

Chapter 3. Colonial and Early Australian Art Auctions

Although auctions were commonly used for conducting art transactions from almost the inception of the Australian colonies in the late eighteenth century, there were also other vehicles through which art was bought and sold. These included retail stores, art dealers, art unions, Mechanics' Institutes, artists' exhibitions, artists' societies, private commissions, photographers selling on-site and black and white illustrations in periodicals and newspapers.

The lack of a structured art market in the colonial period meant that art was often relegated to non-institutional avenues for exhibition and sale and was also often a sideline to other retail business. Artists such as Eugène von Guérard and Nicholas Chevalier, for example, displayed works in the windows of music, framers', or other retail stores, in addition to their own studios. In May 1846, Robin Vaughan Hood opened possibly Australia's first art gallery, the Colonial Picture Gallery in Liverpool Street, Hobart. It too was next door to his framing shop.¹ In the 1850s, stationery shops, such as Mr Borthwick's Stationery in Collins Street, Melbourne were outlets for art, books, papers, prints and *cartes-de-visites*. Newspaper offices sold watercolours. Joseph Wilkie's piano store window at 15 Collins Street was actually a permanent exhibition space, with the artist E. Wake Cook commenting:

I was a small boy when I landed in Melbourne in 1852, and there was an utter absence of visible art. Then on one memorable day, I saw in Wilkie's music shop window a little picture. 'Troopers, Mounted Police', admirably drawn and painted by William Strutt. Later on, a large painting, 'Fern Tree Gully,' by Eugène von Guérard, was shown, and was followed by a view of the Yarra, by Nicholas Chevalier. Shortly after this, drawings by S. T. Gill began to appear, the vestibule of the Theatre Royal being decorated with fifty of his sketches.²

There were only a handful of art dealers in the colonial period and they concentrated on marketing European art, as they could achieve 'better profits [between 50 and 100 per cent]...by buying indifferent English or foreign pictures at a small price, and selling them for a large one in this country...than by dealing with local productions, on which they take a simple 15 or 20 per cent'.³ For major Australian collectors, Britain epitomised superior taste and it was for this reason that many sales were made through the London or European trade system.

Henry Wallis from the French Gallery, Pall Mall was a London dealer who exported a number of collections of both British and European works to Melbourne and Sydney in the late nineteenth century. Another art dealing firm,

H. Koekkek and Sons, who operated a gallery in Piccadilly, London also sold similar collections in Australia. For example, in April 1891, some works owned by this firm were auctioned by Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. after they had been exhibited in Australia and presumably not found sufficient ready buyers. The colonial businessman, Charles Raymond Staples, bought some of the stock at this auction, paying the top sale price when he purchased F. Baratti's *After the Bath* for £80.⁴ Staples, a wealthy Melbourne businessman, was also the original purchaser of Streeton's *Settler's Camp* (1888), which is now in the Robert Holmes à Court Collection in Perth. According to art historian and Deputy Chairman of Sotheby's Australia, Jane Clark, this purchase by Staples enabled Streeton to relinquish his apprenticeship and concentrate on painting full-time.⁵ Staples' own art collection was auctioned after he was declared bankrupt and convicted of fraud in the 1890s.⁶

The colonial Australian preference for Old Masters also resulted in the purchase of many 'potboilers'. ('Pot-boiling' refers to the practice of making a living by producing a body of literature or artwork for a specific audience. The expression seems to stem from the mid-eighteenth century and implies inferior or mediocre works.) The artist Sydney Long in his essay, 'The Trend of Australian Art Considered and Discussed', argued that:

The figure painters find that the occasional portrait, and black and white work, crumbs that are to be garnered only in the city, lie more to their book than the uncertain masterpiece to be painted at some expense in the bush. We shall have to wait until the wealthy Australian buys his pictures here, instead of satisfying his artistic craving with imitations of the Old Masters, or potboilers by mediocre English artists imported for trade purposes.⁷

Many of the paintings sold at auction or in commercial galleries in Australia in the mid-nineteenth century were copies of Old Master paintings and although some were sold as such, others were marketed as originals by auctioneers and art dealers. However, it is quite likely that many collectors were unconcerned about the authenticity of their purchases, merely wanting 'wallpaper' and signifiers of culture and taste.⁸ This desire for 'wallpaper' escalated with the rise of 'the overnight aristocracy of the boom period' following the Gold Rushes of the 1850s.⁹ The press suggested Australia was seen as the perfect market in which to dump inferior European paintings; 'Artists were still complaining in 1899 of "wretched daubs" being imported and flooding the market, taking sales from Australian art'.¹⁰

The Australian colonial art market was thus inundated by European paintings, a practice which had a deleterious effect on the market for local paintings and the importance of authenticity and originality. The eventual dominance of original Australian paintings in the marketplace is partly attributable to the practices of art auction houses, which in turn were influenced by other cultural institutions, such as art unions.

Art Unions and their Role in the Art Market

Art unions were effectively lotteries with three aims: to make money for the organizers, to distribute contemporary artworks to the subscribers and to aid struggling artists.¹¹ Although they originated in Switzerland in the 1810s, they were emblematic of culture, civilization and education in Britain, America and the Australian colonies. They resulted in the industrial or decorative arts being married to the fine arts in a union which benefited all strata of society. The general population felt that it was now enjoying the fruits hitherto reserved for the upper echelons of society and they enabled Britain, for example, to be at the forefront of competitive luxury goods production.¹² This fostered a sense of national identity. There were also didactic motives for promoting art and 'By designating themselves as disinterested stewards of culture, Art-Union managers laid claim to aesthetic authority.'¹³ It is this sense of 'aesthetic authority' that has been adopted by other cultural institutions, including modern auction houses.

The British government was supportive of art unions and passed the *Art Union Act* in 1846 in response to print-sellers and art dealers lobbying against art unions under the Lottery Acts. According to the *Report from the Select Committee into the Operation of Art Union Laws* Parliament exempted the art unions, 'For at that time, there was not a ready sale for pictures of a high and expensive class. With a show of reason therefore, Art Unions were encouraged, in order to create a market for the sale of high class pictures.'¹⁴ This indicates that neither auction houses nor dealers provided such means and, interestingly, did not take into account the influence of institutions such as the Royal Academy of Arts.

The print-sellers and art dealers were outraged by the art unions because the London Art Union, established in 1837, was not only a morally-objectionable lottery, but also often functioned as a virtual dealership: it enabled access to art through its lotteries; it created demand for contemporary English paintings; its marketing practices helped to develop industries involved in the mass production of art, like electroplate printing; and its commissioning of sculpture promoted the print, bronze and pottery industries in Britain.¹⁵

Art unions permeated the Australian colonial art market. They were major vehicles for the sale of works by local artists and were also connected with other vehicles for art exchange, including the influential Mechanics' Institutes.¹⁶ Before compulsory schooling in Australia, Mechanics' Institutes provided a means of public education, as well as training the necessary craftsmen to develop the colony. Australia's inaugural art union was held in Sydney by the artist Maurice [Morris] Felton on 15 December 1841.¹⁷ Nonetheless, art unions did not really take root in Australia until 1845, with Melbourne's first art union and the establishment of the important Parramatta art unions. Dr Hill's art union in Parramatta in 1845–6 was the first Scottish-type art union in Australia and, although it provided a vehicle for art patronage in Sydney, it did not assist local artists to find a market, as most works were imported from Scotland.¹⁸

One of the chief complaints about the art unions in Australia, as overseas, was that they encroached on the traditional role and territory of the art dealers. In 1878, the Ballarat Gallery of Painting Art Union held a lottery for cash prizes. The organizers noted that 'if preferred, Messrs Bridges and Co. guarantee to find purchasers for pictures at the full amount for each prize, as stated, at the close of the drawing' and 'In Parramatta a special agent sold tickets to residents, receiving a 20% commission for his work'.¹⁹ It is believed that many prize-winners preferred the cash to the art.

In 1848, the London Art Union, a prolonged and ostentatious affair, was conducted in Sydney by Messrs W. and F. Ford, art dealers and book-sellers based at 554 George Street. The Fords held the first art unions to contain art by colonial Australian artists such as William Nicholas, Frederick Garling, Conrad Martens, Joseph Fowles and W. J. Welch. When the soldier and avid collector of European and colonial art, Sir Maurice Charles Philip O'Connell, died in May 1848, the Ford art dealers took charge of most of the collection and sold it privately. Other works appeared in art unions until 1853, while the remainder were inherited by O'Connell's daughter, Elizabeth Somerset.

Australian artists who had not been able to sell their works through other avenues conducted a number of art unions. Eugène von Guérard sold sixteen oil paintings, some of which had been exhibited at the Melbourne Exhibition in October 1854, in a lottery in January 1855. These paintings included *Ballarat Flat in the Summer*, *Australian Sunset* and *Australian Aborigines on the Road to the Diggings*. However, art unions were not always profitable enterprises for aspiring artists, as promoters of the unions were occasionally known to abscond with the money and von Guérard actually found himself 'out of pocket' owing to an art union.²⁰

Art unions began to have pejorative connotations after the mid-nineteenth century, as they became more associated with lotteries and gambling, with money as prizes instead of paintings. By the 1870s, the original intent of the art unions was lost, although Parramatta tried to preserve their original purpose. The last

major art union in Parramatta was in 1876 when 50 works from America, England and Australia were included. In October 1911, the honesty and integrity of the art unions were severely undermined by the discovery of fraud in an art union in Perth. Their reputation was so dismal that by the end of World War I very few artists would associate with them and they had almost ceased to exist. The original art unions were dissimilar to those used today to raffle large houses or cars and have no cultural patronage role. Although questionable practices seem to have been their downfall, at their peak art unions contributed considerably to the promotion of art in Australia.

The Art Auction Market

Auctions were ubiquitous in colonial Australia, although it was not until around the 1830s that auctions of art became common, often as part of a general or furniture sale, or as part of a crate-load of works shipped from Europe. This gave rise to a bustling auction industry near Circular Quay in Sydney, owing to the need to sell the cargoes from ships expeditiously.²¹ Damaged art also typified this era as a result of shipwrecks and mishandling.²²

Terry Ingram, who has provided commentary on the Australian art market for the past four decades, says that ‘serious fine art auctioneering would appear to have begun in Australia’ on 15 October 1839 when C. H. Ebden from Middle Stores, Sydney offered at auction Poussin’s *Woman Taken in Adultery* and Rembrandt’s *Three Hebrew Children*, while writer Mary Holyoake says that the first reference to an art auction in Melbourne was in 1840.²³ As outlined previously, it is extremely unlikely that a real Poussin or Rembrandt would have been sent to Australia for auction. Such works were auctioned by small firms, often as part of a general or furniture sale, and they dominated auctions in Australia for most of the nineteenth century.

The auction sales were a reflection of the state of colonial society. There was an influx of goods to the auction market both during the 1842–4 depression and subsequently, if colonists left Australia and returned to their country of origin, unable or unwilling to cope with the harsh conditions of the new colony. In the 1850s, the Gold Rush resulted in the arrival of numerous people and the sale of homes and their contents decreased.

The perception of auctions and auctioneers appears contradictory, with specialist quality painting auctions being associated with high society and general auctions with the lower classes. Many general nineteenth century auctions were tainted by the lower-class and nefarious associations alluded to previously. An anonymous pamphlet from the 1840s, *Twice Round the Block, or A Visit to the Auction Rooms, of Sydney*, warned about the sales tactics used by auctioneers.²⁴ The pamphlet refers to auctioneers exploiting bidders’ inexperience and claims they were ill-bred and lacked honesty and transparency in their business

practices; that bullying tactics were used to drum up business; that catalogues were enhanced through 'rigging-in' (the inclusion of items not in the collection) and that auctioneers made huge profits, often by selling works they owned themselves.

Many of these negative perceptions are confirmed by the observations of nineteenth century travellers such as Lt. Colonel Godfrey Charles Mundy and Maturin Murray Ballou. While he was living and working in Sydney from 1846 to 1851, Mundy kept detailed diaries which included information on local auctions.²⁵ On 1 September 1846 he commented that people were often 'talked' into buying something by the wiles of the auctioneer or the aggression of the other bidders.²⁶ His discussion of the sales of the houses and household goods of people leaving the colony illustrates the general belief that auctioneers and buying at auction were ungentlemanly. Mundy's commentary on night auctions was particularly evocative of the shady reputation of auctions in 1852 and implies that they were probably the means through which stolen property was sold.²⁷ In the 1880s, the American traveller, Ballou, described the streets of Sydney, saying that 'the "going, going, gone", of the open sham auction rooms rings upon the ear'.²⁸ However, it should be noted that these comments referred to auctions generally, rather than art auctions specifically.

Early Auction Houses — Gemmell, Tuckett & Co.

By the 1840s, numerous auction rooms dotted Sydney and Melbourne. In Sydney, Walter Bradley & Co. offered a number of Old Masters from the collection of Sir Charles Nicholson, a physician and collector who was also instrumental in the establishment of Australia's first university (the University of Sydney), at auction in February 1854. These included portraits by Sir Peter Lely and works from the school of Rembrandt, Titian and Leonardo da Vinci.²⁹ Nineteenth century general auctioneers — the most eminent of whom included Samuel Lyons, W. J. Moore, Thomas Stubbs, Thomas Sutcliffe Mort and Charles Moore — were flamboyant characters.³⁰ Much of the nineteenth century flurry of auction activity in Sydney centred on the theatre as the object of, or venue for, sales or as an inspiration for auction strategies. Isadore Brodsky, a Sydney historian, described the ceremonial aspects of Sydney auctioneering in the nineteenth century, while commenting that this very drama had dissipated by the time he was writing in the late 1950s.³¹ In nineteenth century Sydney, bell ringing in the street and the 'display of bunting' were used to lure the crowds into the auctions.³² Sydney arguably had few amusements at this time and auctions fulfilled a broader role as free entertainment. This has recurred in the past few decades where art auctions have been referred to as 'free art shows'.³³

The Melbourne Auction Company, located in Collins Street, was the main body of general auctioneers in colonial Melbourne. Other auctioneers, such as A. H.

Hart and Carfrae & Bland, were located in Queen Street and Little Collins Street. Carfrae & Bland advertised an auction of items belonging to Judge Willis, 'including several original sketches of distinguished persons by Sir Joshua Reynolds; also a number of pictures', in the *Port Phillip Herald* on 30 June 1843. After George Gilbert, who was involved in many facets of Melbourne cultural life, resigned from his position as Gold Commissioner in 1853, he attempted to pursue a career in auctioneering. He moved his auctioneering business to the Auction Mart Hall of Commerce in 1855, where he sold (unspecified) paintings, among other items. Beauchamp and Rocke became well known auctioneers of furniture and general goods in the 1860s, conducting auctions from their premises at 38 and 40 Collins Street East.

Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. was a very successful auction business in Melbourne from approximately 1870 to the early twentieth century and, while its core business appears to have been the sale of books, often entire libraries, it was entrusted with the sale of a number of important art collections. It was situated in the heart of Melbourne's business district, in Tuckett Chambers, Collins Street West, near banks and insurance agencies. The firm had earlier operated under the name of Gemmell, McCaul and Co. from about 1862 to 1870.³⁴ At some point in the late nineteenth century, the firm became known as the 'Art and Furniture Auctioneers'.

In the opinion of the *Argus* in 1868, the lighting and lay-out of Gemmell, Tuckett & Co.'s auction rooms were conducive to a good viewing.³⁵ Viewing the lots in person was encouraged as the firm accepted no responsibility for the authenticity of the paintings sold; according to its conditions of sale, 'No claim for damage or errors of any description will be entertained; purchasers are therefore particularly requested to examine the lots before purchasing.'³⁶ The company's art auction catalogues were representative of such catalogues in the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. In the 1840s, descriptions, particularly of the elaborate frames, medium and subject matter of the works, were often included in sales notices and catalogues, although artists' names and the titles of paintings were rarely provided. By the 1850s, the titles of paintings were often listed and catalogues at this time basically comprised a list of titles and artists, with a rare, brief description and the occasional photographic illustration.³⁷ By contrast some of Gemmell, Tuckett & Co.'s catalogues included critical reviews and a paragraph on the merits of each work to boost its sales appeal. Works were generally sold 'without reserve' or 'without any reserve' so that a sale at any price was the objective. Vendors' names were invariably included in catalogues, as by the end of the nineteenth century it was recognized that provenance added significant value to works. Estimates were still excluded from catalogues — their inclusion did not become standard practice until almost a century later.

Even Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. is not above suspicions of profiteering. On 27 October 1886 the firm auctioned the collection of oil paintings and watercolours belonging to Joseph R. Tuckett, one of the proprietors, who was obliged to make an extended stay in England owing to 'ill health'. It is unclear whether Tuckett was to retain any proprietary interests in the firm, for if so he would have had a doubly vested interest in the outcome of the sale.

Gemmell, Tuckett & Co.'s art auctions also included the sale of a number of works by living Australian artists. For example, an invitation was issued to a 'Private View' of works by Frederick McCubbin, Arthur Streeton and Tom Roberts on 3 December 1890, with the auction to be held two days later.³⁸

Thomas Sutcliffe Mort and Thomas Ware Smart: Two Collectors, their Agents and Auctioneers

Serious colonial Australian art collectors participated in the international market. Many important citizens of Sydney, and later Melbourne, bought art while travelling abroad, often at Christie's auctions and sometimes through agents or dealers.³⁹ Not only did they generally make their major purchases overseas, but they also often sold their collections overseas. Had these collections been sold in Australia during the colonial period, perhaps specialized fine art auction houses would have been established at an earlier date and generated a flourishing market for so-called 'quality' art in Australia.

Both Thomas Sutcliffe Mort (1816–78) and Thomas Ware Smart (1810–81) resided in Sydney and bought at auction in London in the 1850s. However, they specialized in different areas: Mort's taste was for English watercolours, while Smart preferred Old Master paintings. Mort and Smart were neighbours as well as friendly rivals on personal and business fronts until 1866 when a bad investment in a mining company put an end to their association. Both opened their art collections for public inspection at their residences in Darling Point — Mort from 2 March 1861 at 'Greenoaks' and Smart from 13 July 1861 at the Mona Gallery — making them prominent philanthropists and tastemakers. Author and curator, Robert Holden, believes that the collections were unparalleled in the colonies in terms of quality and accessibility. He notes that it was not until 24 May 1861 that the first public art gallery, the National Gallery of Victoria, opened in Australia and that it initially only comprised casts and statues, with a picture gallery being added on 24 December 1864.⁴⁰

Mort was born in Manchester and arrived in Sydney in 1838, founding an auctioneering business which prospered. He was a leading wool auctioneer but, as was the case with many other auctioneers of the period, accepted anything offered to him for sale. Incidentally, Mort became friends with Henry Parkes, the 'Father of Federation', when the latter was a toy-maker and he made the

ivory hammer that Mort used in his auctions.⁴¹ Mort did hold at least one auction of paintings:

...towards the end of the forties [1840s] he held a sale that would draw envious growls from a modern auctioneer: a consignment of paintings including works by Valesquez [sic], Bassano, Rembrandt, Canaletto, Vinkerboom, and Calvert. Of these articles, and of the general imports with which he had been dealing at Gosling & Browne's, Mort had sufficient experience to sustain his judgments on the rostrum.⁴²

This having been said, one cannot assume that these works were genuine. It is probable, moreover, that this was Mort's sole specialist art sale.

Mort visited England from 1857 to 1859, while recuperating from an illness associated with a horse-riding accident sustained two years previously. He purchased art from a variety of sources including auctions, exhibitions, agents and studios. In July 1857, he attended the Earl of Shrewsbury's Alton Towers estate auction and acquired a large selection of arms and armour, traditional signifiers of wealth and nobility. He later purchased 112 works, mainly English watercolours, from other sales.

In Sydney, Mort frequently obtained new works for his collection from London, presumably from his agent/dealer. He obtained his bronzes from Elkingtons of London and purchased H. B. Willis' oil painting, *Oxen, Mid-Day Rest*, from the artist's studio.⁴³ Correspondence in the possession of Charles Mort, Mort's grandson, and perused by Holden, suggests that Mort's first London art dealer was White & Dalton, whom he engaged in 1858 after his arrival in London.⁴⁴ Edward F. White soon after became Mort's exclusive London agent, having left the partnership. He bid on Mort's behalf at Phillips' Northwick sale in 1859. As Mort rarely heeded the advice of White, it is likely that he chose the paintings at this sale himself, rather than leaving it to the discretion of his agent. Mort instructed White to send shipments of works on a regular basis back to him in Sydney, subject to his approval, in order to augment his collection of watercolours. In a letter to White, dated 21 January 1861, Mort informed him:

I would prefer the works of rising young men to those of men who are at the maximum of their fame & prices. Now & then I shall not object to pay a good price for a really first class Drawing, etc., but as 'fashion' does not affect us in N. S. Wales I am not prepared to pay for great names.⁴⁵

Mort's assertion that New South Wales was impervious to British collecting tastes appears to have been a minority one. As Mort was disinclined to pay large prices for art, White was obliged to source the work of living artists. However, in late 1861 and early 1862, Mort did purchase a number of works from White at high prices, including a Vicat Cole for £52 and a J.B. Pyne for £47.

After Mort's death in 1878, much of the collection passed to members of his family. Mort's second wife died in 1910 and the contents of 'Greenoaks' were put up for auction on 6–7 December 1910 by the auctioneers James R. Lawson & Little in conjunction with H. Y. Norton. Included in this auction were eighteen oil paintings, 35 watercolours, and bronzes and statues of classical subjects such as *Laocöon*, *Venus Rising from the Ocean* and the marble, *Good Samaritan*, which he had commissioned from Birch of London. It is significant that the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported on 7 December 1910 that the top price at the auction was for a watercolour of *Toolengen Park* by Conrad Martens, which sold for 105 guineas.⁴⁶ The auction catalogue emphasizes the English aristocratic provenance of the majority of Mort's collection, thus bestowing celebrity status on it:

Catalogue of the Superb Collection of Early English and French Furniture — RARE ITALIAN AND FRENCH BRONZES PURE CARRARA MARBLE STATUARY EARLY ENGLISH AND ITALIAN ARMOUR and MEDIAEVAL IMPLEMENTS OF WAR also The Valuable Collection of Oil Paintings and water-colour Drawings. NOTE – The principal portion of the Furniture and Objets D'Art at 'GREENOAKES' [sic] was purchased at the Dispersal Sale of the LATE EARL OF SHREWSBURY'S EFFECTS at 'Alton Towers', England, and should specially appeal to Collectors and Connoisseurs.⁴⁷

Australian-born Smart, a wealthy businessman and politician, who actually began his working life as an auctioneer in Sydney, also spent from 1855 to 1859 in England. There he purchased twenty-nine paintings, the bulk of his collection, from the Northwick sale through an agent for £3600. Lord Northwick had acquired a number of Old Masters, some of which were of doubtful origin. Smart probably purchased some of these works as he paid quite low prices for the alleged masterpieces.⁴⁸ Lord Northwick, in the great philanthropic tradition to which the likes of Mort and Smart ascribed, purchased both Old Masters as well as contemporary art and opened his two galleries to the public, *gratis*. He died intestate and his collection, which included more than 1400 paintings and *objets d'art*, was subsequently auctioned over twenty-two days from 26 July to 30 August 1859. The entire sale grossed £95,725.

It is probable that Smart relied heavily on the judgment and tastes of agents and dealers to purchase works appropriate for his station when building his collection of predominantly Old Master paintings suitable for 'public edification'.⁴⁹ The collection had 66 items including works purportedly by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, Angelica Kauffman, Breughel and Gainsborough.⁵⁰ Two of the 16 English works in Smart's collection were acquired at the Northwick auction. Of these English works, the most important was the copy of Gainsborough's *The Market Cart* (1786), whose original is in the National Gallery in London. Smart purchased this for £73 and it was later sold at his auction in 1884 for £450.

Smart's collection was open for public inspection on the first Saturday of the month from 13 July 1861 until it was sold by auction after his death in 1884.⁵¹ The auction was held on 26 June by the auctioneers Bradley, Newton & Lamb. Smart's picture gallery, the Mona Gallery, at his home at Darling Point, was presumably where the collection was exhibited for sale.

Holden notes that Mort was 'one of the extremely few colonials to be in regular contact with the London art world, being constantly apprised of the current exhibition scene there and the vagaries of fashion in the art market'.⁵² That is, most Australian collectors did not purchase art regularly from London, but in Australia and thus by contemporary standards both Mort and Smart imported large quantities of art into Australia.

Carl Kahler's Studio Auction

Auctions were sometimes utilized to sell the contents of studios of artists, both living or deceased. These sales performed an educational role, as they presented a collection of an artist's work, rather like a retrospective, for both the public and collectors to view as a cohesive body. A number of artists who worked in Australia auctioned the contents of their studios before they returned overseas and their estates were ultimately sold in England. In reverse, John Glover auctioned the contents of his studio in London in 1830, prior to settling in Tasmania in 1831. Glover's children raffled off his paintings after his death in December 1849 in what is known as the 'most important dispersal of Glover's paintings in Tasmania'.⁵³

Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. were the auctioneers in one notable instance. Carl Kahler (c.1855–1926?) was an Austrian painter and a celebrated artist in colonial Melbourne, where he worked from around 1885 to 1890.⁵⁴ Kahler mainly earned portrait commissions but also painted nudes.⁵⁵ He was most celebrated for his painting of the Flemington race meeting of 1886 entitled *The Derby Day at Flemington*, and two related works, *The Lawn at Flemington on Melbourne Cup Day* 1887 and *The Betting Ring at Flemington* c.1887–9. These works were influenced by William Frith's famous 1856–8 painting, *Derby Day*, which had travelled around Australia from 1864–5; it was exhibited in the studio of the sculptor Charles Summers at 92 Collins Street, Melbourne at the end of 1864.⁵⁶

Kahler's three works on the running of the Melbourne Cup were immensely popular and photogravure reproductions were made by the lithographers Goupil of Paris and published by Carl Pinschof of Pfaff, Pinschof and Co. in Flinders Lane, who had purchased the reproduction rights. Carl Pinschof was the Consul-General for Austria and Hungary and Kahler's sponsor in Melbourne.



Figure 5: Carl Kahler, *The Derby Day at Flemington, 1886*, oil on canvas, 300 x 200 cm, Victoria Racing Club Collection.

Kahler's *The Derby Day at Flemington*, a group portrait as well as individual portraits, included a key which identified *la crème de la crème* of colonial Melbourne society including Kahler himself. It was generally thought that Kahler had charged Melbourne society figures five guineas to include their portraits in this work.⁵⁷ The fact that a number of people had to sit for their portraits explains why the painting was finished approximately two years after the race and indicates both the social validation to be acquired through inclusion in such a portrait, as well as Kahler's astute business mind. The painting was exhibited at the Athenaeum in Melbourne in January 1889 and numerous people attended, paying an admission fee of one shilling for the privilege (Figure 5). Kahler was so admired at the time that he 'was the subject of what is probably the first pamphlet, solely biographical, to be published on an artist working in colonial Australia'.⁵⁸

Kahler's studio was auctioned over two sales in 1890 before he left Australia with plans to paint in Japan, China and India. (Although he did not reach Asia, he was in New Zealand by November 1890 and left for San Francisco on 1 December of that year.)⁵⁹ Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. conducted the first auction at Kahler's studio at 19 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne on 20 February and viewings were held on the five days prior to the sale. This auction has been described as 'a major event in the early annals of the Australian saleroom'.⁶⁰

The auction catalogue, *An Artist's Sanctuary — Catalogue Raisonné' of the Contents of Herr Kahler's Studio...*, is a beautiful publication, and includes two original photographs of the east and west ends of the studio. These photographs show a sumptuous setting, including a multitude of paintings and props such as ornate and exotic items of furniture, bric-a-brac, luscious ferns, fabrics and wall hangings, the backgrounds for Kahler's nudes. As Holden notes, these photographs 'provide rare visual documentation of a grand aesthetic setting in late nineteenth-century Australia' (Figure 6).⁶¹ Nevertheless, the catalogue foreword indicates that the studio appeared quaint even in the nineteenth century.

Kahler's pastels and paintings were later auctioned by Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. at their New Art Gallery on 7 May 1890, having been 'Removed from his studio for convenience of sale'.⁶² The auction catalogue stated that '*every picture must be positively sold*' and indicated that some of the pastels were captured in the photograph of the studio. The pastels and paintings included works with such romantic titles as *Early Reveries*, *My Favourite Author*, and *An Odalisk, or Turkish femme de chambre [sic]*. The catalogue gives a short flowery description underneath most of the works, generally comprising details of what the subjects were wearing.



Figure 6: Artist Carl Kahler's studio, interior, Melbourne, (west end), c.1890, gelatin silver photograph, 20 x 25 cm, State Library of Victoria.

The first nine lots in this second auction catalogue are pastels, with twenty oil paintings and the two photographs of the studio following. This is interesting in itself, as today the oils would be presented first and the 'lesser' works reserved for the back of the catalogue. The catalogue is very elegantly presented and displays some of the current auction and commercial gallery catalogue traits, in that it 'talks' or 'puffs' up the works and includes references which would increase the value, mentioning the technical skill of the artist and including poetic references. For example, Lot 10, an oil painting, *The Munich Burgher's Daughter*, is described as 'A girl in the costume of the last century, with a bird perched on her shoulder. The costume consists of a grey satin robe, with a gold-embroidered bodice; her cap also embroidered in gold. *A most graceful and expressive work. The whole of the textures wrought out with conscientious fidelity.*'

The italicized annotation for Lot 13, *A Secret* (1884), claims '*This work, which is shown in the view of the artist's studio, has always been a great favourite with visitors to the latter*'. It is the most recent of Kahler's works to surface in an Australian saleroom, fetching \$13,512 (estimate \$12,000–\$18,000) at Christie's November 2000 auction and resurfacing at a Deutscher-Menzies auction in September 2005, where it remained unsold (estimate \$8000–\$12,000).

The Baldwin Spencer Collection

A pivotal auction for the early twentieth century Australian art market was that of the Baldwin Spencer Collection on 19–21 May 1919. ‘Both the building of the collection and its disposal at greatly inflated prices proved landmarks in the recognition of Australian art.’⁶³ Sir Walter Baldwin Spencer (1860–1929) was an academic and administrator, a well-known anthropologist and connoisseur. He was a trustee of the National Gallery of Victoria from 1895 and encouraged the purchase of Australian art. Baldwin Spencer was awarded the Medal of the Society of Artists, Sydney in 1926 for his contribution to art in Australia. His portrait by George Lambert is in the Museum of Victoria and portraits by W. B. McInnes are owned by the University of Melbourne and Exeter College, Oxford. There is another portrait of Baldwin Spencer by E. Phillips Fox, but its whereabouts is currently unknown.

Baldwin Spencer’s biographers speak at length on his connoisseurship and patronage of local contemporary artists including Sir Arthur Streeton. They show that although he began to amass his collection of Australian art around 1906 when he inherited an annuity from his parents’ estate, he was already immersed in the Australian market, purchasing his first Streeton in 1892. He sold more than 200 works at his auction in 1919, although he retained approximately half of the collection and began collecting more works soon after.

The auction in 1919 was held at Gill’s Fine Art Society’s Galleries in Alfred Place, Melbourne where it was first exhibited for six days. It was conducted by the Fine Art Society in conjunction with Arthur Tuckett & Son. The thirty-two-page catalogue contained 313 lots — 97 oil paintings followed by 70 watercolours and pastels, 59 black and white works (sketches, etchings), 9 items of glassware, 46 copper, pewter, brass and Sheffield plate, 19 Staffordshire cottage figures, and 13 items of furniture et cetera. It made special mention of the fact that it had been issued in plenty of time to allow country and interstate buyers to attend the viewing and that commissions could be left with the auctioneer.⁶⁴ By contrast with the Kahler catalogue, the works’ dimensions were mostly included as was the occasional reference to reproductions in journals, such as *Art in Australia*, as well as to collections in which the artist was represented. Opinions of scholars were also included where appropriate and some of the entries for artists and individual works were quite lengthy. Baldwin Spencer personally supervised the compilation of the auction catalogue and Hans Heysen gave consent for his painting, *Sunset Haze*, to be reproduced in colour as plate 59.⁶⁵

The collection was important because it comprised ‘Australian Pictures and Works of Art’, rather than European works, and it established a benchmark in the acknowledgement of the strength of Australian art.⁶⁶ The collection included works by artists who are still highly regarded today including W.B. McInnes,

McCubbin, George Lambert, Gruner, Streeton, David Davies, Hans Heysen, Walter Withers, E. Phillips Fox, Conder, Roberts, Sydney Long, Ambrose Patterson, Thea Proctor and Norman Lindsay.

The auction boosted the profile of living Australian artists, with Streeton's prices demonstrating the most dramatic increase. Thirty-two works by Streeton were put up for auction, including one that was not listed in the catalogue; they realised a total of £2341.⁶⁷ Streeton's fourteen oil paintings and twelve watercolours sold at a profit of £1748, a substantial sum when compared with the sale total of £4500. Baldwin Spencer had made a profit of almost 200 per cent on his original purchase price of £603. It is likely, based on the figures assembled by Mulvaney and Calaby, that Baldwin Spencer's entire collection, at 1919 prices, would have cost approximately £2500 to £3500.⁶⁸ The works which were passed-in realized another £209 at an additional sale held that December.

William Moore, author of *The Story of Australian Art*, agrees that the Baldwin Spencer auction was most noteworthy because of the value placed on Streeton's work. Baldwin Spencer had originally purchased Streeton's *The Centre of the Empire* (1903) at the Guild Hall Exhibition in 1907 for £100. This same work sold at his 1919 auction for 400 guineas, approximately four times the 1907 price.⁶⁹ Moore noted that 'While he realized a good profit from the sale of his collection in 1919, it has to be remembered that Sir Baldwin Spencer purchased Australian works in Melbourne at a time when the apathy of the public was rather appalling.'⁷⁰ Baldwin Spencer had bought at a time when prices were low and artists were undervalued, but sold at a time when apathy was dissipating and these same artists had gained in popularity.

Streeton capitalized on the prices set at Baldwin Spencer's sale by buying back *Golden Summer, Eaglemont* (1889), his *pièce de résistance* which inspired Jane Clark's famous 1985 blockbuster exhibition.⁷¹ Streeton wrote to Baldwin Spencer on 29 August 1919 'I was glad...that my market is still good — one picture [*Sydney Harbour, Across Cremorne*] seemed quite an excellent rise...from £75 to £525 — quite a sound investment and not likely to go down either'.⁷² Baldwin Spencer warned Streeton forthwith that if he continued to 'boil the pot' and churn out inferior work, the resultant flooding of the market would negatively affect the prices of his works. It was at this time of financial success that Streeton's relationship with Baldwin Spencer became strained and Streeton even encouraged speculation that it was mainly owing to Baldwin Spencer's influence that the National Gallery of Victoria had declined to acquire *Golden Summer*.

In addition to Streeton, Baldwin Spencer's patronage was extended to Hans Heysen, Norman and Lionel Lindsay, J. J. Hilder and W. B. McInnes. He was, in fact, one of the first people to buy the work of Lionel Lindsay and he owned more than forty works from Norman Lindsay's early career. Baldwin Spencer commissioned Tom Roberts to paint a portrait of his friend, A. W. Howitt. He

also attended auction salerooms, although it is uncertain how frequently. By 1917, Baldwin Spencer's collection contained the work of around sixty artists, the majority of whom were living. His collection was hailed as a paradigm for an exemplary Australian collection. On two occasions, in the few years prior to its dispersal at auction, part of Baldwin Spencer's collection was exhibited at the Art Gallery of New South Wales as well as being included in the second edition of the influential *Art in Australia*.⁷³ Mulvaney and Calaby assert that the first exhibition of his collection at the Art Gallery of New South Wales represented 'one of the largest showings of a private collection in the history of Australian art'.⁷⁴

Baldwin Spencer had purchased works by J. J. Hilder from 1907 and sold nine of Hilder's watercolours at his 1919 auction for £824, eight times their original price. In 1916, just prior to Hilder's death, Baldwin Spencer had been sent six works by Hilder's dealer/agent, Adolf Albers, from which he was to make a selection and return the rest. Baldwin Spencer bought all six works, forwarding two of them to other art collectors. In the interim, Hilder had died and his dealer, mindful that prices for his works would now increase, demanded that Baldwin Spencer return the works, to no avail. Albers placed his own interpretation on events, an interpretation which he appears to have passed on to Hilder's family, who felt that they had suffered an injustice. By the time of the auction in 1919, Hilder's works had increased in value substantially and confirmed for some that Baldwin Spencer was indeed a profiteer.

It was unfortunate that the success of this auction led to the general conclusion that Baldwin Spencer had exploited artists ruthlessly through using their works to attain a solid financial return. Baldwin Spencer had been in need of liquidity in 1919 and he had discussed his intentions and reasons for selling his collection prior to the auction with several of the artists concerned, including Heysen, McInnes, Norman Lindsay and Streeton.

After, Baldwin Spencer and Julian Ashton (the art teacher, artist and founder of the prestigious Julian Aston School in Sydney) agreed that prices of some Australian works, notably those of Streeton, were inflated. Ashton believed that this market inflation was directly attributable to Spencer's auction. He wrote on 18 September 1921: 'You complain of the high prices Australian artists are asking...well, you have yourself to blame. To no one in Australia have our artists more reason to be grateful...when you sold...that collection and realised a great rise in value...the artists raised their prices to meet the demand'.⁷⁵

In April 1918, the Sydney art collector and friend of Streeton's, Leonard Dodds, had sold some of his collection of Australian art which fetched very high prices, possibly influencing Baldwin Spencer's decision to auction his collection.⁷⁶ Information on Leonard Dodds is scarce, we do know that he was involved in the mining industry and was also an art patron.⁷⁷ His wife, Winifred, was

acquainted with Streeton and Roberts when they were living at Sirius Cove and the latter painted a lovely portrait of her c.1893. She may well have influenced her husband's tastes in art. There appear to have been a number of auctions of Dodds' collection after World War 1, in, for example, 1919, January 1922 and 1927.⁷⁸

The Leonard Dodds auction on 31 January 1922 was one of Lawson's major art auctions, considered second only to that of the Baldwin Spencer auction in importance.⁷⁹ This Dodds auction contained sixty-one paintings and sixty prints by approximately thirty-six artists, most of whom were Australian. The artists included Blamire Young, Streeton, Lloyd Rees and Tom Roberts and the works were, in the main, landscapes and still lifes. Dodds also owned a number of modern works by Roy de Maistre and Roland Wakelin, possibly out of the desire to sell them at a profit when the artists had further established their reputations; his patronage of modern Australian artists was unusual for the time. The auction catalogue emphasized that Australian art was a profitable investment, although Australian artists still needed international validation:

Twenty-five years ago there were no auction sales of Australian art. Australian pictures... were not worth their weight in copper. But with the great distinctions won for Australia by her artists overseas... And the one-man shows initiated by Streeton, in Melbourne, 1906–1907, have taken place...with continuous success...with the result that a good Australian picture is now a valuable asset and a good investment.⁸⁰

The first assertion needs qualification as this chapter has shown that Australian art was sold in the nineteenth century, although European art was certainly most popular. Dodds had amassed his art collection over a period of twenty-five years and had purposely attempted to assemble a collection which was representative of Australian art history. The catalogue notes that Dodds' first art purchase was Streeton's *The Railway Station, Redfern* (1893) (currently in the collection of the Art Gallery of New South Wales). Dodds had bought it for £12, a price considered ludicrously high at the time, and it fetched 350 guineas at the Dodds auction.⁸¹ Yet another auction of Dodds' collection was conducted by Lawson's in November 1927, indicating that either many works were passed-in at his previous auction or that he possessed a very large and ever-increasing collection. It could be said then, that the Baldwin Spencer and Dodds sales combined to set a new standard for the monetary, and hence aesthetic, value of Australian art.

As explained in earlier chapters, Australia had historically looked to England for guidance on taste and hence bought and sold many paintings overseas. By the early twentieth century, this 'cultural cringe' was beginning to lose its potency. Collectors began to deal with the local marketplace, thus contributing to the birth of enduring Australian auction houses. Besides this steady

development, nothing of great significance for the purpose of this study took place until the 1950s. Australia was still sending 'quality' works for auction overseas and a number of locally-owned auction houses, with the capacity to conduct specialized art auctions, were beginning to emerge. This rise to dominance of art, especially Australian art, at auctions held by local general firms, some of which had their roots in the colonial era, is the subject of the following chapter.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ This gallery is sometimes cited as Robert Vaughan Hood's Picture Gallery. Alan McCulloch, *Encyclopedia of Australian Art*, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, New South Wales 1994 (3rd ed.).
- ² Quoted in William Moore, *The Story of Australian Art – From the Earliest Known Art of the Continent to the Art of To-day*, Angus & Robertson Ltd, Sydney 1934, 2 vols., vol. 1, p.51.
- ³ Terry Ingram, 'Sales of the century: Sydney Harbour and the bush are tops', *Art and Australia*, 37(2) 1999, pp.270–275 and Terry Ingram, 'Artist, teacher, prophet', *Australian Financial Review*, 17 February 1972, p.11. Quotation from *Australasian Critic*, 1 May 1891, p.192.
- ⁴ See *Table Talk* (no. 304), 17 April 1891, p.5.
- ⁵ Jane Clark and Bridget Whitelaw, *Golden Summers — Heidelberg and Beyond*, exhibition catalogue, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne 1985, p.74.
- ⁶ Here I should mention that Staples was my great-great-grandfather.
- ⁷ From *Art and Architecture*, Sydney, January 1905 and included in Bernard Smith (ed.), *Documents on Art and Taste in Australia — The Colonial Period 1770–1914*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne 1975, p.266. Although this quotation is not strictly from the colonial period, but just after Federation, I thought that it was still relevant to include.
- ⁸ See Tim Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition — Australian Landscape Painting 1801–1890*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne 1985, p.3.
- ⁹ Mary Mackay, 'For a mere five guineas, Carl would paint you in next to the Governor', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 December 1983, no pagination.
- ¹⁰ See Johnson, *The Sydney Art Patronage System*, p.63; and A. J. Daplyn, 'Art Notes', *Australasian Art Review*, 1 May 1899, p.14.
- ¹¹ McCulloch, *Encyclopedia of Australian Art*.
- ¹² See Shannon Hunter Hurtado, 'The Promotion of the Visual Arts in Britain 1835–1860', *Canadian Journal of History*, 28 (1) 1993, p.61.
- ¹³ Rachel N. Klein, 'Art and Authority in Antebellum New York City: The Rise and Fall of the American Art-Union', *The Journal of American History*, 81(4) 1995, p.1541.
- ¹⁴ See Hurtado, 'The Promotion of the Visual Arts in Britain 1835–1860', p.74. Taken from the *Report from the Select Committee into the Operation of Art Union Laws 1864*, p.577.
- ¹⁵ Hurtado, 'The Promotion of the Visual Arts in Britain 1835–1860', p.77.
- ¹⁶ On Mechanics' Institutes in Australia see Philip C. Candy and John Laurent (eds), *Pioneering Culture: Mechanics' Institutes and Schools of Arts in Australia*, Adelaide 1994.
- ¹⁷ See *The Australian*, 7 October 1841, p.2.
- ¹⁸ Robert Holden, *Aspects of Art Collecting and Patronage in Colonial New South Wales*, Honours thesis, University of Sydney, Sydney 1981, p.10.
- ¹⁹ Rivett, *The Art Union Story and Old Parramatta*, p.21.
- ²⁰ See Ingram, 'Boil the pot and skin 'em alive', p.94.
- ²¹ Carl Ruhen, *The Auctioneers: Lawsons – The First 100 Years*, Ayers and James Heritage Books and James R. Lawson Pty Ltd, Sydney 1984, p.27 and Ingram, 'Boil the pot and skin 'em alive', p.94.
- ²² See Graham Abbott and Geoffrey Little (eds), *The Respectable Sydney Merchant — A.B. Spark of Tempe*, Sydney University Press, Sydney 1976, pp.78–9, entries under 19 and 20 May and 16 June 1837.
- ²³ Terry Ingram, 'From Rembrandt to Roberts — Great Saleroom Moments', *Australian Art Collector*, issue 3, January–March 1998, p.56 and Mary Holyoake, 'Melbourne Art Scene from 1839 to 1859', *Art and Australia*, 15(3) 1978, p. 296.
- ²⁴ This is reproduced in full in Ruhen, *The Auctioneers*, p. 24.
- ²⁵ Lt. Colonel Godfrey Charles Mundy, *Our Antipodes: or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies, with a Glimpse of the Gold Fields*, Richard Bentley, London 1852, 3 vols., (2nd ed., rev.), pp.56–57.
- ²⁶ Mundy, *Our Antipodes*, p. 58, see also pp. 59–60.
- ²⁷ Mundy, *Our Antipodes*, pp.60–1.
- ²⁸ Quoted in Ruhen, *The Auctioneers*, p.26. See Maturin Murray Ballou, *Under the Southern Cross*, Houghton, Mifflin 1890, third ed.

- ²⁹ See Ingram, 'From Rembrandt to Roberts', pp.57–8 and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 February 1854.
- ³⁰ Isadore Brodsky, *Sydney Looks Back*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney 1957, p.86 and Alan Barnard, *Visions and Profits – Studies in the Business Career of Thomas Sutcliffe Mort*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne 1961, p.21.
- ³¹ See Brodsky, 'Salesmen of Another Century', in *Sydney Looks Back*, pp.84–9.
- ³² Brodsky, *Sydney Looks Back*, p.85.
- ³³ Justin Miller said that this had been reported in the press regarding the Sotheby's Fairfax auction in August 2002. Justin Miller, taped interview with the author, Sydney, 3 September 2002.
- ³⁴ These dates are estimates based on the holdings of auction catalogues at the State Library of Victoria.
- ³⁵ The *Argus* review was included in Gemmell, Tuckett & Co., *Catalogue of a Valuable Collection*, 22 May 1868.
- ³⁶ Gemmell, Tuckett & Co., *Catalogue of the Beautiful and Costly Art Furniture, Marble Statuary, Real Bronzes, Art Treasures, Oil Paintings, Water Colour Drawings, Fine Old Engravings, &c.*, Collected by Sir George Verdon, K. C. M. G. C. B., Melbourne, 1 June 1891.
- ³⁷ See, for example, Gemmell, Tuckett & Co., *Catalogue of Paintings in Water-Colour*, Melbourne, 26 August 1885.
- ³⁸ Gemmell, Tuckett & Co., Invitation to an 'Exhibition of Pictures By Ed [sic] McCubbin, Arthur Streeton, and Tom Roberts', Melbourne, 3 December 1890.
- ³⁹ Terry Ingram, 'Australia Goes To Auction...Offshore', *Australian Art Collector*, issue 4, April–June 1998, p.74.
- ⁴⁰ See Holden, *Aspects of Art Collecting and Patronage in Colonial New South Wales*, p.29.
- ⁴¹ According to Barnard, *Visions and Profits*, p.21.
- ⁴² Barnard, *Visions and Profits*, p.19.
- ⁴³ See *Sydney Morning Herald* 8 March 1861, p. 4. A photograph of the entrance hall of the Greenoaks Gallery, taken in the early 1860s, was reproduced in Holden, *Aspects of Art Collecting and Patronage in Colonial New South Wales*, as was an interior photograph of the gallery depicting the Willis painting on the wall.
- ⁴⁴ Holden, *Aspects of Art Collecting and Patronage in Colonial New South Wales*, p.43.
- ⁴⁵ Quoted in Holden, *Aspects of Art Collecting and Patronage in Colonial New South Wales*, p.43. Taken from 'Extracts from Mr. Mort's Letters — after a careful re-perusal — with remarks thereon', by Edward F. White pp.1–2. See also 'The Greenoaks Collection', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 August 1861, p.5. This appraisal of the collection continued in the *Sydney Morning Herald* issues of 13 August 1861, p.8; 19 August 1861, p.8; and 2 September 1861, p.2.
- ⁴⁶ Also cited in Ingram, 'Australia Goes To Auction...Offshore', p.74.
- ⁴⁷ Holden reproduces the catalogue of the sale of the Greenoaks collection in *Aspects of Art Collecting and Patronage in Colonial New South Wales*.
- ⁴⁸ See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 July 1861, p.8.
- ⁴⁹ Holden, *Aspects of Art Collecting and Patronage in Colonial New South Wales*, p.37.
- ⁵⁰ Smart's collection was described in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in the following issues: 13 July 1861, p.5; 17 July 1861, p.2; 20 July 1861, p.8; 23 July 1861, p.2; 26 July 1861, p.5; and 30 July 1861, p.5.
- ⁵¹ See *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 June 1884, p.15.
- ⁵² Holden, *Aspects of Art Collecting and Patronage in Colonial New South Wales*, p.43.
- ⁵³ Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, p.9.
- ⁵⁴ Contrary to popular belief, it seems that Kahler did not actually die in the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, but was still painting in America in 1924. This is borne out by Holden, *Photography in Colonial Australia — The Mechanical Eye and the Illustrated Book*, Hordern House, Sydney 1988, p.73, as well as a number of American sources including Peter Falk, *Who was who in American Art*, Sound View Press, Connecticut, 1985.
- ⁵⁵ For more biographical information on Carl Kahler see *Table Talk*, 16 December 1887, p.1 and Robert Holden, *Photography in Colonial Australia*, pp.71–3.
- ⁵⁶ Engravings of these works (sometimes sold as a set) have appeared in Australian salerooms on about eight occasions in the last twenty years.
- ⁵⁷ See Mackay, 'For a mere five guineas', no pagination.

- ⁵⁸ According to Holden, *Photography in Colonial Australia*, p.72. See James Smith, *Herr Kahler's celebrated historical picture of 'The Lawn at Flemington on Cup Day' with a biographical sketch of the artist*, McCarron, Bird & Co., c.1889.
- ⁵⁹ See *Table Talk*, 14 March 1890, p.5 and 19 December 1890, p.2, Holden, *Photography in Colonial Australia*, p.73 and Peter Falk, *Who was who in American Art*, Sound View Press, Connecticut, 1985.
- ⁶⁰ Terry Ingram, 'A Purrfect picture', *Australian Financial Review*, 5 September 2002, p.56.
- ⁶¹ Holden, *Photography in Colonial Australia*, p.71.
- ⁶² See Gemmell, Tuckett & Co., *Catalogue of Herr Kahler's Beautiful Oil Paintings & Pastels, to be sold by Gemmell, Tuckett & Co. at their New Art Gallery Wednesday 7th May, 1890*, Melbourne, 7 May 1890.
- ⁶³ D. J. Mulvaney and J. H. Calaby, 'So Much That Is New' — Baldwin Spencer, 1860–1929 — *A Biography*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, Victoria 1985, p.335.
- ⁶⁴ Arthur Tuckett & Son and W. H. Gill's Fine Art Society, *The Baldwin Spencer Collection of Australian Pictures and Works of Art, Fine Art Society's Galleries, Melbourne, May 1919*, Melbourne, 19–21 May 1919. In the papers of William Henry Gill, Box ML MSS.285/13B – *Catalogues of exhibitions at the Fine Art Society 1898–1934*, the Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- ⁶⁵ See Mulvaney and Calaby, 'So Much That Is New', p.353. Despite the unillustrated catalogue at the Mitchell Library, the original must have included illustrations, at least one of which was in colour.
- ⁶⁶ In the words of the auction catalogue.
- ⁶⁷ See Mulvaney and Calaby, 'So Much That Is New', p.464, fn.29.
- ⁶⁸ Mulvaney and Calaby, 'So Much That Is New', p.347.
- ⁶⁹ See Moore, *The Story of Australian Art*, p.31.
- ⁷⁰ Moore, *The Story of Australian Art*, p.37.
- ⁷¹ See Clark and Whitelaw, *Golden Summers*.
- ⁷² Quoted in Mulvaney and Calaby, 'So Much That Is New', p.465, fn.72.
- ⁷³ Only one catalogue could be found, that of *Sir W. Baldwin Spencer's Collection at the National Art Gallery of N.S.W.*, December 1916. This is held by the Art Gallery of New South Wales' library. Johnson implies in *The Sydney Art Patronage System*, p.23, that there was a 1918 exhibition of Baldwin Spencer's art collection at the Art Gallery of New South Wales.
- ⁷⁴ Mulvaney and Calaby, 'So Much That Is New', p.345.
- ⁷⁵ Quoted in Mulvaney and Calaby, 'So Much That Is New', p.465, fn.83.
- ⁷⁶ The 1918 auction catalogue, referred to by Mulvaney and Calaby, 'So Much That Is New', p.353, has remained elusive. Although they cite the collector as 'Dodd', it seems likely that it was Leonard Dodds. Ruhen, *The Auctioneers*, p.68, mentions a Leonard Dodds sale, which was almost as influential as the Baldwin Spencer one, leading one to believe that these sales were one and the same.
- ⁷⁷ Johnson, *The Sydney Art Patronage System*, pp.138–9.
- ⁷⁸ Extant catalogues include W. A. Little, *Catalogue: valuable collection of paintings, by order of a well-known Sydney connoisseur...*, Sydney, 18 November 1919; James R. Lawson, *Leonard Dodds' Collection*, 31 January 1922; and James R. Lawson, *Catalogue – Mr Leonard Dodds [sic] Collection of Valuable Pictures*, Sydney, 22 November 1927.
- ⁷⁹ James R. Lawson, *Mr Leonard Dodds Collection of Valuable Pictures*, Sydney, 31 January 1922.
- ⁸⁰ Foreword in James R. Lawson, *Leonard Dodds' Collection*, 31 January 1922.
- ⁸¹ William Moore, *The Story of Australian Art*, p.27.