Pre-Raphaelitism in Australasia

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Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Paolo and Francesca da Rimini* 1867. Watercolour, gouache and gum arabic over pencil on two sheets of paper. 43.7 x 36.1 cm (sheet). National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. Felton Bequest, 1956. Original frame: carved timber, gold leaf, text from Dante's *Inferno*.

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Editorial Introduction

Meg Tasker

This special issue was inspired by a symposium hosted by the National Gallery of Victoria in collaboration with Alison Inglis from the University of Melbourne's art history program, on the occasion of the major NGV exhibition *Medieval Moderns—The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*.[1] The exhibition, which ran from April to July 2015, was built around the National Gallery of Victoria's significant collection of Pre-Raphaelite art and design and was accompanied by a public program of events and a fully illustrated catalogue (Fig. 1). While sumptuous oils and delicate drawings featured in the exhibition, as might have been expected, the diversity of artistic and creative activity associated with Pre-Raphaelitism was also evident. As one reviewer commented: "amongst the drawings, paintings, sculptural works, albumen photographs, and illustrations, curator Laurie Benson has deftly integrated stained glass, textiles, furniture, wallpaper and ceramics."[2] The eclecticism of subject matter and engagement with different media clearly reflected the technical experimentation of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, as well as their legacy of influence on artists and artisans who are frequently characterised as followers or associates, whether as part of the Arts and Crafts movement, or Aestheticism.

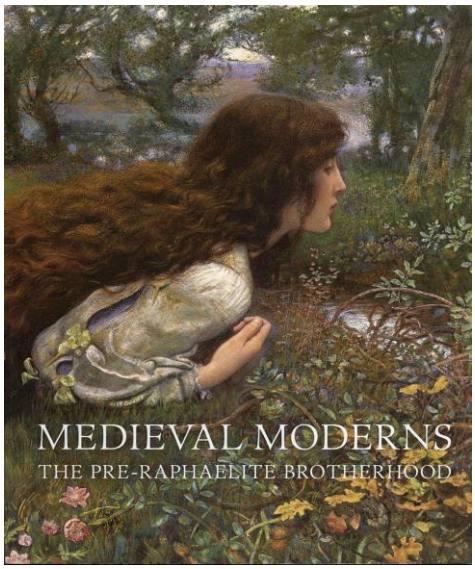


Fig. 1. Cover of exhibition catalogue: *Medieval Moderns: The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, NGV, 2015.

The associated symposium (2-4 July 2015) opened with a keynote evening lecture by leading British art historian, Dr. Barbara Bryant, titled "Australia's Pre-Raphaelite Collection—the People behind the Portraits," and a guided tour of the exhibition by curator Laurie Benson, followed by sixteen papers delivered by curators and scholars with expertise in the history of art, decorative arts and collecting. With an

[1] The exhibition ran from 11 April to 12 July 2015. See: https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/exhibition/medieval-moderns-the-pre-raphaelite-brotherhood/. The exhibition catalogue is unfortunately out of print, but we can recommend the illustrated review of the exhibition by Monique Webber in the Melbourne Art Network: http://melbourneartnetwork.com.au/2015/04/29/exhibition-review-medieval-moderns-national-gallery-of-victoria-monique-webber/

[2] Inga Walton, "Brethren in Sincerity: The Pre-Raphaelites," http://www.troublemag.com/brethren-in-sincerity-the-pre-rapaelites/ [*sic*].

informed and engaged audience, specialist guest chairs such as Christopher Mentz, and a viewing in an upstairs gallery of the conservation of John Roger Herbert's *Moses bringing down the Tables of the Law* (c.1872-78), the symposium was a brilliant event at the close of the exhibition—and a splendid opportunity for a special issue of *AJVS* devoted to the broader theme of Pre-Raphaelitism and its influence in Australia and New Zealand.

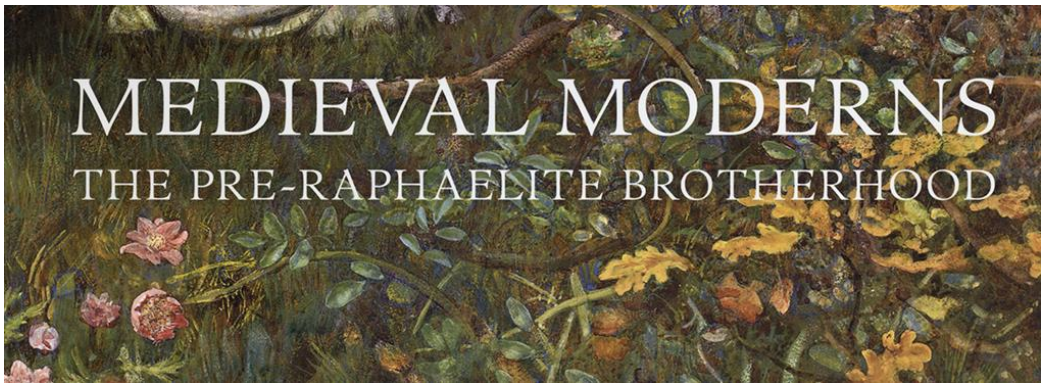
The response to the call for papers in 2016 was so strong that the essays in this issue of the *Australasian Journal of Victorian Studies* on "Pre-Raphaelitism in Australasia" (*AJVS* Vol. 22.2, 2018), constitute Part One of a two-volume undertaking, with the second to be published as *AJVS* Vol. 23.1, 2019. Coinciding with its long-awaited publication is another manifestation of interest in Pre-Raphaelitism, with the magnificent exhibition *Love and Desire: Pre-Raphaelite Masterpieces from the Tate* at the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra (December 2018 to April 2019). Despite the title, that exhibition includes many works on loan from institutions and individuals in Australasia, showing that the history of collecting Pre-Raphaelite and related works in the region is long and rich.

There are several strands to the study of Pre-Raphaelitism in Australasia: the history of the collection of Pre-Raphaelite works by institutions and individuals in the former British colonies in the Antipodes, the influence of Pre-Raphaelitism on the work of Australian and New Zealand artists and designers, and (related to both of these) the existence of family, personal and professional networks spanning the globe—which were not as unusual as one might think. The digitisation of newspapers from Britain and its colonies, a boon to researchers in many fields, provides a rich trove of information, supporting the sense of connectedness described by late Victorian as "the crimson thread of kinship." Before the advent of travel by steam ship, however, or the development of climate-controlled transport for works of art, we may well marvel at the regular traffic of people and touring exhibitions across the equator.

In the introductory essay which follows, Alison Inglis provides an overview of Pre-Raphaelitism in Australia as explored in the various articles that make up this issue, while acknowledging the work of scholars such as Juliette Peers and other speakers at the Symposium whose research is part of an expanding foundation for further studies in the field. She is to be congratulated for promoting and supporting scholarship and collegiality in this exciting field of study.

Pre-Raphaelitism and Australia

Alison Inglis



Detail of catalogue cover, *Medieval Moderns: The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, Fig. 1 above.

The importance of the revolutionary group of nineteenth-century artists known as the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and their subsequent influence on British art have long been recognised, but the impact of the movement beyond that nation's shores has yet to be fully evaluated.[3] Australia can claim a special place within the study of Pre-Raphaelitism's global influence, not only because one of the original Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, the sculptor, Thomas Woolner (1825-92), actually lived and worked in the Australian colonies in the early 1850s, but also because of a wealth of familial ties, and professional and institutional interactions established during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The ramifications of this remarkable web of cultural connections continues to the present day, and some of the many strands that make up Australia's distinctive relationship to Pre-Raphaelitism are explored in two special issue volumes of the *Australasian Journal of Victorian Studies*, beginning with "Pre-Raphaelitism in Australasia" Part 1: *AJVS* Vol. 22.2 (2018), and continuing in Part 2: *AJVS* Vol. 23.1 (2019).

One significant aspect of Australia's contribution to the history of Pre-Raphaelitism is the fact that it began during the early years of the movement itself, when the founding members—Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–82), William Holman Hunt (1827–1910), John Everett Millais (1829–96), Frederic George Stephens (1827-1907), James Collinson (1825-

[3] For studies of Pre-Raphaelitism from an international perspective, see Thomas J. Tobin (ed.), *Worldwide Pre-Raphaelitism*, State University of New York Press, Albany, 2005, which includes an important article by Juliette Peers on "Pre-Raphaelitism in Colonial Australia," pp. 215-33; Susan P. Casteras and Alicia Craig Faxon (eds), *Pre-Raphaelite Art in its European Context*, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995; M. F. Watson (ed.), *Collecting the Pre-Raphaelites: an Anglo-American Enchantment*, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1997; E. Prettejohn, "Envoi," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Pre-Raphaelites*, ed. E. Prettejohn, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 265-72.

81), William Michael Rossetti (1829-1919) and Thomas Woolner—still conceived of themselves as a "brotherhood." Woolner's departure to the Australian goldfields reaffirmed their continuing allegiance to a shared identity, as it prompted an exchange of striking friendship portrait drawings with accompanying inscriptions.[4] For instance, William Holman Hunt's portrait of John Millais carries the text "W. holman hunt [*sic*] to his PRBrother Tom Woolner April 12th. 1853." Another example, Dante Gabriel Rossetti's portrait of Holman Hunt, is inscribed: "12 April /53 D G Rossetti to Thomas Woolner[,] Edward Bateman[,] Bernhard Smith."[5] The additional names in the inscription refer to the fact that Woolner was accompanied to the goldfields by two older associates of the Pre-Raphaelites: Bernhard Smith (1820-85) and Edward La Trobe Bateman (1816-97)—both of whom continued their artistic careers in the colonies and furthered public knowledge of the movement there. In this respect, Australia's early relationship with Pre-Raphaelitism differs markedly from the American encounter with the movement, which largely occurred later in the later nineteenth century. In her analysis of that country's more "guarded" reception of the Pre-Raphaelites, Margaretta Frederick Watson has observed:

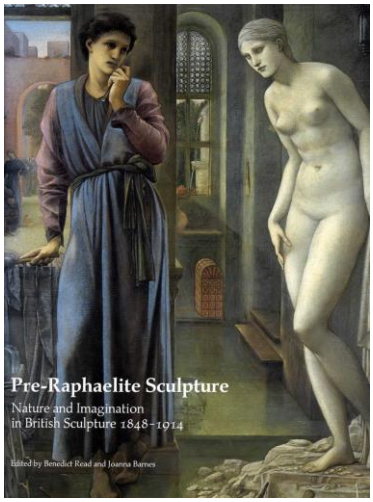


Fig. 2. Front cover: Benedict Read and Joanna Barnes (eds), *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture.* London, 1991.

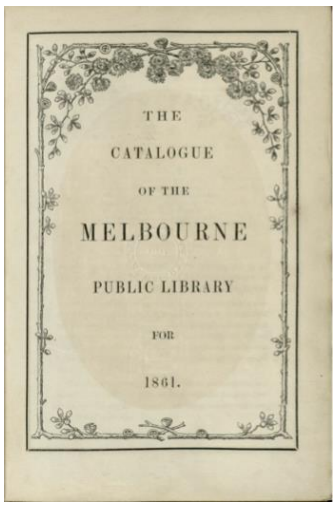
> … it was not until the mid-1870s and the 1880s that collectors like Charles Eliot Norton and Samuel Bancroft began to purchase these works. Americans … came late to their appreciation of the art of the PRB.[6]

Since the 1990s, several Australian art historians, led by Juliet (later Juliette) Peers, Caroline Clemente and Anne Neale, have studied in detail the activities of Woolner, Smith and Bateman in the Antipodes. Juliet Peers's pioneering essays on Thomas Woolner and Bernhard Smith reached an international audience through their inclusion in the British publication *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture 1848-1914* (Fig. 2). Caroline Clemente's work has examined the interactions between artists and patrons in the

[4] Richard Ormond, "Portraits to Australia, a Group of Pre-Raphaelite Drawings," *Apollo*, vol. 85, Jan. 1967, pp. 25-27; C. Cruise, *Pre-Raphaelite Drawing*, exhibition catalogue, Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery, 2011, pp. 102-07.
[5] W. Holman Hunt, *John Everett Millais*, 1853, chalks and pencil on paper, National Portrait Gallery, London; D. G. Rossetti, *William Holman Hunt*, 1853, pencil and grey wash on paper, Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery.
[6] M. F. Watson, "'Crossing the Big Pond': The Anglo-American appeal of Pre-Raphaelitism," in Watson, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

colonial art world, while Anne Neale, in her PhD thesis and subsequent articles, has explored the work of the "other" Pre-Raphaelite associate to emigrate to Australia, E. L. Bateman, focusing on his Melbourne career in landscape architecture and garden design.[7]

This narrative of gold-seeking emigrants has been the best-known aspect of the Australian connection to Pre-Raphaelitism (followed a close second by the popular interest in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's passion for wombats and other exotic marsupials).[8] These scholars have investigated the complex patterns of local patronage that supported the artists, ranging from Woolner's private portrait commissions of colonial worthies to the official endorsement of Bateman by the Melbourne Public Library, whose Trustees appointed him to produce decorative designs for its first major catalogue of 1861 (Figs. 3a, 3b).[9] Indeed, in Caroline Clemente's article in this special issue of *AJVS*, she carefully reconstructs Woolner's colonial career—comprising the sculptural work he produced and the networks he established—to argue that they were a vital catalyst in launching his subsequent professional life and in securing him future major commissions.



Figs. 3a & 3b. Edward La Trobe Bateman (designer), decorations for *The Catalogue of the Melbourne Public Library for 1861*, Melbourne, [1861]. Images: Courtesy of the State Library of Victoria.

[7] Juliet Peers, "Beyond Captain Cook: Thomas Woolner in Australia" and "Bernhard Smith: 'The Missing Brother'" in *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture 1848-1914*, eds. B. Read and J. Barnes, The Henry Moore Foundation in association with Lund Humphries, London, 1991, pp. 34-39; 12-20. Caroline Clemente, "Artists in Society: A Melbourne Circle, 1850s-1880s," *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, vol. 30, 1989 (https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/essay/artists-in-society-a-melbourne-circle-1850s-1880s/); and "Thomas Woolner's Portrait Medallion of C. J. La Trobe," *La Trobe Library Journal*, no. 80, Spring, 2007, pp. 52-64. Anne Neale's PhD thesis (University of Melbourne, 2001) was titled "Illuminating nature: the art and design of E. L. Bateman (1816-1897)."

[8] J. Simons, *Rossetti's Wombat: Pre-Raphaelites and Australian Animals in Victorian London*, Middlesex University Press, 2008; A. Trumble, "Rossetti, Morris and the Wombat," *Art and Australia*, 50.1, Spring, 2012, pp. 114-21. See the Notes on Contributors in this issue for a charming sketch of the wombat by W. B. Scott.

[9] Melbourne Public Library, *The Catalogue of the Melbourne Public Library for 1861, Melbourne, 1861*. Designs by Edward La Trobe Bateman, engraved by Samuel Calvert, printed by Clarson Shallard & Co, Bourke Street, Melbourne.

In view of the physical presence of Pre-Raphaelite artists "on the ground" in Australia, it is not surprising to discover that the local audience developed an early appreciation of the movement, its aims and stylistic characteristics. One contemporary colonial artist, the German-trained Eugene von Guerard, later recalled that he had first "heard of that [Pre-Raphaelite] School in the year 1854 when he exhibited his first pictures … in Melbourne";[10] and various newspaper accounts of Pre-Raphaelite art—written by local authors or reprinted British notices—certainly appeared regularly in the colonial press throughout the 1850s.[11] Knowledge of Pre-Raphaelitism's personal tie to Australia through the presence of Woolner was also widespread, as evinced by a report in one provincial newspaper, *The North Australian, Ipswich and General Advertiser*, that proudly informed its readers in 1856: "A new edition of Tennyson, illustrated by the great Pre-Raphaelites—Hunt, Millais, Rossetti, Hughes, etc.—is in the hands of Mr. Moxon, and will appear at Christmas-tide. Young Woolner, the sculptor, lately of Sydney, will furnish a medallion portrait of the poet."[12] Another newspaper, at the other end of the continent in Tasmania, also urged readers to support this talented young artist while he was in the colonies, declaring:

> We think it will be very much to the credit of the taste of Australia if, bold enough to choose the good art she sees before the loud reputation she hears of, she should be the first great public to "discover" Mr. Woolner.[13]

Fig. 4. John Bedford, *La Belle Yseult*, 1863, oil on wood panel, 35.4 x 27.9 cm. National Gallery of Victoria. Image: Courtesy of NGV.

Over the following two decades, local familiarity with Pre-Raphaelitism was enhanced by the arrival of works of art inspired by the tenets of the movement. The Australian-born artist, Adelaide Ironside, on returning to Sydney in 1862 following a sojourn in Europe, was reported to have "brought home a very remarkable picture, in Pre-Raphaelite style";[14] while one of the paintings acquired from London for Melbourne's fledgling Art Museum—John Bedford's *La Belle Yseult* (1863) (Fig. 4)[15]—depicted an Arthurian heroine with "luxuriant wavy

[10] E. von Guerard, unpublished letter to the *Argus*, c.1870, reprinted in Candace Bruce, *Eugene Von Guerard*, Australian Gallery Directors Council in conjunction with the Australian National Gallery, Canberra, 1980, pp. 134-35.
[11] In 2018, the National Library of Australia's online research platform, TROVE, lists 37 entries relating to references to the word "Pre-Raphaelite" in Australian newspapers between 1850-59.
[12] "Miscellanea," *The North Australian, Ipswich and General Advertiser*, 25 Nov. 1856, p. 1.
[13] "Art in Australia," *The Courier (Hobart)*, 18 Sept. 1854, p. 2.
[14] "The New South Wales Contributions to the International Exhibition," *Sydney Mail*, 24 May 1862, p. 3.
[15] John Bedford, *La Belle Yseult*, 1863, oil on wood panel, National Gallery of Victoria. See:

hair" that aligned with Pre-Raphaelite ideals of female beauty.[16] More importantly, a major painting by one of the Brotherhood's close associates, Ford Madox Brown's *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* (1847-51), was among the earliest purchases of the National Gallery of New South Wales in 1876—at the same time representing the first work by that artist to enter a public art collection anywhere in the world.[17]

Familial ties and local knowledge

Woolner, Bateman and Smith were not the only members of the Pre-Raphaelite circle to have direct experience of the Antipodes. Also living in the colony of Victoria in the nineteenth century were two of William Holman Hunt's siblings—his brother Edward and sister, Maria—who had emigrated in the 1850s. In his article in this *AJVS* special issue, Hugh Hudson investigates the unexpectedly rich holdings of Pre-Raphaelite manuscripts and realia in the State Library of Victoria, which include material relating to Woolner, Millais, Edward Burne-Jones, William Morris and Holman Hunt. In the case of the latter artist, Hudson reveals that the provenance of two rare portrait drawings of Hunt's sister, *Emily Hunt* (1857) (Fig. 5) and son, *Cyril Benoni Hunt* (1877-79) (Fig. 6) in the National Gallery of Victoria can be traced back to these Australian-based relatives.[18]

Fig. 5. William Holman Hunt, *Emily Hunt*, 1857, pen and brown ink and wash, 11.8 x 10.8 cm (sheet). National Gallery of Victoria. Image: Courtesy of National Gallery of Victoria.

Fig. 6. William Holman Hunt, *Cyril Benoni Hunt*, 1877-79, pencil, 22.0 x 20.1 cm (sheet), National Gallery of Victoria. Image: Courtesy of National Gallery of Victoria.

A third member of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, John Millais, has been shown by art historian and curator, Angus Trumble, to have developed "lifelong links to the Australian colonies," chiefly owing to the presence of his half-brother, Clement Hodgkinson and his

https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/3775/

[16] "The Art Exhibition at the Public Library," *The Age*, 2 Jan. 1865, p. 5.

[17] Ford Madox Brown, *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III*, 1847-51, oil on canvas, Art Gallery of New South Wales. See: https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/collection/works/703/

[18] William Holman Hunt, *Emily Hunt*, 1857, pen and brown ink and wash; *Cyril Benoni Hunt*, 1877-79, pencil, National Gallery of Victoria. Both purchased 1951.

family, in Victoria from the early 1850s.[19] The latter was understandably proud of his artist sibling and possessed examples of his work, as Melbourne's *Argus* newspaper reported in March 1880 when it described an example of Millais's juvenilia in Hodgkinson's collection: a watercolour of an Homeric subject produced by the artist prodigy "when he was only 11 years of age."[20] The existence of these familial links within the colonies inevitably contributed to public debates about Pre-Raphaelitism, as can be seen in 1881, when a negative and inaccurate account of Millais's work in the *Argus* prompted a swift correction by Hodgkinson, followed by a later "letter to the Editor" from Millais himself in London.[21]

Also contributing to this local exchange was a letter to the newspaper from Spencer R. Deverell, the brother of one of the Pre-Raphaelites' closest associates, Walter Deverell, who confidently pointed out perceived errors in another letter relating to the identity of the Brotherhood's members.[22] Spencer Deverell would revisit this theme three years later, in a published letter, in which he put forward a claim (subsequently rejected) for his brother Walter's inclusion in the original fraternity:

> As the brother of one, and when a boy intimately acquainted with all of them, and with the facts of the case, permit me to give the correct names [of the seven members of the brotherhood]. They are—Millais, Holman Hunt, William Rossetti, Woolner, Stephens, Gabriel Rossetti, and Walter Deverell.[23]

The complexities surrounding Walter Deverell's place within the historiography of Pre-Raphaelitism are addressed in detail by Barbara Bryant in her essay in this *AJVS* special issue, forming part of her larger study of Deverell's two works of art in the National Gallery of Victoria: *The Pet Parrot* (1853) and *Study for the Pet Parrot* (c.1852-53). Bryant

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[19] A. Trumble, "Colony and Capital in Australian Impressionist Portraiture," in T. Lane (ed.), *Australian Impressionism*, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2007, pp. 181-99; A. Trumble, "Millais in Melbourne," in *The Tumbrel Diaries* blog, 26 April 2011: https://angustrumble.blogspot.com/search?q=Hodgkinson
It should also be noted that the Millais family had ties in colonial New Zealand, with the brother of Effie Millais, Melville Gray, residing there. His niece, Miss May Millais, visited him in 1886, before travelling to Victoria to stay with the Hodgkinsons. See Gladys, "Holmby Grange, Toorak," *Melbourne Punch*, 4 March 1886, p. 10; Trumble, "Millais in Melbourne," *op.cit.*

[20] *Argus*, 19 March 1880, p.4. This work was possibly Millais's *The Wrestlers*, c.1840-41, watercolour on paper, Tate.

[21] See Trumble, "Millais in Melbourne," *op. cit.*

[22] S. R. Deverell, "Mr. Millais's Paintings," *Argus*, 27 April 1881, p.7.

[23] S. R. Deverell, "The Pre-Raphaelites," *Argus*, 23 Sept. 1884, p.6. This letter was written to correct claims made in a lecture on Pre-Raphaelitism by a visiting speaker, Gerald Massey. Juliette Peers has noted that two other local citizens "sent letters to the *Argus* correcting the [lecture's] text, citing as their authority familial connections to the Brotherhood and its associates, through … F. G. Stephens and Bernhard Smith himself …" See Peers, "Bernhard Smith," in Read and Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

investigates not only the identity of the female sitter in this "modern life subject" but also Deverell's life and career, including his family's ties to Australia.

These antipodean connections to various individual artists encouraged a public "fascination with Pre-Raphaelitism in Australia,"[24] which continued into the twentieth century where it was fuelled by the presence of Edward Burne-Jones's grand-daughter, Angela Thirkell, in Melbourne during the 1920s. Thirkell commenced her writing career at this time, and several articles by her in the local press focussed on Burne-Jones and Pre-Raphaelitism (such as one in the *Sydney Morning Herald* offering a vivid evocation of Burne-Jones's house and studio at The Grange, Fulham). Thirkell would later expand upon this subject following her return to England in the famous memoir of her childhood, *Three Houses* (1931).[25] Despite her unhappy years in Australia, Thirkell chose to donate her portrait by John Collier to the National Gallery of Victoria in 1960 (Fig. 7).[26]

Fig. 7. John Collier, *Mrs Campbell McInnes (later Angela Thirkell)*, 1912, oil on canvas, 158.4 x 91.7 cm. National Gallery of Victoria. Image: Courtesy of National Gallery of Victoria.

It was not only these family networks that kept alive popular interest in the movement. Several members of the public also claimed personal acquaintance with various Pre-Raphaelite artists, as demonstrated by one first-hand account of the exhumation of Rossetti's poems from Elizabeth Siddal's grave, sent to the editor of Adelaide's *Advertiser* newspaper by P. H. G. Gledhill in 1908. Following a description of the grisly event, the author explained:

> I can confidently speak of these details, having had a friendship with Mr. Howell, through whom I came into personal contact with many prominent artists and authors, and at the time of this gruesome recovery of the manuscript book, I was staying at his

[24] Peers, "Bernard Smith," in Read and Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
[25] A. Thirkell, "Burne-Jones. At Richardson's Grotto," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 May 1929, p. 13; A. Thirkell, *Three Houses*, Oxford U P, London, 1931.
[26] John Collier, *Mrs Campbell McInnes (later Angela Thirkell)*, 1912, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Victoria.

> house, and was the only person who remained in the company of Rossetti throughout that terrible night of his mental torture.[27]

This and similar local recollections of the Pre-Raphaelites were often prompted by the publication of autobiographies, memoirs and histories relating to the movement that began to appear in Britain in the early twentieth century. Colonial reviews of this growing body of literature also ensured that the Australian component of the story was reiterated; as was the case in 1934, in a book review of *The Rossettis and Their Circle* which contained a section on Woolner and his associates sub-titled "Pre-Raphaelites in Australia."[28] This same year saw the publication of the first history of art in Australia, William Moore's *The Story of Australian Art*, which included an account of the Pre-Raphaelites' presence in this country.[29]

The Pre-Raphaelite art exhibition of 1962 and its aftermath

Fig. 8. Cover, exhibition catalogue: *Pre-Raphaelite Art*. State Art Galleries of Australia, 1962.

This antipodean Pre-Raphaelite narrative reached its culmination in a major touring exhibition in 1962, arranged by the state art galleries of Australia, and first presented in Adelaide as part of the city's Festival of the Arts, where it celebrated the opening of new extensions to the Art Gallery of South Australia.[30] Its full title—*Pre-Raphaelite Art paintings drawings engraving sculpture tapestries chintzes wallpapers* (Fig. 8)—made clear the ambitious breadth of the project, which, as Peers has emphasised, was "one of the first scholarly recapitulations of Pre-Raphaelitism in light of twentieth-century art historical practice and one of the first exhibitions of Pre-Raphaelitism anywhere informed by modern museum techniques."[31] Several famous works were lent from British collections—Holman Hunt's *The Scapegoat* (1854-56) and *The Triumph of the Innocents* (1876-89), Millais's *Portrait of John Ruskin* (1853-54), Arthur Hughes's *Home from the Sea* (1862)—and these were placed alongside the remarkably rich holdings of Pre-

[27] P. H. G. Gledhill, "Dante Gabriel Rossetti," *Advertiser (Adelaide)*, 4 July 1908, p. 5.
[28] See "Books of the Day: The Rossetti Circle," *Australasian*, 15 Dec. 1934, p. 5. Review of *The Rossettis and Their Circle* by Frances Winwar, Hurst & Blackett, London, 1934.
[29] W. Moore, *The Story of Australian Art, from the earliest known art of the continent to the art of today*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1934, vol. 2, p.73.
[30] D. Thomas, *Pre-Raphaelite Art: paintings, drawings, engravings, sculpture, tapestries, chintzes, wallpapers*, State Art Galleries of Australia, Adelaide, 1962.
[31] J. Peers, "Pre-Raphaelitism in Colonial Australia," in Tobin, *op.cit*., pp. 215-33. See also J. Mendelssohn, C. Speck, C. De Lorenzo, A. Inglis, *Australian Art Exhibitions: Opening Our Eyes*, Thames & Hudson Australia, Melbourne, 2018, p. 38.

Raphaelite works in Australia's public collections, many of them acquired in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and in several cases directly from the artists or their families.[32] After Adelaide, this large exhibition went on a national tour and was presented at six state galleries—an unprecedented endeavour at that time both within Britain and certainly beyond its shores. The Australian exhibition pre-dates the major reassessment of Pre-Raphaelitism that commenced with the series of solo exhibitions in Britain on Madox Brown in 1964, Millais in 1967, Hunt in 1969, Rossetti in 1973 and Burne-Jones in 1975.[33]

The curator of the exhibition, Daniel Thomas from the Art Gallery of New South Wales, recounted the Australian connections to the movement in his catalogue essay, and this was clearly an important theme within the display, which presented a selection of works by Woolner, Bateman and Bernhard Smith, as well as a pencil study for Madox Brown's *The Last of England* (1852), lent from Birmingham. Thomas emphasised that "works from Australian collections are catalogued in greater detail than the others, for information on the latter is readily available elsewhere. Similarly, the less important artists with Australian connections, Bateman and Bernhard Smith, have the longest biographies."[34]

One impressive feature of the exhibition was the range and quality of the works on paper. The Victorian era, of course, was the great age of "black and white" art, both original and reproductive prints, and many examples by the Pre-Raphaelites were circulating throughout the colonies from the 1850s onwards, especially in the wake of the inter-colonial and international "great exhibitions."[35] A number of fine drawings and watercolours began to enter Australian public collections in the early twentieth century—such as Millais's *Garden Scene* (1849), Hunt's *The Lady of Shalott* (1850), Sandys's *Until her Death* (1862), and Rossetti's *The Loving Cup* (c.1867)—many bought on the advice of London-based experts.[36] In her short essay in this issue of *AJVS*, Alisa Bunbury examines one of these early acquis-

[32] Thomas, *op.cit*., pp. 7-8.
[33] Liverpool's Walker Art Gallery presented *Ford Madox Brown* in 1964; *Millais* in 1967 (also shown at London's Royal Academy of Arts); and *William Holman Hunt* in 1969. Mary Bennett was the curator. The Royal Academy presented *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: painter and poet* in 1973 (also shown at Birmingham); and the Arts Council of Great Britain presented the touring exhibition, Burne-Jones in 1975, curated by John Christian. See J. Christian, "A Critical Somersault," in S. Wildman and J. Christian, *Edward Burne-Jones, Victorian Artist-Dreamer*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1998, p. 3; Prettejohn, *op.cit*.
[34] Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
[35] L. Benson, *Medieval Moderns: The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, National Gallery of Victoria, 2015, p. 71.
[36] J. Millais, *Garden Scene*, 1849, pen and ink over pencil, Western Australian Art Gallery; W. Holman Hunt, *The Lady of Shalott*, 1850, black chalk, pen and ink, NGV; F. Sandys, *Until her Death*, [1862], pen and ink, Art Gallery of South Australia; D. G. Rossetti, *The Loving Cup*, c.1867, gouache on paper, Art Gallery of South Australia.

itions, a beautiful head of a woman titled *Sorrow* (1873), which was purchased by the National Gallery of Victoria in 1905 as a work by the Pre-Raphaelite associate, Frederick Sandys (1829-1904). Bunbury's detailed analysis of the composition, signature and provenance explains why this chalk drawing has recently been re-attributed to another artist with connections to the Pre-Raphaelite circle, Frederic Shields (1833-1911).[37]

Another striking aspect of the Pre-Raphaelite exhibition of 1962 was its inclusion of the decorative arts, ranging from tapestry and chintz to wallpaper. In hindsight, this component should not be surprising. The Barr Smith family of South Australia were enthusiastic patrons of the design firm of Morris & Company (which employed many Pre-Raphaelite artists, most notably Edward Burne-Jones). In fact, three generations of the family furnished at least seven of their homes in Adelaide between 1880 and 1930 with Morris & Company carpets, tapestries, wallpaper, furniture and glassware. Today, the Barr Smiths are acknowledged as one of the firm's "most significant international clients," and the Art Gallery of South Australia holds the largest collection of Morris & Company material outside Great Britain.[38]

However, it is noteworthy that only one work of decorative art in the 1962 exhibition was from a local collection—the great Morris & Company tapestry of *The Adoration of the Magi* (1900-1902), originally designed by Edward Burne-Jones, with floral border by J. H. Dearle, in 1887; the other tapestries, chintzes and wallpaper were all lent by the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was not until the 1980s that Morris & Company furnishings from the Barr Smith family homes began to enter the Art Gallery of South Australia's collections. The Gallery's curator of decorative arts, Christopher Menz, took responsibility for researching the work of Morris & Company in Australia and determining acquisitions. The result was the trail-blazing exhibition, *Morris & Company Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts & Crafts Movement in South Australia* in 1994 (Fig. 9), which inserted a crucial missing piece—the patronage and collecting of the decorative arts—into the history of Pre-Raphaelitism in this country.[39]

[37] F. Shields, *Sorrow*, 1873, coloured chalk over charcoal and wash on green paper, NGV. For details see: https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/42665/
[38] C. Menz, *Morris & Co.*, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, 2002, pp. 136-37.
[39] C. Menz, *Morris & Company Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts & Crafts Movement in South Australia*, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, 1994.

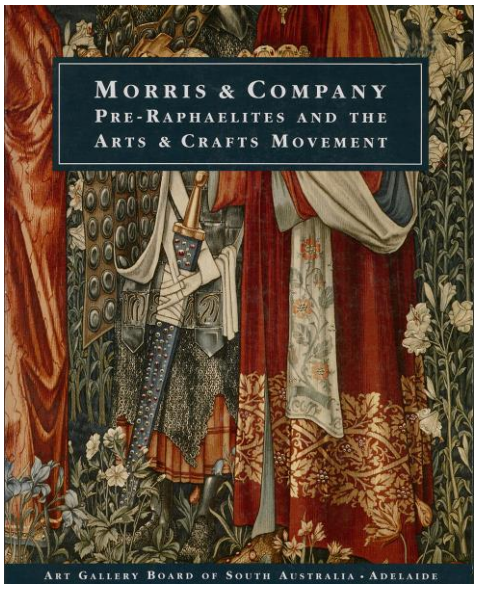

Fig. 9. Cover of exhibition catalogue: *Morris & Company Pre-Raphaelites and the Arts & Crafts Movement in South Australia*. Art Gallery of S. A., 1994.

The role of designers and decorating firms in shaping Australian artistic taste in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continues to attract scholarly attention. In his contribution to this issue of *AJVS*, Andrew Montana draws upon his expert knowledge of the Art Movement in Australia, investigating the career of the influential decorator and stained glass artist, David Cottier (1838-91). An early contemporary of the Pre-Raphaelites and William Morris, Cottier established the firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney in the early 1870s. Montana evaluates the achievements of this important but under-appreciated designer and considers the impact of Pre-Raphaelitism on his decorative aesthetic in Australia.

The significant role of Australian stained glass as a conduit for Pre-Raphaelite art is also addressed by another author in this Special Issue. But instead of studying the careers and sources of individual designers, Bronwyn Hughes has chosen to trace the inspiration of a particular work of art upon several generations of artists and patrons. The work of art in question is Holman Hunt's "great Pre-Raphaelite picture," *The Light of the World* (c.1900-04),[40] whose famous tour of the Antipodes between 1905-07 had one not unexpected result: the image became the most popular subject for stained glass windows in Australia and New Zealand during the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, Hughes's research reveals that modernist re-workings of the image were still being installed as church windows in the 1960s, and that it could be adapted to suit local conditions, as it was in 1935 for the Mission to Seafarers Chapel of St. Peter in Melbourne (p. 108 of this issue, Fig. 8).

The world-wide revival of interest in Pre-Raphaelitism can be traced back to pioneering exhibitions like *Pre-Raphaelite Art* in 1962, and public enthusiasm for the movement in

[40] H. Holman Hunt, *The Light of the World*, c.1900-04, oil on canvas, St Paul's Cathedral, London.

Australia continues to this day. Since that ambitious nation-wide event, a number of important exhibitions on Pre-Raphaelitism have been organised or hosted by Australian art museums—most recently, *Medieval Moderns: The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* (Fig. 1) at the National Gallery of Victoria in 2015, and *Love & Desire: Pre-Raphaelite Masterpieces from the Tate* (Fig. 10) at the National Gallery of Australia in 2018-19.

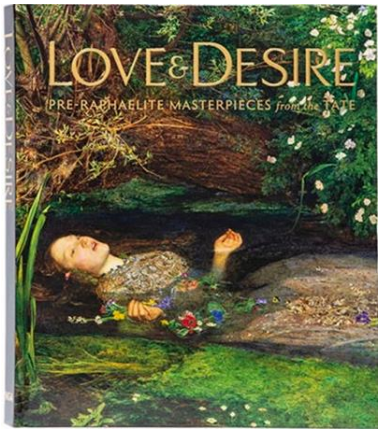

Fig. 10. Cover of exhibition catalogue: *Love & Desire, Pre-Raphaelite Masterpieces from the Tate*, National Gallery of Australia, 2018.

The legacy of Australia's direct involvement in the history of Pre-Raphaelitism also continues to reverberate, as was shown in the performance in 2016 of a new work for solo piano, *The Last of England* (Fig. 11), by British-born composer and pianist, Richard Chew, to accompany an exhibition of the same title, *The Last of England: Emigration in Prints* at the Art Gallery of Ballarat.[41] Chew describes his inspiration by this iconic work:

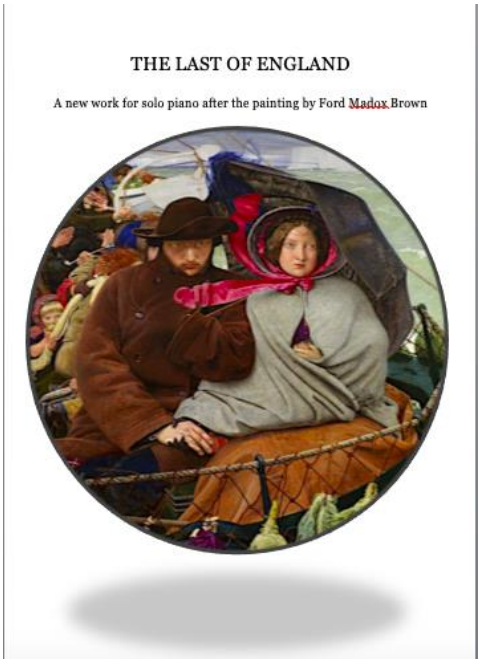

Fig. 11. Front page: *The Last of England Program Notes*, Art Gallery of Ballarat, 2016.

> I've known this painting [Ford Madox Brown's *The Last of England*] since childhood, when my mother used to take me to the City of Birmingham Art Gallery, where *The Last of England* is on permanent display. It was an image that stuck in my mind for some reason, but I had no idea then that I would myself emigrate to Australia as an adult with my family, nor that I would eventually find myself living and working in Ballarat, near to the goldfields where Woolner had searched in vain for his fortune. When I was recently casting around for a theme that would tie together a series of pieces for solo piano I was writing, it suddenly occurred to me that the painting was the solution. Details within *The Last of England* became like embarkation points for musical ideas or moods that I wanted to create.[42]

[41] The exhibition, *The Last of England: Emigration in Prints*, was held at the Art Gallery of Ballarat from 25 June to 14 August 2016. It was curated by Patricia Tryon Macdonald, and was presented in conjunction with *The Last of England* piano recital by Dr Richard Chew. See: https://artgalleryofballarat.com.au/gallery_exhibitions/the-last-of-england-emigration-in-prints/

[42] P. Freund, *The Last of England Program Notes*, Art Gallery of Ballarat, 2016.

This contemporary musical appreciation of Brown's famous painting reminds us of the continuing relevance of the Pre-Raphaelite movement for local audiences and offers further explanation for the depth of research undertaken in this field across a range of disciplines in Australia and New Zealand. Certainly, the National Gallery of Victoria exhibition and symposium *Medieval Moderns: The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, as well as this special double issue of *AJSA*, are testimony to this enduring relationship.

Acknowledgements

The publication of this Special Issue was delayed by a series of unforeseeable events throughout 2016 and 2017 which were not related to its contents, and which went far beyond the all-too-familiar chronic over-committedness of academic teachers and scholars. The editorial team, past and present—Alison Inglis, Meg Tasker and Nancy Langham-Hooper—have greatly appreciated the generosity, patience, and cooperation of the authors, and of others who have been looking forward to the publication.

Our determination not to give up on the project is largely due to the gorgeousness of the material itself, and we are delighted to be presenting, at last, this lavishly illustrated set of essays. Special thanks to Nancy Langham-Hooper, who did so much to set up the issue and liaise with authors, and to the libraries, galleries, archives and institutions who have generously allowed the use of images and source material throughout the volume. As a non-commercial publication, offering free and open access to all via the Open Journals System, we very much appreciate their support in waiving fees as well as assisting with illustrations and permissions.

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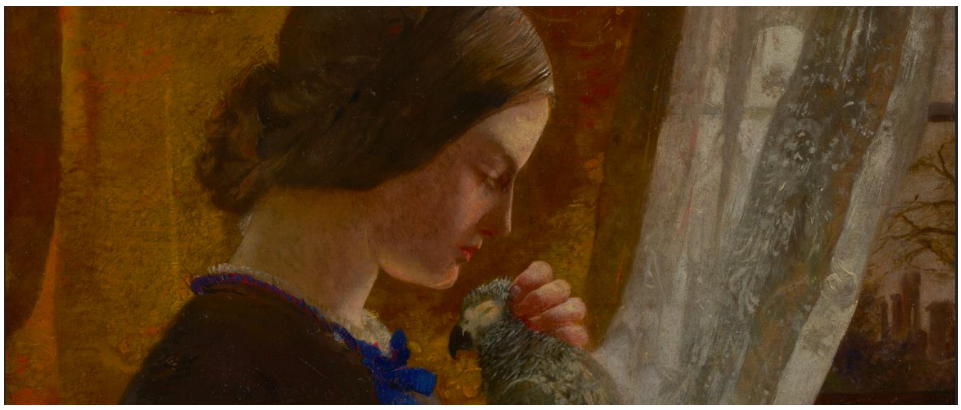
Recovering Walter Howell Deverell: Image, Identity and Portraiture in Pre-Raphaelite Art

Barbara Bryant



Detail from Fig 2. Walter Howell Deverell. *The Pet Parrot*. c.1852-53.

In 2015 the National Gallery of Victoria staged a two-day symposium to coincide with their exhibition *Medieval Moderns: The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*. In my keynote lecture, "The People behind the Portraits in Australia's Pre-Raphaelite Collections," I examined the links between the image in the work of art and the actual individual portrayed, while also developing the theme of the crossover between portraiture and subject painting in Pre-Raphaelite art.[1] From the founding of the Brotherhood in 1848, this group of young British artists ignited new possibilities in all genres of art, not least portraiture. The formal portrait mutated into a more direct vision of a real person, while subject paintings gained new meanings as artists cast family and friends in new roles, bringing into question the wider issue of identity. I argue in this paper that Walter Howell Deverell's *The Pet Parrot* (1853), a painting in the collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, exemplifies this aspect of Pre-Raphaelite art.[2]

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[1] I am most grateful to Alison Inglis whose invitation to speak at the Symposium provided the opportunity for the research contained in this article. In addition, at the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV), I would like to thank Ted Gott, Senior Curator of International Art, who helpfully arranged for me to study the files in the department of paintings at the NGV and Vivien Gaston for facilitating this research. Laurie Benson, Curator of International Art; Senior Curator Cathy Leahy; and Curator Alisa Bunbury also provided observations and assistance in studying Deverell's painting and drawing and in arranging additional photography.

[2] I will refer to the painting as *The Pet Parrot*, the title used by the artist when it was first exhibited. At the National Gallery of Victoria it is catalogued as *The Grey Parrot*.

The Identity of the Artist

Due to his early death and short career, Walter Howell Deverell (1827-54) has not yet been fully integrated into accounts of Pre-Raphaelitism. The one exception is his role in "discovering" Elizabeth Siddal, which has entered the mythology of the movement. Apart from an essay by Mary Lutyens in 1984 at the time of the landmark exhibition *The Pre-Raphaelites* at the Tate Gallery, a few articles in the 1980s,[3] and one more recent text,[4] the literature on Deverell has not amounted to a full art-historical assessment. This now requires attention in light of new material and sources. When I began my research, there was no entry in the standard British biographical source, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. This omission has now been rectified with my entry on Deverell, which appeared in the online update of the *Oxford DNB*.[5] What I would like to argue for is a reinstatement of this artist within the discussion of art of the period. In this article, I will consider his painting *The Pet Parrot* (Fig. 2) with emphasis on the artist, the sitter and the place of this work in the historiography of Pre-Raphaelitism.

After Walter Deverell's death in 1854 his reputation all but evaporated. Yet a close examination of the chronology of the Pre-Raphaelite movement shows him to have played an integral role. From a very early point, c.1845-46, he was an intimate friend of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and in 1849 he brought Elizabeth Siddal into the circle of the Brotherhood. Deverell's own image pervades early Pre-Raphaelite painting. Thanks to his good looks, he modeled for several key works: as one of the brothers in John Everett Millais's *Isabella,* as the page in Ford Madox Brown's *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III,* and as Claudio in William Holman Hunt's *Claudio and Isabella* (for which the National Gallery of Victoria possesses a study in pen and ink).[6]

Deverell's *oeuvre* is limited, as one might expect for an artist who died at the age of twenty-six. Although various records tell us that he produced about twenty works in oil, some of

[3] For example, Rebecca A. Jeffrey: "W. H. Deverell: Some Observations and a Checklist," *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, VI.2 (1986), pp. 83-89, with a list of works that is now out of date. The article by E. Shefer: "Deverell, Rossetti, Siddal, and 'The Bird in the Cage,'" *Art Bulletin*, 67 (1985), pp. 437-80, while discussing Deverell's paintings *A Pet* and *The Pet Parrot*, presented a speculative and unsubstantiated argument that did not take account of the research published at the time of the Tate's *Pre-Raphaelites* exhibition of 1984.
[4] V. Holloway: "In Defence of Walter Deverell," *Pre-Raphaelite Society Review*, 22.2 (2014), pp. 20-28.
[5] Barbara Bryant: *Deverell, Walter Howell (1827–1854) Oxford DNB* Online, (Accessed January 2018) https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/67565.
[6] John Everett Millais, *Isabella* (1848), RA 1849, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. Ford Madox Brown, *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* (1847 onward), RA 1851, Art Gallery of New South Wales. William Holman Hunt, *Claudio and Isabella* (1850-53) RA 1853, Tate Britain.

these were slight, a few were unfinished, and at least one was destroyed. He exhibited twelve works that we can assume were finished oils but not all of these are located. Only six of his paintings are in public collections in the United Kingdom (two in Tate Britain); several others are privately owned; one is in a museum in South Africa. Remarkably, considering how few finished paintings he produced, one of his major works is at the National Gallery of Victoria: *The Pet Parrot*, an oil exhibited at the Society of British Artists, London, in 1853, was acquired through the Felton Bequest in 1913. And, even more remarkably, also at the NGV is the only known pen and ink study (Fig. 1) for this oil, acquired in 1972. These works made an important contribution to the exhibition *Medieval Moderns* in 2015, where they were placed side by side, so that one could gauge the transition from drawing to oil. This exhibition and symposium provided a unique opportunity to consider the position of Deverell as an artist whose identity had in certain essential ways fallen into obscurity.[7]

How did Deverell lose his place in art historiography? First some background is necessary. At the time of the founding of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood at John Everett Millais's comfortable middle-class family home in Bloomsbury in September 1848, Deverell was already close to Rossetti and the others, but his position as a potential participant in the Brotherhood was not as clearly laid out. His nomadic upbringing found some stability in 1843 when his father was appointed as Assistant Secretary at the Government School of Design at Somerset House in London. The large Deverell family of some eight children[8] had their accommodation provided in the historic building that had been the home of the Royal Academy of Arts until its move to Trafalgar Square in 1837. Here at classes in the old Great Room of Sir Joshua Reynolds's Academy, students were taught the

Fig. 1. Walter Howell Deverell. *Study for The Pet Parrot* (*The Grey Parrot*). c.1852-53. Pen and black and brown ink, 13.2 by 7.9 cm. (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne).

[7] *Medieval Moderns: The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* ran at the National Gallery of Victoria from 11 April to 12 July 2015. (https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/exhibition/medieval-moderns-the-pre-raphaelite-brotherhood).
[8] The family included the eldest, Walter, then Margaretta (1829-1914), Chantrey (1831-87), Jemima (b. 1832; died young), Spencer (1834-89), Wykeham Travell (1836-1916), Ruding (1839-98), and Maria (b. 1841).

rudiments of drawing with a view to applying their skills to industry. Inevitably, due to his father's position, he had close links to the School of Design. Life in the former premises of the Royal Academy encouraged Deverell's own career choice and by the age of sixteen he was registered as an art student at the National Gallery and admitted as a probationer at the Royal Academy Schools. In 1845 he also joined Sass's Academy to improve his drawing techniques and here he befriended the charismatic Gabriel (later Dante Gabriel) Rossetti with whom he shared an avid interest in writing poetry as well as in art. These two joined with Hunt and Millais to revive a sketching club known as The Cyclographic Society, a precursor of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.[9] Deverell, however, had to balance the rival claims of officialdom and his family with his firebrand friends, the future Pre-Raphaelites.[10]

Deverell's first exhibited work, a genre portrait study (private collection), appeared at the Royal Academy in 1847, followed the next year by a scene from Faust (unlocated), a choice of subject revealing an affinity with Rossetti. But on the famous evening in September 1848, Deverell was not in attendance. Rossetti, Millais, Hunt, William Michael Rossetti, James Collinson, sculptor Thomas Woolner and F. G. Stephens voted to form a group intent on breaking all the rules that were set down by the art establishment. Their youth (all were aged between nineteen and twenty-three) inflamed their rebellious stance, as did the writings of John Ruskin and a love of early Italian art. By the time the Brotherhood formed, Deverell was already employed as one of the five assistant masters at the Government School of Design, under the Head Masters, who included the prominent Royal Academicians John Rogers Herbert and Richard Redgrave. This job, which earned him fifty pounds a year, is one that his father must have had a hand in arranging. Now guiding students even younger than his own twenty-one years, Deverell taught the standard pedagogical course using the textbook by artist William Dyce, *The Drawing Book of the Government School of Design* (1842). His role embedded him in establishment practices. Even more important, as a resident in rooms at Somerset House, the young artist would have felt a strong sense of the history surrounding him. He admired Old Master painters and respected the work of some current Academicians. His employment at the School of Design, his father's position as Secretary, and indeed the tied accommodation his family enjoyed at Somerset House, meant that Deverell inevitably

[9] On the Society, see C. Cruise: "Pre-Raphaelite Drawing" in E. Prettejohn, ed.: *The Cambridge Companion to the Pre-Raphaelites*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 50-51.
[10] For further biographical details, see B. Bryant: *Deverell, Walter Howell (1827–54) Oxford DNB online*, *op. cit.*

stood apart. Unlike Rossetti and friends, he was not able to cast aside his professional and familial allegiances.

Even if Deverell did not belong to the initial cohort of the seven Brethren, he was as tightly knit into their circle as that other famously unelected Pre-Raphaelite, Ford Madox Brown. In 1849, Hunt painted a portrait of Deverell.[11] That year, Deverell prepared to paint a large oil showing the garden scene from *Twelfth Night* (exh. 1850; private collection), with a portrayal of himself in the leading role of Duke Orsino and a portrait of Rossetti as Feste, the jester. For Viola, he needed a red-haired model, and so he included Elizabeth Siddal—this was her first appearance in a Pre-Raphaelite painting. Retrospective accounts for the most part concur that Deverell "discovered" Lizzie while accompanying his mother on a foray to buy a hat at Madame Tozer's millinery shop in Cranbourne Alley, Leicester Square, in the later part of 1849. (An alternative but more prosaic account is that Lizzie, an aspiring artist herself, showed her drawings to Deverell's father for advice and that way she met his son).

The young man boasted to his friends about her: "By Jove! She's like a queen, magnificently tall, with a lovely figure . . . the flow of surface from the temples over the cheek is exactly like the carving of a Pheidian goddess."[12] According to at least one contemporary account, Deverell may have harboured affections for Lizzie himself, but in the course of the next few years, she and Rossetti formed a romantic attachment.[13]

In seeking out a new model for Viola, Deverell reflected a central tenet of Pre-Raphaelitism in that models were often individuals known to the artists themselves, such as family and friends, which lent greater authenticity to their pictures.[14] In June 1849 Deverell himself posed as the page in the foreground of Madox Brown's *Chaucer* and also that year as one of the brothers in Millais' *Isabella.* For young artists, this was practical (a kind of coincidental or disguised portraiture), but it also directly served their stated aim of truth in appearance and in meaning. Professional models, while excellent at standing still for long periods, tended to take stock poses and keep neutral expressions. To distance their work from a recycled canon of beauty, creating one with more immediacy, using real people gave Pre-Raphaelite art powerful impact. When Hunt recruited Deverell to pose for Claudio, the dissolute brother of the

[11] J. Bronkhurst: *William Holman Hunt: A Catalogue Raisonné*, New Haven and London 2006, vol. 1, p. 120, no. 48.
[12] W. H. Hunt: *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood,* London 1905, I, p. 198.
[13] Bryant, *Oxford DNB, op. cit.*
[14] See, for example, W. M. Rossetti: "Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Elizabeth Siddal," *Burlington Magazine,* I (1903), p. 274.

virtuous Isabella, in his representation of the charged encounter between the two siblings, he vividly animated his dramatic source material. Models, professional and otherwise, engaged in a kind of role-playing game in the artists' studios, part of deciding who should be cast in which part. The famously handsome Deverell, a keen amateur actor, made an apt choice for Claudio, for as Hunt himself wrote about his friend, he "often enacted imaginary adventures of a dramatic character which we were to enjoy together."[15] Deverell seemed to be at the heart of the merriment, as in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's spoof on Keats's "The Eve of St. Agnes," which references him as a ready participant in nocturnal P.R.B. gatherings.[16] In 1850 Deverell turned his back on the Royal Academy when he submitted his painting *Twelfth Night* to the "National Institution of Fine Arts" at the Portland Gallery in upper Regent Street, near Langham Place, a venue which has been characterised as "radical, artist-focused" and "anti-institutional."[17] Here Rossetti also sent *Ecce Ancilla Domini*. The previous year, the initials "P.R.B." had been revealed on Rossetti's *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* at this very exhibition venue, under its former name of the "Free Exhibition." Deverell's choice of venue clearly indicates an affirmation of Rossetti's aims and motives and those of the new movement.

Writing and making art went hand in hand. A logical outcome of these related interests was the publication of the short-lived journal *The Germ: thoughts toward Nature in Poetry, Literature and Art,* which acted as a test bed for visual and verbal Pre-Raphaelite concerns. What has received less attention than its merits is Deverell's key role in its realisation. The project occupied him throughout 1849 and 1850; at one stage Rossetti dubbed him "the dilatory Deverell" for his slowness in producing a prospectus.[18] In September 1849 Deverell convinced John Rogers Herbert, one of the masters at the School of Design, to allow the use of his name to promote the fledgling journal.[19] As one of the proprietors, Deverell organised the printing and distribution of *The Germ*, arranging for the sale of copies to students at the Schools. He published his sonnet sequence, "The Sight Beyond," in the second issue of *The Germ*. His etched illustration *Viola and Olivia* (for which Elizabeth Siddal modelled again as the cross-dressing Viola), and his poem "A Modern Idyl" appeared in the fourth and last issue

[15] Hunt, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, op. cit.*, p. 367.
[16] D. Roe, ed.: *The Pre-Raphaelites: From Rossetti to Ruskin,* London 2010, p. 130.
[17] C. Cruise: "'Sincerity and Earnestness': D. G. Rossetti's Early Exhibitions 1849-53," *Burlington Magazine* 146 (2004), p. 11.
[18] W. M. Rossetti, ed.: *Præraphaelite Diaries and Letters*, London 1900, p. 92.
[19] Rossetti, *ibid.*, p. 92.

in May 1850.[20] Shared tastes in subject matter amongst the Pre-Raphaelites are reflected in Deverell's frequent choice of Shakespearean subjects, including the *Banishment of Hamlet*.[21]

That Deverell played an integral part in this early phase of Pre-Raphaelitism is confirmed by near-official election to the ranks of the Brotherhood. One defining aspect of the group was its limited number of elected members; by early 1850, however, this policy came into question. As William Michael Rossetti wrote in his journal: "We had some argument concerning the limitability of the P.R.B.:—Hunt maintaining that it ought inviolably to consist of the present Members, for which Collinson and I do not see any very cogent necessity."[22] That was in January 1850, and by May that year Collinson himself had resigned from the Brotherhood for religious reasons. In October William Michael considered that Deverell, who was a long-standing friend of several members of the group, as well as working on *The Germ*, had "worthily filled up the place left vacant by Collinson."[23] In late December Stephens asked Deverell to attend the next meeting on 2 January 1851 to be elected "into your proper chair."[24] But the meeting did not take place, and the moment passed for Deverell, who never officially joined the Brotherhood. As a result, in the historiography of Pre-Raphaelitism, Deverell's role has been muted. Yet he continued to be integral to the activities of the group, and he and Rossetti shared a studio in Red Lion Square from January to May 1851.

When the Government School of Design left Somerset House, following a reorganisation, it moved to Marlborough House, a royal property in St. James's, where Deverell and his father now worked. But this transfer meant the family lost their tied accommodation and they had to relocate, a rupture compounded by the recent death of Mrs. Deverell. The family settled in a new home in Kew where, by at least June 1852, they were resident at Heathfield House, a well-proportioned Georgian residence, still extant at 352 Kew Road, directly opposite the gardens. Testifying to its modest grandeur is the Adam-style door case ornamented with a relief of Leda and the swan. It was formerly the home of the several generations of artists in the Engleheart family and perhaps Deverell senior leased it through his connections in the art world in London. It is clear that Deverell's family was under some stress, as the young artist was also out of touch with his friends at this time, especially once he left London for Kew.

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[20] See *The Germ*, no. 2 (February 1850), p. 79; no. 4 (May 1850), pp. iv, 177-79.
[21] This painting, exhibited in 1851 (now destroyed), is known by a drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
[22] W. Fredeman, ed.: *The P.R.B. Journal: William Michael Rossetti's Diary of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood 1849-1853*, Oxford 1975, p. 44.
[23] Fredeman, *ibid.*, p. 72.
[24] As quoted in Fredeman, *ibid.*, p. 241.

William Michael noted in November 1852 that he had not heard from Deverell, who had had to take on teaching night classes at the schools. But Kew had its advantages. It was a prosperous suburb, recently opened up by the railway. Here the famed Royal Botanical Gardens were in the process of grand redevelopment with the creation of the great Victorian glasshouses.

Young Deverell went from living in the middle of metropolitan London to an idyllic leafy enclave well away from city life. He commuted to work at the Schools in their new location at Marlborough House, but this meant a long, tiring journey by rail late at night four or five times a week, which eventually undermined his health. Significantly, this relocation prompted new directions in his art. Given the proximity of Kew, it is unsurprising that Deverell became obsessed with gardens, particularly his own. He worked in the conservatory and used a stable in the grounds as a studio. He wrote lovingly of his "passion for nature," especially the garden: "a great delight . . . where I painted carefully a background."[25] Hunt wrote to him that he intended to come to Kew "to see you, among your flowers."[26]

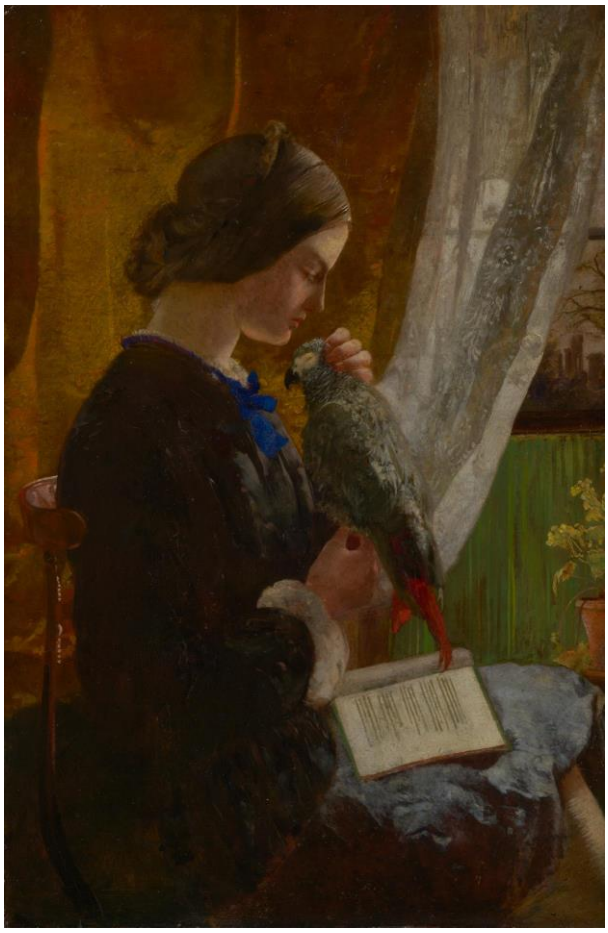

Fig. 2. Walter Howell Deverell. *The Pet Parrot* (*The Grey Parrot*). c.1852-53. Oil on canvas, 53.5 by 35.2 cm. (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne).

Settling into this new environment, and as new people entered his circle, Deverell explored fresh subject matter that included scenes from everyday life. He began three compositions, all with the same model, set at Heathfield House. An oil study for *The Pet Parrot: a Sketch* (unlocated) appeared at the exhibition of the North of England Society for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in

[25] [Frances Deverell (Mrs Wykeham Deverell)]: "The P.R.B. & Walter Howell Deverell. Letters from Dante Gabriel Rossetti & Others, with a Narrative & Illustrations." Unpublished manuscript (HM 12917) with a preface and annotations by W. M. Rossetti, 1899. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, USA, p. 67/96 (there are two sets of page numbers). Also quoted in M. Lutyens: "Walter Howell Deverell (1827–1854)" in L. Parris, ed.: *Pre-Raphaelite Papers*, London 1984, p. 84.

[26] Hunt to Deverell, from Oxford, dated June 1852. M. Lutyens, ed.: "Letters from Sir John Everett Millais (1829–1896) and William Hunt (1827–1910) in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California," *Walpole Society Annual* 44 (1972–74), p. 51.

Newcastle in August 1852. This version of *The Pet Parrot* must have been the same as the "small study" with the same title he sent to the British Institution in the following February 1853 priced at 10 pounds.[27] In April at the Society of British Artists he showed the larger, finished version of *The Pet Parrot* (Fig. 2), along with another oil, *Eustatia* (Fig. 3), depicting the same model. Later that year, in September, he showed *A Pet* (Fig. 4) at the Liverpool Academy, which eventually sold for 80 pounds.[28] These three modern life subjects are inter-related in various ways but most importantly Deverell depicted the same sitter within his own domestic environment.

The Identity of the Sitter

Deverell's painting *The Pet Parrot* (1852-53) was not a formally commissioned portrait, but it is a depiction of a specific person and that sets the terms for the following discussion. Since this Special Issue of *AJVS* focuses on Pre-Raphaelitism in Australasia, it is fortunate that the National Gallery of Victoria holds the key evidence, both the drawing and the painting itself.[29] These works, when combined with other depictions of this sitter in two oils at Tate Britain, allow a consideration of notions of image and identity in Deverell's work. A full discussion of the Tate's pictures would be beyond the scope of the present article but with this group of works, we see a woman whom the artist clearly knew well while he lived at Kew, and who inspired a group of works which have at their centre her enigmatic personality.

The woman in the NGV's painting is seen in profile, seated within a comfortable middle-class interior complete with lace curtains. Her decorous daytime dress, set off with white lace collar and cuffs, is accented with a bright blue bow at the neckline. What is most noteworthy about her is the elaborate coiffure, consisting of her braided hair wound around the nape of her neck

[27] The exhibition of the British Institution opened in early February and closed in early May; the catalogue shows the price Deverell cited.

[28] Although there has been some speculation that the NGV's painting may have been the work first exhibited in Newcastle (which would mean that the later picture is unlocated), I do not think this is the case. The "sketch" seen in Newcastle in August 1852 is likely to be the same work as the "small study" William Michael Rossetti referred to in his *Spectator* review of the British Institution in February 1853. In his April 1853 review of the later exhibition of the Society of British Artists, he called the work of the same title a "finished sketch," i.e. a different, larger picture. It seems that this is the work at the NGV. The price differential between what Deverell charged for smaller and larger pictures also confirms this conclusion. He named 10 pounds as the cost of the "small study" of *The Pet Parrot* at the British Institution compared to 80 pounds for *A Pet* at the Liverpool Academy. *The Pet Parrot* is not as large as *A Pet*, but neither would it be described as a "small study."

[29] These two works were displayed together in the exhibition at the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 2015 and that juxtaposition is replicated in L. Benson: exh. cat. *Medieval Moderns: The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria) 2015, pp. 22-23.

and then twisted around the top of her head. Her personality is elusive, partly due to the severe profile presentation and partly due to the quiet contemplative moment depicted.

The title of the painting *The Pet Parrot* calls attention to the creature as much as to the person depicted. The relationship between the sitter and her pet is the central motif of the composition, as the woman gently caresses a type of parrot known as an African Grey (*Psittacus erithacus*),[30] which rests safely in her confident hands. These highly intelligent birds bond powerfully to one person. So lovingly is the bird depicted, one must assume it too is a portrait; certainly, it is accurate in its markings, particularly the crimson flash of its tail. A curious aspect of the African Grey is a tendency to experience anxiety; indeed, they are quite solitary creatures unless tamed with careful handling and a reassuringly soft voice. Yet too much handling is not desirable for this type of parrot, just some gentle scratching of the head, as one sees in the painting itself. As seen in the drawing, the artist's first idea was to show the bird chained; in the oil it is not restrained, suggesting a more intimate rapport between the person and the parrot. As one would expect, the artist has developed the setting more fully in the oil, with a view out the window to a row of buildings and trees with a suggestion of spring leaves.[31] Nature is brought indoors by the potted plant, which appears to be a primrose, but is otherwise only glimpsed through the window, reinforcing the notion of domesticity and enclosure. The woman in the painting sits with a book on her lap, the pages showing stanzas of poetry, characterising her as an individual of artistic sensibilities.

In its naturalistic handling, the drawing in the NGV departs from the style of Pre-Raphaelite draughtsmanship Deverell employed a few years earlier featuring idiosyncratic poses, angular figures and quirky details, as seen in the *Study for Twelfth Night* (c.1850; Tate Britain). It provides more than just a key to how Deverell worked up his subject, although it does contain his inscribed annotations on colour and accessories, which have been faithfully carried out. The small drawing, only about five inches high, is on the scale one would expect for a sketchbook or notebook which an artist might carry around to jot down notes of a general nature, as well as using for quick studies. Inscriptions on the verso of the drawing show two addresses in what seems to be the artist's own hand: *6 Richmond Place, Lisson Grove, St. John's Wood*; a second is less easily readable, although it clearly includes the designation "Portman Market." Richmond Place overlooked a massive stone yard next to the Regent's Canal. The large area

[30] On the characteristics of this type of parrot, see Dr. E. J. Mulawka: *African Grey Parrots*, Neptune, New Jersey 1983.
[31] An x-ray of the oil shows the artist's clear purpose with no major corrections or adjustments.

dedicated to the Portman Market, further south in the same vicinity, opened in 1830, initially to sell hay, and later included fruit and vegetables. Both addresses are located in a part of London that was densely populated, often overcrowded, where dwellings had cheap rents and the people who resided there were at the lower end of the social spectrum. Although we can only speculate why Deverell recorded these addresses in 1852, it was perhaps in search of models. It is also worth recalling that Holman Hunt actually hired a room in a house not far away in Alpha Place in 1853 as the setting for his scene of a kept woman and her lover in *The Awakening Conscience* (1853; RA 1854; Tate Britain). As Judith Bronkhurst has noted, Hunt explicitly described this residence, Woodbine Villa, as a "Courtesan's house."[32]

Other inscriptions associated with the drawing take us beyond the work of art itself and serve to introduce Deverell's model. On the mount a name is inscribed identifying the sitter (most probably) recorded by a member of Deverell's family who, as will be seen in the final segment of this article, kept the flame of his reputation alive after the artist's death). The inscription, which reads "Eustatia Davey (Mrs Lawrence)," is later and, although retrospective, it indicates that the writer was familiar with the sitter and knew that she had married, suggesting she was a family friend. That the drawing is inscribed has been previously noted,[33] as has the likelihood of this individual posing for three of Deverell's

Fig. 3. Walter Howell Deverell. *Eustatia*. 1853. Oil on canvas, 55.9 by 35.6 cm. (Tate Gallery, London). Creative Commons, Photo © Tate Gallery.

[32] J. Bronkhurst: *William Holman Hunt: A Catalogue Raisonné*, New Haven 2006, I, p. 165.
[33] L. Parris, ed.: *The Pre-Raphaelites*, London 1984, p. 114; Lutyens "Walter Howell Deverell (1827–1854)," *op. cit.*, p .90. Sophie Matthiessen (Curator, NGV) has suggested that the writer of the inscription with the name of the model is William Michael Rossetti [see Laurie Benson's entry in *Love & Desire: Pre-Raphaelite Masterpieces from the Tate*, exh. cat., Canberra (National Gallery of Australia) 2018, pp. 63, 210n41]. It is possible, but equally it might be Wykeham Deverell, Walter's brother. In addition, the assumption that if Rossetti wrote the inscription he also owned the drawing seems less likely. In 1899 William Michael gave much assistance to Walter's brother Wykeham, and his wife Frances, Deverell as they sought to raise the profile of Walter's reputation (see [Frances Deverell (Mrs Wykeham Deverell)], *op. cit*., pp. 16ff below, and W. M. Rossetti, *Some Reminiscences*, London 1906, I, p. 149). Therefore I would suggest that since we know that Rossetti helped the Deverells sort through their collection of Walter's artistic and literary effects, he may have inscribed the mount based on information Wykeham provided about this drawing in the family's collection.

paintings, but as yet no one has considered the identity of Eustatia. And this seems to be an essential line of enquiry. She was not (it would seem) a professional model, but must have had a connection with the artist or his family, although this has yet to be firmly established. In terms of Deverell's art, as a specific individual, she might be seen as an alternative to Elizabeth Siddal, whom he had discovered, but who by this time was exclusively a model to his friend Rossetti.

Recently, I have been able to go further through genealogical research in situating Eustatia, hitherto known by her (incorrectly spelled) surname. Eustatia Elizabeth was the daughter of a captain in the Royal Navy named John Davie. With connections on his mother's side to Devonshire landed gentry, Davie had a long record in the navy; he saw action in the Napoleonic wars before the peace of 1815, attaining the high position of post-captain. Given this social standing, we can assume his daughter was unlikely to be a professional or even semi-professional model. In 1815, Davie married Jemima Tappen at St. Clement Danes and their only daughter Eustatia was born on 26 December 1818 in Somerset. Her exotic name made reference to the island St. Eustatius in the Caribbean, the site of a famous British naval battle in 1781. The unmarried Eustatia, aged 33 while sitting to Deverell in 1852, was some years older than his 24 years. Not until 1857 did she wed Walter Lawrence, a well-to-do company director with family estates in Jamaica; they set up house in Chelsea and she lived there until her death in 1881. These are the bare facts of Eustatia's life. She is a personality whom we only know as a visual presence, but she dominated Deverell's artistic output in 1852-53. She was a mature young woman, a friend of the family or a neighbour in Kew, whom the young artist turned to for his new interest in the depiction of modern life. Whatever her role in Deverell's life, she brought her own sensibility to his art with her ambiguous and unreadable face and her evident affinity with birds.

By early 1853 Deverell had painted Eustatia Davie in at least one oil study and three finished oils. Her individual figure is the focus of each composition. In addition, there are certain thematic links amongst the works as the sitter is associated with animals and birds; she is situated in domestic settings with adjacent gardens. *The Pet Parrot* is set in an interior with a glimpse of a garden beyond; Eustatia is seated with a tame African Grey perched on her hand. In *A Pet* (Fig. 4) she stands in the doorway of a conservatory with a wide path leading into a garden in full bloom. In profile, she wears a striking pale apricot coloured dress, her distinctive hair style again a focus of interest for the artist. The painting features the garden at Heath-

field House, with its carefully planted borders in full flower on a splendid summer day, contrasting with the interior of the conservatory with a vine, flowering geranium and two other potted plants. Such is the setting, but Deverell depicted his sitter in conjunction with pets of various kinds including a fluffy white dog sleeping at her feet. Echoing the subject of *The Pet Parrot*, in this painting a variety of birds are on display. Eustatia leans toward a caged one; a dove or pigeon sits on its birdcage just outside the door; another is situated on the path and one is perched on a wall to the left. All are free except the one the sitter communicates with, setting up the parallel between confinement and freedom, which is also reflected in the title *A Pet*. Who is the pet? In the third painting, *Eustatia* (Fig. 3), the figure, dressed in black, stands just outside the same conservatory door. This severe winter setting is devoid of the visual appeal of the garden, although it does show the sitter in full face. This is the work Deverell sent to exhibition with *The Pet Parrot*, inviting the reading of the latter as a portrait, rather than a subject painting.

Fig. 4. Walter Howell Deverell. *A Pet.* c.1853. Oil on canvas, 83.8 by 57.1 cm. (Tate Gallery, London). Creative Commons, Photo © Tate Gallery.

Deverell's paintings lack the extreme precision of handling found in early Pre-Raphaelite art. His treatment is broader, especially in the landscape portions of the composition. There are, however, areas of finer workmanship in the foreground and in details of the costume. In the works of 1852-53 including *The Pet Parrot* and *Eustatia* he sought certain formal qualities of colour and light, as he recorded in one of the few extracts from his diary:

> they were both advanced as far as strength of effect is concerned but the colour seems to my eye to be heavy & dull. On these I have tried the effect of a glass over them which in my opinion not only serves in the most wonderful manner to preserve oil pictures as I have found from personal experience but also to take off all the little blemishes on the surface and gives atmospheric quality to the colour.[34]

[34] [Frances Deverell (Mrs Wykeham Deverell)], *op. cit.*, p. 98/69 (there are two sets of page numbers).

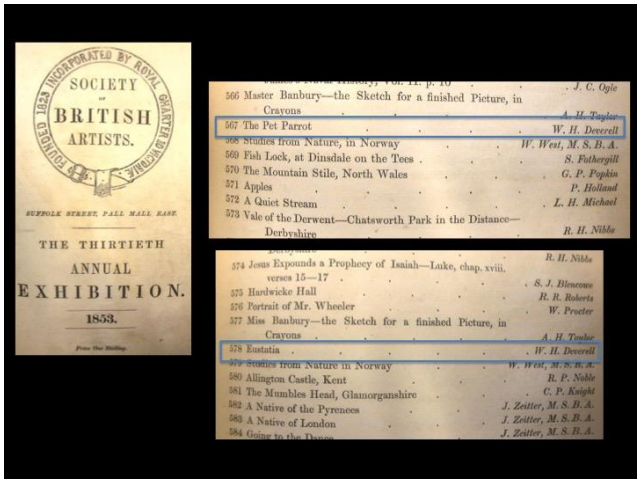
SOCIETY OF BRITISH ARTISTS.
SUFFOLK STREET, PALL MALL EAST.
THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL EXHIBITION.
1853.
566 Master Banbury—the Sketch for a finished Picture, in Crayons . . . J. C. Ogle
567 The Pet Parrot . . . W. H. Deverell
568 Studies from Nature, in Norway . . . W. West, M. S. B. A.
569 Fish Lock, at Dinsdale on the Tees . . . S. Fothergill
570 The Mountain Stile, North Wales . . . G. P. Popkin
571 Apples . . . P. Holland
572 A Quiet Stream . . . L. H. Michael
573 Vale of the Derwent—Chatsworth Park in the Distance—Derbyshire . . . R. H. Nibbs
574 Jesus Expounds a Prophecy of Isaiah—Luke, chap. xviii. verses 15—17 . . . R. H. Nibbs
575 Hardwicke Hall . . . S. J. Blencowe
576 Portrait of Mr. Wheeler . . . R. R. Roberts
577 Miss Banbury—the Sketch for a finished Picture, in Crayons . . . W. Procter
578 Eustatia . . . A. H. Taylor
579 Studies from Nature in Norway . . . W. H. Deverell
580 Allington Castle, Kent . . . W. West, M. S. B. A.
581 The Mumbles Head, Glamorganshire . . . R. P. Noble
582 A Native of the Pyrenees . . . C. P. Knight
583 A Native of London . . . J. Zeitter, M. S. B. A.
584 Going to the Dance . . . J. Zeitter, M. S. B. A.

Fig. 5. Detail of exhibition catalogue.
Annual Exhibition of the Society of British Artists, 1853.

It is significant that the artist felt the visual impact of the colour improved when the painting was "glazed" (the contemporary term for covered with glass). The public presentation of Deverell's paintings occurred in 1853. *A Pet*, somewhat larger in size, went to the annual exhibition at the Liverpool Academy in the autumn; *The Pet Parrot* and *Eustatia* (which are almost exactly the same size) were seen at the Society of British Artists (Fig. 5), which opened in early April.

This long-established venue in Suffolk Street, around the corner from the National Gallery and Royal Academy, was a secondary exhibition space in comparison to the premier status of its near neighbour.

Deverell sent five submissions to the Royal Academy that spring and three were rejected. It is just possible that the works sent to the Society of British Artists were those rejected. Yet even these two did not succeed in the exhibition rooms, as the so-called "hangers," i.e. the Royal Academy's hanging committee who arranged the display, placed them in awkward positions. As William Michael Rossetti wrote in his review: "The two best painted and most pleasing single figures—'The Pet Parrot' and 'Eustatia,' by Mr. Deverell—are shabbily banished to the Water-colour Room."[35] He had already written about the small study of *The Pet Parrot* seen in Newcastle in 1852, which he characterised as "an extremely pleasant little thing. The young lady, with her sweet maidenly bosom, and the gown turned over across the knees, is really a 'nice girl.' The artist has only to work, and he cannot but go forward and prosper." He seemed to be hinting that even though the underskirt of the outfit is visible (from an artistic point of view, so that the blue lining is revealed), the sitter's status as a lady is not compromised. Regarding the larger picture, he commented in the same review:

> In this finished sketch there is a certain severity in the young lady's face, and the subdued colour, harmonious enough as it is, is somewhat leaden: but the grace, feeling, and capacity of a true artist, are visible at every point. The parrot, crimping his eyes up in brooding enjoyment under his mistress's caressing hand, is capital.

[35] [W. M. Rossetti]: "Exhibition of the Society of British Artists," *The Spectator*, 2 April 1853, p. 326.

> "Eustatia" is yet better: the arch inviting beauty, the dress all black, falling in long straight folds . . . having just that peculiarity and piquancy which prove an artist's vocation . . .[36]

The two works could easily be seen as a pair and no one could fail to notice that both show the same woman with her rounded chin and elaborately plaited hair.

Eustatia, by virtue of the title bestowed on it by the artist, is a step closer to a portrait and by association allows a reading of the other two paintings as depictions of a specific individual. The new current in Deverell's work, representing contemporary women, derives from his encounter with Eustatia Davie, who might even be considered as a new muse for him, a modern woman whose presence prompted him to try a new type of picture. Certainly, his residence contributed to this new vision. He had direct access to nature in the form of his own garden and the more elaborate botanical display across the road from his home in Kew. Compositionally, these works derive lessons from Millais's recent, well-received paintings with their clear outlines and figures in profile, such as *The Huguenot* (RA 1852; private collection). This was a departure for Deverell who had previously painted dramatic figural compositions with oddities of angles and busy background action. The Shakespearean paintings were multi-figure compositions packed with activity that conformed to the events of well-known plays with which most observers were familiar from theatre-going or reading. While one might consider Deverell's single figures of this particular woman as rooted in the tradition of "Keepsake" images,[37] the fresh approach and specific nature of his works were Pre-Raphaelite. The paintings of Eustatia depict scenes with no action; they simply show the static figure of a woman, with an enigmatic unreadable face and presence. In these works, Deverell moved from imagined historical settings to a representation of modern life in fashion and styling. These portrayals of modern women can be compared with Hunt's *Awakening Conscience* (conceived slightly later than Deverell's works) or Rossetti's *Found*, which clearly portray fallen women. Eustatia was a Pre-Raphaelite "stunner," not in the standard sensuous mode, but more unusual in her self-contained demeanour. Deverell deserves greater recognition for his exploration of modern life subject matter at this early stage in the 1850s, ahead of Hunt, Rossetti and Millais.

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[36] Rossetti, *ibid.*

[37] See S. Casteras: *Images of Victorian Womanhood in English Art*, Rutherford 1987, *passim*; K. Rhodes: *Ophelia and Victorian Visual Culture*, Aldershot 2008, pp. 25-26.

The year 1853 should have been the turning point for Deverell's career. He had two paintings accepted by the Royal Academy, including the work he considered his best so far: *The marriage of Orlando and Rosalind* from *As You Like It* (Birmingham Museums). *Twelfth Night* gained positive critical notice when on view in Dublin at the Hibernian Academy. As it turned out, personal life intruded on Deverell's pursuit of his art. The illness known as Bright's disease seriously affected his kidneys and, in the course of 1853, grew worse. The death of his father in June 1853 put great pressure on him as he assumed responsibility for his siblings. The house in Kew had to be given up, as the family moved to less expensive accommodation in Chelsea. Their home in Margaretta Terrace, which still stands, is a substantial and comfortable dwelling, located near Cheyne Walk, an area noted for artists and writers who resided in that part of London near the river. But Deverell lived here for less than a year. His condition deteriorated and he died in early February 1854. And it is this event that has determined all discussions of his career as an artist.

Intertwined Afterlives: Artist and Painting

Apart from an obituary by William Michael Rossetti and a brief mention of his career in an article of 1857 by F. G. Stephens (who were both by then professional art critics), Deverell faded from view. His family struggled on, with his siblings coping as best they could. By 1857 his younger brother Wykeham had a position at the South Kensington Museum; and Ruding, with the intervention of John Ruskin, secured a post at the publishers Smith and Elder.[38] Eventually, however, Ruding and another brother, Spencer, emigrated to Australia,[39] and it seems so did Wykeham.[40] Deverell's artist friends were much in evidence, especially Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who helped to try to sell the young artist's remaining paintings. We can assume the NGV's *Pet Parrot* was amongst this group of paintings owned by the family. Until 1866 the artist Richard Burchett housed some (if not all) of the paintings; later, in 1870, Dante Gabriel Rossetti planned to stage a raffle of two paintings for the benefit of the artist's impoverished sister. Eventually Wykeham, as senior male family member, assumed ownership of Walter's effects.

[38] See note 8 above regarding Deverell's siblings.
[39] Holloway, *op. cit*., p. 21.
[40] What has gone previously unnoticed is that Wykeham also went to Australia and settled in New South Wales. He is recorded as the editor of the newspaper *The Albury Banner* from 1867 to 1872 (see https://alburyhistory.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Albury-Newspapers.pdf). However, he returned to England in 1873 and married Frances Wishlade in Shropshire in 1879.

Owing to his early death and fragmentary *oeuvre,* Deverell did not feature in accounts of the Pre-Raphaelites until retrospective publications, chiefly by William Michael Rossetti, began to appear in the 1880s. So low was Deverell's profile that when the polymath writer Andrew Lang tackled one of his admittedly non-specialist subjects in a preface to the exhibition of Millais's paintings at the Fine Arts Society in 1881, he classified Deverell as one of the founder Pre-Raphaelites. William Michael corrected this in the *Magazine of Art* that same year.[41] Hunt's self-serving account of the group's formation in the *Contemporary Review* of 1886 cited Deverell, along with Charles Collins and Arthur Hughes, as one of "several artists of real calibre and enthusiasm who were working diligently with our views guiding them."[42]

More poignantly, when Deverell's old friend F. G. Stephens, writing in the *Athenaeum* in 1891, named him "the Marcellus of the Brotherhood," he hit upon a classical reference more familiar to readers then than now.[43] Book Six of Virgil's *Aeneid* contains a celebrated passage lamenting the premature death of the Emperor Augustus's promising nephew, Marcellus. This too had been Deverell's fate, and the reason for his legacy being unrecognised at this point. In the course of the 1890s, however, that changed. In his posthumously-published *Autobiographical Notes*, William Bell Scott, friend of Rossetti and master at the School of Art in Newcastle, who had known Deverell well, related some charming anecdotes about the good-looking young artist. (For example, that "it was said ladies had gone hurriedly round by side streets to catch another sight of him").[44] Around this time, Deverell's name also entered into the public domain in a small way through his art being exhibited and purchased. In 1896 an exhibition of the collection of James Leathart of Newcastle took place at the Goupil Gallery in London. It included Deverell's *A Pet* (Fig. 4), which Bell Scott had advised Leathart to buy some years before; and shortly after, Edward Burne-Jones and his wife Georgiana bought this work for six pounds. Deverell's *Twelfth Night* appeared in reproduction for the first time in Percy Bate's *English Pre-Raphaelite Painters: Their Associates and Successors* (first edition, 1899). At this point, along with his name evoking an earlier moment in the history of British art, his paintings were being seen.

Also, William Michael Rossetti's mission to publish reliable information about the Brotherhood as its official chronicler gathered pace through the 1880s and into the 1890s with books

[41] W. M. Rossetti: "The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," *Magazine of Art* (1881), p. 435.
[42] W. H. Hunt: "The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood: A Fight for Art," *Contemporary Review* (1886), p. 744.
[43] F. G. Stephens: "Pictures at Birmingham," *Athenaeum,* 10 October 1891, p .491.
[44] W. Minto, ed.: *Autobiographical Notes of the Life of William Bell Scott: and Notices of his Artistic and Poetic Circle of Friends, 1830 to 1882*, London 1892, I, p. 285.

and articles about Dante Gabriel's life and work (*Collected Works*, 1886; *Designer and Writer*, 1889; *Poetical Works*, 1891), which inevitably assessed the early years of the young artists who associated with him. Deverell's active role comes across particularly clearly in *Præraphaelite Diaries and Letters* (1900) with pages from William Michael's journal tracking, day-by-day and month-by-month, events in the formative years of the P.R.B. Here, Deverell's name recurred with frequency especially in connection with *The Germ*. By October 1850, as noted above, Rossetti had declared Deverell as one who has "worthily filled up the place left vacant by Collinson."[45]

William Michael's memory, while editing and writing his commentary on the diaries, had no doubt been refreshed by the events of 1899. That year Frances, wife of Deverell's brother Wykeham, approached him with a memoir of the deceased artist, her brother-in-law, based on extensive papers, including Walter's diary (no longer extant, apart from two pages). Not a professional writer, she acted primarily from family loyalties and interests. With new interest in the Pre-Raphaelites in publications and memoirs of the 1890s, the Wykeham Deverells realised that their documents, paintings and drawings would be of wider interest and potential monetary value. She asked William Michael Rossetti to help her with the memoir and to assist in placing it for publication. And he did indeed read her text, corrected it and added his own emendations and a preface. Due to the connections with Dante Gabriel Rossetti, this manuscript has already received scholarly attention from Roger Peattie, but for our purposes it is important to recognise that 1899 was the turning point in Deverell's posthumous reputation. Even though the memoir was never published, it made the literary rounds and became known to other individuals, such as Charles Fairfax Murray and figures in the museum world, who were in a position to focus on Deverell. In 1905 an exhibition at the Whitechapel Art Gallery, *British Art Fifty Years Ago*, brought Deverell's *A Pet* (then named *Lady Feeding a Bird*) from the collection of

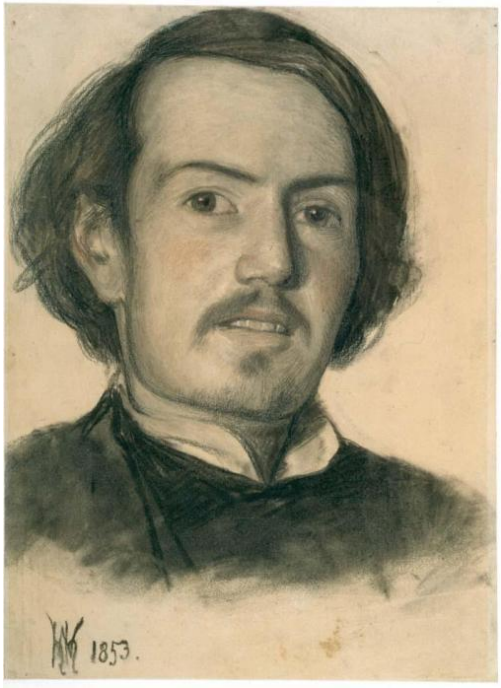

Fig. 6. William Holman Hunt. *Portrait of Walter Howell Deverell.* 1853. Black and red chalk with wash, on paper, 35.5 by 26 cm. (Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery) ©Birmingham Museums Trust.

[45] Fredeman, *op. cit*., p. 72.

Lady Burne-Jones onto the walls of a public art gallery to be displayed alongside other Pre-Raphaelite paintings. In 1906 at a retrospective exhibition of Hunt's work at the Leicester Galleries in London, the artist himself lent his vivid and lively portrait drawing of Deverell (Fig. 6) which he had held onto since drawing the young artist several months before he died. Exhibiting this work gave a face to Deverell's newly reemergent artistic identity.

Only a few years later, in 1911, the Tate Gallery, the premier institution devoted to British art, held an important gathering of Pre-Raphaelite works loaned from the City Art Gallery in Birmingham, with additions from private collections including Deverell's *A Pet* and *The Pet Parrot*. The catalogue comprised full entries so that for the first time there was a list of Deverell's works along with their current owners. Here, entitled *Lady and Parrot*, from the collection of Mr. Wykeham Deverell, is the first reference to *The Pet Parrot* since its appearance at the Society of British Artists nearly sixty years before. This display prompted the Tate Gallery to buy *A Pet* and, at the same time, Wykeham Deverell presented a group of drawings by his brother. In commemoration of this event, an informal display of Deverell's works went on view at the Tate Gallery in April 1912.

From this point onward, the artist's name would be associated with a body of works, oils and drawings, which, although not extensive, clearly had a bearing on the history of Pre-Raphaelitism. At long last, Deverell had attained a profile with the consequent interest in his role in the Pre-Raphaelite movement and the willingness of his family to sell works they owned to public collections. According to records at the NGV, Sir Sidney Colvin, art historian and former museum director, and recently appointed adviser to the Felton Bequest, in 1913 singled out *The Pet Parrot* (priced at 100 guineas) for recommendation as an acquisition, as did Frank Gibson, London-based Art Adviser to the Commonwealth of Australia.[46] Gibson placed this advice in the context of the Gallery's desire, in his words, "to form a small collection of Pre-Raphaelite painters . . . we must not lose any chance of acquiring an important example of one of the brotherhood themselves, though the artist be a lesser one."[47] The Felton Bequest already included noteworthy Pre-Raphaelite works by Hunt that had been acquired in 1907 (as a result of the Whitechapel exhibition of 1905 noted above). Colvin must have been relieved when his recommendation of the work by Deverell, unlike many others he had already put forward, was accepted. The acquisition rapidly became newsworthy when it was announced in April 1913,

[46] Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, Department of International Art, Curatorial file on W. H. Deverell's *The Grey Parrot*.
[47] Quoted in *The Argus*, 5 April 1913, p. 19.

being reported in newspapers from Ballarat to Broken Hill and from Sydney and Perth to Tasmania. Two of Deverell's younger siblings, Ruding and Spencer, had emigrated to Melbourne and the latter had written to *The Argus* in the 1880s defending his brother's reputation as a founding Pre-Raphaelite,[48] so it is appropriate that *The Pet Parrot*, one of Deverell's key works, should have found its home at the NGV as one of the Felton acquisitions. Connections between Deverell and Australia also came to the fore in Daniel Thomas's pioneering exhibition on the Pre-Raphaelites in Adelaide in 1962, when he borrowed a group of drawings from the Tate Gallery (London) showing members of Deverell's family.

Yet another striking example of the interconnections between real lives and works of art is the way in which the NGV learned about the drawing, the only known study for *The Pet Parrot*, prior to its acquisition in 1972. Dr. Ursula Hoff, then Assistant Director of the NGV, had, during her earlier time in London, assiduously cultivated the art trade.[49] Through a network of contacts, Deverell's little Pre-Raphaelite drawing came to the attention of the NGV. It had resided in the collection of John Bryson (1896-1976), former academic and a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, who offered it privately for sale. In the 1930s, he had formed an excellent collection of Pre-Raphaelite material, including drawings,[50] at a time when these were little valued. He already possessed two finished drawings by Deverell (*The Banishment of Hamlet* and an earlier watercolour of 1847, both now in the Ashmolean). But it must have become clear that a more appropriate home for the small study for *The Pet Parrot* was with the finished picture in Melbourne. Ursula Hoff certainly already knew of the drawing at the time it was recommended by the Felton Adviser (and one would like to know if she was instrumental in locating it);[51] the sale duly went through. Thanks to the information inscribed on this drawing, Deverell's art can be illuminated in a new way, making this an inspired acquisition for the NGV.

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[48] For further information, see Holloway, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

[49] Hoff continued to do so during her years as Felton Adviser after 1975. See U. Hoff: *Comments on the London Art Scene touching on changing attitudes in the art trade and in exhibition policies of public galleries and museums*, Melbourne 1978.

[50] J. Maas: "The Pre-Raphaelites: A Personal View" in Parris, ed., *Pre-Raphaelite Papers, op. cit.,* p. 230.

[51] Equally, this drawing may have already been known to Dr. Mary Woodall, the Felton Adviser, who also recommended it for purchase. As the former Director of the City Art Gallery in Birmingham, which held one oil and several drawings by Deverell, she knew his art as part of the great collection of the Pre-Raphaelites there. Also, as Peter Tzamouranis has written, "works were not recommended for purchase simply because they were reasonably priced, but also because they provided a scholarly link between existing works in the collection." See P. Tzamouranis*: "*Buying for the Future, Mary Woodall and Italian Old Master Paintings," *Art Journal of the National Gallery of Victoria* 44 (2004), online. On acquisitions in these years, see also J. Poynter: *Mr. Felton's Bequests*, Melbourne 2003, pp. 558-67.

From the late 1850s, Deverell had receded from the historiography of Pre-Raphaelitism and might almost be termed "the lost Pre-Raphaelite," or as F. G. Stephens had evocatively named him, "the Marcellus of the Brotherhood." His reputation was indeed lost until information about his role and his actual works of art came into the public domain nearly forty years later. Deverell presents an intriguing case study in recovering an identity—as a Pre-Raphaelite and as a person. And within this discussion, the works at the National Gallery of Victoria have played an essential role, particularly in exemplifying a new interest in modern life subject matter.

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She has published and lectured widely on nineteenth-century British art and architecture, including chapters on the Aesthetic portrait for *The Cult of Beauty* (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2011); on Mortimer Menpes's studio house (Art Gallery of South Australia, 2015) and on Alice Macdonald Kipling for *John Lockwood Kipling* (Yale U P, 2017). In 2018, her article on portraits by Watts in the NGV appeared in the *Art Journal of the National Gallery of Victoria*. She also wrote for *The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018*, published online by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. She is Art UK's Group Leader for nineteenth-century British portraits in their online discussion forum, *Art Detective*.

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Thomas Woolner: a Pre-Raphaelite Sculptor in Australia

Caroline Clemente

Detail from Fig. 14. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Portrait of Thomas Woolner. 1852.

This article is dedicated to the memory of Benedict Read (1945 –2016)

The brilliant career of Thomas Woolner, R.A. (1825-92) was launched in Melbourne at the peak of the Victorian gold rush in the early 1850s. One of the seven original Pre-Raphaelite Brethren and the only sculptor among them, Woolner arrived on 25 October 1852, hoping to redress his impoverished state by fossicking for his fortune on the fabled goldfields. He had set off from Gravesend in July, accompanied by two other equally penurious artists and Pre-Raphaelite sympathisers: a fellow sculptor, Bernhard Smith (1820-85), with whom he had been sharing a London studio, and the multi-talented designer and draftsman, Edward La Trobe Bateman (1816-97). Woolner's departure was immortalised in one of Britain's most popular subject paintings by another Pre-Raphaelite admirer and friend, Ford Madox Brown (1821-93). However, unlike its trenchant title, *The Last of England* (Fig. 1), this dramatic step was far from being the last of Woolner.[1] On the contrary, his unexpectedly warm reception in an unimaginably distant colony on the outer edge of the British Empire was his making. He was to return to Britain to carve out a highly successful career as the result of his Australian experience.

Fig. 1. Ford Madox Brown. *The Last of England.* 1855. Oil on canvas, 82.5 x 75 cm. (Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery) ©Birmingham Museums Trust.

[1] B. Read: *Victorian Sculpture*, New Haven and London 1983, p. 3.

Prior to his leaving England, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Holman Hunt had recruited Woolner to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in 1848. The original members of the "P.R.B.," as they were popularly called, jeered at prevailing academic art conventions influenced by "silly old Sloshua Reynolds," believing that they resulted in brown sludge on bogus Old Masters, churned out by the current crop of art students.[2] Hunt recounted:

> . . . the many indications of Woolner's energy and his burning ambition to do work of excelling truthfulness and strong poetic spirit expressed in his energetic talk were enough to persuade me that Rossetti's suggestion that he should be made one of our number was a reasonable one; in due course, therefore, Millais having known him at the Academy, he was approved as a member.[3]

Woolner's forceful, driven personality is perfectly captured in Rossetti's sketches of him in his London studio (Figs. 2 and 3);[4] in the first of these he examines a small fancy figure he produced for the mass market, one of which later turned up unexpectedly at a most propitious moment. At this point, Woolner also met a group who were to become closely connected with his Australian venture, including Edward Bateman, then engaged to the feminist painter, Anna Mary, daughter of the English writers, William and Mary Howitt, who were, in their time, household names.

Fig. 2. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Portrait of Thomas Woolner. 1850. Pen & brown ink, 16.9 x 10.9 cm. (Birmingham Museums & Art Gallery) ©Birmingham Museums Trust.

When Woolner left London in 1852, he was already fully trained, having attained the highest category of "carver." He had spent six years in the studio of the eminent sculptor, William Behnes (1795-1864), who, if lacking flair and originality, nevertheless gave excellent instruction in every facet of his craft. Technically, Behnes was one of the most accomplished masters of the day, known for the accurate likeness and psychological penetration of his portrait sculptures. Despite his qualifications, Woolner was confronted with the difficult economic conditions of the first half of nineteenth-century Britain when the paucity of public commissions and private patronage meant that scope for the display of talent and imagination was severely limited. Sculpture

[2] D. Holman-Hunt: *My Grandfather, His Wives and Loves*, London 1969, p. 40.
[3] W. Holman Hunt: *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, London 1905-06, vol. 1, p. 128.
[4] Fig. 3 is known in reproduction only. *Thomas Woolner R. A., Sculptor and Poet: His Life in Letters*, A. Woolner ed., London 1917, p. 56.

was in the doldrums, a fact officially recognised by the setting up of the Royal Fine Arts Commission, chaired by the Prince Consort, Albert, to encourage the Fine Arts in association with the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament. In an attempt to redress this problem, the Commissioners announced a national competition in 1843 to select sculptors for a decorative scheme of historical portrait sculptures for the New Palace at Westminster. However, apart from a few somewhat older and already established names (Theed, Bell, Foley, and Calder Marshall among them), the outlook for unsuccessful competitors such as Woolner was bleak. In general, the only categories in which most sculptors might hope to scrape a living were portrait busts or funerary monuments.[5]

As William Holman Hunt observed, Woolner's passionate desire was to achieve artistic preeminence through the creation of monumental sculptural projects expressing the aesthetic aims of the Pre-Raphaelites.[6] These were to be realised in imaginative ideal works based on episodes from history, the Bible, literature, poetry or mythology, the highest categories of all genres both in painting and sculpture.[7] Such works were, at the same time, to be of poetic conception and strictly true to nature, being firmly based on the most minutely observed and faithfully reproduced visual realism.

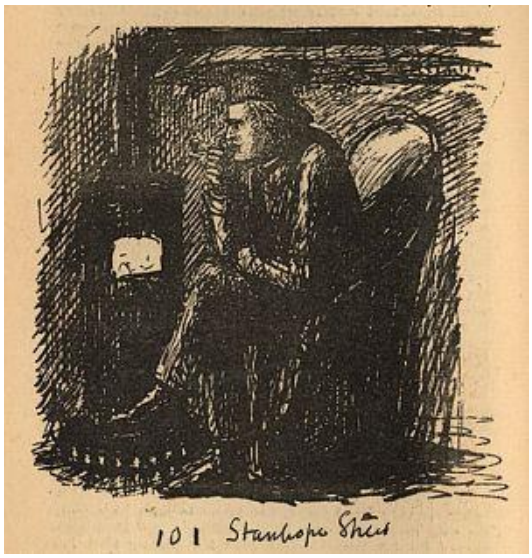

Fig. 3. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Thomas Woolner as a "Fire Fiend." 1853. Reproduced in A. Woolner, *Thomas Woolner: His Life in Letters*, p. 56.

During the 1840s, Woolner had devised a number of sculptural designs that embraced those artistic principles, including his ideal subject for the Westminster Hall competition, which had won critical approval when exhibited in 1844, but had failed to net him a commission. In 1851 he entered another competition, this time for the Wordsworth monument for Westminster Abbey. The Pre-Raphaelites revered Wordsworth as one of the great poets of Nature, and Woolner's elaborate composition realised a Pre-Raphaelite manifesto in sculpture. However, though his competition entry was highly commended, the commission again went elsewhere. At this point, he had endured a decade of poverty and disappointment and, possibly, a

[5] B. Read: "Thomas Woolner: P.R.B., R.A.," in Read and Barnes, eds.: *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture 1848-1914*, London 1991, p. 21; *Victorian Sculpture, op. cit.,* pp. 128-29, 199.
[6] Read, *Victorian Sculpture, op. cit.,* p. 199.
[7] Read, "Thomas Woolner," *op. cit.,* p. 21.

romantic rejection.[8] The prospect of finding a fortune on the Australian goldfields must have looked like a heaven-sent opportunity. In the company of two artistic colleagues with the authoritative figure of William Howitt to lend them respectability, the prospect of a thrilling adventure—not without risks, but with financial reward virtually guaranteed—seemed a positively responsible course of action.

Shortly after Woolner and his colleagues set off for Victoria, Howitt also departed, having decided to visit his youngest brother, who had emigrated to the Port Phillip settlement in 1840. Dr. Godfrey Howitt, whose family took in Woolner on his arrival in Melbourne, was one of the city's most eminent physicians with a large city landmark residence and garden at the corner of Collins and Spring Streets. This favourable circumstance was further enhanced by the doctor's close friendship with Charles Joseph La Trobe (1801-75), Lieutenant-Governor of the newly created colony of Victoria, who by happy coincidence was also first cousin of Woolner's travelling companion, Edward La Trobe Bateman. Thus Woolner was received into a circle where the rigid English class system was greatly relaxed and where his host, Godfrey Howitt, formerly a provincial if highly qualified doctor, now belonged to the colonial elite. Woolner found himself embedded, so to speak, in the heart of gubernatorial Melbourne. Through his English connections, he had landed in an influential network of cultivated locals, who were deeply interested in the arts and also, to his pleasant surprise, familiar with the work of the London Pre-Raphaelites. As an original P.R.B., he was therefore unique in the colony, and without artistic rivals; the only other contemporary sculptor of note, Charles Summer (1825-78), set up in Melbourne in 1854, the year of Woolner's return to Europe.

Fig. 4. Thomas Woolner.
Red Riding Hood. c.1849.
Parian ware. Height 29.5 cm.
(Joanna Barnes Fine Arts, London).

Having pronounced in 1840 that the arts and sciences were "unborn" in the infant society,[9] the colony's then Superintendent, La Trobe, had quietly gone about nurturing both in a private capacity, on his very modest salary. During the first decade of the 1840s, choosing from less than a handful of professionally trained artists, La Trobe had

[8] Read, "Thomas Woolner," *op. cit.*, p. 23.
[9] La Trobe to John Murray, 15 Dec. 1840. C. J. La Trobe: "Letters from the Colony," *The La Trobe Journal* 71 (2003), p. 132.

commissioned pastel views of his house and garden by George Alexander Gilbert (1815-89) and portraits of his children by the miniaturist, Georgiana McCrae (1804-90). Before his return to Europe in 1854, he was to commission from his cousin a series of superlative souvenir views of his house and garden, Jolimont, executed in Bateman's brilliant pencil technique.[10] As Woolner's correspondence shows, La Trobe was already acquainted with his work, and his words of encouragement were immediately forthcoming. On 28 October, Woolner recorded the moment which marked the beginning of his remarkable career trajectory. Within three days of landing at Melbourne, and hardly able to believe his good fortune, he wrote:

> I am staying at the above address and receive every kindness possible for a human being to have from another. The Howitts are delightful people and live exactly like rich people do in England. Bateman sleeps at his Excellency's, Mr. Latrobe's to give more convenience to us. We have to dine with that great man today: he wants to know me because Bateman found that my little figure of Red Riding Hood was one of his favourite ornaments and told him [La Trobe] I did it.[11]

On hearing of this extraordinary coincidence, Rossetti responded from London: "How queer that Mr. Latrobe should have your 'Red Riding Hood.' I remember you were working on that the first time I ever saw you. I feel quite confident as to portraiture in Australia, in case digging fails."[12] *Red Riding Hood* was one of Woolner's small imaginative figures, created in 1849 for the mass market in Parian ware, a fine white porcelain, by the British firm Copeland. Gratifyingly, on the same occasion, the urbane La Trobe had added that Woolner "must not leave the Colony without doing something in the fine arts first."[13]

Ambitious Woolner was not one to let such an opportunity pass. Within one week of setting foot in Melbourne, he noted in his diary: "I should have taken a sketch of Mr. La Trobe's face in the afternoon but I was rather late and he had gone out for a drive with his lady . . . This morning I did a little to the sketch of Charley Howitt."[14] However, the most pressing task at hand was the fortune awaiting him on the goldfields and he set off with his shipboard companions, Bateman and Smith, on 2 November. They were to meet up on the road to the diggings with another party of Godfrey Howitt's relatives, his younger son, Edward, and the

[10] State Library of Victoria, Pictures Collection; the series is illustrated in H. Botham: *La Trobe's Jolimont: A Walk Round My Garden,* Melbourne 2006, p. 56.
[11] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.*, p. 18.
[12] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.*, p. 53.
[13] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.*, p. 18.
[14] Diary of Thomas Woolner in Australia, 1852-54, State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Australian Manuscripts Collection, MS 1926.

doctor's older brother, William Howitt, recently arrived with his two sons, Alfred and Charlton. The reality check of hard labour in primitive conditions, for little or no reward, took less than a month, prompting Woolner to write to his father: "My anticipations are considerably moderated since I began digging, now I see no very sparkling fortune in the future: as soon as ever I get enough to give me a start in London, I am off to a certainty."[15] Finally, on 18 May 1853, he recorded his decision to "try life in other shapes," later calculating that the value of the gold he found was £50 while his expenses had amounted to £80.[16]

Rossetti's confident prediction that portraiture in Australia would be successful proved accurate. Woolner made the most of his situation, writing to his father on 10 July:

> I have come to Melbourne to work at my art. There is every prospect of my doing well, as I have powerful friends who are anxious to aid me in every way. I am staying at Dr. Howitt's and the kindness of his family to me is wonderful. I have executed a medallion of the Doctor, one of his Excellency and another of little Charles Howitt. They all give great satisfaction here and you will see what the newspaper says which I send you.[17]

Prior to his departure from London, in addition to his ideal projects, Woolner had executed a series of six cast bronze portrait medals, which, owing to their larger size and single-sided compositions, are termed medallions.

Fig. 5. Thomas Woolner. *Dr. Godfrey Howitt.* 1853. Plaster relief medallion, 21.3 cm. (Private collection, Melbourne).

Fig. 6. Thomas Woolner. *Charles Howitt.* 1853. Plaster relief medallion, 10.0 cm. (Private collection, Melbourne).

[15] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.*, p. 24.
[16] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.*, pp. 44, 61.
[17] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.*, p. 60.

The immediate source of this idea seems to have come from his studio companion, Bernhard Smith, who began producing low-relief profile portrait medallions after his return from France.[18] He had trained in the studio of Étienne-Jules Ramey, the collaborator of Pierre-Jean David d'Angers, whom Victor Hugo described as "the Michelangelo of Paris." David d'Angers is often credited with the revival of the antique medallic genre reinvented in the Renaissance, a form which he used to produce a portable pantheon of some five hundred illustrious portraits. The medallions were mass-produced by Parisian foundries; casts of them also exist in plaster, porcelain and other metals such as lead. Amongst possible influences on Woolner's development of this form, Bernhard Smith aside, the scope and style of David d'Angers' *oeuvre* is likely to have been a major point of inspiration.

Woolner quickly saw the potential of portrait medallions, which admirably suited his purpose on a number of levels, aesthetically and commercially. While he adopted the medium "to get a living," he also stated that in each case, the highest standards of accuracy and careful research and execution were maintained.[19] These notably portable works of art blurred the boundary between public monument and private *objets d'art*. They were flattering to the subject, conferring on even the homeliest an aura of patrician reserve and distinction. At the same time, the relative ease of execution and compact size made them affordable and suitable for display in a domestic environment. They could be reproduced in plaster or bronze on request and replicated any number of times in either media. The compositional format of these portrait medallions, with emphasis on linearity and spatial compression, was balanced by the effects of relief and expressive surfaces that when cast in bronze, produced dynamic lighting effects.

The form originated in the coins of classical antiquity, a style to which Woolner was particularly drawn, as another founding Pre-Raphaelite Brother, the critic F. G. Stephens, noted:

> In the style of his ideal works it had from the first been part of Woolner's ambition to embody something of Phidian dignity, simplicity and naturalness, combined with exhaustive representation of detail. It was this view of the potentialities of sculpture which induced him . . . to join the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood–and while it retained its original characteristics to take part heartily in its efforts.[20]

[18] L. Ormond: "Thomas Woolner and the Image of Tennyson," in Read and Barnes, *op. cit.,* pp. 41-42.
[19] Read, "Thomas Woolner," *op. cit.,* pp. 22-23.
[20] F. G. Stephens, *op. cit.,* p. 522, quoted in Read, "Thomas Woolner," *op. cit.,* p. 22. n. 14.

Later in 1857, Woolner was to defend the canons embodied in antique Greek sculpture, criticizing the "redhot young Ruskinites" of second generation Pre-Raphaelites (Burne-Jones and William Morris), for "the wild enthusiasms they all and each fluster into at Gothic sculpture, indiscriminately, good or bad."[21]

Between 1846 and 1852, Woolner had produced six portrait profiles, including those of the literary lions Alfred Tennyson, Robert Browning and Thomas Carlyle, in the hope of cashing in on the prevailing fashion for acquiring images of current heroes. As an amateur poet in his own right, Woolner's admiration for Tennyson, the poet-laureate, was perfectly sincere.[22] At the same time, he was also highly political and, inspired by David d'Angers' example, hoped from the outset to portray as many of the great and the good in contemporary society as possible. Over the course of his career, he was to achieve this ambition, producing a portrait gallery in sculpture of some of the British Empire's most eminent figures.[23] It was in Melbourne in 1853 that an opportunity to further this aim presented itself.

In setting out so confidently for the Australian goldfields, it clearly never occurred to Woolner that he might be faced with failure. He therefore came without his sculpting tools or even, as he lamented, examples of his work such as his favourite small fanciful figure of *Puck*, from Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. As he wrote to his father: "I know I could get some commissions for him [Puck] in bronze at a good price."[24] The sensible decision to take up sculpture again in order to make a living involved certain problems which he described on 10 July 1853:

> I should be able to make some money quickly if it were not for the difficulty I have with plaster of Paris, that which is sent from England gets damp with sea air and is spoilt for artistic purposes . . . I had to make some modelling tools ere I began and dig in the earth for some clay—this I could do to perfection after my 8 months digging experience . . . I have my tools a little in order now and mean to work hard. I get 25 pounds for a medallion here. In England they would not give me 25 pence. I should ask you to send some more clay and tools but I am quite uncertain when I shall return . . . [25]

[21] T. Woolner to W. B. Scott, 17 Dec. 1857. J. F. Cox: "An Annotated Edition of Selected Letters of Thomas Woolner, Pre-Raphaelite Poet and Sculptor." Ph.D. diss. (Arizona State University, 1973), pp. 82-83.
[22] Ormond, in Read and Barnes, *op. cit.,* p. 40.
[23] Read, "Thomas Woolner," *op. cit.,* p. 23.
[24] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.,* p. 65.
[25] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.,* p. 61. Woolner's claim that he could earn £25 per portrait medallion is supported by Phebe Howitt's letter to Edith of 12 May, 1855 (see p.41, note 46 below), stating that she sent £125 to Woolner in London for bronze portraits (four of the family and one of La Trobe). By contrast, clearly banking on Wentworth's popularity, Woolner offered to supply replicas of his portrait medallion in an intensive

There were no bronze foundries in Melbourne or Sydney at the time; these medallions were all executed in plaster on the understanding that sitters could commission bronze casts of their portraits from the sculptor when in due course he returned to England. Woolner executed plaster portraits of his Australian subjects, firstly in Melbourne in 1853, and afterwards in Sydney where he moved in January 1854 for six months in search of further work. In addition to these plasters that his sitters could acquire, he made a duplicate set which he took back with him to England in July that year. His patrons could then send to London for bronze replicas of their portraits. The first bronze sculpture was not produced in Australia until 1865 when Charles Summers cast the Burke and Wills monument in Melbourne.[26]

Woolner worked his Melbourne connections shrewdly by starting at the top with the Lieutenant-Governor and his personal friends, executing plaster portraits of Dr. Howitt, his wife, Phebe, their daughter, Edith, and their youngest son, Charley. The Howitt ladies, in particular, were much taken with the ebullient, good looking young Woolner, providing him with accommodation and promoting his cause among their friends. As a result, a number of notable early Port Phillip settlers, all close friends of La Trobe and the Howitts, followed their lead and commissioned portraits from him. However, it was not merely his remarkable luck in landing amongst a Melbourne group with ties to the London Pre-Raphaelites that guaranteed Woolner's success. This was as much an outcome of his particular abilities as an artist who set himself the highest standards in accordance with the sovereign Pre-Raphaelite principle of imitating nature as closely as possible. In this vital aspect, he was able to capture a striking physical likeness while at the same time conveying a suggestion of his subject's inner life. Critics of the day invariably remarked on this feature that sharply differentiated Woolner's *oeuvre* from contemporaries such as Bernhard Smith whose more generalised treatment of form lent a blander, rather static, appearance to his portraits.[27]

According to Benedict Read, the leading authority on nineteenth-century British sculpture, Woolner's accuracy in modelling realistic detail was "without parallel in contemporary

advertising campaign in *The Empire* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* (6th to 19th April, 1854). These, together with the medallion of La Trobe (which had been advertised earlier, but without a price) were to be cast in bronze and sent from London to public subscribers at the cost of £5 each.

[26] Sand casting for industrial bronze fittings was practised in the colonies from the mid-1850s but the lost wax method required for fine art purposes was not available commercially until 1973; I am grateful to Peter Corlett, sculptor, and Peter Morley, director of Meridian Fine Art Foundry, for this information; J. Eastwood: "Summers, Charles," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Melbourne 1976, vol. 6.

[27] J. Peers: "Beyond Captain Cook: Thomas Woolner and Australia," in Read and Barnes, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

sculpture."[28] This was due to his thorough grasp of underlying anatomical structure as much as his talent for perceiving and recreating finely nuanced surface forms and life-like textures of hair and skin. Outward signs of mind and temperament, conveyed by an accretion of closely observed lines and wrinkles, articulate the features of Woolner's sitters. This impression of character and personality is reinforced by his treatment of the eye. Avoiding the blank, lifeless stare of so many sculpted heads from classical times onwards, the directed gaze of Woolner's sitters conveys an expression of mental alertness to match the penetrating portrayal of their physiognomy.[29]

These qualities were perceived by a *Melbourne Morning Herald* critic in 1853 who commented on Woolner's first three profile medallions of La Trobe (Fig. 12), Godfrey (Fig. 5) and Charley Howitt (Fig. 6) all of whom gave, he wrote:

> the counterfeit presentment of inner life . . . If we were compelled to express a preference at all we should give it to the medallion of the Governor, Mr. La Trobe . . . every line of the face evinces that power in the artist, in catching and fixing the habitual mood of the mind, as told to by the countenance.[30]

Contrary to generally accepted practice, Woolner was never tempted to flatter his sitters, even where it may have been expedient. While Georgiana McCrae's portraits of Edith Howitt lend her a delicate, heart-shaped face (Fig. 7), Woolner's profile (Fig. 8) reveals her heavy jaw and solid features, exactly as she appears in photographs of the time (Fig. 9).

Fig. 7 (below). Georgiana McCrae. *Edith Mary Howitt.* c.1853. Pencil on paper, 20.0 x 16.1 cm. (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne).

Fig. 8 (above). Thomas Woolner. *Edith Mary Howitt.* 1853. Bronze relief medallion, 21.8 cm. (National Gallery of Australia, Canberra).

Fig. 9 (below). *Edith Mary Howitt* (detail), c.1852. Albumen silver *carte-de-visite*, 8.9 x 5.3 cm. (State Library of Victoria, Melbourne).

[28] Ormond, in Read and Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[29] Read, *Victorian Sculpture*, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-85.
[30] *Melbourne Morning Herald*, 13 July 1853, n.p. [fol. 7 counting from the cover sheet].

While a plaster version of Edith's portrait medallion (Fig. 8) has not yet come to light, those of her parents, Godfrey and Phebe Howitt, are still in the possession of family descendants. The portrait of Phebe Howitt (not pictured) was designed as a pendant to that of her husband (Fig. 5), facing left. In pristine condition, the subtle modulations and detailed modelling

Fig. 10. Thomas Woolner. *Thomas Anne Cole*, *Farquhar Cole* and *Captain George Ward Cole.* 1853. Plaster relief medallions, 20.8 cm., 18.0 cm., 20.8 cm., respectively. (State Library of Victoria, Melbourne).

demonstrate Woolner's skill as a relief sculptor; moreover, in true Pre-Raphaelite style, there is no attempt to idealise the subjects. Judging from contemporary *cartes-de-visites*, these are excellent likenesses.The four Howitt subjects of 1853 were followed that same year by the family group of their friends, the early Melbourne settlers Captain George Ward Cole, his wife, Thomas Anne (*née* McCrae) and their young son, Farquhar (Fig. 10).

Realistic details such as the carefully articulated pattern and sharply modelled folds of the ladies' head-dresses are recreated with Pre-Raphaelite precision, by impressing the fine netting of their caps into the original plaster.[31] This process, in due course, was faithfully transcribed in the bronze version of Phebe Howitt's portrait.[32] The plaster casts of Dr. Godfrey and Charley Howitt (Figs. 5 and 6) also demonstrate Woolner's extraordinarily

[31] Peers, *op. cit*., pp. 14-15.
[32] C. Clemente: "The Private Face of Patronage: the Howitts, Artistic and Intellectual Philanthropists in early Melbourne Society." MA thesis, (University of Melbourne, 2005), p. 59, pl.14.

refined modelling technique together with his noted ability to capture character: Howitt's professional gravity and reserve and the lively optimism of his small son, Charley, are clearly evoked even in this most compact of formats.

It is revealing to compare the effect of these delicately nuanced portraits in pure white plaster with examples in bronze which were later executed in London. They show how Woolner exploited the medium for its warm-toned patina and the expressive play of light and shadow to animate his subjects' features.

Fig. 11. Thomas Woolner. *Sir Charles Fitzroy.* 1854.
Bronze relief medallion, 33.0 cm.
(Sydney Living Museums).

Fig. 12. Thomas Woolner. *Charles Joseph La Trobe.* 1853.
Bronze relief medallion, 21.1 cm.
(State Library of Victoria, Melbourne).

Bronze casts of the two heads of colonial government, Charles Fitzroy (N.S.W.) and Charles La Trobe (Victoria), are a case in point (Figs. 11 and 12). Here, again, Woolner's singular gift for psychological insight is evident: with firmly set mouth and directed gaze, Fitzroy's expression is commanding; even his crisply curling hair conjures the decisive energy of this canny, aristocratic operator. By contrast, La Trobe, a gentleman, but without Fitzroy's

powerful connections, is clearly a man of sensibility and introspection. It is not difficult to associate the reflective personality revealed in Woolner's portrait with La Trobe's reputation as a sterling character whose vision for an educated, civilised community had a formative influence on Melbourne's development as the cultural capital of Australia.

The year 1851, just prior to Woolner's arrival in the colony, had been a watershed in Victoria. The confluence of two seismic events, separation from New South Wales and the discovery of gold, were to permanently transform the economic, social and cultural landscape. The newly created colony of Victoria with governmental autonomy thus replaced the pre-separation, pastoral Port Phillip District of New South Wales. Its former Superintendent, Charles La Trobe, as the new Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria, was invested with considerable powers of patronage, a fact immediately noted with typical bounce by Godfrey Howitt's brother, the irrepressible William Howitt, on his arrival in 1852:

> [La Trobe] most politely dismounted from his horse, welcomed me most heartily to the colony and asked what he could do for me. From the long intimacy of the governor with my brother Dr. Howitt and my reputation, it was clear that I had only to devote [illegible] myself some political or executive career and my immediate [illegible] in honourable and profitable employment was certain.[33]

Woolner arrived as the flushing of enormous funds from the gold rush through the economy was producing an astonishing growth of civic and cultural structures, and at a moment when he was particularly well-positioned to benefit from having friends in the colonial government. Attracted to Victoria by the gold rush, he and other artists were now present in unprecedented numbers in Melbourne. This stimulating climate of prosperity and development in the early 1850s also led to the establishment of entrepreneurial artist organisations and opportunities for Woolner and his colleagues to exhibit their works.

Prior to 1852, there had been few practising professional artists among the Port Phillip settlement's permanent residents, Georgiana McCrae being an exception. By 1853, there was a serious attempt to set up an organisation for the display and sale of art in the colony. The short-lived Victoria Fine Arts Society, founded on 20 April 1853, opened its sole exhibition in August, to which in an effort to support Woolner's artistic career in the colony, La Trobe and the Howitts contributed their portraits.[34] Despite the failure of this initiative, a second

[33] Alfred William Howitt to Charles Summer, n/d c.1854. State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Australian Manuscripts Collection, A. W. Howitt Papers, MS 9356.
[34] Victoria Fine Arts Society: *Catalogue of the Victoria Fine Arts Society's Exhibition Melbourne, August 20 1853*, Melbourne 1853, p. 16.

opportunity arose the following year when Woolner and other locally based artists were represented in the first officially sponsored Melbourne Exhibition of 1854, inspired by London's Great Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851. With Justice Redmond Barry as Chief Commissioner and a committee consisting of Godfrey Howitt and other members of his circle, it included a Fine Arts Court, marking the beginning of the colonial government's involvement in the artistic affairs of Victoria. Once more, Howitt lent Woolner's portrait medallions of himself, his son, Charles, and of La Trobe, while his wife, Phebe, also contributed examples of Edward Bateman's work.[35]

When Woolner went to Sydney in early 1854, there was a shift in the pattern of his commissions, reflecting the nature of his contacts in the two cities. Without exception, Woolner's Melbourne sitters had belonged to the personal friendship circle of La Trobe and Godfrey Howitt. Amongst these were the family group of Captain George Ward Cole, as discussed above, along with Octavius Browne, John Pinney Bear and his wife Annette, James Clow and later, in 1858, the posthumous portrait of Georgiana McCrae's young daughter, Agnes. This list shows just how effective the Howitts' promotion of Woolner had been amongst their immediate circle, a fact confirmed in a letter to his father dated 24 January 1854, in which he announced his recent arrival in Sydney. He also referred to a commission by public subscription for a statue of William Charles Wentworth (1791-1872), the popular explorer, Legislative Council Member and leader of the movement for responsible government and independence from Britain. Woolner ardently hoped to win this commission on which he pinned many of his professional and personal aspirations:

> I worked out all the good folks I could get to sit to me at Melbourne and have come here chiefly to try to get a statue of Wentworth, the Sydney folks have been subscribing towards . . . If this Wentworth statue were in Melbourne instead of Sydney I could make almost certain of it; but here I have no friends particularly interested in my success. Of course I could not expect to find such friends as the Howitts. I might wait a long time for that. Sir Charles Nicholson, Speaker of the Legislative Council, is remarkably civil to me in introducing me about and inviting me to his house etc., etc., but what good is all this to me, unless I obtain work thro' it?[36]

[35] Melbourne Exhibition: *Official Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition, 1854, in connexion with the Paris Exhibition, 1855*, Melbourne 1854, p. 30.
[36] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

Despite his peevishness, Woolner had once more landed squarely on his feet. His six months in Sydney were to prove every bit as rewarding as his time in Melbourne, as he confirmed in a journal entry of 26 May 1854: "I have on the whole enjoyed my last twelve months more than any other in my life."[37] The key to his success was the introduction to Nicholson, "the most erudite collector in [New South Wales]," which had undoubtedly come from La Trobe, the Howitts, or both. The links between Dr. (later Sir Charles) Nicholson and Godfrey Howitt, both medical graduates of Edinburgh University (one directly preceding the other), went back to the early days of the Port Phillip settlement, if not earlier. Nicholson had land and investments in the Port Phillip District and was its elected representative on the New South Wales Legislative Council in 1843. In the more immediate past, La Trobe had spent several months in Sydney in 1851, preparing for the separation and handover of executive powers to the new colony of Victoria.

Fig. 13. Thomas Woolner. *William Charles Wentworth.* 1854. Bronze relief medallion, 21.6 cm. (Sydney Living Museums).

While his Melbourne subjects were linked by personal friendship, the introduction to Nicholson gave Woolner access to the small, inner elite of official Legislative Council members at the heart of Sydney's political establishment. The *Illustrated Sydney News*, like the Melbourne reviews, also drew attention to the life-like quality of Woolner's portraits, including "a very striking medallion of Mr. Wentworth" (Fig. 13):

> Amongst the medallions which we inspected were likenesses of some of the first men of the country, executed all of them with the utmost fidelity of outline and feature, and manifesting an insight into individual character and expression which only genius can possess and give effect to. A portrait of Sir Charles Nicholson, Speaker of the Legislative Council, is wonderfully like: the sagacious look of the bright and piercing eye is given to the life. The massive head of Edward Hamilton, Esq., will be easily recognised by his friends, and will suggest, no doubt, the ponderous sledgehammer of his logic. We noticed also the delicate features of Mr. Fanning, which seem animated with the very spirit of taste and refinement. We may add a medallion of James Martin, Esq., M.L.C., whose bump of perception is startlingly developed and another of

[37] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.*, p. 44.

> Thomas Barker, M.L.C. Mr. Woolner intends shortly to return to England, where we have no doubt he will obtain the commission for the Wentworth statue.[38]

By June in 1854, Woolner had clearly met with considerable success in Sydney, particularly with his medallion portrait of the local hero, William Wentworth. His hopes of winning the commission for the subscription statue of Wentworth, however, suffered a setback when objections were raised on the basis of his unproven ability to successfully execute large-scale, free-standing sculpture. The decision that the judges should be appointed in London rather than Sydney was the cause of Woolner's departure from the colony:

> The consequence of this decision is I must return to England quickly as possible, this course being my only chance. I make a great sacrifice in doing this as I have just become known in Sydney and can obtain as much work as I can do modelling people's heads, but the statue is £2000 commission and too good an opportunity to allow any chance to escape.[39]

From Melbourne, the Howitts had followed Woolner's attempts to win the Wentworth commission with keen interest. Lively and entertaining, the handsome young sculptor (Fig. 14) had succeeded in charming Phebe Howitt and her daughter and at some point, he and Edith had become unofficially engaged**.** One intimate work in ivory of 7.5 cm diameter, a tiny, hand carved version of Edith Howitt's profile portrait medallion, clearly designed to nestle in the palm of a hand for close and private viewing, must date from that time.[40] However, while Phebe Howitt, in particular, was sympathetic to this romantic situation, marriage to a penniless, unknown artist—no matter how personable and promising—was out of the question. Clearly, the hopes of the young couple were fixed on Woolner's winning the Wentworth commission to make his name and launch his career. After leaving Sydney and returning to Melbourne, he departed for England on 22 July 1854.

Woolner did not return home empty-handed. In addition to the plaster portraits sold to his colonial sitters, he took with him a second set of plaster models from which to cast bronze medallions as there was no foundry capable of doing so at that time in the colonies. His distressing discovery on 9 August 1854, during the voyage home, that the case of casts had apparently disappeared, confirms that he was counting on commissions from his Australian patrons as a form of start-up capital in London: "I shall be in a most unfortunate position; I shall be there in England without the means of doing what is an important part of my

[38] "Fine Arts," *Illustrated Sydney News*, 3 June 1854, p. 2.
[39] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.*, p. 73.
[40] A. Neale: "Woolner's Australian Romance." *The Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* 19 (2010), pp. 30-31.

business; it will be more out of my pocket than I can reckon."[41] His relief was immense when informed two months later, on 11 October, that the medallion case with his seeding capital had been sighted: "It was a great delight to hear this and has . . . removed a great weight from my mind: without my medallions I should be like a man on an uninhabited district with but little food and having lost his stock of seed that he meant to serve him in time to come."[42]

Woolner's gallery of Australian portraits represented far more than income from commissions for bronze casts of his colonial medallions, vital though that was. This suite of strongly individualised profiles, when displayed in London, made an impact on English viewers. Though small in scale they exude a sharpness of perception, accuracy of execution and uncontrived realism, those very Pre-Raphaelite attributes which became the hallmark of Woolner's style. In Australia he had been able to benefit from a unique window of opportunity to practise and develop his modelling skills in a short, concentrated period of about twelve months, during which he had no contemporary rivals. This undoubtedly contributed to the self-esteem of an artist who, beneath his noisy, opinionated exterior, was, according to William Howitt's son, Alfred, "very shy and nervous."[43]

Fig. 14. Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Thomas Woolner*. 1852. Pencil drawing, 16.3 x 14.7 cm. (National Portrait Gallery, London).

Woolner's Antipodean success is evident in both the quantity and quality of his Australian work which another founding Pre-Raphaelite brother, critic F. G. Stephens, praised as "remarkable, even among Woolner's portraits, for their vivacity, learning and solidity."[44] There is evidence that after he returned to England, Woolner became dissatisfied with some of the medallions he had modelled before he left for the colonies. Consequently, he produced new versions of the Tennyson, Carlyle and Browning medallions between 1855 and 1856.[45]

Clearly Edith Howitt, who had remained in Melbourne, and Woolner, now back in London, continued to regard themselves as engaged, and for the first half of 1855 their hopes were still

[41] Woolner Diary, cited at note 14 above.
[42] Woolner Diary, cited at note 14 above.
[43] Alfred Howitt to Mary Howitt, 3 July 1854. A. W. Howitt Papers cited at note 33 above.
[44] Stephens, *op. cit*., 1892, p. 522. Quoted in Read, "Thomas Woolner," *op. cit*., p. 23.
[45] "List of Works" in Woolner, *Life in Letters*, *op. cit*., p. 337.

focused on the outcome of the Wentworth commission. Correspondence between May and July that year from Phebe Howitt to her daughter, then away on holiday in the country, shows that Woolner's decision to move back to London was taken with the family's full knowledge and encouragement. On 12 May 1855, Phebe Howitt wrote:

> Now Mr. Woolner has got a studio, he will have occupation to settle his mind and the next letter will evince more calm wisdom. It will never do for him to put away his powers and vitality in useless regrets about leaving Australia etc. it will take some time after exhibiting in England before orders would pour in but to leave England immediately after making a name would be throwing away a chance likely to be far more permanent and beneficial in the end than any amount of profit in Australia. I shall write as soon as I have time and hope Mr. Woolner will see that it is for the best to remain in England.[46]

Fig. 15. Interior of Thomas Woolner's London studio. Unknown photographer.
(Benedict Read Collection, kind permission of Benedict Read).

Phebe Howitt continued to throw her weight behind every move to further Woolner's career prospects in Britain, even going so far as to ask Dr. Howitt "if he thought anything could be done to influence the Sydney committee."[47] More practically, she supported him financially and letters to her daughter reveal how Woolner conducted business from England with his

[46] Phebe Howitt to Edith Howitt, 12 May 1855. State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Manuscripts Collection, Papers of the Howitt family, MS 13848.
[47] Phebe Howitt to Edith Howitt, 2 July 1855. Papers of the Howitt family cited at note 46 above, MS 13848.

Australian patrons: "Mr. Woolner . . . received the £125 and would execute my commissions."[48] It seems that these commissions must have been for five bronze casts, four of her family and one of Charles La Trobe. Four of these medallions of Godfrey, Phebe and Edith Howitt and La Trobe are known to have survived, and, with the exception of Edith's profile, remain in the possession of Howitt family descendants, together with a plaster cast of Charley Howitt.[49]

Wentworth kept changing his mind about the statue commission and by May 1855, according to Woolner, he had "resolved on founding a fellowship at the Sydney University with the money instead."[50] But by mid-1857 the matter was still undecided and, to Woolner's intense annoyance, he was obliged to supply sketches for the statue despite his awareness that Wentworth was also considering other sculptors.[51] In the end, the commission was awarded not to Woolner but to the Italian sculptor, Pietro Tenerani (1789-1869), whose statue of Wentworth was erected at Sydney University in 1862. However, it was Phebe Howitt's sudden incapacitation, probably from a catastrophic stroke sometime around the end of 1856 or beginning of 1857, which led her daughter to break off the engagement with Woolner.[52] Meanwhile, in London, his career flourished and orders continued to arrive from Australia for bronze casts from his plaster medallion models, of which Wentworth and La Trobe proved the most popular (Figs. 12 and 13). Woolner later went on to execute portrait busts of other prominent colonials who visited Britain, such as Justice Sir Redmond Barry (1878; National Gallery of Victoria) and the editor of *The Argus*, Edward Wilson (1868; State Library of Victoria).

While he had failed to secure the Wentworth commission which had prompted his return to Britain in 1854, the culmination of Woolner's artistic association with Australia was, appropriately enough, the gigantic free-standing *Monument to Captain Cook* of 1878 (Fig. 16).[53]

[48] Phebe Howitt to Edith Howitt, 1 July 1855. Papers of the Howitt family cited at note 46 above, MS 13848.
[49] Clemente, "Private Patronage," *op. cit*., p. 57.
[50] In 1854 the sum of £200 was donated to Sydney University to establish a Wentworth medal. Source: Woolner correspondence quoted in Neale, *op. cit*., p. 32.
[51] Woolner to Emily Tennyson, 25 June 1857. Woolner, *Life in Letters*, *op. cit*., pp. 134-35.
[52] Alfred Howitt to Anna Mary Howitt, 10 August 1857. A. W. Howitt Papers cited at note 33 above. Reference to Phebe Howitt's "last dreadful attack," Woolner to Georgiana McCrae, n.d. September, 1858. State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Australian Manuscripts Collection, McCrae Family Papers. MS 12831.
[53] According to the *Sydney Evening News* (26 Feb. 1879, p. 3.), the height of the statue from feet to crown is 13 feet, 6 inches [411 cm.] with an extra 2 feet [60 cm.] for the uplifted arm.

Fig. 16. Thomas Woolner. *Monument to Captain Cook.* 1878. Bronze, height 471 cm.
Hyde Park South, Elizabeth Street, Sydney, N.S.W. (Photograph: Monument Australia).

This bronze figure is the polar opposite in terms of dimension and public significance of the small, privately commissioned medallion portraits of the gold rush years.[54] Pleasingly, Woolner's Australian *oeuvre* reflects his highly successful career path, from modest beginings to its culmination in the Cook colossus, coinciding with official recognition in England with his appointment as Royal Academician (1874) and Professor of Sculpture (1877-79). Despite differing views as to the artistic merits of the Cook statue, this monumental figure does, in fact, splendidly embody those principles first defined by Woolner and the Pre-Raphaelite Brothers: truth to nature, high seriousness and poetic spirit. Cook is presented as the heroic explorer: his stern, farseeing gaze and commanding stance, articulated by the details of his handsome costume and the monumental dimensions of his figure, signify the weight of his impact on Australian history. Towering over Sydney's Hyde Park, this is Woolner's final contribution to this sunny land of promise so cherished in his memory.[55]

[54] The only other large sculpture by Woolner in the southern hemisphere is the statue of John Robert Godley (1814-61), founder of the Canterbury Association, erected in Cathedral Square, Christchurch, New Zealand, in 1867. The statue has survived the recent earthquake. See B. Read: "Thomas Woolner's Godley and the British Statue Overseas," in M. Stocker, ed.: *Remembering Godley: A Portrait of Canterbury's Founder*, Christchurch 2001, pp. 78-86.
[55] Peers, *op. cit*., p.37, n.29.

A little over two months after arriving in Australia, Woolner stated: "This day concludes 1852, an important year to me. I have left nearly all I love to seek nearly all I want."[56] But by 1854, Woolner's gamble with his career and future prospects had paid off in unexpected ways and on 23 July he departed for England in a very different frame of mind, declaring "all the vague hopes of youth fulfilled. I have found them infinitely surpassed and am made proud and happy."[57]

There can be no doubt that the brilliant career of Thomas Woolner, P.R.B., future Royal Academician and sometime Professor of Sculpture, was launched in the chaos of Melbourne's gold rush, and that it reflected the colonial elite's recognition, appreciation and enduring support of Pre-Raphaelite art.

Caroline Clemente is a Melbourne art historian and free-lance curator, having studied for her B.A. (Melb.), B.A. [Hons] (Lon.), and M.A. thesis (Melb., 2005). A Courtauld Institute of Art degree and postgraduate studies in Florence, Italy were followed by a three-year tutorship in Fine Arts at Melbourne University and ten years as Curator of Prints and Drawings at the National Gallery of Victoria. She is author of *Australian Watercolours in the National Gallery of Victoria, 1802-1926* (NGV, 1991) and the annotated "Catalogue of Plates" for Brenda Niall's biography of Georgiana McCrae (*Georgiana*, MUP 1994). She won a State Library of Victoria Creative Fellowship in 2007 to research Melbourne artists of the La Trobe era, and contributed to the SLV's *La Trobe Journal* (2007), *This Wondrous Land: Colonial Art on Paper* (NGV, 2011), *Eugene von Guerard: Nature Revealed* (NGV, 2011) and *Auld Lang Syne: Images of Scottish Australia* (Ballarat Art Gallery, 2014). As an SLV Honorary Fellow (2014), she focused on Thomas Woolner's Australian period, subsequently presenting papers at the joint NGV/Melbourne University symposium *Medieval Moderns—The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* (2015) and *Pre-Raphaelitism in Australia* (Melbourne University, 2016). With Barbara Kane, she is compiling a *catalogue raisonné* of Thomas Woolner's Australian *oeuvre* for a forthcoming exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery, Canberra.

[56] Woolner, *Life in Letters, op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.
[57] Woolner Diary, cited at note 14 above.

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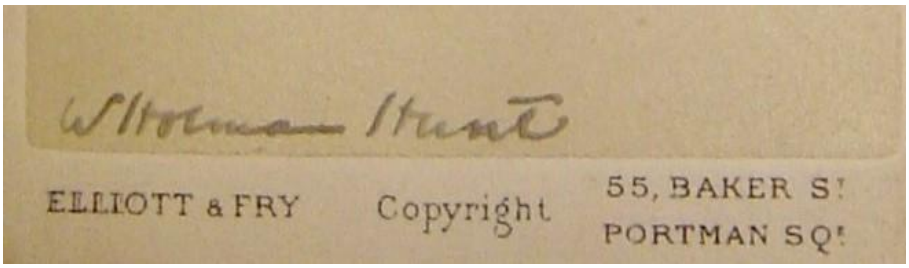
Manuscripts and Realia of the Pre-Raphaelites and their Circle in the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne

Hugh Hudson



Detail from Fig. 4. *Carte-de-visite* of William Holman Hunt. SLV, Melbourne.

Research into the Australian connections of the Pre-Raphaelite artists and their circle has grown steadily over recent decades.[1] The essential facts of Thomas Woolner's trip to Victoria between 1852 and 1854, initially in the company of Edward La Trobe Bateman and Bernhard Smith, have long been known.[2] Smith is sometimes regarded as a Pre-Raphaelite also,[3] and the correspondence between the Smith, Woolner, and Rossetti families in the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne,[4] was thoroughly examined by Juliette Peers in 1991.[5] Subsequently, many historical details have been added to the literature, and conclusions drawn, notably by Peers,[6] Caroline Clemente,[7] Jacqueline Anne Verrocchio,[8] Anne Neale,[9] and Jason Edwards.[10]

[1] I am very grateful to Sandra Burt and Lois McEvoy, Librarians in the Australian Manuscripts Collection at the State Library of Victoria in Melbourne, and Judith Bronkhurst, Dinah Roe, the National Gallery of Victoria, and the anonymous referees, for their generous assistance in the preparation of this article.
[2] A. Woolner: *Thomas Woolner, R.A., Sculptor and Poet: His Life in Letters*, London 1917, pp. 82–102.
[3] B. Read: "Was there Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture?" *The Pre-Raphaelite Papers*, ed. L. Parris. London 1984, 97–110, pp. 97 and 108.
[4] Family Papers, ca. 1873–ca. 1929, Bernhard Smith 1820–1885, MS 10626, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.
[5] J. Peers: "Bernhard Smith: The Missing Brother," *Pre-Raphaelite Sculpture: Nature and Imagination in British Sculpture 1848–1914*, eds B. Read and J. Barnes, London 1991, pp. 12–20.
[6] J. Peers: "Pre-Raphaelitism in Colonial Australia," *Worldwide Pre-Raphaelitism*, ed. T. J. Tobin. Albany, N.Y. 2006. pp. 215–33.
[7] C. Clemente: "The Private Face of Patronage: the Howitts, Artistic and Intellectual Philanthropists in Early Melbourne Society," M.A. diss. (The University of Melbourne, 2005), especially pp. 46–59, for Woolner, and pp. 90–102, 111–17, and 123–27, for La Trobe and Bateman.
[8] J. A. Verrocchio: "Not the Last of England: Thomas Woolner's Antipodean Odyssey," *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* n.s. 11, Spring (2002), pp. 19–31.
[9] A. Neale: "Woolner's Australian Romance," *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* n.s. 19, Fall (2010), pp. 27–44.
[10] J. Edwards: "Postcards from the Edge? Thomas Woolner's *Captain Cook* for Sydney," *Sculpture Journal* 23.2 (2014), pp. 209–20.

Beyond the question of the direct involvement of Pre-Raphaelite artists with the Australian colonies, Angus Trumble has drawn attention to Dante Gabriel Rossetti's fondness for Australian fauna,[11] and discovered that John Everett Millais had a half-brother who emigrated to Victoria, where he defended the artist from attacks in the popular press.[12] This author has investigated William Holman Hunt's siblings who emigrated, through whom letters, drawings, and a painting by their brother also came to Victoria.[13] As the Pre-Raphaelites and artists in their circle rose to prominence in Britain over the course of the nineteenth century, they came to be held in high regard by colonial art institutions as well as private patrons and collectors. The Art Gallery of New South Wales emerged as the first notable public collector of their paintings in the Australian colonies, a topic also investigated to an extent by this author.[14] The 2002 exhibition Morris and Co, curated by Christopher Menz for the Art Gallery of South Australia,[15] explored the company's extensive private patronage in South Australia.[16]

These long-distance private and institutional transactions were effected through exchanges of letters, as well as poems, photographs, and prints. Some of these have now found their way into public collections. The State Library of Victoria contains a small group of manuscripts and realia from the Pre-Raphaelites and their circle, some of it known to researchers, and some of it yet to appear in a scholarly publication. The holdings are distributed across different collections, and are somewhat piecemeal. Yet, by exploring their original contexts, it is possible to gain further insights into various episodes of these artists' activities and reception.

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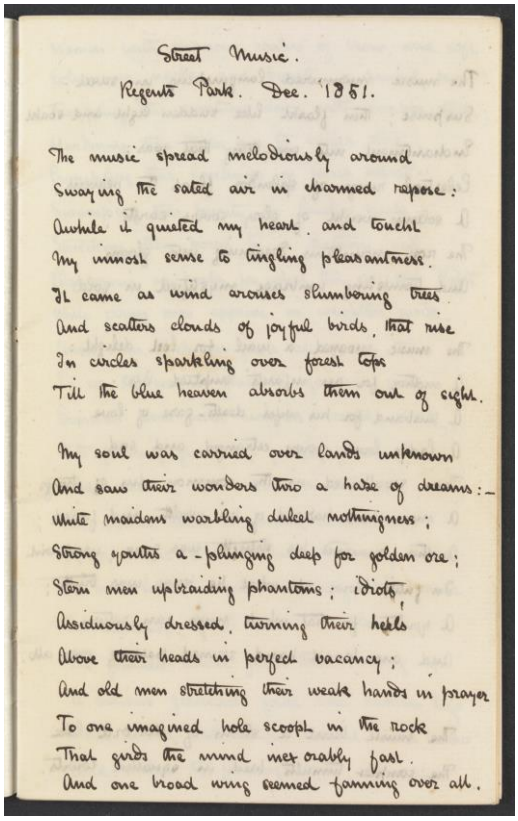
[11] A. Trumble: "Rossetti's Wombat," *Arena Magazine* 62, Dec.–Jan. (2002–2003), pp. 54–56, and "Rossetti, Morris and the Wombat," *Art and Australia* 50.1, Spring (2012), pp. 114–21.
[12] A. Trumble: "Millais in Melbourne," blog post, April 2011, http://angustrumble.blogspot.com/2011/04/millais-in-melbourne.html accessed 9 April 2016.
[13] H. Hudson: "A Holman Hunt Painting Lost in Australia," *World of Antiques & Art* 80 (2011), pp. 14–16.
[14] H. Hudson: "A Jewish Philanthropist in Colonial Australia: Eliezer Levi Montefiore's Papers in the Autograph Collection of the State Library of Victoria," *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* 20.3 (2011) 349–94, pp. 351, 356–58, 373, and 375.
[15] C. Menz ed.: exh. cat. *Morris and Co.*, Adelaide (The Art Gallery of South Australia), c.2002.
[16] Another immigrant to the Australian colonies with connections to the Pre-Raphaelite circle was Henry Charles Prinsep. He settled in the Swan River Colony, now Western Australia, in 1866 (A. C. Staples: "Prinsep, Henry Charles (Harry) (1844–1922)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/prinsep-henry-charles-harry-8119/text14179, published first in hardcopy 1988, accessed 3 Dec. 2017). His cousin, Valentine Cameron Prinsep, was a painter influenced by, and closely associated with, the Pre-Raphaelites. Both were also related to the Victorian photographer Julia Margaret Cameron, whose aesthetic was, in some respects, also related to that of the Pre-Raphaelites. I am grateful to one of the anonymous referees for bringing the Prinseps to my attention.

Thomas Woolner (1825–1892)

Before Woolner left Britain in 1852 on the voyage that famously inspired Madox-Brown's painting Last of England, he penned a long poem called "Street Music, Regents Park, Dec. 1851." In it, he conjured up a vision of his destination:

> My soul was carried over lands unknown
> And saw their wonders through a haze of dreams:—
> White maidens warbling dulcet nothingness;
> Strong youths a-plunging deep for golden ore.


Street Music.
Regents Park. Dec. 1851.

The music spread melodiously around
Swaying the sated air in charmed repose:
Awhile it quieted my heart and touched
My inmost sense to tingling pleasantness.
It came as wind arouses slumbering trees
And scatters clouds of joyful birds that rise
In circles sparkling over forest tops
Till the blue heaven absorbs them out of sight.

My soul was carried over lands unknown
And saw their wonders thro a haze of dreams:—
White maidens warbling dulcet nothingness;
Strong youths a-plunging deep for golden ore;
Stern men upbraiding phantoms; idiots,
Assiduously dressed, turning their heels
Above their heads in perfect vacancy;
And old men stretching their weak hands in prayer
To one imagined hole scooped in the rock
That girds the mind inexorably fast.
And one broad wing seemed fanning over all.

Fig. 1. Thomas Woolner, "Street Music, Regents Park, Dec. 1851." Autograph Collection, MS13020, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne. Photo: State Library of Victoria.

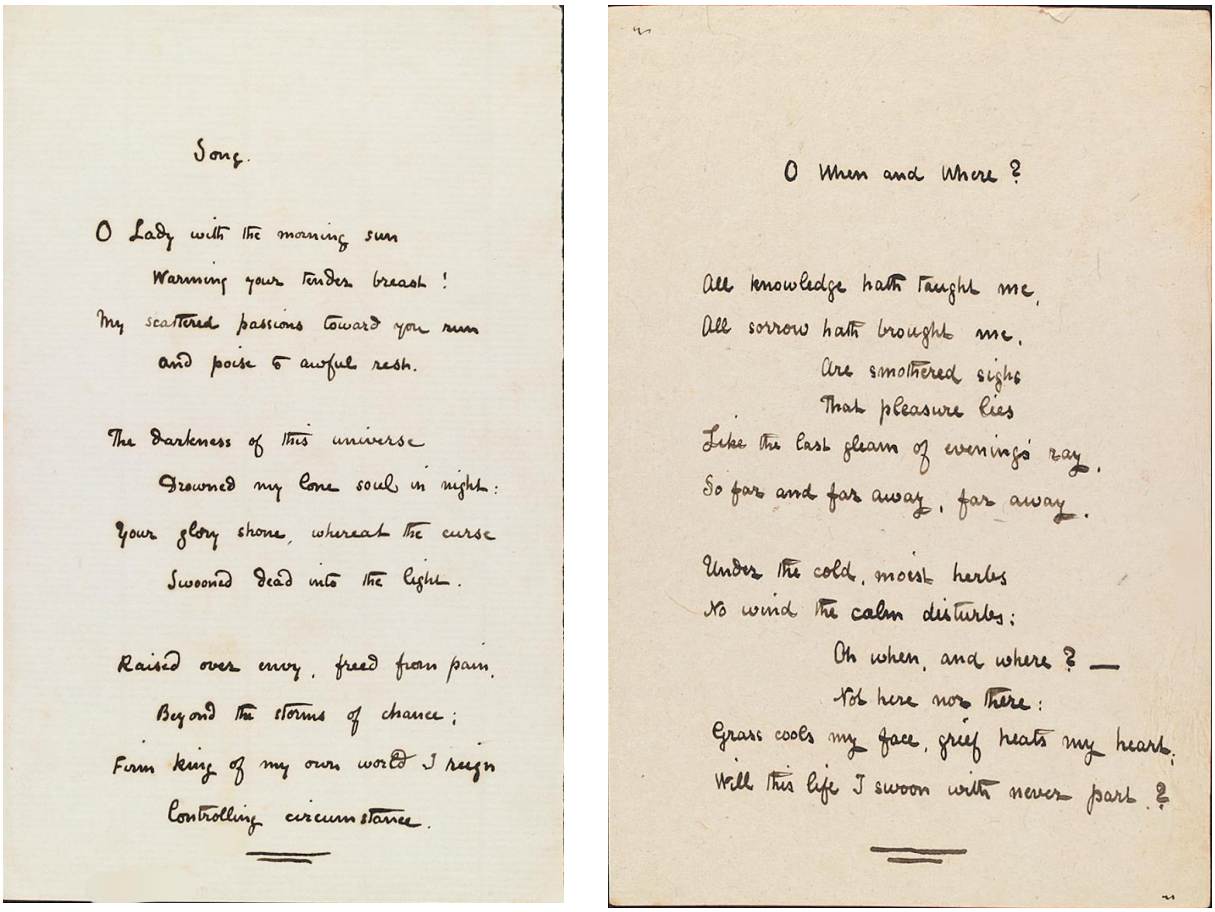
An autograph manuscript of the poem, signed and dated January 1852, is now in the Library's Autograph Collection (Fig. 1. All items from the Library's collection discussed in this article are listed separately at the end). A copy of the poem in the hand of William Michael Rossetti is housed in the University of British Columbia, Vancouver.[17] Probably while still in Victoria, Woolner added a dedication on the cover to "Mrs. Howitt 1854," that is, Mrs. Phebe Howitt, wife of the Melbourne doctor and philanthropist Godfrey Howitt, and mother of Edith Howitt, to whom Woolner became engaged while in Victoria.[18] The manuscript was presented to the Library by Godfrey and Phebe Howitt's great-granddaughter, Mrs. J. M. (Phoebe Tantum) Buchanan, of Kooyong Road, Toorak.[19] Two shorter autograph poem manuscripts in the Library, "Song" and "O When and Where," also have a Howitt provenance (Figs. 2 and 3). "Song" closely resembles passages of Woolner's longer poem "My

[17] T. Bose ed., preface by N. Colbeck and intro. by W. E. Fredeman: *A Bookman's Catalogue: The Norman Colbeck Collection of Nineteenth-Century and Edwardian Poetry and Belles-Lettres in the Special Collections of the University of British Columbia* 2 vols, Vancouver 1987, II, p. 952. Further study of the poem is not pursued here, in view of Angus Trumble's current research into it.

[18] On Woolner's relations with the Howitt family, see: Clemente, "The Private Face of Patronage," *op. cit.*, especially pp. 46–59, and Clemente's article on Woolner in this issue of *AJVS*.

[19] The donor, Mrs. J. M. Buchanan, was Phoebe Tantum Buchanan OBE, wife of Dr. James Mayo Buchanan of Kooyong Rd, Toorak, and daughter of Mr. and Mrs. S. P. Thompson of Box Hill. According to Caroline Clemente, Mrs. S. P. Thompson was "a daughter of Robert Anderson of Barragunda, Cape Schanck, and his wife Edith Mary, only daughter of Dr. Godfrey Howitt" ("Artists in Society: A Melbourne Circle, 1850s–1880s," *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 30 (1989): 44–57, p. 44).

Beautiful Lady," and seems to have been incorporated into it, while "O When and Where" was published in the second issue of the Pre-Raphaelites' journal, *The Germ.*[20] These were donated separately, with a large quantity of the Howitt family's papers, in 2008.[21]



Song.

O Lady with the morning sun
Warming your tender breast!
My scattered passions toward you run
And poise & awful rest.

The darkness of this universe
Drowned my lone soul in night:
Your glory shone, whereat the curse
Swooned dead into the light.

Raised over envy, freed from pain,
Beyond the storms of chance;
Firm king of my own world I reign
Controlling circumstance.

O When and Where?

All knowledge hath taught me,
All sorrow hath brought me,
Are smothered sighs
That pleasure lies
Like the last gleam of evening's ray,
So far and far away, far away.

Under the cold, moist herbs
No wind the calm disturbs;
Oh when, and where? —
Not here nor there:
Grass cools my face, grief heats my heart;
Will this life I swoon with never part?

Figs. 2 and 3. Thomas Woolner, "Song" and "Oh When and Where," both undated. Howitt Family Papers, MS 13848, Australian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne. Photo: State Library of Victoria.

Woolner did not stay long in Victoria, returning to Britain to advance his career, and with it his prospects of marrying Edith. A letter from the Scottish poet, artist, and art critic, William Bell Scott, written to Woolner after his return to Britain, was also donated to the Library by Mrs. Buchanan. It welcomes Woolner back to "the old country," expresses interest in hearing a reading of Woolner's travel diary, mentions a letter he received from (Thomas) Carlyle, refers to his own recent book (*Poems by a Painter,* published by Smith, Elder & Co. in 1854), and laments the current popular taste in poetry and the criticism he had received in the press. He asks that William Rossetti write to him, and offers to send Gabriel Rossetti a copy of his

[20] T. Woolner: *My Beautiful Lady*, 2nd ed. London, 1864, pp. 29–30. "O When and Where," *The Germ* no. 2, Jan. 1850, p. 75.
[21] Library Board of Victoria: "Building the Collection," *Annual Report*, Melbourne 2008–09, p. 29. See also: State Library of Victoria: "A Guide to the Howitt Family Papers MS 13848," 28 March 2012, accessed 15 June 2016.

book. He closes by excusing the self-centred nature of his letter, explaining with good humour, "I have just returned from dining out and a few glasses of wine have made me more than usually egotistical."[22]

The Howitt Papers contain a series of letters from Phebe to her daughter Edith, which also date to the period after Woolner returned to Britain, and contain snippets about him. In three undated letters, Phebe reassured Edith that she intended to write to him, or was in the process of writing to him, and relayed extracts of his letters sent to Edith from Britain (while Edith was away from home).

Further evidence of Woolner's continuing relationship with the Antipodes is a letter of 1863, addressed to a Mr. Wilson. It discusses Woolner's 1862 sculpture *Brother and Sister* (also known as *Deaf and Dumb*), comments on the end of convict transportation, provides criticism of a design for an unspecified award featuring a group of animals, a wreath with ribbons, and a motto, and mentions Woolner's "*Godley*," evidently the *Statue of John Robert Godley* made for Christchurch. This would have been in the design stage at the time, before it was cast in Britain in 1865. From the contents of the letter, it can be deduced that it was addressed to Edward Wilson, owner of the Melbourne newspaper *The Argus* (the letter has been catalogued as such at the Library). He was the subject of a portrait bust in marble made by Woolner in 1868, now also in the collection of the State Library of Victoria.[23] Wilson did write to *The Times* newspaper, as Woolner's letter also mentions, calling for an end to convict transportation to Australia. He had returned to Britain in 1862.[24] The description of the award in the letter matches the medals Joseph Wyon cast *circa* 1868 for the Acclimatisation Society, founded by Wilson in Melbourne in 1861.[25]

It is not possible (or at least easy) to identify Woolner's correspondent in a letter dated 12 October 1886, and addressed to a Mrs. Stuart. It thanks her for sending a photograph showing an example of her sculptural work and discusses her health, but little else. The letter was

[22] William Bell Scott: Letter to [Thomas] Woolner, 27 Oct. 1854. Autograph Collection, MS 13020 (formerly MS 6320).
[23] Thomas Woolner: *Edward Wilson*, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, acc. no: LTS 43.
[24] *Argus*: "The Transportation Petition," 30 Oct. 1863, p. 6; on Wilson, see: G. Serle: "Wilson, Edward (1813–1878)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, ANU, first published in hardcopy 1976, accessed 8 April 2016.
[25] An example of the medal, dated 1868, is housed in Museum Victoria, Melbourne (acc. no. MV Emu, 76606, NU 20066).

donated to the Library in 1924 by the Victorian bibliophile and poet, Evelyn Leigh Atkinson.[26]

Although Edith Howitt did not ultimately marry Woolner, the family did not forget him either, as a letter of Edith's daughter—also named Edith—shows. Datable to around 1895, it asks her future husband, S. P. (Steve) Thompson, for an article about Woolner to be sent to her. Another of her letters, dated 30 April 1928, describes Woolner's 1853 portrait of her grandfather as a good likeness. Further evidence of the family's continued interest in the artist is the manuscript composed by the British artist and art historian William Gaunt, also among the Howitt Papers. Gaunt was the author of the books *The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy* and *The Pre-Raphaelite Dream*.[27] His manuscript's light-hearted commentary bears the title "The Church Warden was Suspicious (ART, by William Gaunt)." Judging by its tone, it appears to be the text of an article intended for the popular press, although it is not clear if it was ever published. It defends Woolner against a report of a church warden from Woolner's home town of Hadleigh, who objected to the raising of a memorial to Woolner in his church on the grounds of an indiscretion. It had been reported that Woolner corresponded with Charles Darwin on the apparently *risqué* topic of how extensively an artist's model is affected by blushing.

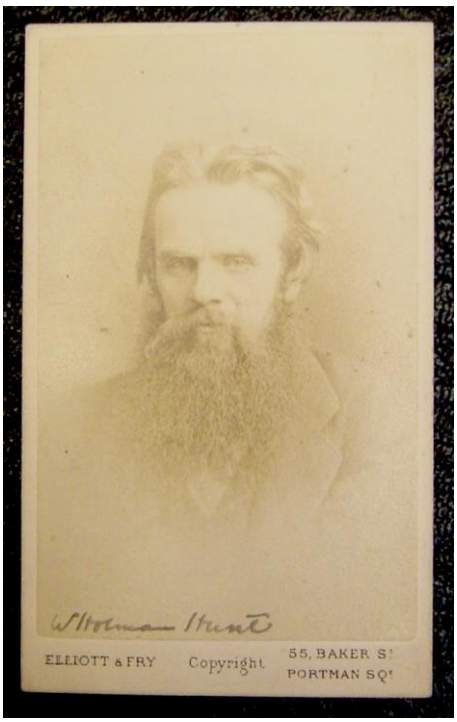


Fig. 4. *Carte-de-visite of William Holman Hunt*. Elliot & Fry. Prob. late 1860s. Albumen photographic print. Autograph Collection, MS 13020. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne. Photo: Hugh Hudson.

William Holman Hunt (1827–1910)

The Holman Hunt material in the Library has been discussed briefly elsewhere,[28] but merits a more detailed presentation. Like Woolner, Holman Hunt (Fig. 4) was a struggling artist in the early 1850s. Perhaps because of Woolner's lack of success on the Victorian goldfields, Holman Hunt did not follow his friend to the Antipodes, although he did write later that Australia would be a

[26] Evelyn Leigh Atkinson was the son of the successful doctor, mining investor, and pastoralist, Harry Leigh Atkinson, and lived at the property called Ravenswood.
[27] W. Gaunt: *The Pre-Raphaelite Tragedy*, London 1942, and *The Pre-Raphaelite Dream*, New York 1966.
[28] Hudson, "A Holman Hunt Painting," *op. cit.*

suitable destination for his sister Emily.[29] Holman Hunt's father, William senior, was a warehouseman, and married Sarah Hobman in London in 1822.[30] There are differing accounts of the number of children they had, but there seem to have been at least two sons and five daughters.[31] It has been known for some time that one brother of Holman Hunt, Edward,[32] and one sister, Maria,[33] emigrated to Australia. Perhaps not coincidentally, Edward arrived in November 1852,[34] in the month following Woolner's arrival.[35] As one of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, Woolner would have been considered almost family, a status formalised when Woolner married a sister of Holman Hunt's first and second wives (themselves sisters). Travelling on the same boat as Edward were a William and a Maria "Pegrum" (apparently a clerk's recording of "Peagram"), Edward's sister and her husband.[36] They settled in South Yarra, Melbourne, and their son William junior married a Mary Elizabeth Brazendale in Melbourne in 1882.[37] It was through William and Mary Peagram's branch of the family that two Holman Hunt drawings, a painting, and a number of documents eventually came to Victoria, as the documents now in the Library indicate.

A hastily scribbled note on the front of an envelope of the Museum of Applied Science of Victoria in the Library's Autograph Collection records some unspecified material "on offer from Mr. Clayton, brother-in-law of Mr. Peagram, Armadale," and adds there was "more to come." Beside this is a further note: "N[ational] G[allery] has bought drawings from Mr. C[layton] today 22/3/51." The two drawings were *Portrait of Emily Hunt*, by Holman Hunt

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[29] This was when they became estranged over a dispute concerning who should raise Holman Hunt's son Cyril Benoni Holman Hunt, after the death of the child's mother, Fanny Waugh Holman Hunt, *My Grandfather*, *op. cit.* p. 252.
[30] A. C. Amor: *William Holman Hunt: The True Pre-Raphaelite*, London 1989, p. 14.
[31] Walter Armstrong recorded two sons and five daughters in the family, without naming them ("Hunt, William Holman," *Dictionary of National Biography*, Second Supplement, 3 vols., ed. Sidney Lee. London 1912. II, p. 323). Diana Holman Hunt listed one brother and four sisters for William: Elizabeth Ann (b. 1823); Maria (b. 1825); Sarah (b. 1829); Edward Henry (b. 1832); and Emily (b. 1836) (*My Grandfather, His Wives and Loves*, London 1969, p. 31 note 1). However, she omitted Ann (born *c.* 1833, according to "Funeral Notices" in *The Argus*, 30 Aug. 1928, p. 1, which gave her age at death as 95), who was recognised as William's sister by Judith Bronkhurst (*William Holman Hunt: A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols, New Haven and London 2006, I, p. 105).
[32] J. E. Millais and W. Holman Hunt: *Letters from Sir John Everett Millais, Bart., P.R.A. (1829–1896) and William Holman Hunt, O.M. (1827–1910) in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California*, ed. M. Lutyens, London 1974, p. 54 note 104.
[33] Holman Hunt, *My Grandfather*, *op. cit.*, p. 252 note 8.
[34] An Edward H. Hunt arrived in Victoria on the *Dinapore* in November 1852, aged 21 (Public Record Office Victoria, *Immigration to Victoria 1852–1879*, CD-ROM, [Melbourne] 1999, search by "Edward" and "Hunt").
[35] M. J. Tipping: "Woolner, Thomas (1825–1892)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/woolner-thomas-4887/text8177, published first in hardcopy 1976, accessed 10 Dec. 2017.
[36] Public Record Office Victoria, *op. cit.*, search by "Pegrum." Maria "Pegrum" was listed as aged 26, the approximate age of Maria Peagram, the artist's sister, in 1852. Diana Holman Hunt related how Maria met Bill Peagram in London (*My Grandfather*, *op. cit.* p. 44).
[37] Their golden wedding anniversary was announced in the *Argus*, 15 April 1932, p. 1.

(of his sister), and *Portrait of Cyril Benoni Holman Hunt*, executed jointly by Holman Hunt and his second wife Edith (of his son by his first wife Fanny).[38] Among the items housed with the envelope is the business card of L. H. Clayton of 31 Eumeralla Rd, Caulfield. It was annotated to read: "Presented by Mrs. L. H. Clayton and family 21.5 1951." This was Elsie Maud Clayton. In January of that year she and her brother Herbert Holman Peagram became executors to the estate of their late mother Mary Elizabeth Peagram.[39] Thus, the provenance of the Homan Hunt drawings sold to the Gallery and the documents donated to the Library can probably be traced to the widow of a nephew of the artist.

Clues suggesting how and when this material might have come into her possession are contained in another document in the Library. A letter of 1928 from the Manager of the Trustees and Executors and Agency Company Limited of Melbourne, Mr. V. G. Watson, is addressed to a "Mr. Wm Peagram."[40] It informs him that a Mrs. A. Thurman had passed away, leaving a painting of "the head of a small child" in her estate. It was said to have been painted by William Holman Hunt at the age of fifteen and brought to Australia by Peagram's son a few years earlier. It was not specifically bequeathed, and Watson asked whether Peagram senior might like to have it.

William and Mary Peagram and their two youngest children Henry (aged 22) and Garnet (aged 15) had visited England in 1923.[41] There they made contact with their Holman Hunt family. A letter dated 29 December 1923 in the Library, from H. L. Holman Hunt (the artist's son Hilary Lushington) to William Peagram, apologises for not having been able to do anything for him during the visit, due to the short notice. However, William and Mary might well have met with their son Horace Herbert (Lewis) Peagram.[42] He had gone to live with Emily, the artist's sister, at 39 Glenelg Road in Brixton, London. She died a widow in December

[38] See: S. Dean: "28 William Holman Hunt 1827–1910 *Emily Hunt* 1857" and "29 William Holman Hunt 1827–1910 *Head of Cyril B. Hunt* 1877–1879," in A. Dixon, S. Dean, and I. Zdanowicz eds: exh. cat. *The Pre-Raphaelites and their Circle in the National Gallery of Victoria*, Melbourne 1978. See also: L. Benson *et al.*: exh. cat. *Medieval Moderns: The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria), 2015, pp. 121–22. This catalogues the drawings as: William Holman Hunt, *Emily Hunt*, 1857, pen and brown ink and wash, 11.8 x 10.8 cm, purchased 1951, (2367-4); and William Holman Hunt and Edith Hunt: *Cyril Benoni Hunt*, 1877–79, pencil, 22.0 x 20.1 cm, purchased, 1951 (2366-4).
[39] *Argus*: "Law Notices," 23 Jan. 1951, p. 16.
[40] Published in: J. Bronkhurst: *A Catalogue Raisonné, op. cit.*, cat. no. 33.
[41] Public Record Office Victoria, *Unassisted Passenger Lists 1852–1923*, online resource, Record Series Number (VPRS): 947, search by "Peagram," accessed 10 Dec. 2017.
[42] For the identification of Horace Herbert as William and Mary Peagram's son, see: *Argus*: "Deaths," 11 July 1946, p. 2.

1921.[43] Probate was granted to Horace Peagram on 18 January 1922. His brother, Herbert Holman, was bequeathed £300. Horace, however, received £1,000, as well as the residue of her estate. This possibly included the painting, the two drawings, and the documents.

Clearly, some of the Holman Hunt-related documents in the Library did come from Emily Hunt, since three are addressed to her: a letter from Millais, one from Charles Aitken, and one from Holman Hunt, discussing his purchase of a piano for her.[44] She had had artistic aspirations also. The letter from Millais, dated 30 March 1854, invites her to his home for tea with his mother, and asks her to bring her drawings, which he had promised William he would look at. William had, in turn, promised his father on his death-bed that he would look after his sister and supervise her artistic career.[45] It is plausible that Emily was the source of the two drawings now in the National Gallery of Victoria also. One is a depiction of her, and she might well have wished for a drawing of William's son, over whose welfare they had fallen out. She certainly owned some portraits in oil by her brother. The letter from Charles Aitken, Director of the National Gallery, British Art (now "Tate"), is dated 24 April 1917, and is addressed to Mrs. Wyman (Emily had married a Mr. Wyman) and acknowledges her proposed gift in 1917 of certain portraits. The Tate did receive two early Holman Hunt portraits from Emily in 1917: *Portrait of John Hunt* and *Portrait of John Key*.[46]

Thus, a tentative provenance for the documents and drawings in question could be given as: Emily Hunt; bequeathed to her great-nephew Horace Herbert (Lewis) Peagram; his gift to his mother Mary Elizabeth Peagram; her executors, being her son Herbert Holman Peagram and daughter Elsie Maud Clayton; the drawings bought from Elsie Maud Clayton's husband, L.

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[43] Diana Holman Hunt gave her year of death as 1920 (*My Grandfather*, *op. cit* p. 252 note 8), while Judith Bronkhurst gave it as 1921 (personal communications, 19 and 27 Sept. 2010).

[44] There are among the Holman Hunt-related papers, in addition, an unaddressed envelope dated 1885, containing thirteen cut-out signatures of Holman Hunt, as well as one of Robert Braithwaite Martineau (a pupil of William Holman Hunt), a note asking for admission for a young woman of the Hunt family to see a picture at the German Gallery at 108 New Bond Street, a signed *carte-de visite* of William Holman Hunt (see Fig. 4 in this article), and a printed letter regarding changes to the dates of an exhibition at the Colosseum in Glasgow, with a map of central London drawn on the back showing the location of "Seddon Esqre Bond St." In 1854 Holman Hunt met fellow artist Thomas Seddon in the Levant on an artistic trip. Thomas was the son of the cabinet maker Thomas Seddon, whose premises in 1854 were at 67 New Bond St (A. Heal: *The London Furniture Makers, from the Restoration to the Victorian Era, 1660–1840*, London 1973 p. 161).

[45] Amor, *William Holman Hunt: The True Pre-Raphaelite, op. cit.*, p. 151. A watercolour by Emily, executed with assistance from William, was sold at Bonham's, London in 2012: *Jealous Jessie*, signed and dated "Emily Hunt/1861" (lower left), and inscribed "No 1. Jealous Jessie./Miss Emily Hunt/Tor Villa/Campden Hill/ Kensington - W." on a label attached to the reverse (Auction 19923, *19th Century Paintings, Drawings and Watercolours*, 11 July 2012).

[46] Holman Hunt, *My Grandfather*, *op. cit.*, p. 252 note 8.

H. Clayton, by the National Gallery of Victoria on 22 March 1951; and the documents donated to the Library by her family on 21 May 1951.

And what of the painting? Returning to the nineteenth century, on 23 November 1857, a Miss Annie Hunt, aged 23, arrived in Victoria on the *Sydenham*.[47] On 10 January 1860, a notice appeared in *The Argus* (Melbourne) for a wedding between Miss Ann Hunt, "fourth daughter of W[illia]m Hunt Esq. of London," and a Mr. William Thurman.[48] It seems Annie (alternatively "Ann") was another of William Holman Hunt's sisters. Nineteenth-century newspaper notices record Mr. W. G. and Mrs. A. Thurman living in the small town of Coleraine, west of Melbourne, in Victoria.[49] Horace Peagram might have given the painting to his great aunt, and either delivered the painting himself or delivered it through one of his brothers, around 1923.

In the 1980s, the fate of the painting was investigated by Holman Hunt's granddaughter and biographer, the late Diana Holman Hunt. In her 2005 *catalogue raisonné* for the artist, Judith Bronkhurst reported the contents of a letter written in 1980 to Diana Holman Hunt by an Australian descendent of the family, informing her that the painting had been destroyed. Nevertheless, she was able to identify it as Holman Hunt's lost painting *Hark!*. Bronkhurst observed that the description of the painting in Australia as "the head of a small child" fitted the descriptions of *Hark!* better than any other known work.[50] It was described in a letter of the artist as "a portrait of a little girl with a watch at her ear."[51] Hunt's biographer Alfred Charles Gissing described it as a depiction of his little sister. Diana Holman Hunt[52] and Judith Bronkhurst, in turn, suggested Emily was the likely sitter. The work was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London in 1846, but was returned to Hunt unsold.[53] If the subject of *Hark!* was Emily, as has been suspected, this might weigh in favour of her having owned it, and of her having left it to her Australian relations, as it is argued here was most likely the case with the drawing of her.

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[47] Public Record Office Victoria, *op. cit.*, search by "Annie" and "Hunt."
[48] *Argus*: "Marriage," 10 Jan. 1860, p. 4.
[49] For example, *Argus*: "The Government Gazette," 30 April 1881, p. 8.
[50] Bronkhurst, *A Catalogue Raisonné, op. cit.* I, p. 105 note 6.
[51] G. P. Landow and W. Holman Hunt: "'As Unreserved as a Studio Chat': Holman Hunt's Letters to Ernest Chesneau," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 38.4, Aug. (1975): 355–69, p. 359.
[52] Holman Hunt, *My Grandfather, op. cit.*, p. 40.
[53] According to a note written by Gladys Holman Hunt (the artist's daughter) on the back of Hunt's *Self-Portrait* now in the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, *Hark!* was scraped down and overpainted with the *Self-Portrait*. However, this cannot have been the case, since the *Self-Portrait* is initialled by the artist and dated 1845, while *Hark!* was exhibited in the following year.

At the end of her life, Annie Thurman lived in a house at 313 Moorabool Street, Geelong, in Victoria. According to a descendent, who has recently discussed the matter with their family, a painting was indeed seen there which fits the description of the missing *Hark!*. It was said to have shown a young girl holding what was believed to be a shell to her ear, and it was thought to depict the artist's sister Maria.[54] In all likelihood this was *Hark!*. Annie Thurman's death was announced in *The Argus* (Melbourne) in 1928, where it was indicated that she was survived by daughters Mrs. A. Alexander and Mrs. Amy B. Lloyd.[55] Records exist for seven children, including a son bearing the name William Holman Hunt, reflecting the family's pride in their artist relative.[56] The suggestion that the painting was destroyed could not be verified by the descendent, and it seems, given the careful efforts to find a home for it after Annie Thurman's death, described above, that it was just as likely lost trace of.

John Millais (1829–1896)

As well as the letter to Emily Hunt, further Millais material is contained in the Library's Autograph Collection, concerning Eliezer Levi Montefiore's efforts to purchase a work by the artist for the Art Gallery of New South Wales. Montefiore's papers were donated to the Library by his daughter Caroline in 1929. In his capacity as Trustee, Montefiore visited London in 1884, there making contact with artists and art collectors. The watercolourist and friend of the Pre-Raphaelites, Joseph Jopling, wrote to Montefiore on 12 January 1884: "I understand that you wish to procure, if possible, a good example of Millais' work for deposit in the National Gallery, now in course of formation in Sydney, New South Wales." Jopling then enthusiastically offered a life-size, three-quarter length portrait of

Fig. 5. John Everett Millais. *The Captive*. 1882. Oil on canvas. 115.6 x 77.2 cm. Purchased 1885. (Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney).

[54] A descendant of Annie Thurman, personal communication, 15 Sept. 2010.
[55] *Argus*: "Funeral Notices," 30 Aug. 1928, p. 1.
[56] Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Victoria: *Victorian Pioneers Index on CD ROM (1836-1838),* [Melbourne] 1998, search by "Thurman." The seven children listed are: Ada Florence, Amy Beatrice, Emily Bertha (d. 1864), Jessie Blanche (d. 1869), William Holman Hunt (d. 1867), Nina (d. 1946), see also *Argus*: "Deaths," 20 June 1946, p. 2, and Clifford George (d. 1876).

"a very beautiful woman, called 'the tea-rose,'" which had been painted in 1879. He also offered to show works by Landseer, Opie, Kate Bischoff, Gill Barnett, and Rossetti. There can be little doubt that the Millais painting in question was a portrait of Jopling's wife, *Louise Jane Jopling (Née Goode, Later Rowe)*, now in the National Portrait Gallery, London. It is life-size, three-quarter length, depicts a beautiful woman, and was painted in 1879. Jopling's coyness in naming her is conceivably due to propriety. The portrait had been a gift from Millais to the Joplings' son, who was Millais' godson.[57] Jopling wrote to Montefiore two days later, to put a price of 1,000 guineas on the picture. After another two days, Jopling wrote again, to say he had informed Holman Hunt of Montefiore's visit to England, and had been given permission to take Montefiore to Holman Hunt's studio.

It seems Montefiore took up the offer, for on 31 January Holman Hunt wrote to Montefiore returning a photograph of himself, now signed, and expressing his hope that Montefiore might one day come back when the studio was less crowded with canvases. No work of Holman Hunt was acquired for the Gallery in Montefiore's lifetime, although one can only speculate as to why.

It does seem, though, that Montefiore had set his mind on acquiring a Millais, for a note written by the artist on 6 February 1884 arranges a time for an unidentified man—probably Montefiore, since the letter came from his papers—to visit the artist's studio. At the top and on the reverse of the note are further notes in pencil with prices of works by various artists, although none clearly relates to Millais. Nevertheless, there is an indication that Montefiore investigated what a fair price for a work by Millais would be. A letter from the British MP and collector of Old Master and Pre-Raphaelite art, Joseph Ruston,[58] to the Managing Director of the Fine Arts Society, Marcus Bourne Huish, of 31 May 1885, which also came from Montefiore's papers, reads: "Had 'the Captive' been offered to me last year for anything under £2,000 I think I should then have tried to buy it." The Art Gallery of New South Wales purchased *The Captive*[59] (Fig. 5) from the Fine Arts Society for £1,750 on 3 June of the same

[57] J. Rosenfeld: "118 Louise Jopling 1879," in A. Smith and J. Rosenfeld eds, with contributions by H. Birchall: exh. cat. *Millais*, London (Tate Britain), Amsterdam (Van Gogh Museum), Fukuoka (Kitakyushu Municipal Museum of Art), and Tokyo (Bunkamura Museum of Art) 2007, p. 204.
[58] J. Christian: "84. Le Chant d'Amour," in S. Wildman and J. Christian eds: exh. cat. *Edward Burne-Jones: Victorian Artist-Dreamer*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art), Birmingham (Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery), and Paris (Musée d'Orsay), 1998, 212–14, p. 214.
[59]John Everett Millais, *The Captive*, 1882, oil on canvas, 115.6 x 77.2 cm, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, acc. no. 918. See: A. Smith: "105 The Captive c. 1881–82," in A. Smith and J. Rosenfeld eds, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

year.[60] The purchase was considered a coup at the Gallery, judging by the publicity it received,[61] and the pride of place the painting was given for at least two months upon its arrival in Sydney.[62] So successful was Montefiore's trip to London—probably at his own expense—that his fellow Trustees wrote on 6 June 1884 to thank him for his efforts in acquiring works for the Gallery and promoting the institution.

Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898)

Although Burne-Jones was not a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, his connections with their later activities are so numerous and close that it is legitimate to include him here. The Library has a letter of his, which was forwarded by the Trustees, Executors and Agency Co. in June 1909, and which is short enough to quote in full:

> [in the top left corner, in pencil, in a later hand: "To Sir William Agnew"]
>
> May 14th 1895
>
> My dear Friend
>
> The smaller "Wheel of Fortune" which Mr. Benson had was the first I began of the subject. It was drawn in & the head painted some few years before I began it on a larger scale—the one now in the possession of Mr. Balfour—but I finished it after the big picture—not however touching the head. I cannot clearly recall the dates but I think it was painted about 1870. This I could find out for you if needful.
>
> I will see to the signature of Flora early next week.
>
> Always yours sincerely
>
> E Burne-Jones

The Trustees, Executors and Agency Co. was responsible for administering the Felton Bequest's funds, through which Burne-Jones's oil painting *The Wheel of Fortune* (Fig. 6) was acquired for the National Gallery of Victoria in 1909, on the advice of the Bequest's advisor, Frank Gibson.[63] The Public Library and National Gallery of Victoria were at this time separ-

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[60] H. Faberman: "'Best Shop in London': The Fine Arts Society and the Victorian Art Scene," in *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England*, eds S. Casteras and C. Denney, New Haven, CT, and London 1996, p. 156 note 67.
[61] *Sydney Morning Herald*: "New Picture for the Sydney Art Gallery," 25 May 1885, p. 8.
[62] J. G. De Libra: "Sydney," *Once a Month: An Illustrated Australasian Magazine* 3, July–Dec. (1885), p. 392.
[63] Edward Burne-Jones, *The Wheel of Fortune* 1871–85, oil on canvas, 151.4 x 72.5 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, acc. no. 381–2. See: A. Inglis: "Deathless Beauty: Poynter's Helen, Lillie Langtry & High Victorian Ideals of Beauty," in A. Trumble ed.: exh. cat. *Love & Death: Art in the Age of Queen Victoria*, Adelaide (Art Gallery of South Australia), Sydney (The Art Gallery of New South Wales), Brisbane (Queensland Art Gallery), Auckland (Toi o Tamaki Auckland Art Gallery) [2001], pp. 71–82, especially p. 82

ate parts of the same institution, which is how the letter came to the Library following the acquisition.

Two versions of *The Wheel of Fortune* in oil are known: that in Melbourne, and a larger one now in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Thus, the smaller one in Melbourne, had, according to the letter, belonged to a Mr. Benson. He was identified by Annette Dixon (without noting her source) when she gave the work's provenance as: "R. H. Benson, A. Wood, Felton Bequest 1909 (acc. No. 381/2)." Further, she wrote: "This is the smaller of two versions in oil. It was begun before but completed after the second, which was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1883 (private collection, France)."[64] The Robert H. and Evelyn Benson collection of Old Master paintings was bought *en bloc* by Duveen Bros, Inc., in 1927 for an enormous sum. An indication of its very high quality was the presence in the collection of Giorgione's *Holy Family*, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. The other version of *The Wheel of Fortune* passed through the Balfour and de Noailles families, before being acquired by the Musées nationaux of France in 1980.

Burne-Jones's concurrent production of multiple versions of a composition in his studio follows a practice that dates at least to the Renaissance. Indeed, Christopher Wood has observed of Burne-Jones that "His idea was to run a kind of Renaissance studio, with him and the assistants working simultaneously on a great many projects. Burne-Jones's output was therefore huge, and historians will be kept busy for many years debating just how much of his work is by assistants."[65] In this case, the Library's letter points to the fully autograph status of the Melbourne version—although it seems no author has ever in fact questioned that the painting was fully executed by Burne-Jones himself.

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for Lillie Langtry sitting for the figure of Fortune; Benson et al. *op. cit.*, p. 120; and S. Wildman: "52. *The Wheel of Fortune*," in S. Wildman and J. Christian eds, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–55: "The picture was conceived and begun in 1875 . . ." Wildman noted five other versions in various media including "a smaller oil of 1885" in the National Gallery of Victoria.

[64] A. Dixon, "4 Edward Burne-Jones 1833–98 *The Wheel of Fortune* 1871–85," in A. Dixon, S. Dean, and I. Zdanowicz eds. *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[65] C. Wood: *Burne-Jones: The Life and Works of Sir Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898)*, London 1998, p. 58.

Similarly, Burne-Jones produced a number of versions of the *Flora*. The version referred to in this letter may be the one in gouache and gold paint on paper, which was sold by the British dealer Peter Nahum at the Leicester Galleries in 1989, with a provenance including Thomas Agnew and Sons, London. A signature, however, was not reported in the sale catalogue.[66]

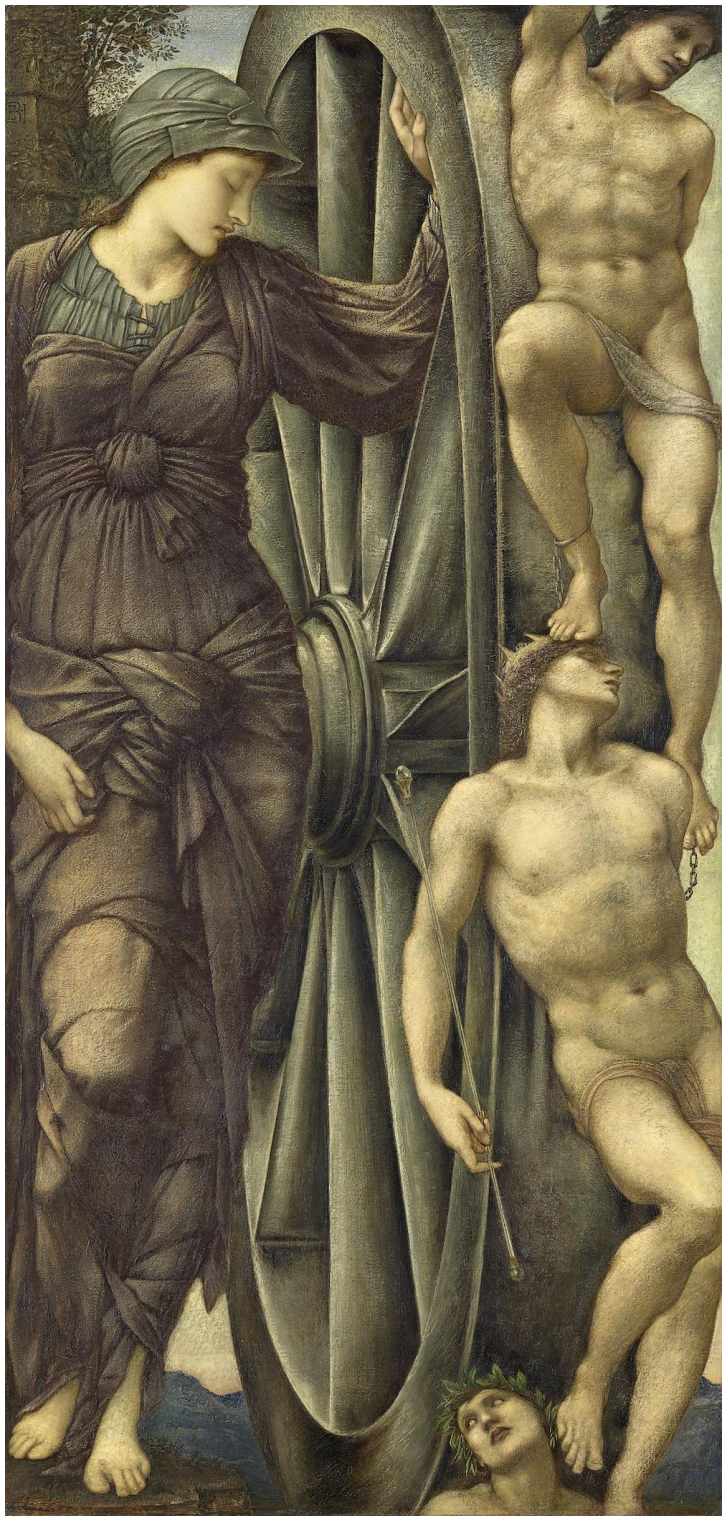

Fig. 6. Edward Burne-Jones.
The Wheel of Fortune. 1871–85.
Oil on canvas. 151.4 x 72.5cm.
National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne,
Felton Bequest, 1909 (381/2).
Photo: National Gallery of Victoria.

[66] H. Morgan: *Burne-Jones, the Pre-Raphaelites and their Century*, 2 vols, London 1989, II, p. 81 note 67.

William Morris (1834–1896)

Another artist intimately connected with the late activities of the Pre-Raphaelites is William Morris. A small group of items connected with Morris's Kelmscott Press and Socialist League activities was donated to the Library by Dorothy Walker, together with two items from the Chiswick Press, which had published some of Morris's early designs. Dorothy was the daughter of the engraver and printer Emery Walker. He was a close friend of Morris, assisting him in setting up the Kelmscott Press. He was also Branch Secretary of the Hammersmith Branch of the Socialist League when Morris was Treasurer. Another Felton Bequest advisor, Sydney Cockerell, delivered these and other gifts from Dorothy Walker and himself on a visit to Melbourne in 1938. On this occasion, Shane Carmody notes, Dorothy Walker added to her gift of another valuable volume from to the Melbourne Public Library of "printers' proofs of border designs for volumes from the Kelmscott Press."[67] Cockerell had been Morris's secretary, and in that role was closely involved with the Kelmscott Press.[68]

The Kelmscott Press material that Cockerell delivered includes a catalogue and prospectus of the Press (1893), eleven sheets with proof prints of wood engravings, or electrotype copies thereof, made after designs by Morris for border decorations (1893–c.1896), and four sheets with proof prints of wood engravings, or electrotype copies thereof, made after designs by Morris for decorated initials (1896). There is one sheet with a proof of a William H. Hooper wood engraving, made after a design by Edward Burne-Jones. *A Christian Boy Singing a Hymn in the Jewish Quarter of a City in Asia* (Fig. 7) is an illustration for "The Prioress's Tale" from Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, and was made for the Kelmscott Press's *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: Now Newly Imprinted*, published in 1896.

[67] S. Carmody:"A Life of Scholarship: A. B. Foxcroft at the Melbourne Public Library," *The La Trobe Journal* 79, Autumn (2007), pp. 82–96, especially p. 84 (note 3) together with "a selection of Sir Emery Walker's socialist pamphlets" (p. 83).

[68] See: W. Blunt: *Cockerell: Sydney Carlyle Cockerell, Friend of Ruskin and William Morris and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, London 1964; for Cockerell's involvement with the Kelmscott Press, pp. 58–66, 78, 80, 100, 323, and 350–51; for his relationship with Emery Walker, in many places, but especially pp. 78–84; and for Cockerell's visit to Melbourne, pp. 275–81. Blunt noted that "Cockerell had systematically been retrieving discarded proof sheets of every kind; these fruits of his 'pious regard for history in the making' and 'instinct for the preservation of the significant and the beautiful,' together with preservation copies of Kelmscott books from Morris, and other Morrisiana, fetched a very large sum when they came to be sold at Sotheby's in December 1956" (p. 64).

Fig. 7. William H. Hooper, after Edward Burne-Jones. *A Christian Boy Singing a Hymn in the Jewish Quarter of a City in Asia*, illustration for "The Prioress's Tale," from *The Canterbury Tales*, in *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer: Now Newly Imprinted*, c.1896. Wood engraving, measurements not recorded. State Library of Victoria, Melbourne. Photo: Hugh Hudson.

Further, there are two cheques dated 16 July 1894 and 9 October 1894, and made out by Morris to T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, who had established the Doves bindery at Hammersmith in the previous year. It was Cobden-Sanderson who gave the Arts and Crafts movement its name. There are also two copies of *Psephisma tes voules kai tou demou ton Athenaion*, a four-page sample of Robert Proctor's "Otter" Greek type capitals, printed for him by the Chiswick Press in 1903. It bears an illustration designed by F. G. Sabey on the cover, showing an otter and Proctor's monogram and coat of arms. The title is transliterated from Greek, the text of a decree concerning Chalcis that was promulgated in 446–45 B.C.

The Socialist League material given to the Library includes a Hammersmith Branch membership dues record card designed by Morris, apparently signed by him and Walker. There is also a copy of a letter of 27 November 1890, seemingly signed and dated by Emery Walker. It is addressed to the Secretary of the East London Branch and explains the reasons for the separation of the Hammersmith branch from the League. Further, there is a series of printed pamphlets relating to the Socialist League's activities.

Such archival materials, notwithstanding their fragmentary nature, can add detail and depth to our understanding of the Antipodean activities of the Pre-Raphaelite artists and artists in their circle, as well as private and institutional collecting practices in the Australian colonies. Further, they can suggest new avenues for research. Woolner's poetry is well known, yet in view of recent criticism of his descriptions of Indigenous Australians and other subjects of

British imperialism in his diary,[69] it may be apposite to investigate the somewhat misogynistic tenor of passages of "Street Music, Regents Park, Dec. 1851." The fate of Holman Hunt's lost painting *Hark!* might be revealed with continued research into the Peagram family. The moderately Orientalist depiction of Millais' *The Captive* might be considered in light of Eliezer Levi Montefiore's Jewish identity. Burne-Jones's studio practice might be investigated further, to determine how he divided the execution of paintings between himself and his assistants. Finally, aspects of Morris's working methods might be revealed through an analysis of the function of his proof prints, in particular, whether changes were ever made to the matrices following the making of the proofs. Hopefully, the descriptions of the State Library of Victoria's holdings relating to the Pre-Raphaelites provided in this article will allow knowledge of the Pre-Raphaelites to grow in these or other, unforeseen ways.

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Daniel Cottier's Aesthetic of Beauty in Australia

Andrew Montana

Detail from Fig. 11. Lyon, Cottier & Co. *The Seasons* staircase window Glenyarrah mansion, Sydney. c.1876.

"A range of performance beyond any modern artist"; so Ford Madox Brown's appreciation of the work of his former pupil, the brilliant colourist, decorator and stained glass artist, Daniel Cottier (1837-91) was reported in the Glaswegian press. "Here tone and colour are suggestive of paradise itself," he enthused about Cottier's decorative enrichment of the interior of Queen's Park United Presbyterian Church (1867-69), which Brown saw in Glasgow in 1883.[1] Brown had befriended Cottier in the late 1850s at the Working Men's College in Red Lion Square, London, where Cottier attended lectures by John Ruskin and was instructed in drawing by Brown, who had taken over from Dante Gabriel Rossetti.[2] Through Brown, Cottier studied Pre-Raphaelite art and observed the formation of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co. in London in 1861.[3]

Following on from Morris's example, Cottier made a successful career from his decorating businesses in London, New York, and Sydney, where he co-established Lyon, Cottier & Co. in 1873. He brought distinctive expressions of the British Aesthetic movement in painted and

[1] "Gossip and Grumbles," *Evening Times* (Glasgow), 9 Oct. 1893, p. 1.
[2] Margaret H. Hobler: *In Search of Daniel Cottier, Artistic Entrepreneur, 1838-1891*. The City University of New York: M. A. Thesis (unpub.), Hunter College, 1987, pp. 10, 22.
[3] Juliet Kinchin: "Cottier's in Context: the Significance of Dowanhill Church." *Cottier's in Context: Daniel Cottier, William Leiper and Dowanhill Church, Glasgow*. Eds. Hilary Macartney and David Robertson. Edinburgh: Historic Scotland, 2011, p. 12.

stencilled decorations (e.g. Fig. 1) and stained glass windows to private residences, churches and public buildings around New South Wales and throughout Australia.

Yet Cottier's impact in Australia through the Sydney firm remains unfamiliar to scholars and consequently has remained under-appreciated in Victorian art and design studies. It is the purpose of this article to illuminate the early years of the enterprise in Sydney and to bring forward the resonances of Pre-Raphaelitism to be found in Daniel Cottier's aesthetic influences through analysis of some significant examples of Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s decorative art between 1873 and *circa* 1880.

Fig. 1. Stencilled and painted chivalric wall decorations by Lyon, Cottier, & Co., Sydney, in the entrance hall of The Abbey Residence, Annandale, Sydney, NSW, c.1883.
Photograph: Andrew Montana, courtesy of The Abbey estate.

The first Australian reference to Daniel Cottier's work is an 1872 account in the *Sydney Mail* of windows at the Cathedral Church of St. Machar in Aberdeen. Quoting from the twelfth appendix of Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* (1851-53), the writer observes that "In filling three of the windows in the Aberdeen Cathedral the principles thus laid down by Mr. Ruskin have been carefully and successfully carried out by Mr. Daniel Cottier, of London."[4] According to the anonymous writer, the Cathedral's committee consulted Ruskin on stained glass design and Ruskin railed against the tendency to paint pictures on windows, as if they were

[4] Anon.: "Wayfaring Notes," *The Sydney Mail*, 1872, p. 265.

easel paintings, which destroyed the physical qualities of glass, its transparency and colouring, and its spiritual character. For Ruskin, this press report noted, perfection was reached in a painted window through its serenity, intensity and brilliance. It further quoted Ruskin's words from this appendix that emphasised stained glass should appear "like flaming jewellery—full of easily legible and quaint subjects, and exquisitely subtle, yet simple, in its harmonies."[5]

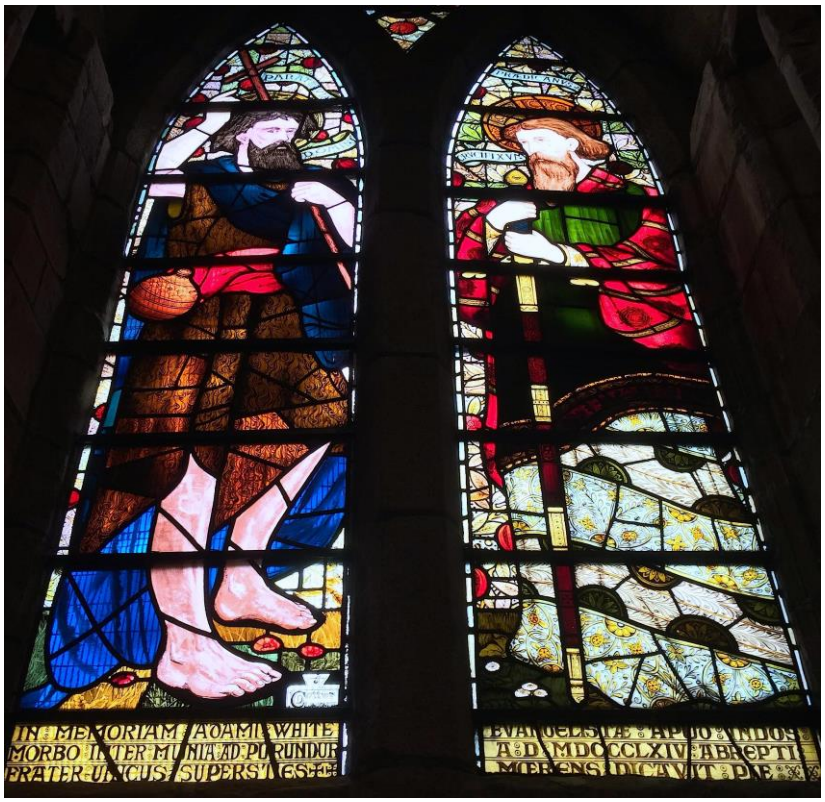

Fig. 2. Cottier & Co., Daniel Cottier, Memorial window in St. Machar Cathedral, Aberdeen, c.1871. Stained glass. Photograph: Andrew Montana, courtesy of St. Machar Cathedral.

In the reporter's view, Cottier achieved Ruskin's precepts in his windows for St. Machar, and indeed Cottier's aesthetic hallmark is there. The colours and tones of the figurative compositions are vivid, the ornamentation is stylised and geometric, and the classicised figures are slightly archaic in treatment (Fig. 2). The outlines of the faces are subtle but defined, and the expressions simplified and characterful. With its breadth of treatment and colourful radiance, Cottier's work is powerful decorative art.

This is a remarkable prelude to Cottier's Australian work in stained glass and interior painted decoration. The firm of Lyon, Cottier & Co. was established in the same year that Cottier opened his enterprise on Fifth Avenue, New York. While Cottier sailed across the Atlantic

[5] John Ruskin: *Stones of Venice*, p. 457 cited in "Wayfaring Notes," 1872, p. 265.

between London and New York to launch his North American branch,[6] Lyon established Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney, attracting the attention of leading architects, aspiring businessmen, and political figures in New South Wales.[7]

By early 1874, the interior walls and ceilings of this new company's Sydney showroom were richly painted and stencilled in such a striking and modern manner that the Pre-Raphaelite love of romance, history and motifs from nature was transposed into a new decorative aesthetic beauty. Coupled with the displays of domestic stained glass by Cottier, the new Aesthetic style of these decorations had never been seen in Australia. Without reference to Cottier's New York branch in advertisements and announcements, Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s artistic lineage was, unsurprisingly, cast as British by the Australian press:

> Messrs. Lyon, Cottier, and Co. (a branch of the firm of Cottier and Co., Regent-street, London), have opened an establishment at 333 Pitt-street, and as a specimen of their new style of decoration, have painted their showroom. The ceiling is an elaborate design, containing allegorical heads of the seasons, festoons of foliage, grotesque animals, birds, butterflies, &c. The frieze is an adaptation of the Greek honeysuckle and lotus pattern, on which are let in heads of the Greek heroines, painted in colours on gold ground. The wall [tinted vellum shade] is powdered over with gold rosettes down to the dado, where the old fashion of a chair [rail] is revived. The dado is a dark woody green, relieved with an inlaid looking work [ornamental pencilling]—the aim has been to get a quiet harmony of colour, avoiding all that is loud, raw, or gaudy. The windows contain specimens of their stained glass work. One window has the figures of Pomona and Flora in the richest antique glass; the other is very light, having no colour but that produced by the yellow silver stain; the groundwork is little circles like the old German roundlets. Messrs. Lyon, Cottier, and Co., are also makers of art furniture, encaustic tile painters, and importers of real Venetian glass and oriental carpets. The firm have been commissioned to decorate the superior rooms of the new General Post Office, and are now engaged on that work.[8]

Lyon had moved quickly to establish Lyon, Cottier & Co. in September 1873 after relinquishing his partnership with the Melbourne based glass-staining firm of Ferguson, Urie & Lyon in August.[9] Moving with his family to Sydney, Lyon set up Cottier's new branch with decades of experience behind him. Like Cottier, Lyon was Glaswegian by birth and he had been apprenticed to John Cairney & Co. in Glasgow alongside Cottier, only two years his junior, before working in London for six years with Ward & Hughes, stained glass painters to

[6] "Shipping," *New York Times*, 26 Oct. 1873, p. 8.
[7] "Special Advertisements," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 Sept. 1873, p. 4.
[8] *Illustrated Sydney News & N.S.W. Agriculturalist and Grazier*, 28 Feb. 1874, p. 3.
[9] "Dissolution of Partnership," *Government Gazette* (Victoria), 29 Aug. 1873, p. 1553.

Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. It was reported that Cottier also worked with Ward & Hughes for a time, thus reinforcing his and Lyon's formative connection.[10]

Within months of his arrival in Victoria in early 1861,[11] John Lamb Lyon had sent a stained glass window, described as being in the Early English [Medieval] style, and designs for windows to the Victorian Industrial Exhibition in Melbourne.[12] Soon employed by Ferguson & Urie, Lyon was a member of this firm of fellow Scotsmen, which commenced in 1853 as plumbers, glaziers and decorators. By the 1860s, this firm was making stained glass windows in competition with imported British windows. Bringing prominence to Ferguson & Urie through his artistic and technical abilities in designing and making stained glass windows for ecclesiastical and domestic purposes, Lyon was promoted to partner in what became Ferguson, Urie & Lyon in 1866. Soon Victoria's leading glass staining firm, they specialised in memorial, heraldic and grisaille windows, the production of lead lights in cathedral and other glass, embossing plate glass, and ecclesiastical wall decorations and illuminations.[13]

Travelling throughout Britain during a trip from Melbourne with his wife between 1870 and late 1871, Lyon visited Daniel Cottier at his residence at St. James Terrace in Regent's Park, London, and saw Cottier's business establishment Cottier & Co. in Langham Place, Regent Street, where Cottier sold his stained glass and furniture, his painted tiles and some antique furniture, and was commissioned to decorate interiors.[14] The prospect of establishing an Australian branch was undoubtedly discussed between these two enterprising Scots at this time. Cottier had established his London branch at Langham Place in 1869, firstly with fellow Scotsmen Bruce J. Talbert, as well as the "Queen Anne" revival architect John McKean Brydon, designer William Wallace and John Bennet. This was dissolved by late 1871 and Cottier looked for international opportunities to expand his sole business.[15] As the English poet, critic and editor William Ernest Henley wrote in 1892, Cottier picked his men astutely and had the faculty "common to all great artists . . . of imposing himself upon them

[10] "Personal: Mr. John L. Lyon," *Australasian Decorator and Painter*, Aug. 1909, pp. 263-64.
[11] The gold rushes brought Lyon to Victoria in 1861, where he settled in Maldon with his second wife Elizabeth Gillespie *née* Pearson, whom he married in Glasgow towards the end of 1860. Martha Rutledge, "Lyon, John Lamb (1835–1916)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lyon-john-lamb-7276/text12613, published first in hardcopy 1986, accessed online 2 Sept. 2018.
[12] *Bendigo Advertiser*, 3 Sept. 1861, p. 3; *Mercury*, 26 March 1862, p. 3.
[13] *Sands & McDougall Melbourne Directory*, Melbourne: Sands & McDougall, 1865, p. 511.
[14] *Post Office London Trades and Professional Directory for 1871*, London: Kelly & Co., 1871, pp. 1402, 1474, 1576, 1991.
[15] *House Furnisher and Decorator*, March 1872, p. 29.

so as to make them practically exponents and expressions of himself."[16] This is certainly true of his influence on the formation of Lyon, Cottier & Co. through Lyon in Australia.

But Lyon was more than a conduit for Cottier's Aestheticism. He was a Scots entrepreneur in his own right. He adapted Cottier's designs, sometimes translating them into variant decorative idioms that responded to the needs of Australia's burgeoning and changing late nineteenth-century markets, with symbolic representations of prominent figures from colonial society and history, and motifs from Australian nature, which were also emblematic of the sprawling British Empire. From his partnership in Melbourne with Ferguson, Urie & Lyon, Lyon knew the conventional taste for Gothic revival ecclesiastical stained glass illustrating biblical scenes, typologies and parables, yet as an artist he knew the difference between a picture and a modern design for stained glass. Influenced by Cottier's aesthetic and adding further to the imported range of designs from Cottier in London, Lyon went on to simplify compositions that gave great precision to line and used clear, rich tones and colours, as can be seen in the windows crafted by the firm in Sydney within a year of its opening. Groupings of classicised figures in a reduced pictorial space recalling Pre-Raphaelite and early Renaissance compositions, and embellished with aesthetic neo-Renaissance and neo-Grec patterned borders and textile patterns, were inspired by Cottier's decorative art (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3. Example of Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s ceiling decoration depicting a painted panel portrait of an early Renaissance maiden at Glenleigh mansion, near Penrith, NSW, designed by William Wardell, c.1882. Photograph: Andrew Montana, courtesy of Glenleigh estate.

Daniel Cottier almost certainly encouraged the talented Scottish artist Charles Gow (fl. 1830-91) to go to Australia and assist Lyon in the new enterprise in 1873, and supervise the decorations of the showroom in what Lyon later called the "latest London style."[17] Cottier had persuaded Gow,

[16] William Ernest Henley (W. E. H.): "Daniel Cottier," *Collection Cottier*, Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable, 1892, p. xii.
[17] "Personal. Mr. John L. Lyon," *op. cit.*, p. 264.

also a former apprentice of John Cairney & Co., to join his first enterprise as a glass painter and mural decorator based in Edinburgh in 1864. Gow spent twelve years with Cottier doing top end decorative work in Scotland, England and Australia, which included working and living in Australia between 1873 and 1876.[18] It is known that Gow had previously worked on one of Cottier's prestigious and now well-documented commissions after Cottier established his London branch in 1869, namely the glass and decorative work for Cairndhu House at Helensburgh, Scotland, designed by architect William Leiper for Provost John G. Ure of Glasgow. Gow's signature is visible on the large stair window with others by Cottier's assistants.[19] It is likely that Gow also worked on one of Cottier's domestic commissions around 1870, the residence of the Scottish industrialist Alexander Stuart Mackintosh, also designed by Leiper, called Coll-Earn House in Perthshire.[20]

This later commission brought together major Aesthetic movement decorators and artists including Bruce J. Talbert, Albert Moore, Cottier's friend from Glasgow, John Moyr Smith, and the freelance artist and former student of Albert Moore, Frederick Vincent Hart.[21] As furniture historian and curator Max Donnelly noted, a full-blown Aesthetic flavour pervaded the interiors of Coll-Earn House.[22] This was characterised by Anglo-Japanese roundels depicting birds, painted tiles, stylised sunflower designs, stencils, 'Mon' motifs after the chrysanthemum flower, wave patterns and ornamental motifs painted on rich gold grounds. The naturalistic imagery of pomegranates and sunflower-like patterns was continued in the quarries (panes or pieces of glass cut into shapes) in the stained glass windows at Coll-Earn House, where they were combined with stylised Gothic revival flora and fauna.

Personifications of the seasons in stained glass were a major hallmark of Cottier's repertoire. Clearly inspired by Pre-Raphaelite prototypes, these figures have a physical vigour particular to Cottier's representations in his work of the late 1860s and early 1870s and this differentiates his interpretation from the slender and attenuated Pre-Raphaelite figures of Edward

[18] "Contemporary Decorative Artists: Mr. Charles Gow." *Journal of Decorative Art*, 10 Jan. 1891, p. 12; "Shipping Notice," *The Sydney Mail*, 23 Dec. 1876, p. 882. Gow left Sydney in early December 1876 to return to London. Gow never revisited Australia, and died in Scotland in 1891.
[19] Michael Donnelly: *Glasgow Stained Glass*, Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 1981, pp. 17, 26, 39 n. 137.
[20] Gow had moved to London with Cottier and was working for Cottier at the time Coll-Earn house was built as one of his major assistants. I am grateful to Max Donnelly for this information.
[21] Anne Marie Stapleton: *John Moyr Smith 1839-1914: a Victorian Designer*, Somerset, England: Richard Dennis, 2002, p. 29.
[22] Max Donnelly: "Daniel Cottier, Pioneer of Aestheticism," *The Decorative Arts Society: 1850 to the Present* 23, 1999, p. 40.

Burne-Jones, in particular. Significantly, Cottier's personifications of the Seasons reflect a Pre-Raphaelite ancestry combined with subtle suggestions of Albert Moore's Aesthetic evocations of idealised female beauty touched by Japonisme, and were adapted by Lyon, Cottier & Co. in New South Wales from the firm's inception. Cottier's personifications of the Seasons appeared also in the windows at Cairndu House, and again in the large staircase window of another private property, the Links, in Montrose, north of Dundee in Scotland. Cottier & Co. decorated this residence for the owner of the nearby Paton's Mill, John Middleton Paton, in the early 1870s.[23] Cottier's Aesthetic tiled fireplace with its fitted overmantel also survives in the large central hall of The Links. Its quasi-Jacobean panelling, surmounted by a large coved pediment framed by painted stylised flora and foliage on a gold ground, suggests it was designed by Talbert, and was adapted by Cottier for his art furniture. This treatment is also reminiscent of Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co.'s panel paintings of fruit and flora around the dado of the Green Dining Room at the South Kensington Museum in 1867, which Cottier certainly would have known.

Similar depictions of stylised fruit and flora appeared in Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s work. Cottier's influence, transmitted through Gow's work in Australia between 1873 and 1876, resonates in the previously quoted descriptions of Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s new showroom, and in the stained glass and decorative treatments that the Australian firm created for private and public buildings in Sydney and New South Wales during the 1870s and 1880s. Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s interior decorations for the new Sydney General Post Office were highly commended when the building was opened in September 1874. The building was made of local Pyrmont sandstone and designed by the Scottish-born colonial government architect James Barnet in a colonnaded Classical revival style with runs of dramatic Venetian-styled fenestration on the upper two levels. Hundreds of Sydney's leading judiciary, governmental, parliamentary, religious, medical, and business figures were present to celebrate the possibilities in communication promised by the modern technologies of this new Post Office. The building also reflected the growth in population (by 1881, Sydney's population reached around 225,000, just under one third of the colony's population) and the development of extensive railroad connections throughout New South Wales, from which Lyon, Cottier & Co. benefited in further developing their clientele in rural areas and country towns.[24]

[23] I am grateful to Anne Stott, Mid Links, Montrose, Scotland, for following up my research request with information and photographs of Cottier's windows.
[24] *Wright's Australian and American Commercial Directory and Gazetteer*, New York: Wright, 1881-82, p. 15.

The Postmaster-General's room was elaborately decorated; the ceiling "frescoing" was described by the press as being "upon a plan now much in vogue in England," and adopted there for large public buildings and private mansions.[25] Distempering was a medium often used by the Sydney firm, which, although it at times needed retouching, dried more quickly in Australia than in Britain. The walls were stencilled and the colours were soft and harmonious. Lyon, Cottier & Co. selected the carpet, the pattern of which was admired for being appropriate to the decoration of the ceiling. Richly coloured drapes hung from massive gilt cornices over the windows. The anteroom of the Post Office was treated in a similar style and because of the quality of the decorations the firm received the contract to decorate the principal portions of the building. The neo-Grec style predominated in their work on the Post Office, and would be used in one of their next major public commissions, the decorations for Parliament House, Sydney, in 1875.

A composite of the neo-Grec and neo-Egyptian styles formed the decoration of the arched framed lobby in Parliament house, and gave life to Owen Jones's philosophy expressed in his *The Grammar of Ornament* that the decorative arts are dependent on architecture. Bands of Grecian ornament—meander, palmette, anthemion and geometric angled forms—issued from Egyptian fan-like decorations while swirling neo-Grec patterns fused with stylised Egyptian lotus and gothic-leaf forms. Foliate circular wreaths enclosed the names of deceased members of the Legislative Assembly in gold, the most prominent being the name William Charles Wentworth (Fig. 4). This was an arresting reminder of the audacious statesman and landowner, born of a convict mother on the voyage to Australia in 1790.

Fig. 4. Example of Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s Grecian and Egyptian style frieze decoration showing the Wentworth wreath design at the centre in the lobby of Parliament House, Sydney. Reconstructed in the late twentieth century from the 1875 decorations. Photograph: Andrew Montana, courtesy of Parliament House, Sydney.

[25] "Opening of the New Post Office," *The Sydney Mail*, 5 Sept. 1874, p. 307.

Wentworth's knowledge of British history determined his passionate aspirations for an Australia that would have the free institutions that in eighteenth-century England were based on values inspired by the Ancient worlds. Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s decorations recalled the patterns of ancient civilisations; in the lobby area of Parliament House, the firm brought together stencilled dadoes, wide friezes, decorated column bases and capitals and enriched coved ceilings and archways.

Their decorations for the dining room at Parliament House were described as being in "what is known as the style of Queen Anne,"[26] a term often used loosely, as John Moyr Smith observed in his book *Ornamental Interiors*: *Ancient and Modern* (1887).[27] But in 1870s Sydney, its usage suggests Charles Gow's knowledge of the new Queen Anne architecture that had been introduced to London by the early 1870s by the Glaswegian-born John James Stevenson, with whom Talbert briefly trained,[28] and Brydon, who had worked in the offices of Richard Norman Shaw and William Eden Nesfield in London. All of this talented group were within Daniel Cottier's circle. Most likely these painted and stencilled decorations for the dining room reflected an Adam style, with the use of a chair-rail-patterned dado, embellished wall panels, a decorated frieze and cornice, and circular compositions of ornamental motifs, and swags and festoons of fruits laid across the ceiling.

Recommendations to Lyon, Cottier & Co. came through their business networks and through Sydney's leading architects, including James Barnet (Lyon, Cottier & Co. decorated Barnet's residence), William Wardell and John Horbury Hunt. One such commission was initiated by the horse breeder, pastoralist and former member of the Legislative Assembly James White, who employed the Australian, Canadian-born and Boston-trained architect John Horbury Hunt to remodel his residence, Cranbrook, situated on over eighteen acres of cultivated terraced gardens and fruit groves overlooking Sydney Harbour and which he acquired in 1873. An accomplished architect in the reformed Gothic style, Horbury Hunt remodelled Cranbrook in 1874 in what was termed an Australian-Italian style.[29] He soon developed an Anglo-American Australian Queen Anne style in his domestic architecture, which nodded to

[26] "The Parliamentary Buildings," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 Nov. 1875, p. 7.
[27] "The moral of this allegorical prelude is that the name of Queen Anne has been tacked to things of very opposite styles, periods and countries, with which the style of the real Queen Anne had no connection." (John Moyr Smith, *Ornamental Interiors: Ancient & Modern*, London: Crosby Lockwood and Co., 1887, p. 69).
[28] Mark Girouard: *Sweetness and Light: the Queen Anne Movement 1860-1900*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977, pp. 38-40; *Decoration*, Oct. 1886, p. 3.
[29] "Garden Notes. Cranbrook, Rose Bay," *The Sydney Mail*, 16 Dec. 1876, p. 776.

the British architects Philip Webb and Richard Norman Shaw, and to Henry Hobson Richardson in America. But Hunt's architecture was very much his own idiom in Australia.

Turn of the nineteenth-century photographs of White's Cranbrook illustrate the striking Lyon, Cottier & Co. decorations from the 1870s, highlighting the interior's architectural lines.[30] Imbued with an Aesthetic and neo-Grec character, the walls of the wide entrance hall were treated with a delicate horizontal and vertical pattern of open rectangles intersected by small circles, each circle surrounded by fine radiating lines (Fig. 5). A narrow horizontal lintel frieze joined the pilasters dividing this hall into an anteroom and along this frieze a Grecian lotus flower motif ran in successive repeats. An abstract border of dots and vertical lines defined the bottom of the frieze, with a dentilled cornice painted in contrasting colours surmounting it. Large over-door panels were hand painted in harmonious tints with depictions of fruit, birds, butterflies and branches that transported the Pre-Raphaelite spirit into Aestheticism. The inner archway wall recesses were treated with stylised foliage issuing from Aesthetic Grecian urns. Patterns in blue, silver and gold enriched the ceiling.[31]

Fig. 5. Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s painted and stencilled decorations on the walls, arches, overdoor and upper frieze of Cranbrook's entrance hall, Belleview Hill, Sydney, c.1875.
Photograph c.1902 courtesy of the Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney.

[30] State Records Office of N.S.W., "Cranbrook, Bellevue Hills, (N.S.W.)." Photographs: series 4481.
[31] "Cranbrook," *Evening News* (Sydney) (Supplement), 28 Sept. 1901, p. 1.

Lyon, Cottier & Co. exhibited their stained glass windows and decorative work in their Sydney showroom and at intercolonial and international exhibitions throughout Australia. As well as promoting their domestic work, this exposure ensured a steady flow of commissions amongst religious denominations, for ecclesiastical ornamentation reflected the growing appreciation of aesthetic beauty as a spiritually improving agent, and memorialised deceased family members. A staunch Scots Presbyterian, Lyon knew that, unlike Britain, where Catholics generally went to Hardman's for stained and painted glass and Protestants went to Clayton and Bell, the Australian firm must cater to all religions, including Judaism, for which faith they designed the stained and embossed geometric patterned glass for the great synagogue in Sydney in the late 1870s. This breadth of practice reflected the range of religious denominations in the Australian colonies; catering to this spectrum of faiths was essential for the ongoing success of Lyon, Cottier & Co. in a comparatively small market.

Towards the end of 1874 the firm executed a large four-light window for All Saint's Anglican Cathedral in Bathurst depicting the four evangelists surrounded by symbolism associated with each saint. It was one of their many windows commissioned for this Cathedral in a country town made prosperous from the earlier gold rushes in the colony (Fig. 6).[32]

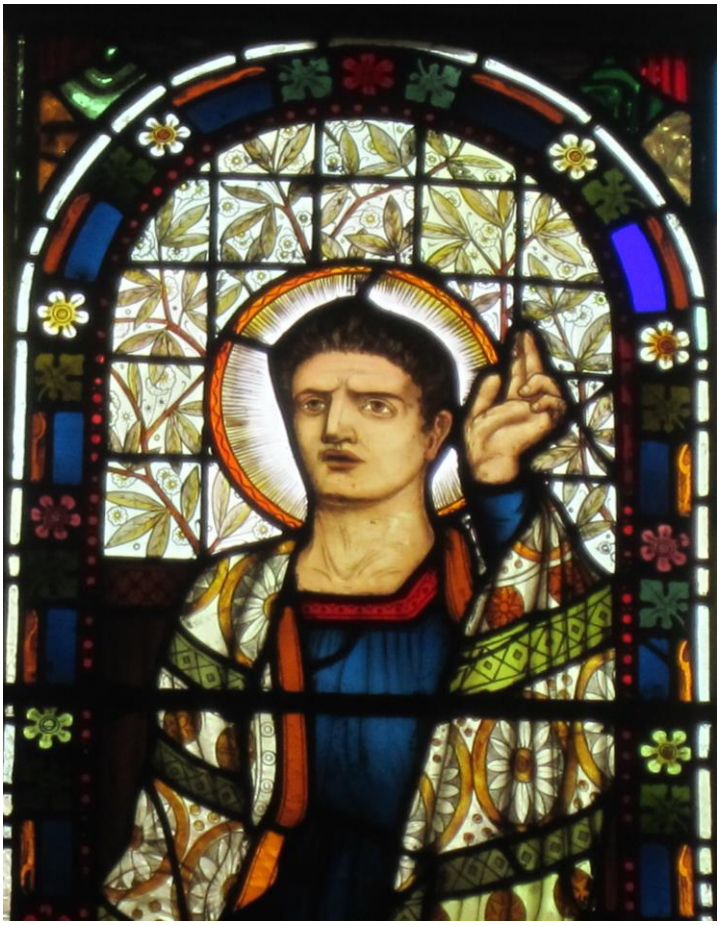

Fig. 6. Detail of window by Cottier depicting Daniel in All Saints' Cathedral, Bathurst, N.S.W., through Lyon, Cottier & Co., c.1876. Stained glass. Photograph: Andrew Montana.

[32] "Magnificent Stained Glass Windows," *Freeman's Journal*, 12 Dec. 1874, p. 10.

Fig. 7. Window of St. John. Installed by Lyon, Cottier & Co., 1875. Stained glass. Photograph: Andrew Montana, courtesy of All Saints' Anglican Cathedral, Bathurst.

Some of the figures of Old Testament prophets and evangelists in the windows have archaic and androgynous features akin to the faces drawn by artists of the Pre-Raphaelite circle of D. G. Rossetti, such as Simeon Solomon and Frederick Sandys. These figures were robed in tunics and drapery bearing swirling sunflowers and large Renaissance inspired circular motifs. Background foliage was reminiscent of William Morris's stylisation of leaves and flowers and coloured in an Aesthetic tertiary olive green.

Traditional Old and New Testament iconography in these windows rejected historicist Gothic revival glass and is reinterpreted with an aesthetic richness that resulted in what the English cultural critic and essayist Matthew Arnold termed "sweetness and light," fusing qualities of Hebraism and Hellenism (Fig. 7). Critical of the dull narrow-mindedness and puritanism of the English middle classes of the late 1860s, Arnold called for a "quickening of consciousness," which he associated with Grecian Hellenic beauty and intelligence, to counter the "strictness of consciousness" associated with the force of the culturally dominant Hebraism.[33] This window bears the bold theatricality of a Cottier design in which Pre-Raphaelitism blends into an Aesthetic spirit, bordered by Lyon's glass designs. Glowing red, the emblem of the eagle in the St. John window colour-shifts to pink and pearly white.

[33] Matthew Arnold: "Culture and Anarchy," (1868-69). *Norton Anthology of English Literature* 2. Ed. Meyer Howard Abrams, New York: W. W. Norton, 1986, 5th ed., pp. 1425-32.

The blazing rose window, completed *circa* 1875, featured the Creation and depicted, in clockwise direction, roundels set in petals showing Day One: earth, space, time, and light; Day Two: atmosphere; Day Three: land and plants; Day Four: sun, moon, and stars; Day Five: sea and flying creatures; Day Six: land, animals, man, and woman (Fig. 8). The two top roundels depicted in visual rhythm Pre-Raphaelite maidens encircled by nimbus halos, with upstretched arms, and dressed in simple robes, with abstracted, draped wing-like forms. Across these figures, undulating banners joyously announce the creation narrative from the book of Genesis in modernised medieval lettering.

Fig. 8. Detail of *Days of Creation* Rose Window. Lyon, Cottier & Co. 1875. Stained glass. Photograph: Douglas Fulton, courtesy of All Saints' Anglican Cathedral, Bathurst.

Abstracted and boldly coloured in oranges, reds, azure blue, greens, mauves and bright yellows, this blazing window has the visual energy of painted medieval glass brought into the realm of modern decorative art by Lyon, Cottier & Co. The surrounding medieval-inspired coloured ornaments are reminiscent of those used by Cottier for his rose window at Dowan-hill (Presbyterian) Church, Glasgow, in which portrait personifications of Old and New Testament figures resemble, as art historian Juliette Kinchin noted, subjects drawn and painted by Ford Madox Brown in the mid-1860s for an (unrealised) illustrated bible to be

published by the Dalziel Brothers, to which Simeon Solomon, Edward Poynter and Frederic Leighton also contributed work.[34]

In competition with Ferguson & Urie, Lyon, Cottier & Co. exhibited a large staircase window at the 1875 Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition, designed to commemorate Captain Cook's voyages in the Pacific and his landing in Australia. This exhibition served as a preparation for the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, where the window was also exhibited.[35] The Captain Cook window has not survived but a contemporary reviewer singled it out and noted the bold seated figure of a meditative-looking Cook, his hand on a golden globe, to which England had added Australia as a possession of Empire.[36] Taking a cue from Cottier's quarries featuring Pre-Raphaelite stylised flora and flora, Lyon, Cottier & Co. introduced an Australian accent to their design, with quarries in gorgeous colours containing depictions of native Australian birds and animals (kangaroos and possums) surrounding this central figure.[37] Ferguson & Urie had also done this for windows in Rupertswood, the newly-built country mansion in Victoria of the pastoralist, cattle-breeder and heir of his father's fortune Sir William Clarke, where Australian birds incongruously surrounded a glass panel painted with a copy of Sir Edwin Landseer's *The Stag at Bay*.[38] Chiding Ferguson & Urie's mimetic depiction of Chillingham cattle that ignored the "true principles which should be kept steadily in view in this development of art," the Melbourne reviewer in 1875 praised Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s window of Cook for being from "a different but at the same time more boldly artistic school."[39]

If Ferguson & Urie were thought by this reviewer to have been guided by the less elevated taste of their patron, and therefore might be excused for their realistic depiction of cattle on glass, Lyon, Cottier & Co. were more fortunate in the patronage of the merchant, pastoralist and politician Samuel Deane Gordon (1811-82) in Sydney. A prominent Presbyterian,

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[34] Juliet Kinchin: "The Aesthetic and Design Context," *Cottier's in Context: Daniel Cottier, William Leiper and Dowanhill Church, Glasgow*. Eds. Hilary Macartney and David Robertson. Edinburgh,, 2011, pp. 37-38.
[35] *Official Record, Philadelphia International Exhibition of 1876* (Melbourne 1875), Melbourne: McCarron, Bird & Co., 1875, p. 17.
[36] "The *Argus* account of the Victorian Exhibition of 1875," *Argus* (Supplement), 3 Sept. 1875, p. 3.
[37] Another version of this subject was shown at the Metropolitan Intercolonial exhibition in Sydney in 1878; see "Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition," *Clarence and Richmond Examiner*, 4 May 1878, p. 5. There are no similarities between the descriptions of these windows and the Captain Cook window at Cranbrook, Sydney. It has been suggested that the latter window by an unknown designer may have come through Daniel Cottier's contacts in England and installed at Cranbrook by Lyon, Cottier & Co. in the 1870s. This is possible but it is not a Cottier designed window. See Beverley Sherry: https://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/stained_glass.
[38] *Bacchus Marsh Express*, 31 July 1875, p. 4.
[39] *Argus* (Supplement), 3 Sept. 1875, p. 3.

Gordon commissioned, between 1876 and 1878, stained glass windows and some of the painted interior decorations for the newly-built St. Andrew's College, for which he was a founder and one of the councillors, at the University of Sydney. Predominantly the design work of Daniel Cottier's firm, the large windows in the College's stairway hall portrayed John Knox, the Earl of Murray, George Buchanan, and Thomas Chalmers, literary men from British history committed to social reform and education. The large three-light lancet windows in the upstairs library bay were also from Daniel Cottier and featured full-length portraits of Homer, Chaucer and Dante.[40] Above these, the busts of Scottish poets James Hogg, Sir Walter Scott and Robert Burns were depicted in roundels and surrounded by quarries filled with small yellow sunflowers.[41] These figures are robust, spirited and theatrical. Lyon, Cottier & Co. decorated the coved ceiling of the College library with compartments of bordered panels,[42] the centres of each showing the mottos and crests of the Councillors in office from 1877.[43] "The walls have been painted and the ceiling gracefully ornamented," applauded the press, "[t]he varied colours and designs of the wall and ceiling produce a very fine effect."[44]

Characteristically, Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s motifs of small gold circles and radiating stars on a deep blue ground decorating this ceiling harmonised with the stylised floriated border patterns, the laurel leaves, the neo-Grec palmettes and the crests and gold initials. The firm also decorated the students' dining room with a stencilled dado, frieze and lightly stencilled ceiling. The stained glass windows in this room by Lyon, Cottier & Co. featured Scottish scenes, and the portraits of John Milton and Shakespeare above the portraits of two Scottish poets, William Drummond and Thomas Campbell. Bordered by bold chevron patterns inset with bursting sun rays and leaves, and quarries painted with the English rose, the shamrock of Ireland, the leek of Wales, and Scottish thistle, these side windows also contained quarries with stylised representations of the kookaburra, kangaroo, parrot and koala set respectively in roundels.

"No more elegant treatment occurs to us, for an example far away in a literary man's home," wrote Charles Cole in America about Cottier's painted glass decoration in 1879, "than the

[40] "St. Andrew's College," *Illustrated Sydney News*, 23 Feb. 1878, p. 10.
[41] Beverley Sherry: "Treasures in Stained Glass at the University of Sydney," *Heritage Australia* 6.4 (Summer 1987), pp. 3-4.
[42] "St. Andrew's College," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 Dec. 1878, p. 3.
[43] Ian Jack: *The St. Andrew's Book*, Sydney: St. Andrew's College, 2013, pp. 17-19.
[44] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 June 1878, p. 5.

staircase window designed by Messrs. Cottier for the poet Tennyson, in which figures of Dante, Homer and Chaucer filled the principle lights."[45] The mood conveyed here through Cottier's use of literary "saints" is pure Pre-Raphaelitism and anticipates Morris's Kelmscott Press. A popular theme in Cottier's decorative repertoire, stained glass portraits of the poets and writers who inspired Pre-Raphaelite artists were exhibited by Lyon, Cottier & Co. at the 1880 Melbourne International Exhibition.[46] Further, the firm executed glass panels "of the poets and writers of past ages" for the front windows of a Sydney bookseller, stationer and artistic bric-a-brac store a year later.[47]

Enlarged and beautified in 1875, St. Andrew's Church, Sydney, contained Daniel Cottier's windows, including King David playing the harp, and Saint Paul preaching (Fig. 9), commissioned by Gordon in memory of his deceased family members. These expressive and dramatic figures wear flowing patterned robes with neo-Grec details while the vivid olive green robe of Saint Paul is also decorated with large, bursting sunflowers. The emblems of Faith, Hope and Charity were placed above these figures in the smaller divisions of the windows and the flora and foliage surrounding the figures were conventionalised and richly coloured. Cottier's work incarnated for the faithful a visual aesthetic beauty through the transposition of religious iconography, an incarnation also transferred to the public and private decorations by the firm through the use of beautified figural motifs and ornaments.

Fig. 9. King David and St. Paul windows by Cottier & Co., through Lyon, Cottier & Co. 1875. Stained glass. Photograph: Katherine Spadaro, courtesy of St. Andrew's Scots Church.

Old and New Testament iconography was united in the windows at St. Andrew's Church to create aesthetic beauty. The ornamental bands surrounding the windows were a composite of

[45] Charles A. Cole: "Painted Glass in Household Decoration," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 57 (Oct. 1879), p. 662.
[46] "The Exhibition," *Bendigo Advertiser*, 6 Oct. 1880, p. 3.
[47] "Messrs. Turner & Henderson's New Premises," *Illustrated Sydney News*, 26 Nov. 1881, p. 10.

abstracted medieval and antique Greco-Roman motifs. One report observed that the artist in designing the costume of King David "has evidently availed himself of the results of modern research into the antiquities of Assyria . . . And any person with a taste for art should visit St. Andrew's Scots Church."[48] Indeed, the figural and ornamental treatments resonate with William Holman Hunt's belief in 1865 that Assyrian and Egyptian sources for accessories and costumes should guide biblical subjects.[49]

Two other windows comprised medallion portraits of the four prophets of the Old Testament and the Four Evangelists, respectively, circumscribed by halos, scriptural texts, quatrefoils, roundels, mediaeval inspired heraldic devices and coloured bands of ornamental foliage. Scriptural scrolls spiralled around bouquets of vibrantly coloured stylised flowers. These windows were a composite of both Cottier's glass designing and Lyon's stained glasswork. While the fusion of the medieval and the antique worlds approximated Daniel Cottier's windows for Dowanhill Church, Glasgow from 1866-67, the overall rhythmic energy of the windows' composition in St. Andrew's Church was very much Cottier's repertoire of the early-to-mid 1870s.

Lyon, Cottier & Co. continued to use Cottier's design of King David and portraits of the evangelists and prophets in other commissions for stained glass. They received a large commission for memorial windows featuring the evangelists for St. Andrew's Anglican Church at Lutwyche near Brisbane.[50] And another major commission for memorial windows in St. John's Anglican Church at Forbes in the mid-west of New South Wales included a

Fig. 10. Detail of the foliated lower section of the three-light triptych window showing Cottier's Prophets at St. John's Anglican Church, Forbes, New South Wales, 1877. Stained glass. Photograph: Reverend Geoffrey McAuliffe.

[48] "St. Andrew's Scots Church. Memorial Windows," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 July 1875, p. 5.
[49] Kinchin: "The Aesthetic and Design Context," *op.cit.*, p. 37.
[50] "Lutwyche, Queensland," *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 9 Dec. 1876, p. 28.

large lancet framed triptych on the western wall bordered across the base by large medallions of the prophets (Fig. 10). Painted ornamental quarries surround the windows displaying portrait vignettes of the prophets interpreted with a Pre-Raphaelite beauty akin to Cottier's interpretation of Madox Brown's drawings for his windows at Dowanhill Church, Glasgow. These brought together geometric and arabesque arrangements of flat stylised leaves and flowers in rich and tertiary colours.

Cottier's King David was installed on the wall of the nave but bordered with a different arrangement of flowers and geometric patterning.[51] More memorial windows for St. John's followed that evinced Cottier's response to Pre-Raphaelitism's decorative register; in 1878 the firm installed another version of Saint Paul, different from that used in St. Andrew's Scots Church, Sydney. This Saint Paul's drapery is patterned with large Aesthetic sunflower forms and large sunflowers are at the corners of the window's outer border anchoring the robust, full-frontal figure, delineated with the intensity of early paintings by John Everett Millais. Overall, the windows at Forbes appear to be a composite of John Lamb Lyon's and Daniel Cottier's stained glass work, with Lyon doing the ornamental work above and beneath the figured panels.[52]

Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s decoration of public, private and ecclesiastical buildings, and commercial premises and institutions was often supported by a system of overlapping patronage. It is not surprising, then, that Gordon commissioned Lyon, Cottier & Co. to decorate his gothic styled residence Glenyarrah in Double Bay, Sydney at around the time the firm worked on the St. Andrew's College commission. Extensively altered internally during the twentieth century, this castellated, picturesque sandstone property was once decorated with the firm's painted and stencilled Aesthetic decorations. The magnificent sets of windows that Lyon, Cottier & Co. installed included two porch windows representing Daniel Cottier's Flora and Pomona, heraldic windows, and a large staircase window featuring wistful personifications of the Seasons in a Pre-Raphaelite style (Fig. 11).

[51] "The Intercolonial Exhibition," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1 May 1877, p. 5.
[52] I am grateful to Reverend Geoffrey McAuliffe, for providing me with research photographs of the dated Lyon, Cottier & Co. windows at St. John's, Forbes.

Fig. 11. Lyon, Cottier & Co.*The Seasons* staircase window Glenyarrah mansion, Double Bay, Sydney. c.1876. Photograph: Douglass Baglin, 1982. Contributed by Private Collection, by kind permission of the Baglin Estate

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An Australian watercolour design for this Seasons window is in the Lyon, Cottier & Co. archive in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and indicates the firm's artist's adaptation of Cottier's work for Coll-Earn House in Perthshire, and for Cairndhu in Helensburgh.

Gordon's Flora and Pomona windows are further key examples of Cottier's work in Australia and demonstrate the ways that Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s artists modified the ornamental patterning, the colouring of fabrics and the background details for different commissions. If Cottier & Co. revised and adapted decorative motifs across the mediums of painted glass, furniture and wall and ceiling ornamentation in London and New York, so too did Lyon, Cottier & Co. in Sydney. This transference is most recognisable in the Seasons designs used in stained

glass, in their decorative ceiling painting and in ceramic painting, including Pre-Raphaelite maidens, hand-painted on imported Minton, Hollins & Co. blank tiles (Fig. 12).

Fig. 12. Lyon, Cottier & Co. Allegory of Summer (detail), painted in enamel on blank Minton tiles, Sydney. c.1878. Three-tile panel 45 by 15 cm, Caroline Simpson Library and Research Collection. Photograph: Andrew Montana, courtesy of Sydney Living Museums, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales.

Roundels of the Seasons were painted respectively on a gold ground and set within geometric compartments encircling the ceiling rose for the red drawing room at Government House, Sydney. Outwardly flanked by Pre-Raphaelite styled allegories of Night and Day, this ceiling scheme was part of Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s redecoration of the vice-regal residence to coincide with the staging of the 1879 Sydney International Exhibition, which was held in the building designed by James Barnett located in the Domain Gardens. Called the Garden Palace, the Exhibition Building's painted and stencilled interior decorations were also primarily designed by Lyon, Cottier & Co.[53]

In 1876 Lyon, Cottier & Co. produced an advertising brochure listing many of their decorating commissions and emphasising that the firm, with a branch in Regent Street, London, was

[53] "International Exhibition," *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 17 May 1879, p. 13; "The International Exhibition," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 Sept. 1879, p. 6.

also engaged in picture selling and art furniture manufacture. Including Ruskin's poetic description from *The Stones of Venice* of painted windows "like flaming jewellery," the brochure also quoted from an earlier article in *St. Pauls: A Monthly Magazine* of 1872, written by the English arbiter and populariser of artistic household taste, Mrs Haweis, an ongoing supporter of Cottier's work in London through her publications and books.[54] Omitting both reference to the author, Haweis, and her praise of Owen Jones and William Morris, the modified text in the advertising brochure singled out Cottier alone and served to promote the Lyon, Cottier & Co. enterprise in Sydney, authorised by Cottier's early connections to Ruskin:

> To Mr. Cottier, a pupil of Ruskin's, we owe a debt of gratitude. He has lavished his great gift of an "eye" for form and colour on mural and room decoration—the stained glass, the ceilings, the wall[s] . . . being quite perfect.[55]

Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s enterprise continued to incorporate Pre-Raphaelite stylistic currents, including imagery evoking medieval romances, in its decorative repertoire well into the 1880s.[56] And appropriate to the fluid eclecticism of the ongoing Aesthetic movement within Australia that anticipated Art Nouveau ornament, the emblematic Seasons, which the firm introduced in their Pre-Raphaelite inspired decorations in Sydney from 1873, continued in their painted ornaments and stained glass windows into the 1890s, such as the windows at Arlington house (Figs. 13 and 14).

Fig. 13. Lyon, Cottier & Co. Variants of earlier "Spring" and "Summer" designs from the *Seasons* installed in the Queen Anne-inspired residence Arlington, Croydon, Sydney, c.1892. Stained glass. The wall's colour scheme dates from the late twentieth century. Photograph: Andrew Montana, courtesy of the Presbyterian Ladies College, Croydon.

[54] Mary Eliza Haweis (M. E. H.): "The Art of Beauty," *St. Pauls Magazine,* 10 (Feb. 1872), pp. 189-99. "To Mr. Owen Jones, Mr. Morris, Mr. Cottier, and a few other intelligent artists and architects, we owe a debt of gratitude. These gentlemen, especially Mr. Cottier, a pupil of Ruskin's, have lavished their great gift of an "eye" for form and colour in the direction of mural and room decoration - the stained glass, the ceilings, and stencils designed by them are quite perfect": Haweis's articles from *St. Pauls*: *A Monthly Magazine* were later published with some modifications in the book *The Art of Beauty* in 1883. "Why is not Cottier, for instance, a Royal Academician?" she queried in this book, in praise of his work as a consummate decorative artist (p. 210).

[55] *Lyon, Cottier & Co., 333 Pitt Street, Sydney, London House, 8 Pall Mall, Artistic Interior Decorators, Stained Glass Painters, Etc. Sydney*: Gibbs Shallard & Co., c.1876 (Mitchell Library, Sydney, Manuscripts Series 1381/1 Item 10).

[56] For example, The Abbey residence in Annandale, Sydney, decorated by Lyon, Cottier & Co. c.1883-84.

Fig. 14. Lyon, Cottier & Co. "Spring" design from the *Seasons* window at Arlington, Croydon, Sydney, c.1892. Stained glass. Photograph: Douglass Baglin. Contributed by Private Collection, by kind permission of the Baglin Estate.

As this article has elucidated, Lyon, Cottier & Co. introduced a Pre-Raphaelite spirit from the early 1870s directly influenced by Daniel Cottier's work in Britain. And in so doing they suffused Arnoldian "sweetness and light" into their stained glass and interior decorations for ecclesiastical and secular architecture throughout Sydney and New South Wales, and other colonies in Australia. Independent from the decorative work of rival firms emerging in Sydney by the year of Australia's first international exhibition, Lyon, Cottier & Co.'s aesthetic styling was made international by Daniel Cottier, drawing on artistic trends also seen in Britain and North America, and translating the spirit of Pre-Raphaelitism with modern vigour into new and powerful Aesthetic decorative art in Australia.

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New Light on *The Light of the World*

Bronwyn Hughes

Detail from Fig. 1. William Holman Hunt. *The Light of the World*. 1851-53.

Jeremy Maas summed up William Holman Hunt's painting, *The Light of the World* (1851-53), as "one of the most celebrated religious pictures ever painted."[1] Not only did *The Light of the World* (Fig. 1) become a religious phenomenon in its own right, it inspired donors and influenced generations of artists to create untold numbers of stained glass windows over more than a century. In Australia (and proportionally in New Zealand) hundreds have been recorded, making this the most popular subject for stained glass windows during the first half of the twentieth century.[2] It was remarkable for the almost universal acceptance of the image by clergy, clients, congregations and commissioners in every state and across a range of Protestant denominations.[3] More than two hundred examples have been recorded in city, town and rural locations

[1] J. Maas: *Holman Hunt and The Light of the World*, Aldershot 1987, p. ix. The original *The Light of the World* is oil and gold leaf on canvas; 1851-52, 1852-53, retouched 1858, restored and relined 1886; bought by Thomas Combe, August 1853 for £450, bequeathed to his wife Martha (1872); presented by her to Keble College, Oxford, 1873. For full details, see J. Bronkhurst: *William Holman Hunt: A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2006, I, cat. 74.

[2] A full New Zealand survey of *The Light of the World* windows has yet to be made. Fiona Ciaran: *Stained Glass Windows of Canterbury, New Zealand*, (1998), lists twenty for the city and surrounding district. From this sample, two were installed prior to the antipodean tour and two more in the immediate years following; the remainder were installed from 1917 to 1985.

[3] Although *The Light of the World* did not become part of the Roman Catholic Church's stained glass tradition, reproductions of the painting were accepted into Roman Catholic homes, schools and chapels as an appropriate Christian image.

throughout Australia, from Cottesloe, Western Australia, to Bega, New South Wales, and from Townsville, North Queensland, to Hobart in Southern Tasmania. In showing how this image not only came to be accepted as an exemplar of Pre-Raphaelite art by critics but also attained wide popular approval and was sanctioned as an appropriate theme for stained glass, this paper follows the transition of *The Light of the World* through different media, across the world and into the twentieth century.

The Light of the World was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1854, where its critical acclaim was far from guaranteed.[4] In his 1905 memoir, Hunt recalled the reaction of his neighbour, the philosopher, Thomas Carlyle, who visited the studio to view the work; his criticism was uncompromising: "You call that thing, I ween, a picture of Jesus Christ," and dubbed it "a mere papistical fantasy."[5] The press reviews of the RA show were scathing; Walter Thornbury in the *Athenaeum* called it ". . . most eccentric and mysterious . . . the face of this wild fantasy, though earnest and religious, is not that of a Saviour . . . [the picture is] altogether a failure"; the *Art-Journal* noted that the "drawing of the foot and hands is extremely indifferent . . . the colour generally is highly objectionable—it is everywhere heavy and opaque."[6] Then, and since, it has been the subject of art historical and religious dissection and popular dissent.[7] John Ruskin, already well-disposed towards Pre-Raphaelite ideals, which were much aligned with his own, rescued the failing *The*

Fig. 1. William Holman Hunt. *The Light of the World.* 1851-53. Oil on canvas over panel, arched top, 125.5 x 59.8 cm. (Photo courtesy of Keble College, Oxford).

[4] Maas, *op. cit.*, p. ix.
[5] W. H. Hunt: *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, London 1905. Also quoted in Maas, *op. cit.*, p. 46. H. W. Shrewsbury: *Brothers in Art: Studies in William Holman Hunt, O.M., D.C.L. and John Everett Millais, Bart., D.C.L.., P.R.A.*, London 1920, p. 113.
[6] Maas, *op. cit.*, p. 61 and Shrewsbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14.
[7] A century and a half later Laura Freeman, waspishly reviewing the exhibition *Pre-Raphaelites: Beauty and Rebellion*, Walker Gallery Liverpool (12 Feb.—5 June 2016) for the *Spectator,* deplored the lifelessness of the paintings and questioned the taste of patrons who bought these works. L. Freeman: "Twee, Treacly and Tearful: Pre-Raphaelites at the Walker Art Gallery Reviewed," *The Spectator*, 27 Feb. 2016. https://www.spectator.co.uk/2016/02/ Accessed 19 Jan. 2018.

Light of the World with a long letter to *The Times*, published in May 1854.[8] In contrast to other critics, he championed the work as "the principal Pre-Raphaelite picture in the Exhibition," justifying his comments by setting forth his "palpable interpretation" of the work and its symbolism.[9] While he did not allay criticism, it piqued public interest and all London flocked to see it.[10]

William Holman Hunt (1827-1910) was one of the founding members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, a small band of young artists who found the prevailing rule of the Academy restrictive and who sought to create a new artistic spirit. Their guiding principles included the considered selection of worthy and uplifting subjects that were to be interpreted faithfully and treated with minute attention to detail in order to maintain truth to nature. Hunt had a typical Victorian upbringing that was underpinned by strong moral and religious principles, which increased in depth and fervour during his twenties. George P. Landow characterised Hunt's religious views as "an intensely personal mixture of evangelical and Broad Church Protestantism," notably in his literal conception of the Bible, his insistence on strict morality, and his use of typological symbolism.[11] As a young artist he believed that Christianity was "the sublime ethical formula that alone could redeem the world" and throughout his life he upheld a personal vision that God speaks to man through nature.[12] It is therefore not surprising that in *The Light of the World* Hunt carefully interwove Christian ideals and accurately painted natural forms to create his allegorical painting.[13]

In accordance with the Brotherhood's principles, the subject of the painting was carefully chosen, in this instance from the Book of Revelation, 3:20: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear My voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with Me."[14] The title "the light of the world" is used elsewhere in the bible and is consistent with the reference in John 12.46: "I am come a light into the world . . ." and more precisely in John 8.12: "I am the light of the world . . ."[15]

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[8] *The Times*, 5 May 1854, p. 9.
[9] Maas, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64.
[10] Bronkhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
[11] G. Landow: "Replete with Meaning: William Holman Hunt and Typological Symbolism," *The Victorian Web*, http://www.victorianweb.org/painting/whh/replete/effect.html Accessed 30 Oct. 2017.
[12] Maas, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[13] Jeremy Maas notes that this was one of a series of works which glorified God with almost missionary zeal.
[14] All verses taken from the King James Version (KJV) of the Holy Bible, SPCK, Oxford, 1872.
[15] Christ as "the light of the world" also appears in Matthew 5:14 and 2 Peter 1:9 (KJV).

Holman Hunt explained the symbolism in *The Light of the World* in his 1905 book, *Pre-Raphaelitism and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*:

> The closed door was the obstinately shut mind, the weeds the cumber of daily neglect, the accumulated hindrances of sloth; the orchard the garden of delectable fruit for the dainty feast of the soul. The music of the still small voice was the summons to the sluggard to awaken and become a zealous labourer under the Divine Master; the bat flitting about only in darkness was a natural symbol of ignorance; the kingly and priestly dress of Christ, the sign of His reign over the body and the soul, to them who could give their allegiance to Him and acknowledge God's overrule. In making it a night scene, lit mainly by the lantern carried by Christ, I had followed metaphorical explanation in the Psalms, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path," with also the accordant allusions by St. Paul to the sleeping soul, "The night is far spent, the day is at hand."[16]

However, at the 1854 Royal Academy exhibition there was little understanding of the depth of meaning behind the painting; *The Art Journal* condemned it, along with his other painting, *The Great Awakening:*

> Mr. Hunt stands this year almost alone as [Pre-Raffaellite] [*sic*] high priest . . . no class of the public will give any portion of their admiration or their sympathy to the two works of this artist—the one incomprehensible, the other odious.[17]

A relatively small number of visitors saw the work itself. It was only after an engraving made from the original was issued, and cannily marketed, that the ultimate success of *The Light of the World* was assured. Copyright of the painting was bought by the successful art print publisher, Ernest Gambart (1814-1902), who was an astute businessman and scoured the market for suitable pictures for reproduction. The "three-shilling steel print" was popular, especially within the burgeoning middle-class market.[18] He engaged the services of William Henry Simmons (1811-82) to engrave the plates to a high standard, and to ensure the black-and-white medium remained as truthful as possible to the artist's intent. Gambart maximised opportunities by exhibiting *The Light of the World* throughout Britain and had his agent on hand at all venues to

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[16] Hunt, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 350-51.
[17] "The Royal Academy. The Exhibition 1854," *The Art Journal*, 1 June 1854, p. 158.
[18] G. P. Landow: "Victorian Art Criticism and the Rise of a Middle-Class Audience," *The Victorian Web*, www.victorianweb.org.authors/ruskin/finearts/criticism1.html Accessed 19 January 2018; J. Maas: *Gambert: Prince of the Victorian Art World*, London, 1975, pp. 16-17; I. Robertson: *Understanding Art Markets: Inside the World of Art and Business*, Milton Park 2016, p. 54.

receive subscription orders for the anticipated engraving.[19] It was a slow process, but in November 1860 the *Illustrated London News* announced that the engraving had been completed and proclaimed it "a great triumph."[20] In Australia, the early opportunity to cash in on the wave of enthusiasm for the "great Pre-Raphaelite picture" was whipped up by Gambart's Australian agent, Sydney print seller, Jacob R. Clarke, through the advertising columns of the *Sydney Morning Herald*.[21] Here, as well as in Britain, sales rocketed; prints of *The Light of the World* became a world-wide addition to homes, convents, churches, religious schools and chapels.[22]

The Light of the World was fast evolving into an entity quite distinct from the original picture. Hunt's interpretation became regarded as the archetypal Christ, one which was used by poets, writers and artists, but more especially accepted into general religious sentiment and popular culture.[23] The highly symbolic representation of Christ was accepted by those who may never have seen the original painting, or the smaller copy that was exhibited in New York in 1857 and Philadelphia the following year.[24] When a third and larger version of the painting was planned fifty years after the original was painted, Hunt was well into his seventies, and losing his sight. Unbeknown to the general public, a major part of the work was undertaken by the artist Edward Robert Hughes (1851-1914) (Fig. 2).[25] This life-sized picture toured the British Empire, under the skilful planning and marketing of entrepreneur Mack Jost. It exceeded all expectations and became a phenomenal success, especially in Australia.[26]

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[19] E. Gambart & Co. published the engraving on 7 May 1860, then a second smaller engraving, also by Simmons, ten years later. Two photogravures were published by the Autotype Co. c. 1890-1900. See Bronkhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[20] Maas, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[21] *Sydney Morning Herald* 24 March 1860, p. 7.

[22] Maas, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74. The *Light of the World* was one of Gambart's best-selling prints, only surpassed by William Powell Frith's *Derby Day* (engraved 1858).

[23] From brief appearances to crucial roles, for example see *The Light of the World* in Sir Arthur Sullivan's Oratorio of the same name (1873); Terence Malick's film, *Days of Heaven* (1978); and Connie Wills' novel, *Blackout All Clear* (2010).

[24] The small version received a mixed reception, exacerbated by its less than imposing size, poor marketing and volatile press reports. Maas, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-55. The painting was sold to a New York collector, however Hunt was dissatisfied with the final result; it now resides in Manchester Art Gallery. F. G. Stephens's claim to have painted a large proportion of the work was not made until after 1880 and an acrimonious split with Hunt. See Bronkhurst, *op. cit*., cat. 80.

[25] *The Light of the World*, c.1900-04; oil on canvas, 233.7 x 128.3 cm; painted with the assistance of Edward Robert Hughes. In possession of the Dean and Chapter, St. Paul's Cathedral, London. See Bronkhurst, *op. cit*., cat. 161.

[26] In a joking comment related by Norman Lindsay to his son Jack "people were naturally keen to see a picture of Jesus going late at night to the dunny at the back of the house, afraid that someone had just got in ahead of him," quoted in Maas, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

Fig. 2. William Holman Hunt painting the third version of *The Light of the World*, c. 1903. (Reproduced in Otto von Schleinitz: *William Holman Hunt*, Bielefeld, Velhagen & Klasing, Germany 1907, p. 136).

From the painting's arrival in Adelaide towards the end of January 1906, *The Light of the World* was received with awe and wonder. As the three crates containing the picture, the frame and the protective glass were carefully and deliberately unpacked outside the South Australian Gallery, anticipation grew along with the throng of people, heightening the rapturous welcome. Crowds on the exhibition days were comparable with visitors to the Royal Academy and more than 18,000 South Australians saw the picture during its eight-day run.[27] This paved the way for an even more astounding response in Melbourne when, in February 1906, it was exhibited in the National Gallery of Victoria's Stawell Gallery. Daily, thousands of visitors queued from the entrance around the block into Lonsdale Street, and caused "near pandemonium" as people came to be impressed and astonished (Fig. 3).[28] In his review in *The Argus*, Blamire Young noted that, as most visitors had previously only seen the painting from black and white engravings, they were unprepared for the riot of colour that differed from so many British academic pictures in Melbourne's Gallery. Young went on to suggest that although this was a religious painting, filled with Christian symbolism, it was also imbued with a spiritual presence. "[The picture] appeals strongly to many people who can lay no claim to be religious, and who are able to receive from it a deep and spiritual message that is as comforting to them as is the more direct teaching that it contains to those who regard it as a purely religious work."[29] Whether it was the Christian message, its

[27] Maas, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-45. In 1901, the population of Adelaide and its suburbs was around 162,000.
[28] Maas, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 152-54.
[29] B. Young: "The Light of the World," *The Argus*, 24 Feb. 1906, p. 5.

pictorial merit or aura of mysticism, the painting was accepted by people of diverse denominational persuasions.

Fig. 3. Visitors flock to view William Holman Hunt's *The Light of the World* at the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne. (As printed in *The Australasian*, 24 Feb. 1906, p. 27).

The fame of *The Light of the World* in Australia expanded as the blockbuster exhibition travelled the country, always preceded by press reports of the great reception accorded it in the previous location, a heavy hint to the locals to top the ever-growing numbers. Even without this pre-marketing, the audience had been well-primed to be amazed by this unusual work of art, having seen copies of the engraving and (illegal) photographic copies that were in circulation or reproductions in the popular press, including *The Week* in Brisbane and Perth's *Western Mail*. *The Brisbane Courier* noted the extraordinary increase in visitors to see the painting, suggesting it was probably the first time the majority of local people had set foot in the Queensland Art Gallery.[30] Enterprising postcard sellers plied their trade along the long queues at every venue. Some visitors undoubtedly found the depth of symbolic references uplifting and spent time in front of the work to absorb and meditate; not a few left scratching their heads wondering what all

[30] *The Week*, 6 April 1906, p. 17; *Western Mail*, 7 July 1906 p. 24; *The Brisbane Courier*, 18 Aug. 1906, p. 12.

the fuss was about.[31] However, its acceptance into general religious sentiment and popular culture was universal.

After an extraordinary itinerary by train and steamer that covered all Australian capital cities, major country centres and New Zealand, the painting left the Antipodes, but the image was not allowed to be forgotten. Along with the postcard mementos, the picture was pressed into service by sellers of religious paraphernalia, including a most unusual and desirable souvenir of the great event: a prayer-book bound in Moroccan leather with a silver image of *The Light of the World* on its front cover.[32]

The most lasting effect of the exhibition of *The Light of the World* was its translation into stained glass windows. The painting's deep religious symbolism and the compositional emphasis on light made it an ideal image to adopt and adapt for church windows, where colour and brilliance, evidenced by the passage of daylight through glass, reinforced the religious significance of light as a symbol for God. The church, especially Anglican and Roman Catholic denominations, placed great importance on the choice of subject and meaning and, as well as inspiring piety, a strong sense of idealisation was expected within realistic compositions.[33] *The Light of the World*'s didactic appeal to all Protestant denominations, including Methodism which had generally eschewed figure representations in stained glass, ensured that it would become the most sought after stained glass subject over the next fifty years, with more than two hundred windows commissioned for Australian churches from 1901 to 1988.[34] Before tracing its twentieth-century rise in stained glass, it is necessary to travel back almost three decades before the painting of *The Light of the World* took Australia by storm in the early 1900s.

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[31] [F. J. D.] "Seeing a Picture," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 April 1906, p. 13; Figures drawn by *The Australasian's* (unnamed) cartoonist expressed the diversity of Melbourne reactions, with captions such as "wonder," "doubt," "indifference," and "sympathy." *The Australasian*, 24 Feb. 1906, p. 27.

[32] *Garden of the Soul* prayer book, on sale at Saunders Jewellers, Sydney. *Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser*, 18 Dec. 1907, p. 1593.

[33] D. Geidraityte: "Stained and Painted Glass in the Sydney Region c. 1830-c. 1920," MA thesis (University of Sydney 1975), p. 421.

[34] The 200 or more windows on the author's documented inventory represent only a portion of the many hundreds across Australia. A survey of Victorian churches, completed in 1997 as part of a wider study, identified 162 *The Light of the World* windows by one Melbourne maker alone, Brooks, Robinson & Co. See B. Hughes: "Twentieth Century Stained Glass in Melbourne Churches," MA thesis (University of Melbourne 1997), pp. 141-43.

Fig. 4. Ferguson & Urie. *The Light of the World* (detail). 1876. Stained glass. (St. Peter's Anglican Church, Merino, Victoria).
Photo: Bronwyn Hughes.

The foundation-stone for St. Peter's Church in the tiny Western District township of Merino was laid on 17 April 1865 and services began in December 1867.[35] The design and quality of the windows, all of which were intended to be non-figurative quarry lancets, were discussed by Hamilton architect James Henry Fox, major donor Francis Henty (1815-89), the first clergyman of the district, Reverend Francis Thomas Cusack Russell (1823-76) and the stained glass designer-makers, Ferguson & Urie of North Melbourne.[36] Russell spent twenty-five years in the Wannon district, building a number of churches to Fox's designs, most in the Gothic revival style that was preferred by Australian church builders throughout the nineteenth-century. Stained glass windows by Ferguson & Urie were commissioned for Casterton (1866), Digby (1867) and Coleraine (1865-66) in the 1860s. While returning from a much-needed sabbatical in Ireland in 1876, the Reverend Russell died unexpectedly aboard ship. A committee made up of members of the Merino congregation and friends from around the district decided to replace the central light of the plain east window above the altar with a suitable memorial that would recognise his long commitment to their community. They selected the *Good Shepherd* and *The Light of the World* (Fig. 4 and Fig. 5), subjects that represented Russell's spirit and ministry over a quarter of a century.[37] It was a bold departure from the scenes from Christ's Passion or patronal saints which had been selected

[35] *Hamilton Spectator & Grange District Advertiser*, 22 April 1865, p. 3; *Portland Guardian*, 2 Jan. 1868, p. 3. The church was sold in 2013 and has since been converted into a private residence.
[36] Letters are held in the Francis Henty papers, MS 2821 Box 674/1, State Library of Victoria. Details of the Reverend Russell's life from S. Smith: "Russell, Francis Thomas Cusack (1823–1876)," *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/russell-francis-thomas-cusack-2617/text3611, accessed online 6 June 2016. Ferguson & Urie records have not survived.
[37] The following year George Trangmar commissioned a three-light memorial to Russell for the new chancel of Holy Trinity Anglican church, Coleraine.

(usually by Russell) for other Western District churches, but they were appropriate representations for this greatly-admired man and his ministry.

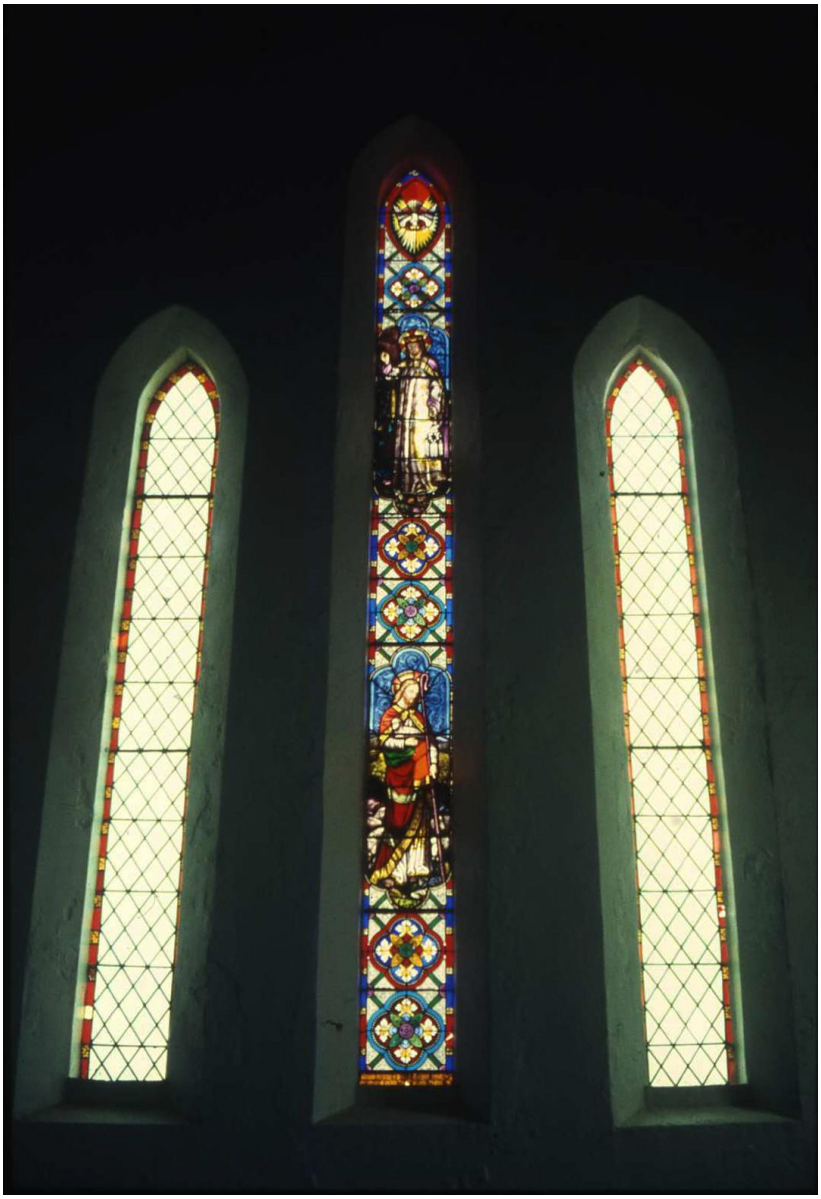


Fig. 5. Ferguson & Urie. Three-light window featuring *The Light of the World* and *The Good Shepherd.* 1876. Stained glass. (St. Peter's Anglican Church, Merino, Victoria). Photo: Bronwyn Hughes.

The two figures were stacked above one another to fill the tall central light of the three-light window. Unlike Hunt's painting or the engraving by Simmons, Christ was depicted with head slightly forward and inclined towards the door; however, the right hand raised to knock, the folds of the robes and the distinctive clasp at the front clearly identified the source for the design as Hunt's *The Light of the World.* Other details of the painting were omitted—the night sky, the bat of ignorance, the plain white robe, and golden nimbus—but there remains the suggestion of light emanating from the lantern in the under-lit eyebrows and left cheek. Particularly convincing is the lantern which matches the Hunt original, a rare nod to Pre-Raphaelite precision in rendering of detail.

Fig. 6. William Wheildon/Brooks, Robinson & Co. *The Light of the World* (detail). 1907. Stained glass. (St. John's Anglican Church, East Malvern, Victoria). Photo: Bronwyn Hughes.

The basis for Ferguson & Urie's window was most likely Simmons's engraving of the painting.[38] Design originality was not of primary importance to many nineteenth-century stained glass artists and it was common practice to work up full-scale cartoons from secondary sources, including prints, votive cards and book illustrations, often supplied by clients. Ferguson & Urie, for example, certainly used secondary (or tertiary) sources for many of their most popular early designs, such as for the chancel windows in Christ Church Anglican at Casterton which depicted scenes from Christ's life and death. The Rev. Russell consented to the exhibition of the windows by Ferguson & Urie in the Victorian Exhibition of 1866.[39] A painting, reproduced as an engraving, then perhaps published in a journal, and finally recreated in stained glass, was not unusual; it is more remarkable that Ferguson & Urie managed to imbue the stained glass with so strong a sense of the original Hunt painting.

The window at St. Peter's Anglican Church, Merino is almost certainly the first occasion that *The Light of the World* appeared in Australian stained glass.[40] However, it did not inspire other commissions, and remained one of a small number of similar windows installed before the painting's grand tour of the empire in 1906.[41]

[38] Scotsmen James Ferguson and James Urie were already in business in North Melbourne when the painting was exhibited in England, but it is possible that either of their English-trained artists, John Lamb Lyon (arrived 1861) or David Relph Drape (arrived 1858) may have seen the original painting and/or purchased an engraving in England.
[39] The designs for the windows in Casterton were sourced from designs in Abbé M. B. Couissinier: *A Pictorial Catechism: after original designs by G. R. Elster*, engraved by R. Brend'amour, Paris and London 1862.
[40] The first example of *The Light of the World* in stained glass is reputed to have been made for Yorkshireman John Harrop in 1854-56 under the supervision of William Holman Hunt but this has not been verified. In 1930 the window was installed at the University of Puget Sound, Washington USA, but appears to be no longer extant.
[41] Ferguson & Urie made a second version from the same cartoon for St. Paul's Anglican Church, Launceston (1882), now in the Anglican Church at Low Head, Tasmania. Information courtesy of Ray Brown and Gavin

By 1907, as the painting returned to England via another imperial outpost, South Africa, the first post-exhibition windows were already being installed. At St. John's in Finch Street, East Malvern, *The Light of the World* (1907) (Fig. 6) was placed in the central light above the altar, a most unusual elevation for this subject and an indication of how the image had penetrated thinking within Anglican church circles. The golden nimbus, plain white robe (with the addition of non-original gold cuffs), a greater respect paid to Hunt's symbolic details (although there is no bat symbolising ignorance) and attention to the original colour scheme, instilled a measure of Pre-Raphaelite principles and religious significance of the painting to the stained glass. Designed by English-trained artist William Wheildon (1873-1941), who was senior glass designer at Brooks, Robinson & Co., Melbourne from 1895, *The Light of the World* at St. John's followed the painting quite closely, which suggests that Wheildon may have seen Hunt's painting during its exhibition in Melbourne.

However, this was not the first time Wheildon had interpreted the painting for stained glass. He was responsible for a large window of *The Light of the World* installed at Christ Church, St. Kilda in 1901 (Fig. 7) as a memorial to its vestryman and treasurer, the prominent banker and St. Kilda resident, Francis Grey Smith, who died in 1900.[42] Circumscribed in part by the three-light format, the design of this window was a significant departure from the original painting, owing more to aesthetic considerations and rich ornamentation than to faithful reproduction of Hunt's symbolism. The figure of Christ filled the central light, flanked by kneeling angels in the smaller supporting text ribbons that read "the memory of the just is

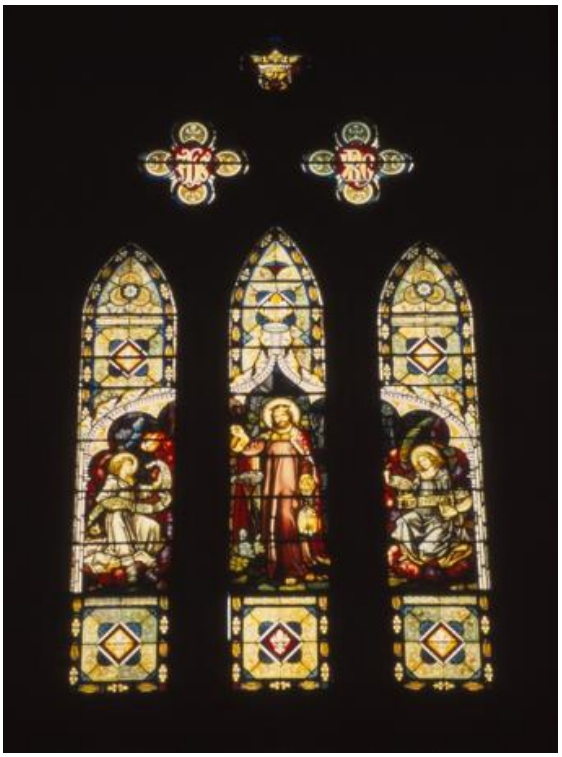


Fig. 7. William Wheildon/Brooks, Robinson & Co. *The Light of the World.* 1901. Stained glass. (Christ Church Anglican, St. Kilda, Victoria). Photo: Bronwyn Hughes.

Merrington. Among the pre-1906 windows known to exist in Australia are: three-light window in memory of Frank Grey-Smith at Christchurch Anglican, St. Kilda, Melbourne (1901) (Fig. 7) and a single light at St. George's Anglican Cathedral, Perth (1903).

[42] *The Argus*, 8 April 1901, p. 4.

blessed" and "the righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."[43] The height of the windows was modified by the addition of patterned canopy work and a tessellated base panel; the three lights were united by an ogee-shaped architectural canopy. The selection of colours was probably made in the interests of design, with little attempt to conform to Hunt's colour scheme; the cloak, patterned to suggest embroidery, remained red, but the white robe was replaced with a dusky pink, while gold cuffs finished the sleeves. It suggests that when designing this version Wheildon relied on secondary sources as the basis for his own interpretation.[44]

In the years leading up to the First World War and into the 1920s, it was predominantly Anglican churches that selected *The Light of the World* as a window subject. Not surprisingly, a few post-war commissions commemorated servicemen killed in action with the image of *The Light of the World*, as seen in Anglican churches at Colebrook, Tasmania (1920) and Creswick, Victoria (1921). The Creswick window was dedicated to the memory of a young sailor, twenty-one-year-old Stoker Thomas Berry, a tribute from his comrades after his death by drowning.[45] Although the artist, William Montgomery, used *The Light of the World* as the basis for his subject, the text did not come from the usual source in John 8:12. Instead, lines from the 1833 hymn "Pillar of Cloud" by John Henry Newman were selected: "Lead kindly light, lead Thou me on." It was an appropriate commemorative text and subject for mariners whose reliance on the light-house could be regarded as a secular parallel to the lamp of Christ. The same subject and text continued in different forms in naval chapels until after the Second World War.[46] An unusual window memorialising Master Mariner Robert Sunter at the Missions to Seafarers Chapel in Melbourne (Fig. 8) depicts an ethereal Christ, holding high

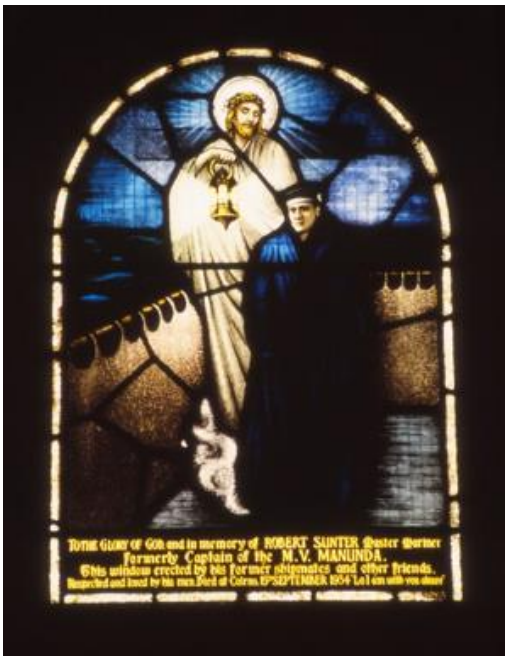


Fig. 8. Brooks, Robinson & Co. *The Light of the World.* 1935. Stained glass (Chapel of St. Peter, Mission to Seafarers, Melbourne). Photo: Bronwyn Hughes.

[43] Texts were taken from Proverbs 10:7 (KJV) and Psalm 112:6 (KJV).
[44] It is also possible that Wheildon had seen the 1854 work in England before he emigrated in 1895.
[45] *Ballarat Star,* 8 Dec. 1920, p. 6.
[46] Examples can be seen in Naval Chapels at HMAS Cerberus, Flinders Naval Base, Crib Point (Vic) and Garden Island (N.S.W.).

a lantern to guide an Australian sailor on a ship's deck; the text ends: "Lo, I am with you alway."[47]

However, such a complete departure from Hunt's painting was rare, as donors of windows generally preferred the original imagery. Brooks, Robinson & Co. produced *The Light of the World* windows for churches all over Australia between 1907 and about 1966, when the stained glass department closed. Windows were sometimes incomplete when shipped interstate. For instance, a window Brooks, Robinson sent to Hobart in 1925 was simplified with none of the glass borders in the form of an architectural canopy and base that usually framed the central subject; in 1927 and 1933 the Adelaide glass firm, Thompson & Harvey, ordered "figures only" from Brooks, Robinson, as did A. E. Clarkson's branch in Perth in 1938.[48] These local firms added their own style of architectural framing to suit and fit each particular commission and probably passed them off as their own designs.[49]

Fig. 9. George Dancey/Brooks, Robinson & Co. *The Light of the World*. c.1910. Stained glass. (St. Peter's Anglican Church, Mornington, Victoria). Photo: Bronwyn Hughes.

At Brooks, Robinson & Co., the freelance English-trained artist George H. Dancey (1856-1922) devised a variation on Hunt's *The Light of the World* that dates from about 1910, when his interpretation was installed in the nave of St. Peter's Anglican Church, Mornington (Fig. 9). While retaining the underlying text of the image, Dancey's figure of Christ turns towards the door and appears to look beyond the viewer, in contrast to Hunt's figure that faces the viewer with an arresting expression. Dancey omitted the worldly crown and retained only the crown of thorns around the head. He rejected the unadorned robe, added an embroidered cloak around the figure

[47] Once again, the design is third-hand, taken from a print of a painting by G. M. Langley; text taken from *Matthew* 28:20 (KJV).
[48] Private collection, Brooks, Robinson & Co. Job Books, 1923-c.1966.
[49] Private collection, Brooks, Robinson & Co. Job Books, 1923-c.1966.

and, heavily influenced by Frederick Leighton, depicted swathes of folded fabric in Christ's voluminous garments.[50] It is an ornate design, with white and gold glass predominating in the architectural ornamentation and angels supporting a text scroll in the base panel that reads "I am the Light of the World." The finely modelled features on Christ's face are emphasised by the white and gold halo, and, in contrast, his robes are primarily a rich red, offset by the white undergarment.

Although the whole is instantly recognisable as *The Light of the World*, the rich symbolism of Hunt's painting, or even of Wheildon's versions, is significantly diminished. Here, the door is almost beyond the confines of the frame and indistinguishable from the background, the halo is unambiguous with no suggestion of it doubling as a moon in the night sky, and the lantern, while it does have a simple cross, is no longer the symbol-laden seven-sided image that it was in the original painting. More importantly, the idea of a light source for the night scene emanating from the lantern has disappeared, making Dancey's figure of Christ less mysterious (and sometimes more acceptable) to clients, who would sometimes express such preferences.[51] The growing popularity of this version of the subject may lie with clients and congregations being less well-versed in the symbolism of the original painting, and marginally less attuned to its British artistic heritage, in an increasingly secularised Australian society.

Dancey's *The Light of the World* would become as prevalent as Wheildon's version, and the popularity of both ensured that Brooks, Robinson would outstrip its rivals in sheer numbers of *The Light of the World* windows over the next forty years. When another English artist, William Kerr-Morgan (1896-1967), joined the firm in the early 1920s he designed a third version, one that found particular favour among Presbyterian and Methodist congregations (Fig. 10), although it moved even further from the underlying artistic and religious principles of Hunt's painting.[52]

[50] "Dancey" in *The New McCulloch's Encyclopedia of Art*, Fitzroy 2006, p. 364.
[51] The Misses Moyle, ordering a window for St. Paul's Anglican Church, Moonambel, in February 1947, asked especially for "a nice face." Private collection, Brooks, Robinson & Co. Job Books, 1923-c.1966.
[52] Kerr-Morgan was employed after the death of Dancey in December 1922. Examples of his version of *The Light of the World* may be seen in windows at the Presbyterian Church, Clifton Hill, St. James the Less Anglican Church, Mount Eliza, and the former Methodist Church, Yarra Street, Geelong, all in Victoria.

Fig. 10. William Kerr-Morgan/Brooks, Robinson & Co. *The Light of the World*. 1957. Stained glass. (Presbyterian Church, Kaniva, Vic.) Photo: Bronwyn Hughes.

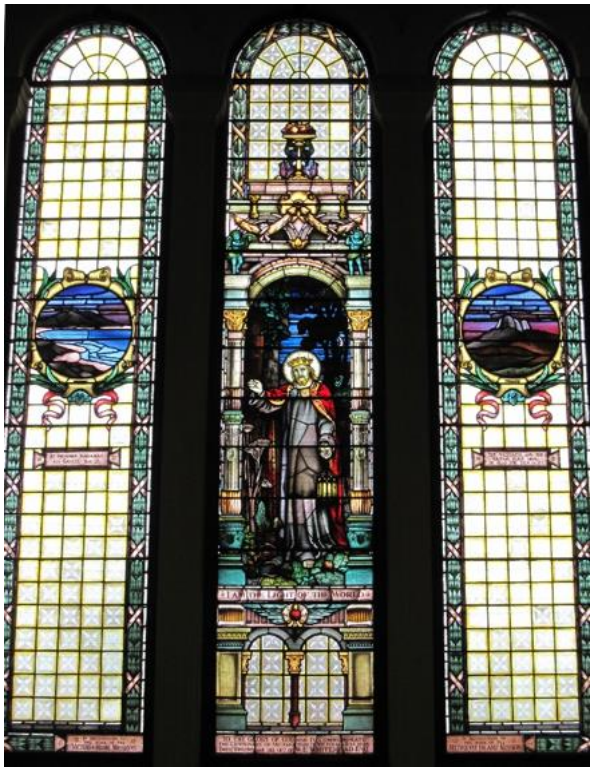
Among Non-Conformist congregations the preference for non-figurative subjects relaxed from the 1920s, although there had always been exceptions made for text scrolls, emblems and symbols.[53] The first Presbyterian church to install *The Light of the World* was at Cottesloe in Western Australia in 1921. Designed by Melbourne artist William Montgomery, the window was based on William Holman Hunt's original design. Throughout the late 1920s, other Presbyterian churches were ordering from Brooks, Robinson & Co.: Burnley, (Vic.) in 1925; Canberra (A.C.T.) and Essendon (Vic.) in 1927; Sunshine (Vic.) in 1928; and Rozelle (N.S.W.) and Sandringham (Vic.) in 1929. Melbourne's leading Methodist church, Wesley Central Mission, already held a comprehensive cycle of stained glass windows, including Dancey's *The Light of the World* in one of the balcony window openings, when a new Chapel was planned for the Lonsdale Street facade. The addition of the Hoban Chapel in 1933-34 included another *The Light of the World* (Fig. 11) as the prominent central image in a series of three-light windows. Brooks, Robinson & Co. prepared a design that more closely interpreted Hunt's composition, creating a window that suggested the lantern as the source of light.[54] It sparked a flurry of Methodist interest and *The Light of the World* appeared at Dandenong and Northcote (Vic.) in 1934; Auburn (Vic.) in 1935 (Fig. 12); Ballarat (Vic.) in 1936; and Mount Gambier (S.A.) in 1938.[55]

[53] The author's (ever-growing) list of *The Light of the World* windows in Australia stands at more than 200 (June 2017): Anglican 95; Presbyterian 40; Methodist 27; Congregational 5; Lutheran 4; Baptist 2; Church of Christ 1; Unknown Denominations 29.

[54] Three three-light windows were ordered for the Hoban Chapel: *Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples* and *Peter Preaching at Pentecost* were placed on either side of *The Light of the World*. Private collection, Brooks, Robinson & Co. Job Books, 1923-c.1966.

[55] Private collection, Brooks, Robinson & Co. Job Books, 1923-c.1966.

After the Second World War and in the wake of Modernism, very few artists with sympathetic clients reinvigorated the subject with new interpretations. William Frater (1890-1974), the senior artist at E. L. Yencken & Co., had attempted to introduce his Arts & Crafts training at the Glasgow School of Art into his rendition of *The Light of the World* (Fig. 13) in the 1930s, but was limited within the confines of the commercial enterprise. Windows at Holy Trinity Anglican, Oakleigh (Vic.) and St. Andrew's Presbyterian, Mansfield (Vic.) were instantly recognisable as *The Light of the World*, but had moved a considerable distance from Hunt's symbolism as well as from Frater's Arts & Crafts ethos.[56]



Left to right: Fig. 11**.** Brooks, Robinson & Co. *The Light of the World* (detail). 1934. Stained glass. (Hoban Chapel, Wesley Uniting Church, Melbourne); Fig. 12. Brooks, Robinson & Co. *The Light of the World*. 1935. Stained glass. (Uniting Church, Auburn, Victoria); Fig. 13. William Frater/E. L. Yencken & Co. *The Light of the World*. 1930. Stained glass. (St. Andrew's Uniting Church, Mansfield, Victoria). Photos: B Hughes.

[56] Frater retired in 1940 when E. L. Yencken closed its stained glass department for the duration of the war.

One artist who maintained her independence and developed a distinctive personal style was Christian Waller (1894-1954). Through the support of the architect, Louis R. Williams, she was commissioned in 1938 for a series of windows for the chancel of the new St. James Anglican Church in Ivanhoe (Vic.), one of which was *I am the Light of the World* (Fig. 14).[57] Waller's artistic strengths were derived in part from the Pre-Raphaelites and Arts & Crafts movements, interwoven with a strong spirituality that evolved from her study of many different faiths. Her interpretation of *The Light of the World* owes little to Hunt's version but instead, in carefully modulated colour and tone, depicts Christ in a dazzling radiance that illustrated the text, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth Me shall not walk in darkness."[58]

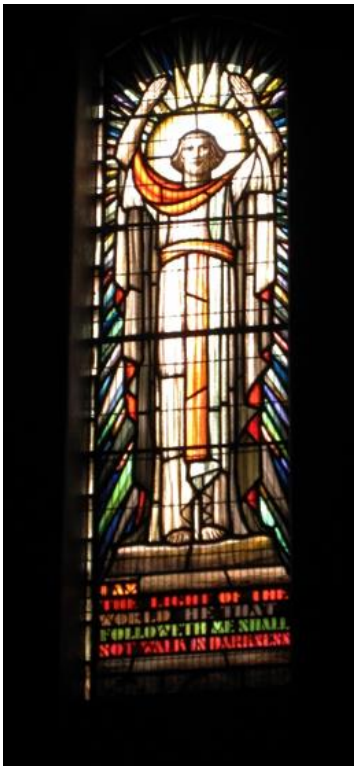


Fig. 14. Christian Waller. *I am the Light of the World*. 1938. Stained glass. (St. James's Anglican Church, Ivanhoe, Victoria). Photo: Bronwyn Hughes.

Post-Second World War *émigré*, Jean Orval (1911-87) spent a short time at Brooks, Robinson & Co., but finding the workshop arrangements stultifying without any opportunity to use his European art training, he moved to country Victoria to set up his own studio, initially at Port Fairy and then in Hamilton.[59] His modernist style was accepted by many churches of all denominations in the Western District and South Australia; he was commissioned for *The Light of the World* by the Presbyterian Church at Penola in 1965 (Fig. 15). Modernists Alan Sumner (1911-94) and John Ferguson (1928-2012) were occasionally asked to interpret *The Light of the World*, but these artists, like Orval, worked under guiding principles far removed from the ideals of the Pre-Raphaelites more than a century earlier.

Gradually *The Light of the World* dimmed, losing the favour it once enjoyed, although in 1954, it still apparently took pride of place on the easel in the Sydney studio of John Ashwin & Co., one hundred years after the original had been exhibited at the Royal Academy.[60] And this was not the

[57] *The Argus* (12 Nov. 1938), p. 8.
[58] Text taken from John 8:12 (KJV).
[59] http://www.orvalstainedglass.com/ Accessed 19 Jan. 2018.
[60] Clem Seale: "Sydney Sketchbook" cartoon depicting the interior of John Ashwin & Co.'s studio in Dixon Street, Sydney. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 Aug. 1954, p. 9.

Fig. 15. Jean Orval. *I am the Light of the World.* 1965. Stained glass. (St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Penola, S.A.). Photo: Bronwyn Hughes.

last *The Light of the World* in stained glass, as conservative clients demanded and artists (often reluctantly) obliged them, well into the 1990s.[61]

The Light of the World was the most popular subject for stained glass windows in Australia for almost a century.[62] Through the extensive and well-marketed 1906 Australian tour, *The Light of the World* became the first painting to comprehensively capture the imagination of the Australian public. The proliferation of engravings, prints and postcards before and after the tour ensured that it remained a pervasive image, one that found favour with clergy and church members of all Protestant denominations, and was equally acceptable within church or the family home. Hunt's *The Light of the World* became the archetypal image of Christ and, at a time when originality was not an issue, it was simplified and adapted for stained glass, with hundreds of windows installed in Australian churches, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. Gradually, however, the Pre-Raphaelite ideals that underpinned the painting were lost from the composition when it was transposed into glass, too often replaced by exercises in colour with little reference to light. The mysterious upward light that seemed to emanate from the lantern, which Hunt had captured so cleverly, was sometimes misread and often ignored in favour of a conventional tone throughout the work. In an increasingly secular society the symbolism was blurred or lost, even in religious settings, leaving an empty *cliché*, and, although not entirely forgotten, it lacked its former power. Too often its translation into stained glass, most notably in the hands of commercial firms, became merely a faded reminder of William Holman Hunt's original Pre-Raphaelite phenomenon.

[61] Derek Pearse reluctantly completed a work for St. George's Queenscliffe in 1995. As it was part of a two-light window in the vestry, he was grateful that it was not on public view. Kevin Little made a window for an unknown Sydney church in the 1990s, but avoided naming it *The Light of the World*, despite the handle-less door and tell-tale lantern.

[62] In the post-1945 years, *The Good Shepherd* displaced it as the most popular stained glass subject.

Bronwyn Hughes is an art historian whose research interests include stained glass and sculpture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Recent publications include *Lights Everlasting*, a survey of Victoria's commemorative stained glass, War Veterans' Heritage Inventory (on-line), 2015; "Ayrshire to Australia: The First Scottish-Australian Stained Glass" in *Scots Under the Southern Cross*, ed. Fred Cahir, Anne Beggs-Sunter & Alison Inglis (Ballarat: Ballarat Heritage Services, 2015); and "Remembrance: Victoria's Commemorative Stained Glass Windows of the First World War," *The La Trobe Journal*, 96, 2015. Her recently completed manuscript, *Yrs Affectionately, Mont: William Montgomery's War Letters 1915-1918*, is due for publication late 2019.

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Reattributing the Magdalene: Sandys to Shields at the NGV

Alisa Bunbury

Fig. 1. Frederic Shields. *Sorrow*. 1873.
Coloured chalk over charcoal and wash on green paper, 58.3 × 53.0 cm.
(National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne).

In 1904 the Director of the National Gallery of Victoria (NGV), Bernard Hall (1859-1935), returned from a European buying trip, during which he spent the first instalment of the Gallery's magnificent Felton Bequest. In his report, Hall wrote:

> From Mr. Trench, I bought a very moderate [*sic*] priced drawing by F. Sandys (£25) which is engraved amongst others in the *Studio* for October 1904 in an article on his work. It is old-fashioned in manner but Sandys has a certain standing amongst the big outsiders, and was accorded the posthumous honour of a special Exhibition of his works at The Burlington House this year at the same time as the Watts Exhibition was held.[1]

The work acquired by Hall was the large drawing *Sorrow* (Fig. 1). Created in coloured chalks on green paper, it depicts a life-size bust of a woman in robes and a veil, bending her head

[1] B. Hall: *Report to the Chairman of the Gallery Committee*, July 1905, Felton Bequest Committee files, National Gallery of Victoria, p. 2.

over clasped hands. The rocky structure behind her, the covered vessel almost hidden by her flowing auburn hair, and the three crosses against the angry sky to the upper right clearly identify her as the grieving Mary Magdalene. In the upper left of the image, the monogram FS within a shield is set between the date 1873 (Fig. 2).

The earliest provenance known for this work is for 28 February 1903, when Betty Elzea's 2001 *catalogue raisonné* of Sandys's art records it as being sold for £10.10.0 by art dealers Thomas Agnew & Sons (through Christie's auction house) to the Irish poet Herbert Trench (1865–1923), as the work of Frederick Sandys (1829-1904).[2] As Hall notes, this drawing was later reproduced with Trench's permission (but not discussed) in a lengthy and glowing article in *Studio* in 1904, written by Percy Bate, Sandys's enthusiastic acolyte, curator and collector.[3]

Sorrow has been considered an important component of the NGV's Pre-Raphaelite collection, and is also significant for being among the first Felton Bequest acquisitions, although it has received little notice, either through scholarly research or display. However, it has recently had unexpected, and long-overdue, attention.

As a result of the ongoing digitisation of the NGV's collection, and high-resolution images being made accessible online, the NGV receives and responds to information about its collection from a wide variety of sources. In November 2015, the NGV's Prints and Drawings Department received an email from the British art historian Scott Thomas Buckle, pointing out that the distinctive monogram is not that of Frederick Sandys, but rather of the lesser-known artist Frederic Shields (1833–1911) (Fig. 3).[4]

Fig. 2. Detail of *Sorrow*, showing Shields's monogram.

[2] B. Elzea: *Frederick Sandys 1829–1904: A Catalogue Raisonné*, Woodbridge 2001, cat. no. 3.49, p. 249. No evidence of this work has been located in London auction records from the 1870s onwards. (Scott Thomas Buckle, email correspondence with author, 22 May 2017). *Sorrow* may not be the original title. Elzea gives the title as *Sorrow* (*or the Penitent Magdalen*).
[3] P. Bate: "The Late Frederick Sandys: A Retrospect," *The Studio* 33 (1904), p. 7.
[4] Scott Thomas Buckle: Email correspondence to NGV General Enquiries, 19 November 2015 and then the author, 19 November 2015 and following. Thomas Scott Buckle had been aware of the misattribution of the drawing in the literature for a number of years prior to communicating with the NGV.

Frederic Shields's art is now largely forgotten, although he was well respected in his lifetime. Born into a poor family, he received early training from his father, a bookbinder and printer. As a teenager, unable to afford formal art study, Shields worked in lithographic workshops in London and Manchester, eventually saving to attend evening classes at the Manchester School of Design. Two distinct early events that influenced him were visiting the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom exhibition in Manchester in 1857, and discovering Moxon's illustrated edition of Tennyson's poetry. His developing reputation resulted in commissions to illustrate Daniel Defoe's *History of the Plague of London* (1862) and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1864); these brought him considerable attention, and praise from John Ruskin and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Shields met Rossetti in 1864, and through him entered his circle of artistic acquaintances. Dante Gabriel and Christina Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown and Shields became close friends and regular correspondents. Almost twenty years later, Shields was present at Rossetti's death bed; he drew the posthumous portrait much admired by Rossetti's family, and was later commissioned by Rossetti's mother to design commemorative stained-glass windows to overlook Rossetti's grave at the parish church at Birchington.

In 1878 Shields and Ford Madox Brown were jointly awarded a commission to paint six murals each on the history of Manchester for the Great Hall of the Manchester Town Hall. Shields later withdrew, allowing Brown to complete this impressive task himself.[5] The previous year, he and his wife had moved from Manchester to London, and from that time on, his principal output was designing stained glass and other decorative work. The most significant of these projects was to create a sequence of religious and allegorical paintings to decorate the interior of the Chapel of the Ascension being built in Bayswater, London. Shields worked devotedly on this project from 1888, and died within a year of the Chapel's completion in 1910. This great achievement was bombed during World War II, and subsequently demolished. He was recognised during his lifetime, with exhibitions held in Manchester in 1875 and 1907, and a lengthy book surveying "his life and letters" was published the year after his death.[6]

[5] S. Thomson: *Manchester's Victorian Art Scene and its Unrecognized Artist*s, Manchester 2007, p. 122. Brown used Shields as the model for his depiction of John Wycliffe on trial in the Manchester Murals.
[6] E. Mills: *The Life and Letters of Frederic Shields*, London and New York, 1912. For a recent summary and commentary on Mills, see Mark Jones's discussion of this book at *Albion Magazine* Online, August 2012, http://www.albionmagazineonline.org/albion-autumn-2012-art-the-life-and-letters-of-frederic-shields.html, accessed 21 May 2017.

During his lifetime Shields's art developed from Victorian genre scenes, such as *Bobber and Kibs* (1856), his first painting exhibited at the Royal Institution, which depicts children playing conkers on the street, to monumental designs of religious figures and narratives, in accordance with his devout Christianity.[7] The subject matter and sculptural quality of the Magdalene in *Sorrow* can clearly be viewed in this light, but also fits closely with the abundant portraits of strong-featured women—real, religious, historic, mythical or allegorical—drawn and painted by Sandys, Rossetti and others in this period. That the attribution to Sandys was never questioned on stylistic grounds is, in many ways, understandable given the close connections in subject matter (both artists produced multiple images of the Magdalene),[8] the half-length composition and the emotive atmospheres created in their art. Yet closer examination reveals differences. When compared, for example, with the National Gallery of Victoria's admittedly later example of Sandys's work, *Proud Maisie* (1880-90) (Fig. 4), differences between Shields's and Sandys's manner of draughtsmanship seem apparent. Sandys's pouty, flirty young woman, with her carefully-drawn individual strands of hair, and strategic touches of red chalk to add warmth to her flesh, is quite unlike the statuesque figure of Mary, which employs much more generalised layering of coloured chalks to convey volume, and a softness of line that contrasts with Sandys's crisp precision.[9] A watercolour portrait painted by Shields in 1874 of his new wife Matilda Booth (known as

Fig. 4. Frederick Sandys. *Proud Maisie*. 1880-90. Red and black chalk on paper over cardboard, 39.2 x 28.8 cm. (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne).

[7] The most comprehensive research on Shields to date is a biographical chapter in Thomson, *op. cit.*, and continuing research by Margaretta S. Frederick on his work on the Chapel of the Ascension, Bayswater.
[8] A watercolour of a full-length kneeling Magdalene, signed with Shields's monogram and dated 1879, sold at Christie's London, 16 June 2010 (lot 27); another is illustrated online without details at http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_269573/Frederic-James-Shields/Mary-Magdelene#information accessed 17 May 2017.
[9] In correspondence with Shields, Rossetti writes of using a light green paper for his chalk drawings, and working black and red powdered chalk into it with his fingers to create his ground. 27 August 1869, quoted in Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

Cissy) bears similarities in facial form and long red hair (Fig. 5). She had modelled for him since she was a young child (she was only sixteen when they married) and seems likely to have been the inspiration for *Sorrow*. The monogram FS within a shield is located at the lower left of the painting, above the Madonna-blue garment.

Fig. 5. Frederic Shields. *The artist's wife*. 1874. Watercolour, 27 x 20 cm. (The William Morris Gallery, London).

How did this mistaken attribution come to pass, and why was it not detected sooner? Frederic Shields did not die until 1911, long after *Sorrow* entered the NGV's collection. Reclusive, ill and engrossed in his work on the Chapel for so many years, Shields was apparently unaware of its reproduction in Bates's article and subsequent acquisition by the NGV.

In his book *The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters: Their Associates and Successors* (1899), Percy Bate included Shields in the chapter on "Pre-Raphaelites and Decorators," writing: "Frederic Shields . . . has been content to do his life's work in the quietest and most unassuming manner, so that few people know what the extent of that work is."[10] On the other hand, in the *Studio* article five years later, Bate writes of his "thrill of pleasure" when he first came across Sandys's art, and his many hours spent with Sandys. He described his collection of reproductions of Sandys's art as "one of my treasures, complete as it is in every respect" bar one elusive woodcut.[11] Yet, despite his experience, he failed to distinguish the different hand; indeed, *Sorrow* was selected as one of twelve works to illustrate his summation of Sandys's artistic achievements.

Nor did Bate note the distinctive monogram, which is eminently legible when viewing the work, and still discernible in reproduction. Did he perhaps not see the work personally? Admittedly Sandys experimented with a range of signatures through his career including, in the late 1850s and early 1860s, an entwined monogram of AFS or FS—at least once, this was enclosed within a shield shape.[12] But, from the early 1860s onwards, Sandys signed his name

[10] P. Bate: *The English Pre-Raphaelite Painters: Their Associates and Successors*, London 1899, p. 93.
[11] Bate, *Sandys*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.
[12] *Portrait of Susanna Rose*, 1862, The Cleveland Museum of Art

as "F. Sandys" in a Gothic-style font, usually with a double vertical stroke on the F, and a diagonal stroke through the capital S. Inscriptions giving sitter details, and the signature, are occasionally included within a scrolling *cartouche*. Significantly, the form of an FS monogram, within a shield, for a work clearly dated 1873, is an anomaly for Sandys, and was noted as such by Elzea in her *catalogue raisonné* (Fig. 6).[13]

Fig. 6. Monogram from *Sorrow*, as illustrated by Elzea in 2001 (Appendix 19, p. 336).

However, neither she, nor staff at the NGV, saw any reason to question the attribution of this work to Sandys, given its acquisition and publication history. Yet the information was available—Peter Nahum had listed and illustrated this monogram as Shields's in his reference work, *Monograms of Victorian and Edwardian Artists* (Fig. 7).[14]

Fig. 7. Monogram of Frederick James Shield, as illustrated by Nahum in 1976 (p. 106).

One must wonder if this mistake was ever pointed out to Bate. He (1868–1913) and Trench (1865–1923) were of a younger generation than Shields (1833–1911), many of whose close contemporaries were deceased by 1903, their experienced knowledge gone. Or was this mistake realised by some, but not conveyed to Trench, and thus Hall? Over one hundred years later, this misattribution can finally be corrected.

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[13] Elzea, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 3.49, p, 249.
[14] P. Nahum: *Monograms of Victorian and Edwardian Artists*, London 1976, p. 106.

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She has published and lectured widely on nineteenth-century British art and architecture, including chapters on the Aesthetic portrait for *The Cult of Beauty* (Victoria and Albert Museum, 2011); on Mortimer Menpes's studio house (Art Gallery of South Australia, 2015) and on Alice Macdonald Kipling for *John Lockwood Kipling* (Yale U P, 2017). In 2018, her article on portraits by Watts in the NGV appeared in the *Art Journal of the National Gallery of Victoria*. She also wrote for *The Royal Academy Summer Exhibition: A Chronicle, 1769–2018,* published online by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. She is Art UK's Group Leader for nineteenth-century British portraits in their online discussion forum, *Art Detective*.

Caroline Clemente is a Melbourne art historian and free-lance curator, having studied for her B.A. (Melb.), B.A. [Hons] (Lon.), and M.A. thesis (Melb., 2005). A Courtauld Institute of Art degree and postgraduate studies in Florence, Italy were followed by a three-year tutorship in the Fine Arts Department at Melbourne University and ten years as Curator of Prints and Drawings at the National Gallery of Victoria. She is author of *Australian Watercolours in the National Gallery of Victoria, 1802-1926* (NGV, 1991) and the annotated "Catalogue of Plates" for Brenda Niall's biography of Georgiana McCrae, *Georgiana* (MUP, 1994). She won a State Library of Victoria Creative Fellowship in 2007 to research Melbourne artists of the La Trobe era, and contributed to the SLV's *La Trobe Journal* (2007), *This Wondrous Land: Colonial Art on Paper* (NGV, 2011), *Eugene von Guerard: Nature Revealed* (NGV, 2011) and *Auld Lang Syne: Images of Scottish Australia* (Ballarat Art Gallery, 2014). As an SLV Honorary Fellow (2014), she focused on Thomas Woolner's Australian period, subsequently presenting a paper at the joint NGV/Melbourne University symposium *Medieval Moderns—The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* (2015), which is the basis for her article here. With Barbara Kane, she is compiling a *catalogue raisonné* of Thomas Woolner's Australian *oeuvre* for a forthcoming exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery, Canberra.

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Dr. Meg Tasker, General Editor of the *Australasian Journal of Victorian Studies* (2015-19), worked for many years teaching, researching and supervising postgraduates in Australian and Victorian Studies at Federation University (formerly the University of Ballarat), while serving in various roles of the Australasian Victorian Studies Association (AVSA) and the Association for the Study of Australian Literature. Her critical biography *Struggle and Storm: The Life and Death of Francis Adams* was published by MUP in 2001, and her ARC-funded discovery project "Australians Abroad" (2004-06) produced many papers and articles, many in collaboration with Dr. Lucy Sussex, on writers from the Australasian colonies who pursued literary careers in London in the 1890s and early twentieth century. She is now adjunct Associate Professor and HDR supervisor at Federation University (Australia), having taken early retirement to become a "Victorianist-at-large."

William Bell Scott, *Rossetti's Wombat Seated in his Master's Lap*, 1871. Graphite on paper. 17.8 x 11.1 cm. (Courtesy of Tate Britain, Creative Commons).