

## NOTES ON SOME OF THE TASMANIAN ABORIGINES, AND ON PORTRAITS OF THEM

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### ABSTRACT

Notes are given on the parentage and histories of Fanny Cochrane and Mathinna, the first a half-caste Tasmanian and the second a full-blood.

The busts of the Tasmanian aborigines attributed to P.-M.-A.-Dumoutier are all, or nearly all, based on originals by other hands.

Some sculptures by Benjamin Law are listed.

Some new information about Thomas Bock's portraits of the Tasmanian aborigines is considered.

### FANNY COCHRANE

Although said to have been a Tasmanian full-blood, there is little doubt that Fanny Cochrane was a half-caste. James Barnard's paper (1890) describing her as a full-blood was probably written with a view to ensure her a pension: Ling Roth (1898) could find no evidence that she was a full-blood.

Clearly, the question would be settled if her parentage could be determined exactly. Although this cannot be done beyond all doubt, the evidence available points to her having been a half-caste. A large part of her story can be determined from G. A. Robinson's papers and from the records relating to the Flinders Island aboriginal settlement in the Colonial Secretary's archives at Hobart. It is of some importance to note that in the early records she is referred to as a half-caste.

There is no doubt that Fanny Cochrane's mother was a Tasmanian full-blood. She was called Sarah and Tibb (Tib) by the whites, the name Tibb occurring in the early Robinson records, and Sarah in the Flinders Island and other records. Robinson gives her native name as PLOO.RER.NELLE when first he mentions her, but later refers to her by the name of TARE.NOO.TAIR.RER. There are various spellings of the latter—

TANG.ER.NU.TER.RER to cry (Charles Robinson, ? 1836)

TANGANOOTERA (Sarah) (Ernest Westlake, 1910)

TING.NER.TER.RER

TING.NOO.TER.RER

TING.NOO.TER.RUN.NE

TING.ER.NO.TARE.HER

JACKANOOTHARA weeping very much (Robert Clark, 1845).

Tibb is first heard of in 1830 when G. A. Robinson records in his journal that she was one of two native women living on Woody Island with George Robinson, a sealer. Thereafter she is mentioned

from time to time in his journals, and particulars of her earlier history are given in his report on the sealers (June 1831). There are also a number of references to her in census lists, vocabularies and so on; and although the untangling of all these sources presents some ambiguities and confusion, a fairly reliable picture can be built up.

Tibb was kidnapped when a child by James Parish and was taken to the islands. Parish is said to have sold her to John Smith, a sealer, for four sealskins; and Smith later sold her to George Robinson, a sealer who lived on Woody Island. It was there that G. A. Robinson first met Tibb, when he visited the island on 10 November 1830. Robinson the sealer then had two native women living with him, Tibb (PLOO.RER.NELLE) and Maria TOO.GER.NUP.PER.TOO.TEN.NER); and there was also a little half-caste boy, of whom Tibb was the mother and Robinson the father. Tibb had probably been living with Robinson since about 1828, when he came to Woody Island from King Island; and before that with John Smith.

At the time of his visit to Woody Island, G. A. Robinson removed Maria and left Tibb with the sealer, who was an old man; but early in December 1830 he sent James Parish to the islands to obtain native women who were living with the sealers, to bring them to the aboriginal settlement; at this time Parish took Tibb from George Robinson. In May 1831 Tibb left the settlement to join the natives with G. A. Robinson, and she remained with him until the end of the Big River expedition, probably being sent back to Flinders when the Big River natives were shipped there from Hobart on 17 January 1832. She seems to have remained at the aboriginal settlement thereafter, removing with the others in 1847 to Oyster Cove. She died on 3 October 1858.

Tibb's tribe was the PIN.TER.RAIR.ER of Cape Portland (Mussel Roe): in one reference she is said to have been a native of Ben Lomond, but this is apparently a mistake. Her age is given variously as 25 (1831), 36 (1836) and 35 (1837).

M. C. Friend (1847) says that Sarah had four half-caste children by the sealer with whom she lived, and since being on Flinders Island three children by an aboriginal, of whom two were living; but this may not be exactly correct. Four of the children attributed to her have been identified—

1. *Mary Ann* (see below).
2. Son (name unknown).

Father George Robinson, a sealer; born before November 1830 ('little boy, fine child'). There is

hardly any record of this boy: he is not mentioned as having been removed from Woody Island by Parish at the same time as Tibb, but a list of the natives at the aboriginal settlement in March 1832 shows—'Tibb with child by Row' (the father's name is not clear, and may be an abbreviation for Robinson). The boy was evidently old enough to get along without his mother, because Tibb was with G. A. Robinson on his expeditions from May 1831 until January 1832. The death, from influenza, in March 1839, of 'Sarah's boy' seems to refer to this child.

3. *Fanny Cochrane* (see below).

4. *Adam*.

The 'male child' born 7 June 1838; father Eugene (= NIC.ER.ME.NIC), Tasmanian full-blood; died 28 October 1857, of disease of the lungs and liver, his age being given as twenty. A record dated 13 October 1846 (CSO 11/27) names Adam as half-brother to Mary Ann, and gives his age as about seven or eight.

### Mary Ann

Mary Ann, halfcaste wife of the Tasmanian full-blood Walter George Arthur, is generally considered to have been a half-sister of Fanny Cochrane. The relationship has its basis in one of Robinson's lists of the natives at Flinders Island in which he states that Mary Ann was the 'daughter of Sarah by a sealer' and that she had 'lived in service on the Main'; and in a statement which Mary Ann made at an enquiry into affairs at the Flinders Island aboriginal settlement in October 1846 (CSO 11/27) that—'I am half sister to Fanny Cochrane we have the same mother'. These records appear to be reinforced by what she told James Bonwick, viz., that her mother was the aboriginal Sarah and her father the sealer Cottrel Cochrane; and it is implied that this same Cochrane was the father of Fanny Cochrane. However, if Cochrane had been the father of both girls, Mary Ann and Fanny would have been full sisters if they had had the same mother. There is no evidence for the former; and there is even doubt whether the girls were blood relations at all.

No records have been seen which point clearly to Mary Ann's parentage, but it is worthwhile to examine the information available because it is relevant to the problem of Fanny Cochrane's parentage. Bonwick (1870, p. 282) states that Sarah, mother of Mary Ann, had been 'stolen from her forest home by one of the early sealers of the Straits, whose name for Cottrel Cochrane'. First as to Cottrel Cochrane: no sealer of this name is known, though such negative evidence is not of much consequence because records relating to the sealers are quite inadequate, especially before 1830. Next as to Sarah: for her to have been the mother of Mary Ann, her age would have had to be 36 (1836) or 35 (1837) rather than 25 (1831)—Mary Ann's age is given as 15 (1836) and 18 (1837); she married Walter George Arthur on 16 March 1838. On this basis, Mary Ann was born in the period 1819-1821. At that period, it is likely that Sarah (Tibb) was living with the sealer John Smith, who had in his entourage another native woman PLEEN.PER.REN.NER, also named Mother Brown (sometimes Nancy Brown). James Brown, with

whom Mother Brown had lived originally, was drowned when James Parish lost his boat off Bird Island (Hunter Group) in May 1818; two of Mother Brown's children were also drowned at the time. Afterwards, Mother Brown lived with Parish for a time, and he then disposed of her to John Smith.

There are a few records relating to Mother Brown: she was living with John Smith in March 1831, and on 1 April or a day or so earlier he brought her to the aboriginal settlement, with her daughter (this daughter was by Brown, not Smith, but she had had children by both men); she was returned to John Smith a couple of months later; she was reported to be living with Smith on Flinders Island in July 1834; she was living with the sealers at Gun Carriage (among whom was John Smith) in January 1836. Of her children we only know that Mary Ann Brown (presumed daughter) aged nine, was living in Launceston in 1827; that in 1831 one of her daughters, aged thirteen, was living with her at the Flinders settlement, and another in Launceston, the father of both girls being Brown. The records relating to Sarah (Tibb) have already been summarised: there is no mention of a daughter Mary Ann; there is no mention of any children except the little boy whose father was the sealer Robinson; if Smith had been the father of any of her children born before 1831, it is not recorded. Unfortunately, Mary Ann is not given a surname in the Flinders Island records.

The impression gained from this confusion is that Mary Ann was a daughter of James Brown and Mother Brown. The main argument against this conclusion is G. A. Robinson's statement and her own that Sarah was her mother, but the native habit of transferring parentage to take account of family groupings—it must be remembered not only that Mother Brown and Sarah had lived together for many years, with John Smith, but also that Sarah remained at the Flinders settlement after Mother Brown went off to live again with the sealers—seems a possible source of a transfer from Mother Brown to Sarah as the mother.

### Fanny Cochrane

Writing to the Colonial Secretary in 6 August 1846, Robert Clark, the catechist at the Flinders Island settlement, stated that Fanny Cochrane was born in December 1834, and that Sarah was her mother (CSO 11/26). As Robert Clark came to Flinders in July 1834, this statement would have been made from personal knowledge.

In a list of those attending the settlement school at 31 January 1846, Robert Clark referred to Fanny Cochrane as a 'half cast' (CSO 11/26); and in October 1846, he stated in evidence before an enquiry into affairs at the settlement (CSO 11/27) that she had been named after 'one of Mrs. Clark's sisters'. Dr Jeanneret mentions Fanny Cochrane in several letters and reports (CSO 8/157): on 10 August 1842 she is referred to as the daughter of Sarah by a white man; on 15 September 1842 a list of the aborigines at the settlement includes—

Fanny daughter of Sarah (half caste).

Eugene & Sarah.

Adam son of Eugene & Sarah.

And there are also references in the Colonial Secretary's files to Fanny's schooling at Hobart (CSO 8/72/1642).

Altogether there is little doubt that Fanny Cochrane was a daughter of TARE.NOO.TAIR.ER, that she was a halfcaste, and that she was born in December 1834. However, her father has not been identified; at most, some suggestions can be made as to who he was. It has already been pointed out that Fanny's father is named as Cottrel Cochrane only by implication; but it is possible that he was Fanny's true father and that Mary Ann claimed him as her father in accordance with the native custom by which the most recent parent was regarded as the true parent. Was there a man named Cochrane at the settlement or on the islands in 1834/35? Although the names of the soldiers of the garrison stationed on the island have not been found for this period, no one of this name is known among the convict servants there, or among the sealers. There was a convict named Charles Corkham or Cochran who was one of the crew of G. A. Robinson's boat in 1832, but he seems to have been sent back to the superintendent of convicts at Launceston in November 1832: it is just possible that he was with Robinson again in 1833 on the expedition to the west coast, but very unlikely that he was with him in 1834—the convict records suggest that Corkham was employed in Launceston in 1833, 1834, and part of 1835, and was sent to Port Arthur in July 1835, after which he was probably stationed at Hobart.

There being no known man named Cochrane who might have been Fanny's father, who could have been? There are two pointers to John Smith having been the man. This was the sealer to whom James Parish had sold Tibb when he stole her from her tribe. About June 1831 he began to be employed at the aboriginal settlement, and he was there on and off until 28 July 1834, when he left finally to rejoin the sealers. His duties included those of coxswain of the settlement boat. While there Mother Brown seems to have lived with him; and probably Sarah too, because a settlement record dated June 1834 refers to the trial of one of the convicts there for assaulting Sarah Smith and taking 'indecent liberties' with her. There would have been no strangeness in both Mother Brown and Sarah living with John Smith because a plurality of native women was the rule among the sealers; and the two women had lived with him for many years.

An association between Sarah and John Smith at this time not only suggests that the sealer could have been Fanny's father, but indicates the origin of the name Cochrane. The clue to the latter is to be found in a comment in Ernest Westlake's diary: during his tour of Tasmania he interviewed Mrs Flora Stanton, one of her daughters, in May 1910, who told him that 'Eugene was grandfather's (mother's father's) name a coxswain at Flinders'. Here Eugene, the stepfather, is called the father according to native custom, full parentage having been transferred to the subsequent spouse. And the true father could well have been the coxswain at the Flinders settlement, 'coxswain' becoming 'Cochrane' when pronounced by the natives, who could not deal with the 's' sound.\*

Lastly, it should be pointed out that the name Cochrane is only found in the records after 1840, that is, after G. A. Robinson had gone to Port Phillip, so that there was no one at the settlement able to obtain exact information from the natives, not even Robert Clark who, though long associated with them, did not know the native languages well.

Fanny Cochrane married William Smith on 27 October 1854. Their children were—

Charles Edward.  
Flora Amelia, m. Alfred Stanton; d. 15 August 1946.  
Frederick Henry, m. Joanna Dillon.  
Isabella Francis.  
Joseph Thomas Sears, m. Matilda Sculthorpe.  
Laura Martha, m. John Miller (New Zealand).  
Mary Jane, b. 18 October 1859; m. William Miller.  
Sarah Bernice Laurel, m. John Miller.  
Tasman Benjamin, m. Amy Wells.  
Walter George.  
William Henry.

Fanny Cochrane Smith died on 24 February 1905.

\* It is interesting to note that the notice of Fanny's death in the *Mercury* (Hobart) of 25 February 1905 names her Fanny Corkren Smith. Moreover, note that 'coxswain' is normally pronounced, and abbreviated to 'cox'n' which is a short step to 'Corkren' and 'Cochrane'.

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#### MATHINNA

Mathinna, the little Tasmanian girl who for a time lived with the Franklins at Government House, Hobart, has passed into romantic legend. Before this legend acquires the patina of acceptance it will be as well to outline the little known about her. The principal sources of the following information are G. A. Robinson's journals and papers and the Franklin papers (including copies) in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and the Chief Secretary's records in the State Archives, Hobart.

Mathinna, or Methinna (Methinné) as the name was sometimes spelt, was a daughter of TOWTERER and his wife WONGERNEEP. TOWTERER was the chief of one of the tribes of south-western Tasmania, probably that inhabiting the country to the south of Macquarie Harbour, and both he and his wife were natives of Point Hibbs. TOWTERER and WONGERNEEP were captured by G. A. Robinson in June 1833, and were sent to the Flinders Island aboriginal settlement. At the time

of their capture they had a young child, a girl, but she died within a few months (at the Orphan School, Hobart).

The English name given to TOWERER at the settlement was Romeo, that to WONGERNEEP Eveline. TOWERER died on 30 September 1837, and his widow later married PARLIN, another west coast native, whose wife TINE, DE, BUR, RIC (TOIN, DE, BUR, ER) had died in February 1837. PARLIN'S native name is sometimes written PALLE, PARLEY or PILLA; his English name was Hannibal. WONGERNEEP died in September or October 1840, but it is not known when PARLIN died (he was alive as late as 1845).

Mathinna was born on Flinders Island, probably between July 1834 and June 1835—at the time of the death of her father she was referred to as an 'infant child'; and in a census of the natives at the settlement in June 1838 she was listed as Mary, daughter of Eveline.

Sir John and Lady Franklin visited the Flinders Island aboriginal settlement at the end of January 1838. The following August, G. A. Robinson spent a few days in Hobart on his way to Sydney to discuss a proposal to transfer the natives from Flinders to Port Phillip; and he stayed in Hobart for some weeks on his way back to the settlement. On both occasions he saw Sir John and Lady Franklin. Whether or not the idea of some aboriginal children going to live in their household was discussed during the Franklins' visit to the island in January 1838, it was certainly talked about during Robinson's second visit to Hobart: in his journal for 21 November there is a note that Lady Franklin 'wished me to get a black boy for her'; and on 5 January 1839, just before he left Hobart for the settlement, he 'spoke to Lady F about Adolphus also a girl'. On his return to Flinders and shortly before he left there to enter into his appointment as protector of the aborigines at Port Phillip, Robinson wrote to Lady Franklin. In this letter, dated 10 February 1839, he said—

In accordance with your Ladyships desire the abl boy Adolphus was forwarded per cutter Shamrock on the 20th ulto under care of Mr Gould to Hobarton together with the new clothing as per list enclosed. The abl girl that I had proposed to your Ladyship is one that I think would not afford the satisfaction I could wish and besides is rather too far advanced in years and as it would be desirable that a companion should be provided for Adolphus and your Ladyship having expressed a willingness to take a second child under your kind and humane protection I have in consequence forwarded Charley a mild and well disposed lad for that purpose. Another orphan boy Teddy is also forwarded which I would respectfully recommend be placed in the Queens School.

Of Adolphus, Charley and Teddy, only the first appears to have stayed with the Franklins for any length of time. When Dumont D'Urville visited Hobart in the summer of 1839/40, Adolphus was running wild in the town whenever he could, associating with the most depraved and corrupt, and preferring the most miserable and most crowded quarters of the town, to be found if not

in good company then among gay companions. Jack, as Dumoutier calls him, was then fourteen or fifteen years old; officially he was some sort of groom at Government House (Dumoutier papers, Musée de l'Homme, Paris). He was the son of WY, MUR, RICK and LARRATONG and his native name was TIME, ME, NID, DIC—he was called Timee or Tiny by the Franklins. Later the boy joined the crew of the government yacht *Eliza*: in her diary for 11 March 1842, Lady Franklin remarks that he had then been on board about 10 months.

L. W. Miller says of him—

I had frequent opportunities of observing a native lad, of his age of fourteen years, who was engaged as cabin-boy on one of the colonial vessels, and was pleased to find that he displayed much shrewdness, and a capacity and readiness to learn and do almost any kind of labor. He knew the English alphabet; could spell words of one syllable, and count well. If properly dealt with, I doubt not he would be found to possess no insignificant powers of mind.

G. A. Robinson's remark in his letter of 10 February 1839 to Lady Franklin that he thought the girl he had suggested might not suit, besides being 'rather too far advanced in years', points to someone other than Eveline's Mary as his choice, for she was only about four years old at the time. Probably a definite selection of a girl was not made until Malcolm Laing Smith was appointed commandant at Flinders in April 1839. At any rate, no records have been found which throw any light on the matter, or even point to when the girl arrived at Government House, but there is a comment in Lady Franklin's diary for 3 September 1841 which shows that Mathinna, as she was now known, was there then. At that date she was supposed to be about six years old; and Lady Franklin notes that she had no brothers and sisters alive, that her mother's name was Eveline and her father's name Palle, that is, on her mother's re-marriage parentage had been transferred to the new spouse according to native custom. At this time Lady Franklin was trying to obtain definite information about Mathinna's birth, but there is no indication that she was successful.

There is little authentic record of Mathinna's life at Government House. While there, probably in 1842, her portrait was painted by Thomas Bock, and about this portrait Lady Franklin wrote as follows to her sister Mrs Simpkinson on 14 February 1843—

Mathinna's portrait is extremely like, but the figure is too large and tall—she looks there like a girl of 12, but is only 7—the attitude is exactly hers, and she always wears the dress you see her in—when she goes out, she wears red stockings and black shoes . . .

Lady Franklin also mentioned the portrait in a letter to Mrs Simpkinson on 8 March 1843, and gives some particulars of Mathinna; and Sir John referred to it in a letter to P. E. de Strzelecki on 2 January 1843. The original portrait was apparently sent to Mrs Simpkinson and its present whereabouts are unknown, but a duplicate of it is in the Tasmanian Museum, Hobart.

Two references to Mathinna in Eleanor Franklin's journal are of interest—

**14 September 1841:**

Methinna is 6 years old. Her mother Eveline, father ( ) name Hannibal Port Sorell tribe.

I am good little girl, I have pen & ink cause I am good little girl. I do love my father. I have got a doll & shift & a petticoat. I read. My father I thank the for sleep. I have got red frock like my father. Come here to see my father. I have got sore feet & shoes & stockings & am very glad. All great ( ). Tell my father two rooms ( ).

Unprompted letter to her father.

Port Sorell is a mistake for Cape Sorell, at Macquarie Harbour. Mathinna's letter shows that she was mentally alert, and it is probably in keeping with an age of six under the special environment in which she was then living. (The brackets represent words which have not been deciphered.)

**13 October 1842:**

Mathinna's father and mother belonged to the Macquarie Harbour tribe. Her mother's name was WANGENIPP. She was born at Flinders.

The origin of the name Mathinna has not been determined, and she may well have received it only after she entered the Franklin's household. J. P. Gell, writing to his father on 4 November 1841, said—

(Mathinna) is a very nice intelligent child and a great favourite—she lives with Miss Franklin and her governess and has the manners of a well born child. Her name is Methinna or necklace.

This meeting cannot be confirmed: all that can be said is that MAIR, REENER was a word for necklace (G. A. Robinson, journal for 12 November 1830), and that this may be a variant of the name Mathinna. There was also the word META meaning 'sinew' in the eastern dialect, and it was from the sinews of the kangaroo that the natives made necklaces, either forming loops which were loaded with ochre, or stringing small shells on them.

The Franklins vacated Government House in August 1843, and in November left the colony. In July, Mathinna had been sent to the Orphan School; and in February 1844 she went to Flinders Island. John Skinner Prout sketched her when he and Simpkinson de Wesselow visited the island in February/March 1845, and this portrait is in the British Museum. In October 1847 she was again sent to the Orphan School: she was then said to be twelve years old. In August 1851, Mathinna joined the aborigines at the Oyster Cove station, where she died in September 1856. She is probably the Aminia who—

on the first day of September in the year aforesaid . . . being intoxicated with liquor and laying herself down on her face in mud and water on the road near the Snug it so happened that the said Aminia

was there and then choked, suffocated and stifled of which said choking suffocation and stifling the said Aminia there and died.

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 Vol. 10, p. 56 (Feb./March 1842), p. 143 (11 March 1842);  
 Vol. 11, 1 January 1843, 22 February 1843, 29 March 1843.

**BUSTS OF THE TASMANIAN ABORIGINES**

**Attributed to Pierre-Marie-Alexander Dumoutier**

When the French exploring ships *Astrolabe* and *Zélée*, under the command of J.-S.-C. Dumont D'Urville, visited Hobart in 1839/40, P.-M.-A. Dumoutier was the expedition's 'préparateur d'anatomie' and 'phrénologiste', and, it seems, also their 'chirurgien auxiliaire'. Dumoutier was active during the voyage in modelling in plaster heads of the native peoples met at the various places visited, and there is a large collection of these busts in the Musée de l'Homme at Paris. On the face of it, one would suppose that the Tasmanian material in this collection would have been his work, but there is good reason for doubt in most cases.

The Tasmanian collection in Paris comprises—

1. Buste de BOURRAKOOROO, natif de Ringarooma-bay, comté de Dorset, côte nord de la terre de Van Diemen (Tasmanie). MH 904: coll. Dumont D'Urville 58. Atlas: plate 25.  
*Comment:* no facial hair (? slight moustache); ? young male.
2. Buste d'un naturel de la terre de Van Diemen (jeune fille)—HYOLEBOUYER (Lalla-Rook) jeune Tasmanienne de Port Arthur. MH 905: coll. Dumont D'Urville 59; coll. Dumoutier 44. Atlas: plate 23.  
*Comment:* female, aged 20-30.
3. Buste de MÉNALARGUERNA, natif de Oister-bay, comté de Glamorgan, côte est de la terre de Van Diemen. MH 906: coll. Dumont D'Urville 60. Atlas: plate 25.  
*Comment:* male, bearded, ochred hair.
4. Buste de TROUGGARNANNA, femme de WORADDEY, natif de Suliwan Cove, terre de Van Diemen. MH 913: coll. Dumont D'Urville 67. Atlas: plate 23.  
*Comment:* on plinth of bust, at back—TRUCANINNY / wife of WOURADDY / B. Law sculp. / Hobart Town / A.D. 1836.
5. Buste de WORADDEY, chef à l'île Bruny, canal d'Entrecasteaux, Van Diemanie. MH 914: coll. Dumont D'Urville 68. Atlas: plate 23.  
*Comment:* on plinth of bust, at back—WOUREDDY / aboriginal chief / of V.D.L. / B. Law sculp. / Hobart Town.

6. Buste de Timmey, natif de George River, terre de Van Diemen—Timmey, Tasmanie de Tamar River.  
MH 915: coll. Dumont D'Urville 69. Atlas: plate 22.  
*Comment:* male, wearing beard but not moustache; age 25-35.
7. Buste de Guenny, port Sorell, Tasmanie—Guenny, Tasmanien de Port-Sorelle, comté de Dorset . . . atlas pl. 22; coll. Dumoutier no. 51.  
MH 916: coll. Dumont D'Urville 70. Atlas: plate 22.  
*Comment:* male, wearing short beard, but no (? light) moustache (c.f. plate); age 20-30.
8. Buste de Jeune Tasmanien—Voy. de l'Astrolabe et de la Zélée. Coll. Dumoutier. 1874-50.  
MH 1874-50. Coll. Dumoutier.  
*Comment:* boy, aged 10-12.

In the above list the entry on the registration card of the Musée de l'Homme is given first, to be followed, after the dash, by any information given on the label associated with the bust, or written on the bust, which differs from that on the registration card.

In the library of the Musée de l'Homme there are some of Dumoutier's papers, and the busts are mentioned in them. It should be noted that the voyagers spent only a short time in Hobart, and that for most of the company this was in two periods, the first from 12 December 1839 to 1 January 1840, and the second from 17 to 25 February 1840; furthermore, that the ships called at Hobart largely because of illness on board, and that the medical staff particularly were very fully occupied tending the sick during their stay in port. The only excursion of any distance seems to have been a brief visit by a small party to Launceston, and another to Port Arthur by some of those remaining in Hobart with the sick during the absence of the ships in antarctic waters from 1 January to 17 February.

Dumoutier tells us that the only aboriginal living in Hobart at the time was a boy 14-15 years old in Sir John Franklin's household (this would have been Adolphus—see notes on Mathinna) and some children at the Orphan School (five full-bloods and several hybrids); the only others were the captives on Flinders Island. It is strange that Adolphus should be mentioned and not Mathinna, a much published young person, and so one wonders how much direct contact Dumoutier had with Government House: perhaps little, if any.

Of the natives named on the busts, several can be identified. There is no doubt about WOORADY and TRUGERNANNA, and little about MENALARGUERNA native of Oyster Bay (= MANNALARGENNA) and Timmey native of George River (= MAULBOYHEENNER); but difficulties arise with BOURRAKOOROO, HYOLEBOUYER Lalla Rookh jeune fille, and Guenny. The bust of Guenny (= Jenny) is that of a man; she was a young woman, the wife of Timmy. The label 'HYOLEBOUYER Lalla Rookh jeune fille' seems confused and may be a combination of two labels, one 'HYOLEBOUYER', and the other 'Lalla Rookh

jeune fille'. HYOLEBOUYER has not been identified, but the name may be an error of transcription for TANLEBOUYER (= TANLEBONEYER) an elderly woman; Lalla Rookh was a name given to TRUGERNANNA, who had no recorded name resembling HYOLEBOUYER. BOURRAKOOROO native of Ringarooma Bay has not been identified. To make a rather wild guess, the bust of 'HYOLEBOUYER Lalla Rookh jeune fille' is that of Jenny; the bust of 'BOURRAKOOROO' that of TANLEBONEYER; and the bust of 'Guenny' that of BOURRAKOOROO, who has not been identified.

The remaining bust, that of the 'jeune Tasmanien' (8), is perhaps a portrait of Adolphus. If so, it is the only Tasmanian bust which Dumoutier modelled from life, because at the time of Dumoutier's visit to Hobart all the natives identified above were either dead or with G. A. Robinson at Port Phillip. MANNALARGENNA had died at Flinders Island on 4 December 1835, TANLEBONEYER in Hobart on 1 May 1835, and Jenny at Flinders Island in February or March 1839; WOORADY, TRUGERNANNA and Timmy were at Port Phillip.

What then was the source of Dumoutier's models? There are two pointers to this in the records. The first of these is a comment by Dumoutier—

Sans parler de l'assistance cordiale et généreuse que M. le docteur Bedford a donnée aux malades françaises, il a été aussi très favorable aux travaux de l'expédition, en donnant un crâne de naturel de la terre de Diemen, et en permettant de recueillir des empreintes de la physionomie d'hommes et de femmes de ce pays.\*

The second pointer is a statement by Dumoutier that in Sir John Franklin's drawing room there were paintings in natural size, bust showing dress, and a collection of miniatures illustrating the customs and appearance of the natives; and that as a result of his seeing them, Dumont D'Urville had bought examples of two of the busts (Law's busts of TRUCANINNY and WOUREDDY) and had copied the miniatures (Bock's portraits of the natives).

So far as known, there were two people in Hobart at the time from whom busts might have been obtained, Benjamin Duterrau and Benjamin Law. Duterrau is known to have made a number of bas-reliefs of the natives, and 'casts' of Timmy, WOUREDDY, TRUGERNANNA and MANNALARGENNA, at least (ref.: catalogue of the sale of Duterrau's work, by Elliston, in Hobart on 27 August 1851). However Law seems more likely on stylistic grounds, although he is not known to have modelled any heads of Tasmanians other than those of TRUGERNANNA and WOORADY. However, he certainly executed a number of other busts not now existing. Sir John Franklin and Dr Bedford may well have had copies of the work of both men.

\* Quite apart from the cordial and generous assistance given by Dr Bedford to the sick Frenchmen, he has also been very well disposed towards the work of the expedition, presenting a skull of a native of Van Diemen's Land and permitting the gathering of casts showing the physiognomy of the men and women native of this country.

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## B. LAW SCULP.

Benjamin Law and his wife Ellen arrived at at Hobart Town in the *Sarah* on 14 February 1835. Law was then about twenty-seven years old. The *Sarah* carried immigrants, who were in charge of Mr and Mrs Charles D. Logan, the same Logans who set to music one of the songs of the Tasmanian aborigines a year or so after their arrival (see G. A. Robinson's journal for 22 October 1836).

Law was described, with other assisted emigrants as 'of the agricultural class' in the papers relating to his immigration (Tasmanian State Archives CSO 1/787/16814) but this was probably no more than a device to qualify him for an assisted passage: he does not seem to have engaged in any agricultural pursuits in Tasmania and apparently all his life there was spent in Hobart. Backhouse (journal 23rd 8 mo 1837) tells us that Mr and Mrs Law were superintendents of one of the infant schools. In 1836 they were living at 76 Murray Street; and in 1842 in Collins Street, where Law had a hardware store, near the Independent Chapel. Some time later Law became insolvent. He was still living in Hobart in 1851.

Benjamin Law is of particular interest because of his sculpture. Two of his busts are very well known, those of the Tasmanian aborigines WOORADDY and TRUGERNANNA; but there are also records of other busts, although none of these others seem to have survived. The following is a list of his work of which there are records:—

1. 'WOUREDDEY an aboriginal chief of V.D.L.' Issued September 1835. Price £4.4.0.  
*Sources*: advertisement dated 7 September in *H.T. Courier* of September 1835; also notices in other Hobart newspapers of the period; Ross's *Hobart Town Almanack*, for 1836.
2. 'TRUCANNINY wife of WOORADDY.' Issued October 1836, 'either in bronze or stone colour'.  
*Sources*: *H.T. Courier* of 7 October 1836. (To his advertisement Law added a footnote—'Likenesses modelled and busts executed in marble, bass-relief, &c.')
3. Dr. James Ross.  
In the *H.T. Courier* of 17 August 1838 there is a report that Law had a cast made of the face of the late Dr. Ross, from which it was hoped a bust would be made for the Mechanics' Institute, in his memory.
4. DERRIMUT and BETBENJEE.  
The Port Phillip natives DERRIMUT (DERAHMAT, DERRAHMERT) and BETBENJEE (BAITBAINGER) had been brought on a visit to Hobart by J. P. Fawkner in October 1836, to seek the return of their wives who had been abducted by the sealers.  
*Sources*: James Backhouse, journal for 23rd 8 mo. 1837; *H.T. Courier*, 16 September and 7 October 1836; Daniel Bunce (1857) *Twenty*

*three years wanderings in the Australias and Tasmania*, pp. 60-61; N. J. B. Plomley (1966) *Friendly mission*, p. 938, note 12; Tasmanian State Archives, CSO 5/19/384. (A portrait in oils of the chief DERAH MAT (DERAHMERT), by Benjamin Duterrau, is in the Dixson Library, Sydney. It is dated 5 October 1836. Duterrau also painted BAITBENGER: see catalogue of the sale of his pictures and sculptures, 27 August 1851).

- 5: George Augustus Robinson.  
*Sources*: James Backhouse, journal for 23rd 8 mo. 1837; G. A. Robinson, journal for 7 October 1836 and 17 December 1838; *H.T. Courier*, 7 October 1836; GAR to Gamaliel Butler, 22 September 1837 (Robinson papers, Mitchell Library). (Robinson had a sitting for this bust on 1 August 1835.)
6. James Pascoe Fawkner.  
*Sources*: James Backhouse, journal for 23rd 8 mo. 1837.

## BOCK'S PORTRAITS OF THE TASMANIAN ABORIGINES

It seems inevitable that what one thinks to be the last fullstop is no more than the prelude to a new paragraph. So it has been with the study of Thomas Bock's portraits of the Tasmanian aborigines. A paper which seemed complete had just been set in print when additional material came to light, making necessary a re-assessment of some of the conclusions reached in the original paper (Plomley, 1965). Now, still more has turned up

In the *Mercury* (Hobart) for 21 August 1884 there is printed a letter from Henry Dowling entitled 'Bock's aborigines'—

In 1837 I saw the original sketches made by Bock, at the instance of Lady Franklin, and was struck with their great truthfulness and merit, in marked contrast to those of M. Duterrau, and, on application to her Ladyship, had the pleasure of gaining her consent that I should have replicas. This was in the latter part of 1837.

Mr. Bock made no such pretensions to an art career as M. Duterrau, but his genius and ability were very superior.

With Lady Franklin's appreciation of art it was only natural to her to employ Bock, and not Duterrau. In 1836 I saw in Bock's studio several portraits of residents in Hobart, which were very creditable indeed.

As to the "native" portraits I had ample means of forming a judgment. Besides frequent opportunities of seeing "Robinson's Blacks", as they were termed in 1832, and of studying their physiognomy, I had the unusual opportunity of seeing specimens of the "wild natives" on the occasion of the inquest on Captain Thomas and Mr Parker, in 1831, when "Jinny", as she was termed at the time, and is designated in Mr. Fenton's book, was examined as a witness for upwards of an hour, during which time the supposed male murderers,

and the witness, stood before the jury, just in their native condition; and I cannot be mistaken either with respect to their physiognomy or their colour. Duterreau represents them as black, as "black lead polished". Bock gives the proper colour, when they were besmeared with grease and red ochre, as they came in from the bush. (See M. Bellefin's experience, p. 20, Fenton's Hist.) Naturally they were really copper-coloured, as it is termed.

The very creditable chromo-lithographs of our new history are rather light, but that may be traced to the fact that Bock's drawings having been exposed under glass to the rays of the sun at a Ballarat Art Exhibition, for which they were lent by me, faded considerably.

These portraits formed the study for Mr Robert Dowling in preparing the composition of "The Natives", presented by him to the Town of Launceston and now in the reading-room of the Mechanics' Institute.

Any of your readers who may be curious in such matters who may be disposed to examine the cabinet of Bock's portraits in the possession of the Government, will note that if any additional verification of the originality of Bock's work is needed it may be found in the interesting duplicates, in profile, in neutral tint, amongst Bock's, made expressly by direction of Lady Franklin, so that the peculiar formation of the lower jaw of some of the Tasmanian aborigines might be ascertained in any not to be seen in the principal portraits.

There are several points of interest in this letter. The first is the statement that Dowling had seen 'the original sketches made by Bock, at the instance of Lady Franklin'. Whatever Dowling might have meant by this ambiguous statement, it has certainly been taken to mean that Bock painted the original portraits for Lady Franklin. It is obvious that he did not (Plomley, 1965).

The second point of interest lies in the information that the 'replicas' which Dowling obtained from Bock, with Lady Franklin's consent, were used not only by his brother Robert when painting his group portraits of the Tasmanian aborigines (Plomley, 1961), but also in the preparation of the

lithographs in 'our new history', that is, James Fenton's *History of Tasmania* (1884). Incidentally, Henry Dowling's remark that the portraits had faded during exhibition at Ballarat is doubly interesting: it shows why portraits prepared from them were lighter in tone than the 'copper colour' of the originals, so that neither Dowling's series nor the copies based upon them are of value in designating the colour of the skin in the Tasmanians; and it provides another link between the Dowlings and Victoria (Plomley, 1961).

Thirdly, the identification of 'Jinny' (--- Jenny) as Sydney now seems fairly definite (Plomley, 1966, appendix 6).

Lastly, there is now a case for re-examining the Bock collection in the Tasmanian Museum. The set of portraits, full-face and profiles, which was presented by the Government in 1889, were described as facsimiles; and technically they seemed to be Alfred Bock's work, so that they were ascribed to him (Plomley, 1965). Yet, Fenton's statement that his lithographs were prepared from the portraits in the possession of the Government, and Dowling's remark that Fenton's lithographs had been prepared from the portraits which he had obtained from Bock with Lady Franklin's approval, clearly link the two sets. Did the word 'facsimiles' mean 'replicas' made by the original artist, rather than copies by another hand? Was my technical identification wrong—the Tasmanian Museum series was not examined by Messrs Croft-Murray and Reynolds?

To complete this note, the whereabouts of two more of Thomas Bock's portraits of the Tasmanians can be recorded. These are in Dixon Library (Sydney), in the 'Thompson portfolio' purchased by Sir William Dixon in 1912 from Angus and Robertson. The portraits are clearly Thomas Bock's work: they have A 1/2 inscriptions. The natives portrayed are WOUREDDY and TRUGGERNANA. Attention is also directed to a note in Lady Franklin's journal for 22 September 1840 (vol. 5, p. 160) that "Mr. Bock is painting the aborigines in my possession, for Mr. Ashburner".

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