads, scissors, flour, etc., as payment for the land, and also agreed to give them a tribute, or rent, yearly. John Batman.<sup>27</sup>

In addition, Kate Davidson, one of the curators at the National Gallery of Australia, could write in an official Gallery publication:

*Land deal* emphasises the profound irony of the situation; for the few objects placed on the wall, immense tracts of land were actually taken, yet officially the legitimacy of these original transactions is ignored and they prevail without redress.<sup>28</sup>

And Gloria Morales, a National Gallery of Australia conservator, could write in another Gallery publication about John Batman's 'purchase of the land on which the city of Melbourne now stands.'<sup>29</sup>

To find out what actually happened, however – that Batman's 'treaties' were almost immediately invalidated by the British government and the colonial authorities – one has to ignore the artist's implications and the Gallery's commentaries and go to the history books or, better still, to the primary sources. The 'legitimacy' of the 'treaties', which were almost certainly invented by Batman, was not 'ignored' and the 'transactions' did not 'prevail without redress' for the simple fact that the British government and the local authorities wanted to retain for themselves the profits of selling land seized from Aborigines.<sup>30</sup> Artists and art museums are *not* to be relied on as interpreters of historical documents.

It is now that someone interrupts, protesting that so much of that kind of real historical evidence is available about Bungaree that we should cease any kind of

speculation based on a mere picture. Pliny may have rhapsodised about portrait busts because ‘there is no greater kind of happiness than that all people for all time should desire to know what kind of a man a person was,’<sup>31</sup> but to try to do so from most portraits would be like trying, in Oscar Wilde’s novel, to discover the moral history of Dorian Gray by examining his notorious image. We have to free our minds of all those superstitious hangovers about the artist as seer, and about the essence of a persona being captured in the sorcery of the sitting and lingering on in the keepsake of a portrait after death. Of course we cannot learn what things were like in the past from works of art!

It is true that even in real life many people do not look as they are supposed to, their age, mood or a new hair cut playing havoc with our expectations: how much more true must it be that portraits are misleading? Many people are not as young or as beautiful as they are painted, just as many are not as evil and ridiculous as they appear in newspaper cartoons. We prefer to ignore that many a subject of an angelic portrait has also engaged in financial fraud, sexual harassment, domestic violence, tax evasion, drunken driving or cheating on their spouse: can we think of a famous Australian in one of those categories whose portrait brings out that facet of their character? Even with hindsight?

No, portraits are about appearances. Or – in line with the Italian saying *ogni dipintori dipinge se*, all painters paint themselves – they reveal the portraitist, as Joy Hester’s pictures of other people do (as opposed to Thomas Griffiths Wainwright’s portrait of the Cutmeat twins, which notoriously does not<sup>32</sup>); or they represent a type, like Noel Counihan’s portraits of Australian soldiers in the American War Against Vietnam; or they are portraits about portraiture, as are Chuck Close’s huge paintings from photographs and Thomas Ruff’s huge photographs of characterless young faces. The classical Chinese portrait painter, Gu Kaizhi (c.344–c.406), said he sacrificed exact physical likeness to show the soul of a person, and Adolf Loos wrote underneath Oskar Kokoschka’s portrait of him that ‘This picture is a better likeness than I am myself.’<sup>33</sup> Stella Bowen:

I know that for my kind of painting the fleeting expression and the dramatic moment are quite wrong. What I would always wish to get is something representing *all* the moments – something timeless and tranquil. Thus the best sitters are often those who offer up their faces naked and unconscious, as it were... In London I once painted the actor Hugh Miller... and he was a grand subject physically. But I found myself disconcerted by his instant comprehension of the particular aspect of his face I was after, and his complete control over his expression. I was used to sitters who talked and changed and left me to piece together a composite impression. In the case of the actor, there seemed nothing left for me to do that the camera could not have done better.<sup>34</sup>

But even such artists could present but one image at a time. Marcel Proust’s narrator, on the evidence of opposing qualities in M. Verdurin:

I concluded that it is as difficult to present a fixed image of a character as of societies and passions. For a character alters no less than they do, and if one tries to take a snapshot of what is relatively immutable in it, one finds it presenting a succession of different aspects (implying that it is incapable of keeping still but keeps moving) to the disconcerted lens.<sup>35</sup>

Mention of the camera can remind us that in many cases, especially pre-photography, there is no sure test of a portrait’s verisimilitude; in traditional art a portrait often fell into a stock mould for that kind of person, or came out as a

particular artist's stylised manikin. Paul Valéry recalled 'The great arguments I used to have with Marcel Schwob [1867–1905, writer] as we stood looking at Hals's *Descartes*. He would insist it was a "good likeness." "Of whom?" I would ask.<sup>36</sup> 'There's nothing more fascinating,' Bill Henson told Sebastian Smee, 'than to have someone stare out of [an image] into your eyes, yet never allow you to know anything about them.'<sup>37</sup>

Possible interferences include the artist's desire to produce a work of art rather than a likeness, and the sitter's desire not just for the reverse but for a flattering rather than a truthful likeness. Stella Bowen:

There is...a real danger of loss of freshness if you begin fussing. And you do get fussed by clients who think that ordering a portrait is like ordering a coat-and-skirt, and are determined to get a good fit. It is absolutely necessary to grow a protective crust against these. The English critic [Reginald Howard] Wilenski once told me that in his opinion it was impossible for a professional portrait painter to remain honest as an artist. He might start well enough, but would be bound to succumb to the pressure of his sitter's wishes.<sup>38</sup>

And again:

It is often on just those occasions when I am most satisfied with a likeness that I fail to please and on those when I fall into a watered-down generalisation that I am acclaimed. On the whole there is no limit to the amount of flattering that sitters desire...Small wonder that 'pure' painters despise the murky trade of the portraitist.<sup>39</sup>

Archibald Alison, writing in 1790, was very clear about the difference between the history writer and the poet (and, by analogy, the painter):

In describing the events of life, it is the business of the historian to represent them as they really happened; to investigate their causes, however minute; and to report the motives of the actors, however base or mean. In a poetical representation of such events, no such confusion is permitted to appear. A representation destined by its nature to affect, must not only be founded upon some great or interesting subject, but in the management of this subject, such means only must be employed as are fitted to preserve, and to promote the interest and sympathy of the reader. The Historian who should relate the voyage of Aeneas, and the foundations of Rome, must of necessity relate many trifling and uninteresting events, which could be valuable only from their being true. The Poet who should attempt this subject, must introduce only pathetic or sublime events...and must spread over all that tone and character of dignity which we both expect and demand in a composition, destined to excite the sensibility, and to awaken the admiration of mankind.<sup>40</sup>

'Signs are historical products which play with history,' wrote Jeremy Gilbert-Rolfe. 'History never emerges unscathed from a work of art, which is why art is not actually very popular with historicists, who are always trying to make it be responsible to history, that is, to stop it playing':<sup>41</sup> in other words, although it was not necessarily Earle's intention, his portrait of Bungaree 'plays' with history.

So now let us begin to add to what we can see in this picture with our eyes that which can be gleaned from other historical records: in the terms of Rolfe's formulation just quoted, let us see if it is possible to stop Earle's portrait of Bungaree 'playing with history' by equipping ourselves with the external knowledge that will enable us to interpret this 'sign' in an historically 'responsible' manner.

First-hand eye-witness accounts of Bungaree fall neatly into two periods: those from 1799 to 1804 when he was in his thirties, and those from 1814 to his death in 1830 aged around sixty.<sup>42</sup> In the earlier period the things said about him included:

- Matthew Flinders admired him for his ‘good disposition and manly conduct’;<sup>43</sup> praised him as ‘an intelligent native’;<sup>44</sup> described how he relied heavily on him as an intermediary with unknown groups of Aborigines on their trip to Hervey Bay in the *Norfolk* in 1799 and around Australia in the *Investigator* in 1802–03;<sup>45</sup> wrote of him as ‘the worthy and brave fellow’;<sup>46</sup> claimed him as ‘my humble friend’ and ‘my native friend’;<sup>47</sup> described how he ‘lanced a spear with it [his woomera] very dexterously, and to a great distance’;<sup>48</sup>
- David Collins described him as going up to an unknown group of Aborigines in Queensland ‘in his usual undaunted manner’;<sup>49</sup>
- Robert Brown reported that he ‘boldly went up to a considerable party of them [unknown Aborigines] arm’d with spears’;<sup>50</sup>
- Charles Menzies told Governor Philip Gidley King: ‘He is the most intelligent of that race [Aborigines] I have as yet seen and should a misunderstanding unfortunately take place he will be sure to reconcile them’;<sup>51</sup>
- The *Sydney Gazette* reported how he had amazed non-Aboriginal spectators with the force and accuracy with which he wielded a returning boomerang, describing him as ‘a native distinguished by his remarkable courtesy.’<sup>52</sup>

The following reports are a small selection from the latter period, 1814–30:

- He was a leader of the remaining and regrouped Aboriginal people between Sydney Harbour and Broken Bay at the mouth of the Hawkesbury River, accepting the title of chief and even king. The brass gorget or breastplate worn around his neck in the Earle portrait, given to him by Governor Lachlan Macquarie, was inscribed: ‘Boongaree Chief of the Broken-Bay Tribe 1815.’<sup>53</sup> In 1815 Macquarie also issued Bungaree a land grant at present day George’s Heights or George’s Head in the Mosman area of Sydney on the northern side of the harbour. Bungaree later received a boat from the Governor and lived on it with his principal wife, Gooseberry,<sup>54</sup> and a few others of his people (who were the *Guringai* or *Kuringai* sub-tribe of the *Eora* or *Dharawal* people<sup>55</sup>); at one stage he had five wives, Askabout, Boatman, Broomstick, Onion and Pincher;<sup>56</sup>
- George Howe wrote of him in 1815 that he ‘has ever been distinguished for the docility of his manners; his kind and tractable disposition, his friendly demeanour; his general utility’;<sup>57</sup>
- Phillip Parker King, with whom Bungaree sailed to western and northern Australia in the *Mermaid* in 1817–18, and for whom he performed the same services as he had for Flinders, said he was ‘of a sharp, intelligent and unassuming disposition,’<sup>58</sup> and he painted Bungaree’s portrait;<sup>59</sup>
- Allan Cunningham said he had ‘speared a great many fish,’ and again ‘had with great skill speared some fish,’<sup>60</sup> and called him ‘our worthy native chief...of whose little attentions to me and others when on these excursions [to gather botanical specimens] I have been perhaps too remiss in making mention, to the enhancement of the character of this enterprising Australian’;<sup>61</sup>
- Alexander Berry tended him in 1819 ‘when he was savagely beaten in a drunken broil,’ saying he ‘was a man decidedly of considerable natural talent – very faithful & trust worthy – but had all the defects of his Race – in consequence of which all the trouble and expence [*sic*] bestowed by the humane Macquarie to amiliorate [*sic*] his condition proved abortive, as in every other instance’;<sup>62</sup>
- Augustus Earle, with reference to this painting, wrote that Aborigines ‘(and particularly this man) are great mimics, and the graceful bow he makes to strangers



he copied from one of the Governors, and those who recollect the original, say it is exact',<sup>63</sup>

– Many visitors to Sydney described how he would come aboard with his entourage, first bowing, then begging, then getting drunk;

– Fabian (Thaddeus) Bellingshausen reported his telling him in 1820 that during the winter 'I drank a great deal',<sup>64</sup> 'He is about 55 years of age; he has always been noted for his kindness of heart, gentleness and other excellent qualities and has been of great service to the Colony...He has often endangered his life in his efforts to keep the peace within his tribe. A few years ago an escaped convict fell into the hands of another tribe. They robbed him, took his axe away from him, and were about to kill him. Boongaree appeared on the scene, took the man under his protection, secured his freedom, and then for three days carried him on his back to Port Jackson, taking him across rivers and feeding him on roots. He asked for no reward, save the fugitive's pardon. The Government of the colony gave Boongaree a long boat as a present. He is a generous man, generally beloved for similar kind actions',<sup>65</sup>

– René-Primevère Lesson wrote about Aborigines' scars: 'Bongarri, for example, the wretched chief of the Sydney Cove tribe, showed us his skull, quite shattered by numerous blows of a club which would have felled a strong animal. One of his arms also had been broken by a blow from the same weapon',<sup>66</sup> but this did not redeem Bungaree in his eyes: 'The corvette La Coquille had scarcely dropped anchor in Sydney Cove when Bongarri and his band, composed of almost half a dozen individuals, came to levy a tribute on our curiosity...This chief has had the reputation of a fine warrior, he is also esteemed by neighbouring tribes and his honourable scars prove that blows from spears and war clubs have never made him retreat; but it is hard to find the hero in the arrant drunk and stubborn beggar who comes each day during our stay in port to harass us for brandy or tobacco. Miming, bowing and scraping and pulling faces, his grotesque get-up made him look more ridiculous',<sup>67</sup> Bungaree's wives he called 'the most striking, the ugliest, the most disgusting creatures that I had ever seen. These ladies, wrapped in a dirty woollen blanket instead of a cambric gown, had their hair covered in nits and lice; the whole seasoned with a smell capable of asphyxiating the most obstructed nose in creation',<sup>68</sup>

– Hyacinthe de Bougainville called him a 'master cheat' for lying about having just broken his arm looking for a lost sailor, when it had been broken years before;<sup>69</sup>

– Peter Miller Cunningham described his 'bare and broad platter feet, of dull cinder hue, spreading out like a pair of sprawling toads, upon the deck before you',<sup>70</sup> 'I could not help contrasting, to his disadvantage, His Majesty's Appearance with that of the North-American chieftains with whom I had been in the habit of mixing; however, years of drunkenness and some starvation no doubt had their effect in emaciating his frame – the blessings which civilization has bestowed upon the unfortunate aboriginal population',<sup>71</sup>

– Roger Oldfield wrote: 'Bungaree, the chief, often receives cast-off clothes from naval and military officers; but they are generally too valuable to be long retained, when his exchequer is empty...Bungaree accosts any gentleman he meets, quite in a familiar manner; but if the intercourse extends beyond a passing compliment, he always avails himself of it to make a serious request – for the loan of one dump (1s. 3d)...The familiarity of their [his tribe's] address is often taken to be impudence',<sup>72</sup>

– Jules Dumont d'Urville saw his clothes as 'extremely dirty and almost in rags',<sup>73</sup> but reported how responsible he felt over helping to organise 'a kind of congress to settle for ever the differences existing between the diverse neighbouring tribes of Sydney',<sup>74</sup> and an initiation ceremony, and remarked on how 'he seemed imbued with the dignity of a tribal chief'<sup>75</sup> when painted ready to participate in the latter; but he also

related how Bungaree had promised him a returning boomerang, but 'when I left he failed to keep his word on this matter as on several others.'<sup>76</sup>

From these and other first hand accounts of Bungaree by Robert Dawson,<sup>77</sup> Richard Sadleir<sup>78</sup> and others, J.J. Healy concluded: 'The Aborigines of Sydney may have known everyone, according to [Barron] Field. Clearly, no one knew them.'<sup>79</sup> The *Australian Dictionary of Biography* entry for Bungaree notes that among other things he was 'an Aboriginal of medium build, 5 ft. 8 in. [1.73 metres] tall, with a happy disposition and much intelligence,' and that he lived 'and slept' in the discarded uniforms and cocked hat, and that he 'affected the walk and mannerisms of every governor from Hunter to Brisbane and perfectly imitated every conspicuous personality in Sydney. He spoke English well and was noted for his acute sense of humour...It seems likely that Bungaree's facile exhibitionism too easily impressed his white contemporaries...'<sup>80</sup>

Of Augustus Earle we can also find out too much to report here. Arriving in Sydney in 1825, he quickly became the most sought-after painter in the colony, receiving many commissions to paint the portraits of Governor Brisbane, military officers and other leading citizens. He opened his own art gallery in George Street in the following year, and set up the first lithographic press in the colony, so that the painting and associated lithographs of Bungaree he made at that time must be seen as intended for sale in the first instance to non-Aboriginal colonists, and therefore in some sense as designed to appeal to them and to their hip-pockets; as Neville said, 'For Earle to choose [Bungaree] as the subject of his first lithograph suggests he thought his notoriety would sell prints.'<sup>81</sup>

Referring to the Aborigines, Earle wrote that 'The natives...seem of the lowest grade...Their limbs are long, thin, and flat, with large bony knees and elbows; a projecting forehead, and pot-belly...they have neither energy, enterprise, nor industry...A few exceptions may be met with; but these are the general characteristics.'<sup>82</sup> As Rosenthal pointed out,<sup>83</sup> Earle's written opinions were often contradicted by the sympathetic portrayals of Aborigines to be found in his pictures, such as in *A bivouac, day break on the Illawarra Mountains*, 1827, but Neville used the diminished size of his painting of Bungaree, compared to his life-sized portraits of Governor Brisbane and Captain Piper, to conclude that the painting 'is not a record of the powerful, but a document of the curious. [It]...is certainly not derogatory. Its appeal lay...in...its theatricality and difference, with a humorous twist to the conventions of European portraiture.'<sup>84</sup>

There is much new information here, additional to any that we could have derived from the painted portrait alone. This new information, from written sources, helps us to interpret some aspects of that portrait better than we could have without it. But it is also true that all the information comes from non-Aboriginal sources, most of whom had a strong interest in putting as favourable a gloss as possible on their own exploits.

Bungaree was never reported as protesting, even mildly, at the violence often perpetrated on Aborigines by the colonists. If it was because he did protest but his protests went unreported, it means that he was seen as a useful collaborator by the colonists; Neville held that 'His essentially fictitious kingship was formally bestowed on him by Governor Macquarie in February 1815 in an attempt to create one person of authority through whom he could mediate with other Aborigines.'<sup>85</sup> If it was

because he did not in fact protest, it means that he was to some degree a traitor to his own people.<sup>86</sup>

Was that a factor in so many places in Australia being named Bungaree? For example, in South Australia: Bungaree Station near Clare; in Western Australia: Bungaree Primary School in Rockingham, and Bungaree Road in Wilson; in Queensland: the town of Bongaree on Bribie Island, Bungaree Creek, Bungaree Shoals, and Bungaree Environmental Park; in New South Wales: the Bungaree Lowline Cattle Stud in Tamworth; Bungaree Road in Pendle Hill; Bungaree Earth Cottages near Wentworth Falls in the Blue Mountains; Bungaree Bay in the Myall Lakes National Park; Bungaree Street in Telarah in the Hunter Valley; in Tasmania: Bungaree Creek, Bungaree district and Bungaree Road on King Island in Bass Strait. There are even a Big Bungaree Bay and a Little Bungaree Bay on Stewart Island in New Zealand. And there was *HMAS Bungaree*, built in 1937 and used as a minesweeper in World War 2, but itself destroyed by a mine in the Mekong River, Vietnam, in the mid-1960s.

The Bungaree Aboriginal Council in Glen Innes, New South Wales, along with the other sites in the Hunter and New England districts listed above, was probably named after the Bungaree tribe in the southern New England area from which the Aboriginal artist, Lesley Murray, says her Moych people are descended.<sup>87</sup> Likewise, the town of Bungaree near Ballarat in Victoria, celebrated in the folk song 'Cockies of Bungaree,' may have been named after the Bungarie who supposedly made his mark on Batman's 1835 invented treaties with the Aborigines of Port Phillip; Batman described him as one of the 'chiefs of a certain tribe called Dutigalla'; some have thought that it could have been Bungerim, a leader of the Boiberits, but it is more likely that Batman simply borrowed the name of the well-known Sydney-sider.<sup>88</sup>

The non-Aboriginal sources for the historical facts, along with other factors, would appear to make it more difficult, not less, for us understand the man Bungaree, to appreciate the meanings of all the relations in which he was involved and to reconstruct what he made of the times through which he lived. Although some of those matters would become clearer after sifting through the work of anthropologists, economic historians, social historians and so on, I suspect that the outcome would be to sharpen most of the more important questions rather than to provide answers. Geoffrey Dutton, for example, attempted to characterise Bungaree as 'a figure of tragic splendour,' but in real life is tragedy ever splendid? And one cannot but wonder if Dutton's summation, that Bungaree 'mocked the white men by mocking himself,' was as apparent either to Bungaree or to the British settlers.<sup>89</sup>

Earlier we learned that when a person's outward appearance has been represented to us in a portrait we must constantly revise our estimate of what those appearances mean. Now it appears that when we have cut away the games the artist has been playing in depicting, and the games the subject has been playing in posing, and we are left only with bare facts, we are not necessarily much better off. The reporters' subjective involvement, and our own, makes anything like objective and therefore definitive description and assessment chancy in the extreme.

Gilbert-Rolfe may well have been right to say that 'signs are historical products which play with history,' but he was probably wrong to cite works of art as prime examples of such irresponsible signs, for it would seem that written records are also signs, and no less playful than other kinds.

Historical sources of all kinds, including works of art such as this portrait of Bungaree, but also including written records, do not answer our questions about the meanings of things. They only raise questions, leaving it up to us to make of them what we can and will. This fact is well dramatised in another portrait of Bungaree held by the National Gallery of Australia, a lithograph made by William Fernyhough in 1836,<sup>90</sup> for in it, although the clothes are delineated in black on white, the actual body of the man, wherever it appears, is shown in solid black silhouette, making any reading of him at all extremely difficult. So, hello, unknown and unknowable Bungaree!

Other depictions of Bungaree in the National Gallery of Australia include:

- Charles Rodius, *King Bungaree, Chief of the Broken Bay Tribe, New South Wales. Died 1832*, 1834, lithograph, additions in gouache, 22 x 13.2 (image), 29.6 x 23.8 (sheet), purchased 1985;
- Juan Davila, *Portrait of Bungaree*, 1991, screenprint, watercolour additions, four prints each 120.2 x 77.2 (image), 121.4 x 80.2 (sheet), Gordon Darling Fund 1992.

In the half a century from the early 1890s Aborigines and Aboriginal art hardly appeared in the art – not even in the landscapes – of the non-Aboriginal settlers of Australia; in the same period African Americans almost disappeared from United States fiction. ‘Foreigners’ do not make a significant appearance in the art of any country (how many poems about Asians do non-Asian Australians know?), making art, in such respects as these at least, one of the most conservative of all institutions.

Bernard Smith put the beginning of the Freudian blindness at 1880.<sup>91</sup> Ian McLean put the end around 1940: ‘Except for Fox’s painting [*The landing of Captain Cook at Botany Bay 1770*, 1902], and a few other studies, Aborigines disappear from non-Aboriginal art, not to appear again until the time of the Second World War.’<sup>92</sup> Exceptions, mostly minor, exist in the work of Rex Battarbee, Frances Derham, Thomas Dick, William Dobell, Will Dyson, E. Phillips Fox, John A. Gardner, Harold Herbert, Percy Leason, Louis McCubbin, W.B. McInnes, Sydney Long, B.E. Minns, A.T. Mockridge, Arthur Murch, Axel Poignant, Harry Raynor, William Ricketts, Charles Wheeler and Blamire Young, and in the comic strips of Stan Cross and Alex Gurney.<sup>93</sup>

From the 1820s to the early 1890s depictions had occurred in the work of Augustus Earle, Benjamin Law, William Fernyhough, Charles Rodius, Thomas Bock, James Wilson, Benjamin Duterrau, John Glover, Theresa Walker, George French Angas, J.M. Crossland, Robert Dowling, Eugene von Guérard, Henry Hart, J. Harvey, Charles Woolley, Charles Walter, Daniel Marquis, Henry King, J.W. Lindt, Fred Kruger, J.W. Beattie, Oscar Friström, Tom Roberts and others.<sup>94</sup>

Race difference has been the basis for sexual prohibitions; it has also added to sexual interest (because of its potential to widen the gene pool?), and has been a pretext for sexual license and predation. Religion usually deepens racial divisions, but sometimes it crosses them, with Christian Europe worshipping a Jew, and East Asian Buddhists a Nepalese Indian. Art, too, usually reflects and thereby reinforces the current meanings attached to racial differences; only occasionally does it react against them and try to change them.

(Written in 1997 and updated after that, this paper pre-dates the excellent essay on Bungaree by David Hansen, ‘Death Dance,’ *Australian Book Review*, issue 290, April 2007, pp.27–32.)

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## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Reproduced in John McPhee, *Australian Art in the Australian National Gallery*, Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1988, p.9.
- <sup>2</sup> William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, 1601, act 3, scene 1.
- <sup>3</sup> Norma Desmond, played by Gloria Swanson, in Billy Wilder's film, *Sunset Boulevard*, 1950.
- <sup>4</sup> This point is made about Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn's portrait of Jan Six in James Elkins, *The Object Stares Back: On the Nature of Seeing*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996, pp.182–86.
- <sup>5</sup> Nicolas Peterson, 'The Popular Image,' in Ian Donaldson & Tamsin Donaldson, eds, *Seeing the First Australians*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985, pp.164–80: see p.179.
- <sup>6</sup> Peterson, 1985, p.179.
- <sup>7</sup> '[O]ne of Macquarie's parting gifts was a suit of old general's uniforms,' and 'the Russian captain Bellinghausen [*sic*] gave him "a hussar's greatcoat, and a bronze medal"' (Richard Neville, 'The Many Faces of Bungaree,' *Australian Antique Collector*, 42nd edn, July-December 1991, pp.37–40: see pp.38 and 40); Commodore James Brisbane presented Bungaree with a suit of his own admiral's uniform (Keith Vincent Smith, *King Bungaree*, Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 1992, p.12), which was said to be blue and to have epaulettes, neither of which is the case here.
- <sup>8</sup> 'They [Aborigines] are excessively fond of any part of the dress of white people. Sometimes I see them with an old hat on: sometimes with a pair of old shoes, or only one: frequently with an old jacket and hat, without trowsers: or, in short, with any garment, or piece of a garment, that they can get. You may imagine how much laughter is excited amongst us, at times, by these grotesque-looking figures.' Richard Sadleir, *The Aborigines of Australia*, Sydney: Thomas Richards, Government Printer, 1883; Sadleir travelled through Australia in 1826.
- <sup>9</sup> Augustus Earle, *Desmond, a N.S. Wales chief painted for a rarobb [i.e. corroboree] or native dance*, c.1826, watercolour, 25.7 x 17.5, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
- <sup>10</sup> Augustus Earle, *Bungaree, a Native Chief of New South Wales*, from *Views in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Australian Scrap Book*, London: Charles Hullmandel, 1830, hand-coloured lithograph, 28.8 x 19.8 (image), 30.8 x 19.8 (sheet), National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, gift of Major General T.F. Cape in loving memory of his wife Elizabeth Rabett 1995; another copy is in the Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia, Canberra. Cf. Augustus Earle, *Natives of N.S. Wales, as seen in the streets of Sydney*, from *Views in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Australian Scrap Book*, London: Charles Hullmandel, 1830, hand-coloured lithograph, 20.8 x 29 (image), 23 x 29.1 (sheet), National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, gift of Major General T.F. Cape in loving memory of his wife Elizabeth Rabett 1995.
- <sup>11</sup> Cited in Neville, 1991, p.38.
- <sup>12</sup> Betty Church & Lucy Quinn, *Treasures of Canberra*, Canberra: Halstead Press, 2013, p.41.
- <sup>13</sup> Augustus Earle, *A native family of New South Wales sitting down on an English settler's farm*, c.1826, watercolour, 17.5 x 25.7, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
- <sup>14</sup> Sasha Grishin, 'Realism, Caricature and Phrenology: Early Colonial Depictions of the Indigenous Peoples of Australia,' *The World Upside Down: Australia 1788–1830*, Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2000, pp.13–19: see p.13.
- <sup>15</sup> Michael Rosenthal, 'The Extraordinary Mr Earle,' *The World Upside Down: Australia 1788–1830*, Canberra: National Library of Australia, 2000, pp.35–41: this quote from p.39.
- <sup>16</sup> See Ian McLean, 'Colonials Kill Artfully,' in Paul Duro, ed., *Perspectives on Academic Art*, Occasional Papers No. 3, Art Association of Australia, 1991, pp.56–71: see pp.63–64.
- <sup>17</sup> Neville, 1991, pp.37, 38.
- <sup>18</sup> Darryl Pinckney, 'The Drama of Ralph Ellison,' *New York Review of Books*, 44: 8, 15 May 1997, pp.52–60: this quote from p.53.
- <sup>19</sup> Pinckney, 1997, p.55.
- <sup>20</sup> J.J. Healy, *Literature and the Aborigines in Australia*, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 2nd edn 1989, p.24; the reference is to George Devereaux, *Reality and Dream: Psychotherapy of a Plains Indian*, New York: Doubleday, 1969.
- <sup>21</sup> Candice Bruce & Anita Callaway, 'Dancing in the Dark: Black Corroboree Or White Spectacle?' *Australian Journal of Art*, vol. 9, 1991, pp.94–95.
- <sup>22</sup> Smith, 1992, p.12.
- <sup>23</sup> Neville, 1991, p.40.
- <sup>24</sup> Bruce & Callaway, 1991, pp.78–104: see p.95.
- <sup>25</sup> John Goodman, editor and translator, *Diderot on Art*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2 volumes, 1995: this quote from vol. 2, p.127.
- <sup>26</sup> Fiona Foley, *Land deal*, 1995, flour, blanket, box of beads, nine axes, seven knives, seven pairs of scissors, seven mirrors, text, approx. 202 x 442 x 550 (variable), National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 1995; reproduced in Kate Davidson, 'Fiona Foley, *Land deal*,' in Kate Davidson & Michael Desmond, *Islands: Contemporary Installations from Australia, Asia, Europe and America*,

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Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1996, pp.9–12: see p.11; and in Anne Gray, ed., *Australian Art in the National Gallery of Australia*, Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2002, p.397.

<sup>27</sup> The text given in Davidson differs in both wording and punctuation from that given in Gray; both differ from the original by Batman in 1835 as reported in Alastair H. Campbell, *John Batman and the Aborigines*, Malmsbury, Victoria: Kibble Books, c.1987, p.100.

<sup>28</sup> Davidson, 1996, p.11.

<sup>29</sup> Gray, 2002, p.397.

<sup>30</sup> Campbell, c.1987, chapters 12 and 19. However, the New South Wales Executive Council, presided over by the governor, Sir Richard Bourke, decided in 1836 that Batman's supposed undertaking to deliver certain articles annually to the Aborigines 'should be upheld by, and at the expense of the local Government' (cited in Campbell, c.1987, p.183).

<sup>31</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. 9, translated by H. Rackham, London: William Heinemann, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952, book 35, section 2, line 10, p.267.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Griffiths Wainewright, *The Cutmear twins: Jane and Lucy*, c.1940, watercolour, pencil, 32 x 30 (image), 74.1 x 54.8 (mount), National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 1969; see Andrew Motion, *Wainewright the Poisoner*, London: Faber & Faber, 2000.

<sup>33</sup> Claude Cernuschi, *Re/Casting Kokoschka: Ethics and Aesthetics, Epistemology and Politics in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*, London: Associated University Presses, 2002, p.37.

<sup>34</sup> Stella Bowen, *Drawn from Life: A Memoir*, Sydney: Pan Macmillan, 1984 (1st pub. Collins, 1941), pp.256–57.

<sup>35</sup> Marcel Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*, 3 vols, trans. C.K. Scott Moncrieff & Terence Kilmartin, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983, vol. 3, p.332.

<sup>36</sup> Paul Valéry, *Analects*, translated by Stuart Gilbert, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970, volume 14 of *The Collected Works of Paul Valéry* edited by Jackson Mathews, p.192; cf. p.517.

<sup>37</sup> Sebastian Smee, 'Face Value,' *Weekend Australian*, 23–24 April 2005, 'Review,' pp.R4–R5.

<sup>38</sup> Bowen, 1984, p.242.

<sup>39</sup> Bowen, 1984, p.273.

<sup>40</sup> Archibald Alison, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste*, Edinburgh & London, 1790, pp.28–29, cited in M.J.H. Liversidge, 'Rome Portrayed: "to excite the sensibility, and to awaken the admiration of mankind",' in Michael Liversidge & Catharine Edwards, eds, *Imagining Rome: British Artists and Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, London: Merrell Holberton, pp.38–53: see pp.38–41.

<sup>41</sup> Jeremy Gilbert-Rolfe, 'Beyond Absence,' in his *Beyond Piety: Critical Essays on the Visual Arts, 1986–1993*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p.153.

<sup>42</sup> See Smith, 1992, '1805–14: The Missing Years,' pp.68–69.

<sup>43</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.30.

<sup>44</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.34.

<sup>45</sup> Smith, 1992, chapter 4. It was on this trip that Ferdinand Bauer made over 2,000 watercolours of native plants and animals: see Peter Watts, Jo Anne Pomfrett & David Maberley, *An Exquisite Eye: The Australian Flora and Fauna Drawings 1801–1820 of Ferdinand Bauer*, exhibition catalogue, Historic Houses Trust of NSW, Sydney, 1997.

<sup>46</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.51.

<sup>47</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, pp.62, 71.

<sup>48</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.54.

<sup>49</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.34.

<sup>50</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.54.

<sup>51</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.66.

<sup>52</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.67.

<sup>53</sup> Macquarie's policy on breastplates is in his Memo, 27 December 1814, Dixon Library Sydney, Add 340. The gorgets were ordered from the assistant engineer, Captain Gill.

<sup>54</sup> For her portrait see William Fernyhough, *Gooseberry. Queen of Bungaree*, 1836, Sydney, lithograph on paper, 22.4 x 28.4 (sheet), National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 2000.

<sup>55</sup> *A to Z Encyclopedia of Aboriginal Information*, Dharawal Aboriginal Tribal Elders Association, <http://www.aaa.com.au/bizskills/> 2 February 2000.

<sup>56</sup> F.D. McCarthy, 'Bungaree (Bongaree, Boungaree),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 1, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1966, p.177.

<sup>57</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.78.

<sup>58</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.90.

<sup>59</sup> Phillip Parker King, *Boon-ga-re*, Mitchell Library, Sydney, PXC 767, f.48.

<sup>60</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.92.

<sup>61</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.98.

<sup>62</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.101.

<sup>63</sup> Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, *Augustus Earle: Travel Artist*, Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1980, p.48.

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- <sup>64</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.113.
- <sup>65</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.114.
- <sup>66</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.127.
- <sup>67</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.128.
- <sup>68</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.128.
- <sup>69</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.131.
- <sup>70</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.134.
- <sup>71</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.134.
- <sup>72</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.140; for a similar statement by Oldfield, see R.H.W. Reece, *Aborigines and Colonists: Aborigines and Colonial Society in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1974, pp.6–7.
- <sup>73</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.170.
- <sup>74</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.171.
- <sup>75</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.172.
- <sup>76</sup> Cited in Smith, 1992, p.126.
- <sup>77</sup> Robert Dawson, *The Present State of Australia*, Alburgh: Archival Facsimiles, 1987, being a reproduction of the 1830 first edition.
- <sup>78</sup> Sadleir, 1883. Unfortunately, Sadleir incorporated in his chapter 7 a very inaccurate account of Bungaree's life ('Bungaree, King of the Blacks') that first appeared in Charles Dickens's *All The Year Round. A Weekly Journal*, 1: 4, 21 May 1859, pp.77–83 and that was reprinted in *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 16: 492, new series, 3 September 1859, p.4. The author may have been Peter Miller Cunningham: see Smith, 1992, pp.155–58.
- <sup>79</sup> Healy, 1989, pp.7–10.
- <sup>80</sup> McCarthy, 1966, p.177.
- <sup>81</sup> Richard Neville, *A Rage for Curiosity: Visualising Australia 1788–1830*, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 1997, p.57.
- <sup>82</sup> Cited in Hackforth-Jones, 1980, p.31.
- <sup>83</sup> Rosenthal, 2000, pp.38–40.
- <sup>84</sup> Neville, 1991, p.38.
- <sup>85</sup> Neville, 1991, pp.37–38.
- <sup>86</sup> See Roy Forward, *Public Policy in Australia*, Melbourne: Cheshire, 1974, pp.63, 64, for pinpointing 1826 on graphs of dispossession of the Aboriginal land base and of Aboriginal population trends.
- <sup>87</sup> <http://www.space.net.au/~ghannan/media/lamurray.htm> 2 February 2000
- <sup>88</sup> Campbell, c.1987, p.103.
- <sup>89</sup> Geoffrey Dutton, *White on Black: The Australian Aborigine Portrayed in Art*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1974, pp.28, 31.
- <sup>90</sup> William Fernyhough, *Bungaree. The chief of the Broken Bay tribe Sydney*, from *A Series of Twelve Profile Portraits of Aborigines of New South Wales*, 1836, Sydney, lithograph on paper, 22.4 x 28.4 (sheet), National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 2000; see Tim Bonyhady, 'Introduction,' Tim Bonyhady & Andrew Sayers, eds, *Heads of the People: A Portrait of Colonial Australia*, Canberra: National Portrait Gallery, 2000, pp.1–11.
- <sup>91</sup> Bernard Smith, *The Spectre of Truganini*, 1980 Boyer Lectures, Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1980, p.22.
- <sup>92</sup> Ian McLean, *White Aborigines: Identity Politics in Australian Art*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.60.
- <sup>93</sup> See Geoffrey Dutton, *White on Black: The Australian Aborigine Portrayed in Art*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1974; Michael D. Galimany, 'A Man on a Mission: Percy Leason's "Last of the Victorian Aborigines",' in *Recognition: Percy Leason's Aboriginal Portraits*, Canberra: National Portrait Gallery, 1999, pp.5–13; Sylvia Kleinert, 'The Politics of Portraiture,' in *Recognition*, 1999, pp.14–21; Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1999, pp.90–93; Andrew Sayers, *Australian Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp.28–31.
- <sup>94</sup> See also Jane Simpson & Luise Hercus, eds, *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*, Canberra: Australian National University, Aboriginal History Monograph 6, 1998.