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Queen Victoria versus “King Billy”: Images as History.

Abstract

In *Visual Ephemera* (2000), Anita Callaway makes the assertion that our non-indigenous cultural beginnings in the nineteenth century will be found in the often transient popular arts, rather than in a fruitless search for great oil paintings to compete against the European High-Art paradigm. In this paper I will extend the scope of Callaway's study to encompass the field of popular illustration and cartooning.

My analysis draws from the graphic production of the most prolific image maker in nineteenth century Australia, Montagu Scott (1835 - 1909). In particular, I make a comparison of his illustrated work of the 1860s with examples produced by him in the 1890s. The theme I will explore is as topical as it ever was - the relationship between Australia and Britain as it is made manifest by Australian attitudes to the British Monarch or her representative in Australia. Since an examination of this relationship is essentially a chronicle of the construction of an Australian identity distinct from Europe, other sub-texts naturally emerge, including the use made by Anglo-Australians of their ideas about, and images of, indigenous Australians.

Even though my examples are restricted to a dozen images, I intend these to characterize the richness of the data in popular graphic discourse. By implication this paper also presents a model, if not methodology, for extraction of ideological significance from popular images.

Biography

Ross Woodrow is coordinator of Art Theory in the School of Fine Art and Assistant Dean Information Technology, Faculty of Education and Arts, at the University of Newcastle. Initially trained as a practitioner, he has completed a Bachelor of Arts at the University of Queensland with a double major in Fine Art. His Master of Philosophy thesis explored the influence of Darwinian ideas on racial images in the Australian popular press of the nineteenth century and was awarded in 1994 at the University of Sydney, where he is completing the final year of Doctoral studies, again focussed on Australian popular illustration. His primary teaching and research interest is the interpretation of visual images. This follows a sometimes unrelated dual emphasis on the construction of racial types in historical images and the theoretical and practical implications of new digital technology with particular focus on the creative and educative potential of the internet.

Queen Victoria versus “King Billy”: Images as History.

In the nineteenth century, independently minded colonials began to question the relevance of a monarch in England who never set foot in Australia. Today, as any monarchist will explain, Queen Elizabeth and her representative in Australia, the Governor General, do not really rule over Australia, their function is only symbolic or ceremonial. The absurdity in this proposition is that a monarchy can be anything other than symbolic and really masks the fact that it is the force of arms that empowers the protocols, symbolic functions and emblems of imperium. The symbolic and constitutional are not separable and Elizabeth Windsor remains Queen only because of the mutual understanding that if she attempted to exert executive power over Australia, it would immediately trigger the final severing of this last symbolic link with Britain.

This paper examines the development of a distinctive Australian identity in the nineteenth century when the question of British dominion over Australia was first raised as an impediment to the establishment of a national identity. Specifically, I contrast sentiments towards Queen Victoria in 1868, when the British monarch ruled over the Australian colonies in every sense, with attitudes expressed in 1897. Underpinning my comparison is the assumption that the development of a distinctive nationalism involved some degree of repudiation of Queen Victoria's dominion over the colonies. An inescapable sub-text emerges from such an assumption; namely, the use made by Anglo-Australians of their ideas about, and images of, Aboriginal Australians in this construction of national identity. This is because nineteenth-century Anglo-Australians were confronted with a particular dilemma. The ties that bound white Australians to Britain also defined their civilized status, as distinct from what they recognized as the only truly indigenous culture, for Queen Victoria as sovereign of the civilized world personified the apex of differentiation from the “savagery” of Aboriginal Australia.

In exploring this relationship between Britain and Australia, my singular focus is on popular imagery, mostly cartoons, as that term was used in the nineteenth century. My fixation on popular imagery is a strategic choice to contribute to the alternative story of Australian visual culture that is only just starting to be written.¹ This is the history that not only eschews the high-art paradigm dominated by European-influenced oil painting, but also

presumes that the ephemeral and popular arts best expressed the cultural and ideological aspirations of their audience. In her important study, Anita Callaway has demonstrated that it was the popular arts which broke free from European sources by mutating into a peculiarly Australian hybrid.² To amplify and extend Callaway's work I use the theme of the transparency and associated celebrations as a point of departure for my analysis of popular illustrations. In particular, I will examine just over a dozen graphic works by the most prolific image maker in nineteenth-century Australia, if not for the entire history of European settlement,³ the painter, photographer, cartoonist and illustrator Eugene Montagu (Monte) Scott (1835 - 1909).⁴ That almost half of these images have not been reproduced since their original publication is indicative of the scant regard given to popular imagery in historical discourse.

Since they are outside the scope of Callaway's study of ephemeral art, press illustrations only appear in her text as reproductions of the transparencies, tableaux, masquerades, panoramas and theatrical scene painting that form the basis of her investigation. To this end, Callaway reproduces an illustration from the *Illustrated Sydney News* of 1868 showing one of Monte Scott's allegorical transparencies, produced that year for the dual celebration of the visit of the Duke of Edinburgh and the eightieth anniversary of the founding of Sydney.⁵ The magnitude and power of this and other illuminated spectacles in nineteenth century Australia have been well characterized by Callaway, including the fact that Australian transparencies were not always conservative, imperialist propaganda. Furthermore, she stresses that the history of the form in colonial Australia included a distinct radical dimension. A transparency could, as she demonstrates, provoke riotous, even murderous behaviour and was all the more dangerous since a provocative image could not be controlled as in the sites of regulated artifice such as the theatre or art gallery.⁶

During the Royal visit of 1867 - 68, it would seem that no artist worked harder than Monte Scott to impress Prince Alfred - that is, if we consider the number and variety of images he produced. Apart from at least nine large transparencies composed for the welcoming celebrations, he painted Alfred's portrait, along with another of the Earl Belmore, as well as photographing various members of the Royal party and creating impressive descriptive and allegorical illustrations in the Sydney press.⁷ [figure 1] The key or major published depictions of the attempted assassination of the Duke by Henry James O'Farrell are by Scott.⁸ [figures 2 & 3]

During the 1863 Royal marriage celebrations in Melbourne, it appears that Scott also painted some illuminations.⁹ He certainly produced two quarter-page cartoons in *Melbourne Punch* using the illuminations as a theme and a full-page comment on colonial contributions to the wedding present. One of the smaller cartoons is a wry insight into the fickle nature of the art economy, if not a suppressed gloat by Scott regarding the on-selling of his Melbourne work. It illustrates the interior of an illumination artist's studio in Sydney, and on the easel of this "Colonial Raphael", is a completed design for an illumination. The artist is telling a visitor that he is not going to make any money from the work because they have imported all the second-hand illuminations from Melbourne.¹⁰ In the other small cartoon, a commissioner of an illumination, possibly a store owner, looks disappointingly up at his illumination produced to "honour the continued reign of Victoria." Against the black sky, only a feeble row of candlelight appears.¹¹ Scott's full-page cartoon, "The Royal Marriage Present," depicts Mr Punch riding on a bullock wagon filled with a cornucopia of produce from Victoria. But, since this slightly ridiculous spectacle is subtitled "How the Colony responds to the invitation to contribute", it cannot be read as an unequivocal endorsement of the celebration for Alfred's marriage.¹²

In all, then, there is no published evidence from 1863 indicating that Monte Scott might have enthusiastically embraced the Royal celebrations. For the Sydney Royal visit, the opposite appears to be the case. It might be argued, nevertheless, that Scott's welcoming attitude in 1868 did not exclude, and may indeed have been motivated by, a developing nationalistic pride in Australia. Callaway has made the point that "[m]any nineteenth century colonials saw no paradox in claiming an identity for themselves that was both broadly British and specifically Australian."¹³ In the minds of many progressive colonials, Alfred was seen more as a representative of modernity and nationalism, rather than as a symbol of British imperialism. More specifically, as summarised by Callaway, Alfred could be the catalyst to unify the separate colonies by accepting the crown as the first sovereign of a united Australia.¹⁴ In this context, Scott's 1867 image that has Alfred attended by an Aborigine atop the heads of Sydney Cove calling a "Coo-ee-ee' back to England", seems less sycophantic, and the punning subtitle, "Native And To The Manner Borne", adds to the sardonic casting of Alfred in this role. [figure 4]

The emphasis in most of the celebratory images produced for the Royal visit in Sydney was not on the representation of the Duke, but on colonial progress, as Callaway has mentioned. All of Scott's allegorical transparencies expressed this sentiment, with personifications of Education, Art, Science, Justice and so on, symbolizing the attributes and evidence of colonial civilization. What is more, Scott produced two cartoons that satirize mindless adulation of the Duke. One of these (printed in both *Sydney Punch* and the *Illustrated Sydney*

News) was "Suggested by the Proposition that Likenesses of His Highness Should Adorn our Principal Buildings"; and the other, (also printed in both papers) is a savage parody of a superior social set that attempted to engineer an exclusive ball for the Duke in Sydney. [figures 5 & 6] Callaway examines the latter example in some depth and the first cartoon was reproduced and described in an earlier publication by Alan Davies and Peter Stanbury, *Mechanical Eye in Australia*. However, they missed the point of the lampoon, finding it ironic that Scott should satirize the proposed decoration of public buildings while at the same time painting transparencies for that purpose.¹⁵

Into the 1870s, when Monte Scott became the premier cartoonist in Sydney, he kept a sardonic edge to his glorification of Royal dominion. This is exemplified in an elaborate double-page drawing in 1872 celebrating "Our Queen's Birthday". [figure 7] It includes four very elegantly dressed young ladies and a little girl adding floral decorations to a portrait of Queen Victoria. However, this scene of domesticated privilege is about to be disrupted, as a leering Maori warrior is entering by a door in the background - assuming, that is, that he is not coming to contribute a garland.¹⁶ [figure 8] When Scott Australianises the welcome of Queen Victoria's grandsons in 1881, the silliness of the resulting image of ceremonial kangaroos and emus is presumably part of the intended comic effect, rather than implying too significant a degree of disrespect.¹⁷

By 1884 when *Sydney Punch* ceased publication, the number of native-born Australians had reached a critical mass or at least the level of nationalist sentiment was such that there was no longer a need to pay lip-service to Britain as the locus of colonial imperium.¹⁸ Usually, the familiar images of the *Sydney Bulletin* are used to illustrate this rising nationalism. Scott did make some significant contributions to that paper in the 1880s, but to hasten the progress of this short analysis I will examine a full-front-page cartoon by Monte Scott in the *Brisbane Worker*, created thirty years after the Duke's visit to Sydney. [figure 9] There is no suggestion that Scott actually produced a transparency in 1897. Instead, he drew a proposal for "The Worker's Transparency" in which form, function and subject coalesce to create a subversive metaphor where the screen of the transparency becomes a political cartoon, and the illuminating electric light is that organ of truth and justice, the *Worker* newspaper.

This cartoon could not be further from the obsequious images Scott and so many others had created in 1867 and 1868 to celebrate the arrival of the Royal visitor, not to mention the earlier 1863 celebrations of Alfred's wedding. Now, Queen Victoria sits atop a mountain of money bags as the poor and destitute huddle at her feet and a banner proclaims "A Glorious Reign 800,000 Paupers and Nearly 1,000,000 pounds a year to the Royal Family." That Scott should have developed such an elaborate scenario, revealing the rear construction or fabrication of the transparency's illusion, for a message that as a simple statement alone would have seemingly carried its political charge, is an indication of how conscious both he and his audience were of the ideological role played by the transparency in urban colonial Australia.¹⁹ The mass of the colonial populace assembled for the illuminations in Melbourne and Sydney in the 1860s has been identified by Callaway as "the Australian version of the new audience for the visual arts which was currently emerging in the modern world."²⁰ The spectacular and extravagant nature of the large-scale transparency had always made it the perfect vehicle for propaganda as entertainment. Also, from the earliest use of the form in Australia, artists realised that ridicule and glorification are both sides of the same coin. Examples from 1825 and 1831, both described by Callaway, demonstrate that the potential of the idiom for subversive political rhetoric was realised here as it was earlier in England by George Cruikshank.²¹

Nevertheless, Scott's erasure of the transparency in favour of the cartoon can be read as a manifesto with both political and personal dimensions. At one level this image is a declaration of the power of the political cartoon in the free press at the end of the nineteenth century. Scott's disrespectful appropriation of the popular public art form of the past reinforces the radical polemic of the *Worker*. At the same time, it suggests the anachronistic nature of the transparency as a medium and vehicle for official propaganda. The light spectacles from the middle decades of the nineteenth century that celebrated imperial power and Royal privilege were no doubt part of the historical memory of the readers of the *Worker* in Brisbane and Sydney at the end of the century. And, indeed, they must have been in order for this cartoon to have currency. But to Scott, this rejection of subservience to imperial power and obsolete splendour appears to be a specific repudiation of his own past.

Whatever the depth or inclination of Scott's nationalistic sentiments in the 1860s, there is no doubt that during the Duke's tour he had played a significant role in celebrating, if not endorsing, Royal dominion over the colonies. Therefore Scott's choice of a transparency to parody imperial pomp and outrageous injustice in the 1897 *Worker* cartoon, might be seen as a convenient lapse in memory, overlooking his role as Royal propagandist. On the contrary, this is not an isolated example and when allied to a front-page *Worker* cartoon from 1896, it becomes clear that this was a personal statement of repudiation, if not contrition, for the

adulatory images he produced thirty years earlier.²²

In this particular cartoon, Scott creates an allegory using the familiar elements of the 1868 images: triumphal parade, chariot and decorated welcoming arch. [figure 10] It is not the Queen's second son that is welcomed this time, but her representative, the Governor, Lord Lamington, who does not ride in the chariot but at the top of a column of privileged Government representatives carried on the shoulders of "John Workingman." The chariot, pulled by donkeys, carries "King Billy" and another Aborigine playing Britannia. Queen Victoria has presumably been knocked from the top of Lamington's shoulders as the column passed under the welcome arch and a donkey, "The Mare", clambers on top of it. As well as King Billy, the other main protagonists all wear king-plates that list their respective salaries: Governor, 5000 pounds per year; Railway Commissioner, 3000 pounds per year; Premier, 1300 pounds per year; Labourer, 6 shillings and 6 pence per day. The extended caption further elaborates the unjust distribution of wealth by quoting the example of "Lucy M__", a shirtmaker who earns one shilling and eleven pence per day for twelve hours work compared to the Governor who earns sixteen pounds per day for eight hours work. To give emphasis to the notion that imperial power reinforces the unjust divisions of class and selective privilege, Scott evokes the scenario of the 1868 visit when he and many others could have been misguided enough to have imagined that Alfred might act as a progressive unifying force as a potential king of Australia. The absurdity of this notion is underscored by placing King Billy in the ceremonial chariot seat.

The charge that resulted from this switch of polarities from English to Aboriginal monarch was no simple "Bakhtinian inversion" as Callaway has reasoned, for cases where English colonials presented themselves as King Billy or other Aborigines at fancy dress or costume balls.²³ However, there are occasions, in the context of fancy-dress balls, when Monte Scott played white European against Aborigine where the burlesque or parody does not travel in one direction only. During the controversial preparations for the ball to celebrate the Duke's Sydney visit, Scott produced two cartoons, as mentioned above. In the second of these, "The 'Real' Australian Ladies' Ball; or, Gin-uine 'Blue Bloods,'" Alfred "happily dances the highland fling at an Aboriginal corroboree."²⁴ [figure 11] More specifically, he dances with an Aboriginal woman who also appears to imitate his steps. In isolation, the burlesque of this mimicry is a familiar form of colonial vilification. However, the male dancers in the background take-up the often depicted dance posture for colonial representations of a corroboree. It becomes obvious that the Duke's highland fling is but one move away from the Aboriginal dance, since the Aborigine on the far left lowers his left arm and becomes a mirror image of the Duke. From what we now know of the behaviour of the Duke and his party during the visit, or more importantly, what many locals knew then, this image of the Duke dancing with a bare-breasted Aboriginal woman in that most exotic and erotic creation of the colonial imagination, the corroboree, is not a case of simple titillation.²⁵ And, whatever the signification in Scott's crass representation of Aboriginal bodies, the joke is on the Duke. It should be noted that Scott was more familiar than most with the Aboriginal corroboree, since in the 1850s he had produced what has been described as "possibly the earliest authentic photograph of a corroboree in Port Phillip."²⁶

In another cartoon, published four days after the fancy-dress ball that was eventually organized for the Duke, Scott again uses the theme of the corroboree.²⁷ [figure 12] Here, the contrast between the event at the Prince of Wales Theatre in Sydney on Tuesday and a corroboree in the Australian bush on Thursday is not one created at the expense of the latter. Scott takes equal care to create the beauties that represent the respective white and black belles. This was obviously important, if the cartoon was to parody the affected nature of an animal skin coat or, indeed of a "corroboree" of colonials dressed as European characters, to represent Australia to the Duke. There was, of course, the added incentive to create an alluring Aboriginal woman, in this case with breast exposed, to link this cartoon to Scott's earlier image of the Duke's fictive visit to a corroboree.

Later in 1868, Scott also produced a two page cartoon which presents two contrasting views.²⁸ [figures 13a & 13b] The first part, "England - Blackfellows at Home" implies the dual irony that not only were Aborigines "kindly received" in fashionable English circles, but also that they were equal to the demands of civilized activities such as taking tea and listening to piano recitals. As noted at the end of the sub-caption, this particular image was prompted by a report in the "London Press". In noting the source of the motivating press report for the second image "Australia - Blackfellows at Home", Scott is more specific; namely, the "*Deniliquin Chronicle*, August 1". The report reads: "An enquiry was held at Wentworth before Col. Russell, P.M., into the cause of death of Neilpe Billy and his lubra Norah, who had been found dead in the bush after a drunken orgie over a case of gin purchased in that township". At one level, the dual-image cartoon derives its comic value from the misguided view of the English on the real nature of "civilized" Aboriginal life. For if this last image were presented alone, it would fit easily into the tradition reaching back to the early colonial images of Charles Rodius or W. H. Fernyhough and reaching forward to those in *Smith's Weekly*, showing the presumed instinctive propensity of Aborigines for alcoholic liquor and their innate failure to cope with its effects.²⁹ However, in the

context of the printed press report and the contrasting representations of the Aborigines in each image, the cartoon becomes an acid indictment of the treatment of Aborigines in colonial Australia.

It should be stressed, nevertheless, that the amusement for this cartoon derives from its latent sense of racist superiority as images of drunken Aborigines, in whatever context, were, and largely remain in the popular press, powerful signifiers of the degraded state and inherent primitivity of the race. At the end of the nineteenth century, Scott created a full-page cartoon illustration in the *Worker* that brought together a number of the themes dealt with in the above examples.³⁰ [figure 14] It makes a revealing comparison with those from thirty years before since it depicts a corroboree organized for a distinguished visitor representing Royal dominion and drunken Aborigines. The cartoon, from 1897, illustrates an article, "The Fraser Island Blacks: reception of Lord and Lady Brassey". The essence of the article is that Lord and Lady Brassey were to visit Fraser Island and the superintendent of the Aboriginal settlement there had decided to give them a "right royal reception, and a grand corroboree," presumably in the manner of the welcome corroboree mounted in Adelaide for the arrival of Prince Alfred in 1867.

Things did not go to plan, because while the superintendent was on the ship dining with his guests prior to disembarking for the festivities, the Aborigines broke into his liquor stock and became "uproariously...intoxicated, and all in the humour to show a lofty and defiant contempt for the white man." Nevertheless, and to their credit, it is noted "they kept a semblance of decency and order" and decided to go ahead with the festivities when the party landed. The first to greet Lord Brassey was an intoxicated Aboriginal woman who collided with him and cannoned off into the Earl of Shaftesbury before falling to the ground. The party returned to their boat forthwith and the festivities did not go ahead. The superintendent later discovers that in their drunken state the Aborigines have ransacked his hut, breaking his clock and some crockery.

Scott chose to illustrate four scenes, presented with relevant extracts as letterpress inserted over or below each scene. He shows the prepared site for the corroboree, a group of Aborigines adding body paint in preparation for the event, the same Aborigines trashing the superintendent's room and the Lord and Earl entangled with "Mary", the Aboriginal woman. This last vignette relates directly to the provocatively suggestive nature of the earlier pairing of Prince Alfred with a semi-naked Aboriginal woman. But the degree of difference is immeasurable. Despite the fact that the article states Mary was wearing a dress, Scott depicts her in a skirt only and it is the Earl that falls to the ground, not Mary, all of which creates a scenario in which Lord Brassey appears to be locked in a mutual embrace with the bare-breasted woman while her skirt billows above Earl Shaftesbury's head leaving her bottom above his face.³¹ Apart from this salacious specificity, what makes this obnoxious cartoon so different to the earlier cartoons just discussed, is a particular shift of emphasis. The corroboree is now literally deconstructed to a meaningless masquerade - it is simply a costume event. In 1868, Scott could use the imaginative power evoked by the corroboree to parody the fancy-dress ball, but by 1897, the corroboree is itself a fancy-dress as signified by the focus on the make-up preparations.

Thirty years before, the violence precipitated by alcohol in Aboriginal society had been seen as destructively internalized. Now, although a primitive predilection for alcohol is still presumed, the danger from drunken Aborigines is externalized to white society. In sum, these attitudes expressed at the end of the nineteenth century towards Aborigines, the nascent potential for violence among the men, the disgustingly compelling carnality of the women and the comic possibilities offered by both, are characteristic for most of the white population in the Australian colonies. As far as I can tell, this cartoon has never been reproduced outside its original publication and I would argue that this is not only because it requires an appended text to fully explain its context but also because its meaning is uninterestingly transparent - it expresses a "truth". In the nineteenth century, King Billy or "Our Blacks," to use the condescending endearment of the *Bulletin*, were only usefully framed within Australian national identity as representative emblems of irreverent indifference to the niceties of imperial grandeur, if not civilization. That this "truth" is no longer tenable, will ensure that the cartoon is never reproduced in the future except perhaps in a critical context, as is the case here.³² What makes this so, is the incorporation of indigenous culture as a fundamental signifier in the current construction of Australian identity. Nevertheless, such is the residual power of imperial symbolism that this incorporation still has its limits as exemplified recently when John Howard, as Prime Minister, overlooked Lois O'Donahue, despite widespread public support for her to take over the role of the Queen's representative in Australia. Whether she would have accepted is another question.

¹ The scholars writing this history include: Joan Kerr, who has worked extensively on cartooning or the black-and-white tradition in Australia. See Joan Kerr, *Artists and Cartoonists in Black and White: the most public art* Sydney: S H Ervin Gallery, 1999; Anita Callaway *Visual Ephemera: theatrical art in nineteenth-century Australia*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2000; and most recently Mimi Colligan *Canvas Documentaries: panoramic entertainments in nineteenth-century Australia and New Zealand*, Melbourne: Melb. Univ. Press, 2002. Anita Callaway has mounted the strongest critique of the High-Art construction of the history of Australian image making. What is more, Callaway's account of lesser art forms is particularly significant since it is supported by extensive evidence of the cultural and ideological (and monetary) value placed on seemingly peripheral art forms such as scene painting by the nineteenth-century audience.

² Anita Callaway *Visual Ephemera: theatrical art in nineteenth-century Australia*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2000, p. 189. The mutant form that Callaway describes is characterised by appropriation, subtle parody and disruptive hybridity as outlined in the post-colonial writing of Homi Bhabha.

³ Monte Scott left a legacy of thousands of images, most in Australian nineteenth century illustrated papers in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane. His first signed cartoon in Australia appeared on 19 February 1857 in *Melbourne Punch* and his last, fifty-two years later on the front page of the *Worker* 6 January 1909, three months before his death at seventy-four. During this long career he produced, at a conservative estimate, around three thousand front-page, full-page or double-page illustrations, regularly viewed by significant numbers of the Australian population, making him the most prolific image maker in nineteenth-century Australia. This is not to forget that Livingstone Hopkins claimed to have produced 19,000 creations for the *Bulletin*. (Dorothy June Hopkins, *Hop of the 'Bulletin'*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1929, p. 22) However, this included numerous cartoonlets as well as illustrative elements such as colophons and other decorative embellishments. Hopkins production of front and full-page illustrations cannot compete with Scott's output. Besides, unlike Hopkins, Scott also produced a body of photographic work and a significant number of paintings and portraits.

From an international perspective, Scott's only rival for the claim to the world's most productive nineteenth century cartoonist would be John Tenniel who worked for London *Punch* for fifty years (from 1851 - 1901). He was chief cartoonist for forty of those, and produced about two thousand full-page and double-page cartoons as well as many smaller illustrations. This is quoted in a number of sources, for example: Arthur Payer, *The Mahogany Tree: an informal history of Punch*, New York: Hawthorn, 1979, p. 109. In the generation before Tenniel in Britain, the most impressively prodigious satirist was George Cruikshank, who produced about 10,000 individual designs for prints and illustrations. Cruikshank was not, however, a newspaper cartoonist in the same manner as Tenniel, Hopkins or Scott. Robert Upstone, *George Cruikshank's the Worship of Bacchus in focus*, London: Tate Publishing, 200, p. 14.

⁴ Montagu Scott was always known as Monte Scott and his cartoons or illustrations that include a full signature are almost always so inscribed. Throughout this paper I adopt this convention, referring to Scott as Monte Scott.

⁵ "The Streets of Sydney", *Empire*, Jan. 23, 1868 p. 2. The *Empire* estimated the crowd attending the celebrations in Sydney for the Duke's arrival in January 1868 at between 80,000 and 100,000 people, also surmising that around 20,000 of these were visitors to the city. It should also be noted that the *Empire* added the only critical evaluation of the artistic quality of the painted illuminations:

The transparencies and pictures afforded great contrasts in point of artistic excellence. A few were good, some were middling, but the great majority were simply execrable as works of art. Few of the devices were happy, and fewer still executed in such a manner as to command the approval of an unbiassed critic. What most of them meant few cared to inquire, and if they had inquired, fewer still could have told them. But every body seemed so ready to make allowances, and to take the will for the deed, that the worst passed muster, and the best excited admiration. (p. 2).

⁶ Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 55.

⁷ Scott painted transparencies for the Colonial Secretary's Office, Council of Education, Supreme Court, Exchange, Registrar General's Office, Commissariat's Office, Lands Office and his own photographic premises at 392 George Street, along with an advertisement on Hennessy's tobacconist's shop, (*SMH*, 28 Jan. 1868 p. 5; *Empire* 21 Jan. 1868 p.5). His portrait of Earl Belmore (the new Governor to be installed by Alfred) was reproduced as a full-page engraving, by Jackson, in the *Illustrated Sydney News*, 13 June 1868, p. 384. Scott advertised Carte-de-Visite of various members of the Royal party in the *SMH*, April 18, 1868, p. 12. His

contributions to *Sydney Punch* included a full-page (30 Nov. 1867, p. 5; reprinted in *ISN*, 25 March 1868, p.330) and a double-page "Welcome Alfred!" (25 Jan. 1868, pp. 66,67) and after the assassination attempt "Australia Vindex" as a double-page (21 March 1868, n.p.) and "Australia Supplex" (16 April 1868, n.p.). Both of these illustrations were reprinted in the *ISN* (25 March 1868, p. 331 and 30 April 1868 p. 357, respectively). He also produced a full-page cartoon "Speed the Parting Guest!", showing Alfred bidding farewell to N.S.W. (*Sydney Punch*, 11 April 1868, p. 155).

⁸ These include a large, highly dramatic depiction of the event (*ISN* 25 March, 1868, pp. 329, 330). Scott's contributions to the *ISN* special April 1868 supplement on the "Assassination Attempt", included individual drawings and a full folio sheet engraving "All Right' Again."

⁹ Anita Callaway suggests Scott may have been involved with the painting of some of the transparencies in Melbourne (Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 30)

¹⁰ "An Inter-colonial High Art Question" *Melb. Punch*, 11 June 1863, p. 368. The subtitle of the cartoon and full caption read:

Scene - Illumination Artist's Studio in Sydney.

Occupant of Studio to Friend: "Here's a pretty go, Augustus. A Colonial Raphael, who looked to make a sov. or two by this illumination, been choused out o' his rights, 'cos they've been and imported all the second-hand transparencies from Melbourne."

¹¹ "In Honor of the Continued Reign of Victoria," *Melb. Punch*, 4 June 1863, p. 353. Full caption: "Mr Jones, having ventured forth to survey his illumination, is not at all gratified at the result."

¹² "The Royal Marriage Present: How the Colony Responds to the Invitation to Contribute," *Melb. Punch*, 28 May 1863, p. 349. Caption reads: Mr. Punch (to the crowd behind the scenes) - "Now then, ladies and gentlemen, don't rush in all together with your contributions."

¹³ Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 36. This paradoxical mix is easily exemplified using the pages of *Sydney Punch* since within a month after Alfred's wounding, *Punch* could publish an adulatory poem devoted to the "Sailor Boy" Prince (28 March 1868 p. 138) and the intensely nationalistic "Australia for Australians" which included the lines "Like the Saxons of old, We must do what we're told, For serfs are the sons of Australia". (4 April 1868, pp. 144, 145.)

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp.36 - 38.

¹⁵ Callaway (in *Visual Ephemera*) reproduces the cartoon as Figure 38, p. 111. Scott also produced a follow-up cartoon, "The 'Real' Australian Ladies' Ball", discussed below. Alan Davies and Peter Stanbury, *The Mechanical Eye in Australia: photography 1841 - 1900*, Melbourne: Oxford Univ. Press, 1985, p. 191.

¹⁶ "Our Queen's Birthday", *Sydney Punch*, 23 May 1872, pp. 244, 245.

¹⁷ "Welcome! To the Grandsons of Our Queen", *Sydney Punch*, 23 July 1881, p. 35.

¹⁸ There was a brief, failed attempt in 1888 to restart *Sydney Punch*. The resulting issues are appalling in production quality and most of the illustrations appear to be reused wood-blocks and reprinted lithographs, some by Monte Scott, transferred from earlier illustrations.

¹⁹ Reinforcing the self-conscious nature of the ploy is the fact that the transparent image reads correctly but illogically from the reverse view.

²⁰ Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, p. 36.fictive

²¹ These were respectively: Augustus Earle's pro-Governor Brisbane's transparency and the anonymous anti-Darling transparency. Cruikshank's example was "The Triumph of Queen Caroline", of 1820. (Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, pp. 14 - 19).

²² "Three Cheers for the Governor!", (Brisbane) *Worker*, 11 April 1896, front page.

²³ Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, pp. 90 - 93.

²⁴ Ibid, p. 112. The cartoon was published in *Sydney Punch*, 9 Nov.1867, p. 194.

²⁵ For detail on the behaviour of the Duke and his party during the visit, and the fact that this was common knowledge, see Callaway, *Visual Ephemera*, Chapter 6, pp. 103 - 119. Also, I have not overlooked here the fact that the Duke did actually attend a corroboree, depicted in the *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, staged as part of his visit to South Australia. Evidently, an Aborigine complained that one of the organizers had tried to persuade the men to have their wives dance naked for the Prince, but that they had refused, adding that the white women wouldn't be asked to do the same. See, Brian McKinlay, *The First Royal Tour: 1867 - 1868*, Adelaide: Rigby Ltd., 1970, p. 43 (image reproduced on p.44).

²⁶ Michael Cannon, ed., *Historical Records of Victoria*, Melbourne: Vic. Gov. Printing Office, 1982, Vol 2A, p. 295 (where the photograph is also reproduced).

²⁷ "Belles of the Corroborees", *Sydney Punch*, 14 March 1868, p.122. The fancy-dress ball was held on 10 March 1868.

²⁸ *Sydney Punch*, 15 August 1868, pp. 98, 99. Both pages of the cartoon are reproduced in Peter Coleman and Les Tanner, *Cartoons of Australian History*, Melbourne: Nelson, 1978 (p. 179), although the cartoon is not discussed and nor is Scott mentioned or acknowledged as its author.

²⁹ For example see, Geoffrey Dutton, *White on Black: the Australian Aborigine portrayed in art*, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1974, plates 45 & 49.

³⁰ (Brisbane) *Worker*, 16 Oct. 1897, p. 4, (article, p. 3).

³¹ For extended discussion of cartoons and illustrations depicting white males and Aboriginal women and the theoretical implications of these, see my thesis: Ross Woodrow, "Darwinism and Images of Race in the Australian Popular Press, c. 1860 - 1900", M Phil, University of Sydney, 1994, pp. 172 - 174.

³² I should also add that I have followed contemporary moral etiquette in excluding from my summary description of this cartoon the original, and potent, terms that were used, such as "gin", "dusky lady", "blacks" and "boys" to describe the Aboriginal participants.