

True to Nature?
Fidelity and Transformation
in Eugene von Guérard's
Antipodean Landscape Paintings

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my partner Marie Connolly,
who motivated me to undertake this research and supported my efforts throughout.

Abstract

When the leading mid-nineteenth-century landscape artist in Victoria, Eugene von Guérard, was criticised for failing to illustrate nature sublimely, he replied that his “greatest desire” was to “imitate nature” as far as it was “compatible with the effect of the picture.” Later, he asserted that his aim was “to be true to nature as far as possible” in his art.

This empirical, science-informed thesis explores what being “true to nature” meant in Guérard’s practice by examining natural features typically illustrated with fidelity, scrutinising features freely transformed for artistic effect, and assessing whether such transformations compromise his aesthetic ideal. The fieldwork-based study addresses a knowledge gap in Australian art history and environmental history by adopting a multi-disciplinary approach. The findings make a significant contribution to understanding what being “true to nature” meant for Guérard, and to determining whether his landscapes are reliable environmental history records.

The investigation uses a mixed-method approach, combining qualitative and quantitative techniques. Early in-depth case studies identified faithfully rendered and freely modified features, which informed the development of an innovative survey instrument used to evaluate the fidelity of over a hundred of Guérard’s Antipodean landscapes. The extent to which natural features are faithful or transformed is subjectively assessed by comparing them with his accurate field drawings and modern site photographs taken from his vantage points. The novel reverse use of digital elevation models enabled many of his vantage points at sites to be precisely determined.

Statistical analysis of survey data and further case studies leads to the conclusion that Guérard practised *selective* fidelity to nature. Although no natural feature was totally immune to being modified for artistic effect, many features are typically reproduced with great fidelity to the natural scenery visible at the site. Features significantly altered to create visually engaging or dramatic landscapes are usually found to be true to the natural history of the location, if not necessarily to the view. Exceptions are largely restricted to the composite landscapes that field research uncovered. Finally, the thesis examines whether Guérard’s fidelity practice resonates with particular purported influences, or parallels the practices of international contemporaries who were also renowned for their wilderness paintings.

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Declaration

This is to certify that:

1. this thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD; and
2. due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used.

Professional editorial assistance

Professional editorial assistance is limited to proof reading and checking the formatting of citations by a member of the Institute of Professional Editors.

Peer-reviewed publications

The following peer-reviewed publications are based on the research undertaken for this thesis and the methodologies and techniques developed during the project.

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Hook, George and Stephen Carey. "Relocating the Pink and White Terraces of Lake Rotomahana New Zealand: Resolving the 'Battle of the Maps'." *Tuhinga* 30 (2019): 174–204.
<https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/document/10688>.

Hook, George. "Tasmanian Arcadia: Fidelity to Nature and History in Eugene von Guérard's Painting *Thal um Mt. Wellington bei Hobart 'Insel Tasmania, Australien'*, 1886." *Turnbull Library Record* 51 (2019): 42–57.

Hook, George. "How True to Nature is Eugene von Guérard's *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand*?" *Tuhinga* 32 (2021): 18–51.
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List of abbreviations

- AAG Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki
- AGB Art Gallery of Ballarat
- AGNSW Art Gallery New South Wales
- AGSA Art Gallery of South Australia
- AGWA Art Gallery of Western Australia
- ATL Alexander Turnbull Library
- GAG Geelong Art Gallery
- NGA National Gallery of Australia
- NGV National Gallery of Victoria
- NLA National Library of Australia
- NLNZ National Library of New Zealand
- QAG Queensland Art Gallery
- SLNSW State Library New South Wales
- SLSA State Library of South Australia
- SLV State Library of Victoria
- TP Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

Chapter 1 – Introduction



Figure 1.1. **Eugene von Guérard in 1863, at the age of 52**
Carte de visite, 10.3 × 6.3 cm. Photograph: Davies & Co., Melbourne.¹

In 2011, the National Gallery of Victoria presented a major retrospective exhibition of the artworks of the Austrian-born, colonial landscape painter Eugene von Guérard (1811–1901, Figure 1.1), who resided in Victoria for three decades in the nineteenth century, between 1852 and 1882. The exhibition, entitled *Eugene von Guérard: Nature Revealed* and curated by art historian Ruth Pullin and conservator Michael Varcoe-Cocks, included a wide range of southeastern Australian landscapes, intricately painted, printed or inked in great detail. Most of these landscapes were of wilderness scenes, while a few were of rural homesteads. Some of these Antipodean landscapes were displayed beside large drawings or small sketches in pocket-sized sketchbooks on which the artworks are based. Information panels emphasised how faithful the

1. Reproduced from Sascha Nolden and Sandy B. Nolden, *Hochstetter Collection Basel: Part 5 – Portrait Photographs* (Auckland: Mente Corde Manu, 2015), 113.

artist's landscapes were to the views of nature he observed and recorded at sites, even to the extent of asserting that he practised a form of very detailed, scientific observation of nature. As no photographs of the sites of Guérard's landscapes were included in the exhibition, it was not possible to visually confirm the fidelity of any of the landscapes to the view at the site, nor to assess whether he modified features of landscapes to make them more dramatic or appealing to his patrons.

As a New Zealander, I was familiar with Guérard's iconic paintings of the magnificent scenery in Milford Sound/Piopiotaahi and at Lake Wakatipu in the South Island. However, being a recent arrival in Australia, I was not acquainted with any of the dramatic landscapes of Victoria, South Australia, Tasmania and New South Wales, which the artist illustrated as the major part of his Antipodean oeuvre. Having a long standing interest in investigating how colonial artists portrayed the landscapes of New Zealand as compared with the views they beheld at locations, I was drawn to engaging in similar field research in Australia, and Guérard's landscapes offered some promising subjects. This type of research involved determining the location, visiting the site, establishing the artist's vantage point and photographing the same view.

The extensive catalogue that accompanied the exhibition functioned as a travel guide,² facilitating locating and visiting the sites of some of his landscapes, initially within Victoria but eventually further afield in southeastern Australia.³ Early visits in Victoria were mostly to readily accessible sites that are now tourist destinations, such as the Tower Hill volcanic complex near Port Fairy on the Great Ocean Road. At such locations, signage sometimes informed visitors where the artist would have positioned himself to make the sketch on which the artwork is based (e.g. Figure 1.2).⁴

2. Ruth Pullin, ed., *Eugene von Guérard: Nature Revealed* (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2011).

3. As Bonyhady noted: "Colonial artists are not bad tourist guides. With their taste for the picturesque and the sublime, you can be sure they knew a good view." See Tim Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000), 340.

4. All images of paintings and drawings in the figures are by Eugene von Guérard, unless otherwise stated.



Figure 1.2. **The *Tower Hill* painting and site view**

Top: *Tower Hill*, 1854, oil on canvas, 68.6 × 122.0 cm, Warrnambool Art Gallery. Bottom: view of the Tower Hill complex beside a sign stating “Von Guérard’s Lookout.” Photograph: author.

These early visits appeared to confirm the exhibition’s inference that the artist illustrated landscapes with great fidelity.⁵ This was particularly evident in his portrayal of Lal Lal Falls when the topographical, geological and hydrological details visible in an ink-and-wash commissioned drawing are compared with the view at the site (Figure 1.3).

5. The exhibition concluded with a quote from Guérard: “My wish was ... to put before the public views from this part of the world that demonstrate the character of the Australian landscape faithfully and with truth to nature,” which according to reviewer Caroline Jordan expressed the artist’s manifesto. See Caroline Jordan, “Terribly True to Nature,” review of *Eugene Von Guérard: Nature Revealed* (2011), accessed May 22, 2021, <http://melbourneartnetwork.net/2011/07/01/exhibition-review-caroline-jordan-review-of-eugene-von-guerard-nature-revealed-at-the-national-gallery-of-victoria>.



Figure 1.3. Comparing the Lal Lal Falls drawing with the site photograph

Top: *Fall of the Lallal [sic] creek, 112 feet high, branch of the Moorool [sic] near Buninyong, 1858, pen and ink and wash on paper, 30.8 × 48.7 cm, accession number 638-5, NGV.*

Bottom: Lal Lal Falls, 2015. Photograph: Andrew Thomas.

Encountering exceptions

On a 2013 excursion along the Great Ocean Road in Victoria, the view captured in Guérard's painting *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges, c. 1870* (Figure 1.4, bottom), which had figured prominently in the first gallery of the 2011 retrospective, was searched for. The title of the large field drawing on which it is based (Figure 1.4, top) indicated the site should be somewhere along Wild Dog Creek, the mouth of which is located just a few kilometres north of the township of Apollo Bay. While the fore- and midground details of the painting faithfully reproduce those recorded in the field drawing, the large bluff and distant range are not present in the sketch. It was therefore assumed that those landforms were obscured by clouds when the artist was sketching. The intention was to drive up Wild Dog Road until the bluff came into view and then work out where Guérard's vantage point next to the creek would have been relative to that view. After driving up and down the steep road several times, it became apparent that no such bluff existed in the entire catchment. The following year, a bluff known as Langdale Pike (Figure 1.5, left), which is very similar in appearance to the painted one, was encountered on another fieldtrip. This bluff, however, was towering above the Cumberland River, 30 km northeast of the mouth of Wild Dog Creek.⁶ The picture turned out to be a *composite painting* based on the large field drawing and another small sketch,⁷ entitled *Cumberland Creek* (Figure 1.5, right), which was located in one of the artist's small sketchbooks held in the State Library of New South Wales. Although Varcoe-Cocks stated in the exhibition catalogue that there is "a small group [of paintings] for which the artist broke from his *typical fidelity* [emphasis added]" to produce works that are constructs,⁸ the *Fern Tree Gully* painting is not mentioned as being one of them in the commentary on that particular work.

6. When Ruth Pullin was informed of what had been found, she replied that she had previously identified that the painting was a composite, and confirmed that it was based on drawings made at two different sites (email message to author, February 20, 2014).

7. For the purposes of this thesis, a *composite painting* is defined as one that merges empirically observed landscape views from two or more distinct vantage points.

8. Michael Varcoe-Cocks, [essay on *Sunset, New South Wales, 1865*], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 164.



Figure 1.4. Comparing the *Fern Tree Gully* painting with the field drawing

Top: *Wild Dog Creek*, 7 Oct 59, 1859, pencil and crayon on paper, 30.8 × 48.7 cm, folio 6 in album “Apollo Bay and Cape Otway, 1859–1862,” 37.5 × 58.5 cm, reference code 825478, Dixon Library, SLNSW. Bottom: *Fern Tree Gully*, *Cape Otway Ranges*, c. 1870, oil on canvas, 91.0 × 137.0 cm, AGWA.



Figure 1.5. **The peak inserted in the *Fern Tree Gully* painting**

Left: view of Langdale Pike, 2014. Photograph: author. Right: *Cumberland Creek*, pencil on paper, folio 33v, “Volume 10: Sketchbook XXXI, no. 14 Australian 1859, 1862,” reference code 824705, Dixson Library, SLNSW.

This discovery encouraged an investigation into the painting *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (Figure 1.6), the view and vantage point of which were claimed to be a mystery in the literature. Indeed, curator Tracey Lock-Weir at the Art Gallery of South Australia, where this work currently resides, declared it to be “one of Australian art’s greatest enigmas” in the retrospective catalogue.⁹ By searching through thousands of field drawings in sketchbooks, albums and loose collections held in Australasian state libraries, two small sketches on which the landscape painting is based were located. Through fieldwork and natural history research, the locations of the two sites were determined, and site photographs, taken from as close to Guérard’s

9. Tracey Lock-Weir, [essay on *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 118.

vantage points as possible, acquired.¹⁰ This painting turned out to be another previously unidentified composite work, based on two drawings made in widely separated locations in very different geographical and geological environments.



Figure 1.6. ***Stony Rises*, another composite work**

Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite, 1857, oil on canvas, 71.2 × 86.4 cm, AGSA.

These discoveries raised questions as to the extent to which Guérard’s Antipodean landscape paintings faithfully portrayed the views of nature that he observed at sites. Were his paintings usually faithful to the view from the vantage point as the information panels at the exhibition implied, with the two newly identified composites being exceptions to the “typical fidelity” to nature of his works? Furthermore, did he take liberties only with how he illustrated certain features in his landscape paintings, while remaining faithful in his portrayal of other

10. The vantage point of one of the sketches is usually several metres underwater in Lal Lal Reservoir in western Victoria, but is exposed when major droughts prevail.

aspects of nature? Perhaps the artist's communications would provide an answer to the latter question at least.

Guérard's aesthetic convictions

Although a search through the limited extant correspondence and writings of the artist referenced in the literature unearthed scant reference to the issue of fidelity to nature, it did provide some insight into Guérard's intentions, if not his practice. In 1870, in an unpublished third-person handwritten defence in response to a highly critical attack on his artistic practice by the Melbourne reviewer James Smith,¹¹ Guérard wrote that "an artist should so far as it is compatible with the effect of a picture, imitate nature not only in the masses but also in the details,"¹² which suggests that fidelity to nature was not an end in itself. The following year, in a letter to the Austrian geologist Ferdinand von Hochstetter that accompanied a bound set of 24 tinted lithographs entitled *Australian Landscapes*, the artist wrote: "Mein Wunsch war, wenn auch nicht ein vollendetes Kunstwerk, so doch wenigstens Ansichten aus diesem Welttheile dem Publicum vorzulegen, welche den Character der australischen Landschaft treu und naturwahr zur Anschauung bringen" (It was my desire to present to the public, if not a consummate piece of art, then at least some views from this part of the world, which illustrate the character of the Australian landscape faithfully and true to nature.)¹³ In 1872 Guérard wrote to the departed colonial artist William Strutt that he had "the unhappy style to finish the picture so well as I can because I see that nature finished always the objects so admirably well and believe that an artist should try to imitate it so well as possible."¹⁴ Seven years later, Guérard made the final extant

11. James Smith, "Mr von Guerard's New Picture," *Argus*, July 13, 1870.

12. Eugene von Guérard, Reply on the Critic of Eugene von Guérard's Painting of the North Grampians, unpublished letter to the editor of the *Argus* newspaper, James Smith Papers, 1837–1909, MLMSS 212, SLNSW. The artist penned his response as if it came from a knowledgeable acquaintance of the artist.

13. Quoted by the geologist in Ferdinand von Hochstetter, "Eugen von Guérard's Australische Landschaften," *Mittheilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 13 (1871): 155. Translated by Susanne Haring.

14. Letter from Eugene von Guérard to William Strutt, January 29, 1872, in William Strutt *Autobiography and other Papers, 1788–1855*, accession number MLMSS 867, SLNSW.

comment on his fidelity intentions in a letter to Julius von Haast, geologist and director of the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, New Zealand. “My aim,” he wrote, “is to be true to nature as far as possible.”¹⁵

If Guérard’s declarations of his artistic intentions relating to fidelity to nature are taken at face value, then clearly the artist wished to be “true to nature,” to “imitate nature” in so far as it was within his artistic abilities, provided that such fidelity was compatible with the overall effect he was seeking to achieve in a landscape composition. The artist did not elaborate further in any of the extant correspondence or other writings whether there were any particular features of nature that he would reproduce with great fidelity, nor what features he was prepared to freely modify in order to realise an aesthetically appealing composition. The question of what fidelity to nature meant in his practice warrants further examination, particularly as Humphrey Clegg, curator of Australian Art at the National Gallery of Victoria,¹⁶ commented that “it was a subject that was not properly addressed through the Nature Revealed exhibition.”¹⁷

Facets of nature

Although various philosophical definitions of “nature” existed in the nineteenth century,¹⁸ particularly in the German-speaking world, it is reasonable to assume that Guérard used the English term “nature” and the German word “natur” in the non-philosophical correspondence quoted above in the everyday sense still in use today of the “natural world” – the physical world, including plants, animals, rocks, landforms and other features of the planet, in contrast to the built world of human structures. Indeed, Guérard’s usage of the word “nature” in his lengthy defence of his artistic practice, confirms that it was the everyday meaning of the word he had in mind, as

15. Letter from Guérard to Haast, December 29, 1879, in *Lieber Freund! Letters from Eugen von Guérard to Julius von Haast*, Thomas A. Darragh and Ruth Pullin (Ballarat: Ballarat Art Gallery, 2018), 33.

16. Humphrey Clegg provided special assistance to the curators of the *Nature Revealed* exhibition (Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, title page.)

17. Humphrey Clegg, email message to author, April 9, 2015.

18. R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of Nature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945), part 2; Andrea Wulf, *The Invention of Nature* (London: John Murray, 2015), chapter 2.

there are references to summits, plains, forests and plants.¹⁹ When seeking to be true to, or to imitate, nature in his landscape paintings, the artist may have had it in mind that he wished to be faithful to the natural features he observed at a site, or perhaps to the *natural history* of the location.²⁰ Only a detailed investigation comparing natural features illustrated in a large sample of artworks with those visible at sites, as well as with the known natural history of the localities, could resolve this issue.²¹ In the mid-nineteenth century the relevant natural history disciplines were geography, geology, botany and meteorology.

As there are many different facets of nature, such an investigation would need to identify what features that Guérard might have had in mind when he avowed that an artist should be “true to nature.” Given he had declared in his defence that, if he “could succeed to paint Australian scenes to make them delightful illustrations for treaties [*sic*] of botanical or geological features of the Colony then he would be convinced that for the future his paintings would have a greater value,”²² geological and botanical fidelity were evidently important. Although *ecology* was not a recognised scientific discipline at the time,²³ the study of the geographical distribution of plant species in relation to altitude and latitude was well established through the research and

19. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

20. *Natural history* refers primarily to the direct observation and study of the flora, fauna, fossils or rocks of a location. See Kenneth W. Able, “Natural History: An Approach Whose Time Has Come, Passed, and Needs to Be Resurrected,” *ICES Journal of Marine Science* 73 (2016), <https://doi.org/10.1093/icesjms/fsw049>; Thomas L. Fleischner, “Natural History and the Deep Roots of Resource Management,” *Natural Resources Journal* 45 (2005), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24888961>.

21. Although features of some landscapes would have undergone significant change over the past century and a half due to human actions and natural forces, there are also enduring features, such as the topography, geography and geology, which would have changed very little.

22. Some of the artist’s landscape paintings have adorned the covers of geological books and reports, e.g. William D Birch, ed., *Geology of Victoria*, Geological Society of Australia Special Publication 23 (Sydney: Geological Society of Australia [Victoria Division], 2003). Others have been used as illustrations in books discussing the environmental history of Australian forests and other vegetation, e.g. Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2012).

23. *Ecology* is the science which studies the relationships among organisms and between organisms and their environments. Although the term was coined by Ernst Haeckel in 1866, the discipline did not develop significantly until later in the nineteenth century. It became a more rigorous science in the twentieth century.

publications of Alexander von Humboldt.²⁴ Guérard's inclusion of identifiable plant species in particular environments suggest a concern with ecological fidelity as well. His paintings mostly have titles that specify particular geographical locations, and often include the geographical names of *landforms*, implying that geographical and geomorphological fidelity were also significant for the artist.²⁵ Furthermore, the fact that his vantage points can usually be determined by comparing painted contours with the topography visible at sites implies that topographical accuracy was also part of Guérard's desire "to imitate nature in the *masses* as well as in the details."²⁶ His frequent sketching of cloud formations also suggest that he was interested in portraying different types of clouds accurately.²⁷

In order to determine what being "true to nature" meant in his artistic practice, the fidelity with which such natural features are illustrated in his landscape paintings would need to be evaluated by comparing them with those visible at sites and recorded in his field drawings. Such an enterprise ought to encompass topographical, geomorphological, geological, ecological, and botanical fidelity. Essentially, this would involve conducting empirical research by engaging in intensive fieldwork, and acquiring knowledge about the natural history of specific locations.

Undertaking academic research

As a first step toward undertaking such a research program, the compositional development and fidelity to nature of the landscape painting *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (Figure 1.7), was investigated in detail and inferred to also be a composite picture. After submitting an article on that painting and the two composite works investigated earlier to a leading international art

24. For example, Alexander von Humboldt and Aime Bonpland, *Essay on the Geography of Plants*, trans. Sylvie Romanowski, ed. Stephen J. Jackson (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013).

25. *Landforms* are physical features of the landscape such as mountains, craters, hills, valleys, rivers, creeks, falls and coasts. See Richard John Huggett, *Fundamentals of Geomorphology* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2002), 1.

26. By the term *masses*, the artist would have meant the shapes and forms making up the major parts of a composition, such as mountains, cliffs, river valleys, field, etc.

27. Pullin stated that "virtually every [Australian] sketchbook contained two or three such studies" (Ruth Pullin, "Eugène von Guérard and the Science of Landscape Painting" (PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2007), 100).

history journal,²⁸ the scope of the current project was expanded into a doctoral-level research program investigating the issue of fidelity to nature across Guérard's Antipodean oil painting oeuvre.



Figure 1.7. **The Warrenheip painting, another composite work**
Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat, 1854, oil on canvas, 46.0 × 75.5 cm, NGV.

Initially, the thesis was to be entitled “Truth to Nature: Fidelity and Transformation in Eugene von Guérard’s Antipodean Artworks,” but later it was amended to “True to Nature? Fidelity and Transformation in Eugene von Guérard’s Antipodean Landscape Paintings.” The amendment of the title occurred when it was realised that the German word *naturwahr* in Guérard’s letter to Hochstetter had been mistranslated as “truth to nature” rather than “true to nature” in an earlier thesis.²⁹ This was a significant modification, as “truth to nature” is a complex art historical and philosophical concept as compared to the relatively straightforward expression

28. George Hook, “Brushes with Infidelity: Truth to Nature in Three Composite Landscapes by Eugene von Guérard,” *Art History* 40, no. 5 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8365.12286>.

29. Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 165. The correct translation of the word *naturwahr* was confirmed by three individuals with expertise in translating nineteenth-century German documents: Monica Shelley, Susanne Haring and Sascha Nolden.

“true to nature” the artist used.³⁰ The amendment of the subtitle was made after appreciating that analysing his Antipodean commissioned drawings and lithographs as well as the paintings,³¹ would have made the scope of the project too extensive for a doctorate.

Key research questions

The issue of how the artist practised fidelity to nature was not adequately examined in the *Nature Revealed* exhibition nor explored to any significant extent in the catalogue.³² To fill this gap in the knowledge base of Australian art history, this thesis seeks to answer these questions:

1. What natural features of Antipodean landscapes did Guérard typically illustrate with fidelity to nature?
2. What natural features did the artist often freely transform for artistic effect?
3. Did such transformations compromise his expressed intention to be “true to nature” in his landscape paintings?

Research approach

Quantitative research: survey

While case studies of individual paintings provide insights into which natural features Guérard rendered faithfully and those he freely transformed, it may well be that those works are not representative of his typical practice. Certainly, it proved so with the first three works investigated, all of which turned out to be composites.³³ A more comprehensive approach is required (Figure 1.8), which involves analysing a large, representative sample of the artist’s works. Different natural features illustrated in each artwork are compared with the view at the site, as recorded in the relevant field drawing or captured in a site photograph taken from Guérard’s vantage point, as well as with the known natural history of the locality. This research

30. Allen Staley, “Rejecting Nothing, Selecting Nothing,” in *Pre-Raphaelite Vision: Truth to Nature*, eds. Allen Staley and Christopher Newall (London: Tate Publishing, 2004), 25–56; Anne Helmreich, *Nature’s Truth: Photography, Painting and Science in Victorian Britain* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press 2016); John Holmes, “The Search after Truth,” in *The Pre-Raphaelites and Science* (London Yale University Press, 2018), 19–43.

31. About 53 commissioned drawings, 28 lithographs and 5 watercolours have been identified as part of his Antipodean oeuvre.

32. References to fidelity to nature in the exhibition catalogue are discussed in Chapter 3.

33. Hook, “Brushes with Infidelity.”

approach involves surveying the sample by interrogating each painting using an original survey instrument that requires a series of subjective judgements to be made as to the degree to which different natural features illustrated in a picture are faithful to what the artist observed of the natural world at the time of his site visit.³⁴ As a significant number of paintings are surveyed, numerical scales are used to judge fidelity to nature, and the responses to multiple items are combined to generate an overall fidelity *measure* for each work,³⁵ the survey qualifies as quantitative research. The overall fidelity measure is used to categorise works as “highly faithful,” “mostly faithful,” “significantly modified” or “highly modified” when compared to the view of the natural world at, or the natural history of, the site. This approach, which is more akin to the research methodology used in the social sciences than that utilised in the arts or physical sciences, moves beyond binary subjective assessments of truth to nature in a landscape painting by providing a more complex and nuanced evaluation of fidelity in the oeuvre of an artist. As such, this thesis seeks to achieve a high resolution understanding of what being “true to nature” meant for Guérard.

In the wider context of mid-nineteenth century developments in landscape painting in Europe and the New World, this in-depth study into what being “true to nature” meant for Guérard in the Antipodes should provide insights into what his contemporaries, who had undertaken similar academic training and had been exposed to the same artistic movements and historical developments, understood by that aesthetic ideal. Substantiating what that meant in practice for those artists would, however, require interrogating their works in a similar fashion. If the fidelity measure proves to be robust, in the sense of being both valid and reliable, then the survey instrument will become a useful tool for assessing the fidelity to nature of works by other nineteenth-century landscape painters, particularly those involved in painting wilderness scenes in Northern Europe, the Americas and the Antipodes. This in turn would lead to a comprehensive, evidence-based account of what those artists understood being “true to nature” entailed.

34. No entity resembling the survey instrument has been identified in the literature.

35. In the social sciences, a *measure* combines the responses to a series of items in a questionnaire in order to assess an innate quality, such as resilience or intelligence, which cannot be measured directly.

Qualitative research: case studies

Investigating the fidelity of paintings using the survey instrument alone would limit the extent to which faithful and transformed features in a particular work could be investigated in depth and commented on in detail. Further case studies were therefore undertaken as part of the research program. The proposed case study methodology reflects the approach advocated by cultural historian Tim Bonyhady. In the context of analysing the fidelity to nature of *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863 (Figure 3.4, middle), Bonyhady asserted that:

The different ways in which artists combined scientifically observed fact and the strict rendering of topography with established pictorial conventions and the romantic expression of awe can be properly established only if the subjects of the painting are known, the actual sites are visited and the artists' preparatory sketches for the painting survive.³⁶

Furthermore, according to the art historian Bernard Smith, locating and visiting the sites of paintings "is often the only way of clearing up problems as to the artist's intentions and correcting false or misleading captions,"³⁷ an issue that will be examined in the case study discussed in Chapter 9. Four case studies are included in this thesis (Chapters 6, 9, 10 and 11). Two of these plus three other case studies have been extensively discussed in four articles published in art history, scientific and institutional journals.³⁸

Mixed methods

The case studies qualify as qualitative research given that they are open-ended investigations of aspects of fidelity. When the findings of the quantitative and qualitative research components are considered together, they exemplify the output of an integrated *mixed methods* research program,

36. Tim Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition: Australian Landscape Painting 1801–1890* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1985), 93.

37. Bernard Smith, "Painting Victoria's Changes," *The Age*, October 6, 1984.

38. George Hook, "Using Spatial Technology to Locate the View Illustrated in Eugene von Guérard's Painting of the Kosciuszko Massif," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* 130 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.1071/RS18002>; George Hook, "Tasmanian Arcadia: Fidelity to Nature and History in Eugene von Guérard's Painting *Thal Um Mt. Wellington Bei Hobart 'Insel Tasmania, Australien'*, 1886," *Turnbull Library Record* 51 (2019); George Hook, "How True to Nature Is Eugene von Guérard's *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand?*," *Tuhinga*, no. 32 (2021), <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/document/11030>; Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity."

more typical of the research strategies used in social and human science disciplines.³⁹ The schematic diagram of the research program in Figure 1.8 illustrates the close connections between the qualitative and quantitative components.

39. John Creswell, "Mixed Methods Procedures," in *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 2003), 208–227; Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, "A Qualitative Approach to Mixed Methods Design," in *Mixed Methods Research* (New York: Guilford Press, 2010), 63–103.

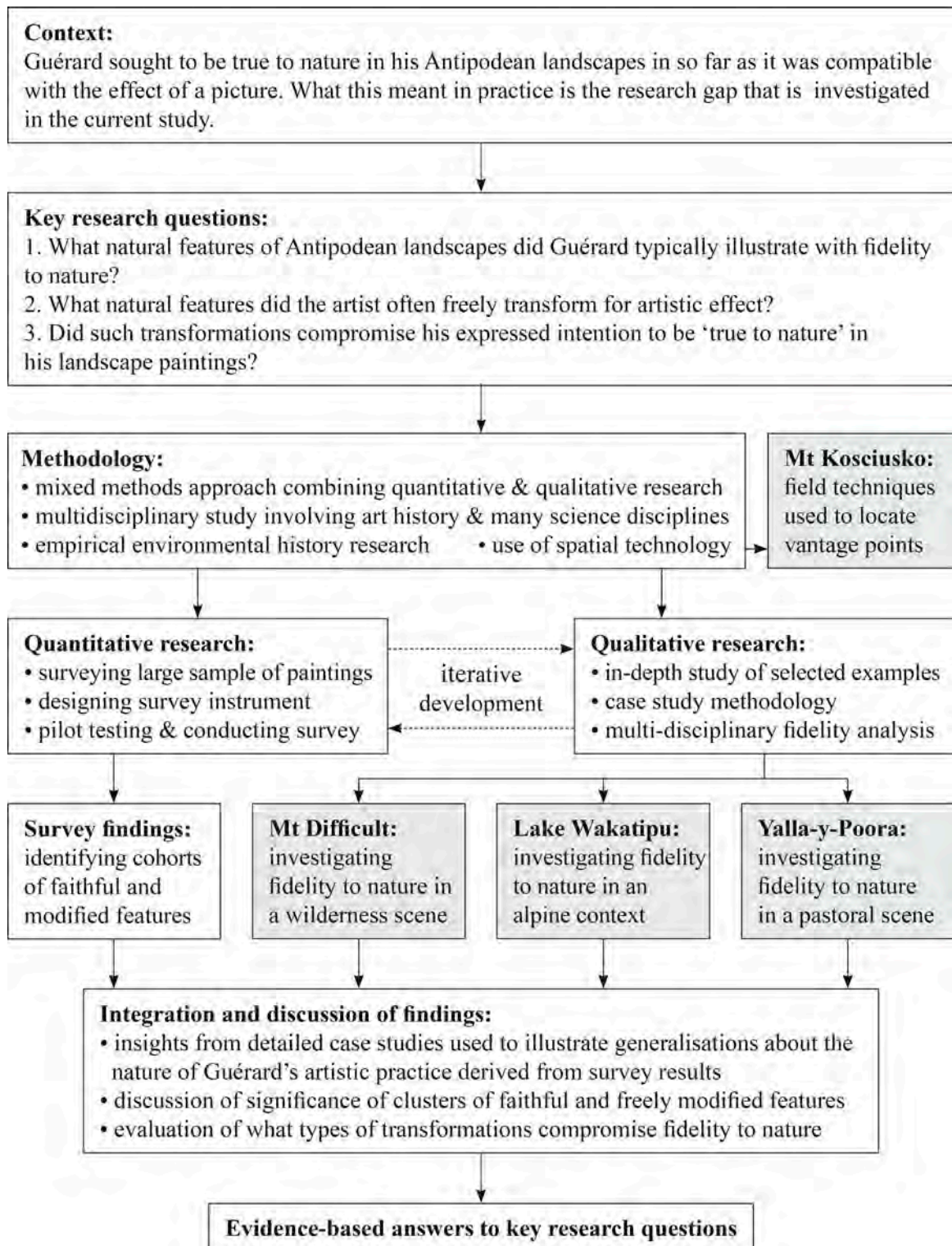


Figure 1.8. Schematic diagram of the research program

The grey boxes represent painting case studies.

For this project, an iterative approach to the development of the survey instrument and the case study methodology was adopted.⁴⁰ The process built on insights gained from the case studies of the three composite paintings. Features that were identified as being either faithful to nature or significantly modified in those works contributed to the initial range of items included in the survey instrument. Pilot testing of the draft survey instrument with a small sample of landscape paintings identified other natural features that could be evaluated for fidelity, which were also investigated further in later case studies. This resulted in case studies that are more comprehensive and better structured than the early ones, as newly acquired data informed the approach. The findings of those more detailed case studies were used to evaluate how those paintings scored in the survey instrument, which was then modified to produce a more nuanced instrument applicable to assessing the fidelity to nature of a wider range of scenes. The revised version of the survey instrument was finally retested with another small sample of artworks before being finalised and the complete survey of over 121 Antipodean landscape paintings undertaken.

Both the quantitative and the qualitative findings of this thesis are based on science-informed empirical research, involving intensive fieldwork, accessing scientific information, and extensive consultation with experts in different science disciplines. In both the survey and the case studies, field drawings, photographic evidence and scientific knowledge are used to assess the fidelity of natural features illustrated in Guérard's landscape paintings to the view at the site, and to the natural history of the location. The wider objective, however, of this mixed-methods approach is the development and testing of a set of rigorous instruments and robust field practices which will enable the critical examination of *representational* works by landscape artists who sought to combine fidelity to nature with meeting compositional imperatives and aesthetic ideals.⁴¹

40. Although Creswell documents a variety of mixed method strategies, the iterative approach adopted in this research appears to be an original one. See Creswell, *Research Design*, 215–219.

41. *Representational* landscapes typically seek or portray an actual view in what appears to be a realistic manner.

Integrating the findings

Although the findings of each of the case studies and the survey are considered in separate chapters, the insights gained from both the qualitative and quantitative approaches are integrated in Chapter 12, the first discussion chapter of the thesis. As the key research questions relate to the issue of fidelity and transformation in Guérard's Antipodean artistic output as a whole, the generalised findings of the survey take precedence over insights gained from individual case studies. Those findings are used to answer the first two key research questions relating to which features are typically illustrated with fidelity and which are often freely transformed for artistic effect. The case studies, however, provide thoroughly researched examples to illustrate those answers, and play a significant role in addressing the last key question regarding whether such transformations compromise Guérard's expressed intention to be "true to nature."

A multidisciplinary study

The research commenced under the auspices of an arts faculty, given the focus on historical art, with scientific advice provided by staff of science departments and other institutions. As the direction and scope of the doctoral-level project evolved and was clarified over time, it became apparent that the research program was more dependent on knowledge and expertise found in the sciences rather than the humanities, so the thesis was completed within a science faculty.

Regardless of faculty, this thesis is the product of a multidisciplinary investigation that uses methodology derived from the social sciences to evaluate the fidelity to *nature* of colonial landscape paintings, which is the domain of the natural sciences. In order to assess the fidelity of the wide range of natural features illustrated in Guérard's landscapes to the view at the site and the natural history of the location, a degree of familiarity with scientific disciplines, such as topography, geography, geomorphology, hydrology, geology, ecology, botany and meteorology was required.

Environmental history

The product of this multi-disciplinary study is not a typical art history or science thesis. The academic field of study with which the substance of the research is most closely aligned is that of

environmental history as it is an investigation of whether Guérard's landscape paintings are accurate historical records of Antipodean environments in the second half of the nineteenth century. The findings of this research will, therefore, be of particular interest to environmental historians whose work focuses on what the landscapes of Australia were like when occupied and utilised by Indigenous Peoples, as compared with how they were modified by European pastoralists and other settlers after the dispossession of the traditional owners. One prominent environmental historian is Bill Gammage, who has extensively explored the nature of Indigenous land management across the Australian continent before dispossession occurred.⁴² His conclusions rely heavily on the works of colonial artists to elucidate the state of natural landscapes, whether pre- or post-contact, and some of Guérard's highly detailed artworks are included as significant pieces of evidence. That approach presupposes the artist's works are indeed true and accurate records of the landscapes and vegetation he observed at sites throughout southeastern Australia, an assumption that this thesis interrogates.

Definitions, citations and notes

Given the multi-disciplinary nature of the research, involving artworks, social science methodology, statistical analysis and scientific knowledge, discipline-specific terminology is often defined in footnotes. The style of citation and referencing in this thesis is that associated with the notes-bibliography method of the Chicago referencing style.⁴³ This was adopted primarily because it better suited the preferred style of academic writing, particularly as footnotes are used extensively, and these need to be on the same page as the text and figures they relate to. However, some of the reference materials drawn upon in the thesis, particularly science sources, are not always well catered for by the conventions of the Chicago citation and referencing style. Where that occurs, a format consistent with the principles underpinning the Chicago style has been devised.

42. Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth*.

43. Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses and Dissertations: Chicago Style for Students and Researchers*, 9th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018); *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

Influences on how the artist practised being “true to nature”

Given the commitment to evidence-based research in this study, it would not have been appropriate to confirm whether any of the conjectured influences on Guérard’s art actually impinged upon how he practised fidelity to nature in his Antipodean oeuvre. This is primarily because of the paucity of documentary evidence,⁴⁴ but also because it would have been outside the scope of an empirical thesis.⁴⁵ Regardless, in the survey of the literature, where a critic, curator or art historian mentions an influence relating to academic training, artistic movements, artists, artworks or philosophical ideas, it has been noted, but only if the putative influence is relevant to the issue of fidelity to nature. The second discussion chapter (Chapter 13) does examine whether the way in which Guérard practised fidelity to nature resonates with any of those influences, but that should not be taken as an endorsement of any particular conjecture, as the lack of documentary evidence precludes empirical confirmation.

Outline of chapters

Chapter 2 provides a biography of Eugene von Guérard, exploring his life, background, artistic context, relationships and practice as documented in the literature.

Chapter 3 surveys the literature relating to the issue of fidelity to nature in the Antipodean landscape paintings of Guérard. Contemporaneous commentary by critics, newspaper reviewers, friends and colleagues involved in the Melbourne art world, from the 1850s up to his death just after the turn of the twentieth century, is examined first. Then, posthumous commentary on fidelity to nature in his oeuvre, as well as in individual paintings, by art historians, exhibition critics, curators, connoisseurs, environmental historians and scientists is reviewed.

Chapter 4 focuses on commentary relating to purported influences on how Guérard practised fidelity to nature in his Antipodean landscapes. The text describes contemporaneous

44. The artist’s archive of personal documents, writings and correspondence was disposed of during the First World War. Apparently the artist’s son-in-law was so concerned that holding onto papers written in German might be construed as evidence of German sympathies that the documents were dumped into the Thames. This was noted in a transcription of a conversation between the artist’s grandson Jack Blunt and Frank McDonald. See Frank McDonald Papers, c. 1968–1992, MLMSS 7672, SLNSW.

45. Empirical in the sense that the findings are based on observations rather than theory or the application of logic.

conjectured influences as well as those proposed well after his death. The purported influences are discussed in the order in which they were first proposed, as this facilitates tracing their evolution and adoption or dismissal over time. The nature of the evidence advanced by various advocates is scrutinised in order to distinguish between weakly established allusions and purported influences which are more extensively developed and possibly historically warranted.

Given the complications and challenges of the methodology adopted, the description and explanation of the methodology used in different stages of the research is divided into two parts, each of which focuses on a specific phase of the research program.

Chapter 5, the first methodology section, focuses on how the sample of paintings surveyed in the quantitative part of the research was assembled and the field drawings identified; how sites and vantage points were located, determined and visited; and how visual and documentary evidence was obtained in order to assess the fidelity to nature of Guérard's Antipodean oeuvre.

Chapter 6 is a fieldwork methodology case study, in which the strategies used to locate and visually document the site of the previously unlocated view of the Kosciuszko Massif illustrated in the painting *Mount Kosciuszko, seen from the Victorian Border (Mount Hope Ranges)*, 1866 (Figure 6.1) are described.⁴⁶ As this was a challenging site to locate and visit, the chapter illustrates some of the techniques developed and applications used to determine the location of unknown sites prior to field visits. The success of such fieldwork confirms the value and validity of those methods.

Chapter 7, the second methodology section, focuses on the design, testing and administration of the innovative survey instrument to the paintings in the sample. It describes how the first part of the instrument functions as a database recording information about each painting, the field drawing on which it is based and the site where the artist made the sketch. The role of the second part of the survey, which is to assess the fidelity of enduring features in field drawings, is

46. An article based on this chapter is published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* (see Hook, "Using Spatial Technology"). It was apt that the journal chose to publish the article as Guérard was an early member of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria, which eventually became the Royal Society of Victoria. The artist was a council member of that society from 1864 to 1867.

explained in detail. Then, providing that field drawings prove to be accurate environmental history records, the text describes how the third part of the survey is designed to assess the fidelity of the artist's portrayal of both enduring and non-enduring features to nature, using evidence such as field drawings, site photographs, virtual views and scientific reports. Finally, the conditions under which the survey instrument was used to interrogate each painting in the sample in order to ensure consistency of scoring are described.

Chapter 8 explores the survey findings, analysing the responses to each of the items in the second and third parts of the survey using descriptive statistics and frequency distribution graphs. These are used to identify features that are typically rendered with high or reasonable fidelity, as opposed to those that are often modified to a lesser or greater extent. The discussion of the typical level of fidelity with which different natural features are painted is illustrated by works that exemplify faithful or modified approaches, as appropriate. Generalisations about cohorts of features that Guérard painted with differing commitments to fidelity, based on comparing patterns visible on the frequency distribution graphs, leads to a conclusion regarding the mode of fidelity practised. The chapter concludes by discussing issues associated with application of the overall fidelity measure.

Chapter 9, the first painting case study, focuses on the fidelity to nature of a wilderness scene in the Grampians (Gariwerd) mountain range of western Victoria. *View in the Grampians*, 1870 (Figure 9.1), illustrates a dramatic scene visible from the top of a massive escarpment in the Mount Difficult Range. The chapter explores the topographical, geomorphological, geological, ecological and botanical accuracy of the painting. This leads to a discussion of whether painting wilderness scenes based on views from difficult-to-reach locations might have licensed Guérard to take artistic liberties in portraying natural features, given that no critic or member of the art-buying public was ever likely reach such sites. As this painting is the one that provoked Smith's

“scathing review” of Guérard’s work,⁴⁷ the artist’s explanation of how he wished to practise fidelity to nature is compared with his actual studio practice.

Chapter 10, the second painting case study, broadens the Antipodean focus to include a painting of one of the southern lakes of Aotearoa New Zealand. *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand, 1879* (Figure 10.1), is an iconic view of scenery in Aotearoa, now enhancing many book covers and websites. Fortuitously, the artist corresponded about his desire to be “true to nature” in this work as well. Ostensibly the view is from a point above the shoreline, looking across Lake Wakatipu to distant mountain ranges, particularly toward a glacier on the slopes of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi. The text discusses how, even though Guérard took great care in rendering the topography, geography, geology and hydrology of the landscape, the painting qualifies as a composite work because details of the landscape were recorded from a problematic vantage point. The issue of whether the artist compromised his stated fidelity to nature by producing a multiple-viewpoint perspective work, or by inventing a terrestrial foreground, is explored.⁴⁸

Chapter 11, the third painting case study, examines the homestead-view painting *Yalla-y-Poora* (Figure 11.1), commissioned by a wealthy pastoralist in 1864.⁴⁹ Unsurprisingly, given the expectations of the squatter, the work is an attractive portrayal of his pastoral estate. The text explores how, despite being a pastoral scene, such a landscape can also be highly faithful to many different aspects of the natural world, even to the extent of illustrating identifiable rocks and still-living native trees. Despite the high degree of fidelity evident in the work, it is asserted that the horizon of the field drawing is based on a view sketched from a nearby higher elevation than that

47. Ruth Pullin, “Eugene von Guérard and Colonial Art in Melbourne 1850–1880,” in *A Companion to Australian Art*, ed. Christopher Allen (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell, 2021), 159.

48. An article based on that chapter is published in *Tuhinga*, the research journal of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. See George Hook, “How True to Nature Is Eugene von Guérard’s *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand?*,” *Tuhinga*, no. 32 (2021), <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/document/11030>.

49. Very large tracts of the western district plains of Victoria, called runs or stations, were occupied by relatively few pastoralists in the mid-nineteenth century. They squatted on the land, paying a leasehold fee to the colonial government.

of the principal vantage point, thus technically qualifying the painting as another composite view. The question of whether such a minor perspectival distortion compromises Guérard's desire to be true to nature is explored.

Chapter 12, the first discussion chapter, compares insights gained from the in-depth qualitative investigations of the case study paintings with the quantitative findings and resulting broad-brush generalisations from the survey. The survey provides the evidence for answering the first two key research questions, namely which natural features the artist typically illustrated with fidelity and which ones he often freely transformed for artistic effect. The text examines whether the kinds of transformations that occur in Guérard's paintings simply reflect established pictorial conventions, and hence perhaps ought not to be judged as being unfaithful to nature, or whether they significantly misrepresent the view at, or natural history of, the site and therefore compromise his aesthetic ideal, thus addressing the third of the research questions.

Chapter 13, the second discussion chapter, considers the extent to which purported significant influences, such as artworks, artists, art movements, academic training and aesthetic theories, resonate with how Guérard practised being true to nature in the Antipodes. Moving to the wider context of developments in nineteenth-century landscape painting internationally, the chapter then explores parallels between Guérard's fidelity to nature and that practised by two other Düsseldorf-trained or influenced contemporaries, who later became major wilderness painters in Scandinavia and North America respectively, producing iconic works.

In Chapter 14, the concluding chapter, the contributions of the research findings to the fields of art history and environmental history are summarised, and the successes and limitations of the innovative survey instrument used in this study are identified, along with its potential application to the works of other landscape artists. Finally, the successful application of spatial techniques developed to locate the vantage points of wilderness paintings in determining the submerged locations of the lost "eighth natural wonder of the world" is touched upon.⁵⁰

50. This research is documented in the article George Hook and Stephen Carey, "Relocating the Pink and White Terraces of Lake Rotomahana New Zealand: Resolving the 'Battle of the Maps'," *Tuhinga* 30 (2019), <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/document/10688>.

Chapter 2 – Eugene von Guérard’s life and works

In the context of discussing wilderness painters who had undergone similar academic training to Guérard, the Scandinavian art historian Anne-Marie Pennonen appropriately noted that their artistic practices were “related to the particular historical, intellectual and social context when the artworks [were] created, experienced and interpreted.”¹ This chapter therefore provides an account of Guérard’s life and works during different periods, his academic training, the artistic and scientific contexts in which he practised, and the enduring relationships he developed with significant individuals.²

Vienna, 1811–1830

Eugene von Guérard was born in Vienna on 7 November 1811. He was the son of Bernard von Guérard and Josepha Schultz von Leichtenhall. Josepha was the daughter of an Austrian field marshal, and little is known about her life. At that time of Eugene’s birth, Bernard was a court painter to the Emperor Francis I of Austria. He was a painter of miniatures for royalty, the nobility and wealthy patrons.

Northern Italy, 1826–1830

Eugene’s parents separated some time during his childhood in Vienna and he appears to have had little or no contact with his mother after his father and he left Vienna in 1826 for Italy, when Eugene was 15 years old. Perhaps seeking a position, or at least commissions, in Italy, Bernard visited courts in Venice, Milan and Turin.³ As Eugene showed a “strong predilection for art” at a young age, he “studied the old masters” in Italy’s leading cities under his father’s supervision.⁴

1. Anne-Marie Pennonen, *In Search of Scientific and Artistic Landscape: Düsseldorf Landscape Painting and Reflections on the Natural Sciences as Seen in the Artworks of Finnish, Norwegian and German Artists* (Helsinki: Finnish National Gallery Publications, 2020), 17.

2. As the vast majority of commentators referenced in this chapter are art historians, a scholar’s occupation will be specified only if the individual is not an art historian.

3. Edward Comstock, “Eugen von Guérard (1811–1901): An Australian Romantic” (Master of Arts dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1974), 8–10.

4. H. Morin Humphreys, ed., *Men of the Time in Australia: Victorian Series*, 2nd ed. (Melbourne: McCarron, Bird & Co., 1882), 74–75.

Rome, 1830–1831

The Guérards arrived in Rome in 1830, where they resided for about a year. His father enrolled the nineteen year-old Eugene in a private art school in Rome headed by the highly successful landscape artist Giambattista Bassi (1784–1854). Bassi was initially influenced by the Arcadian classical idealism of Claude Lorrain, but after developing a passion for wandering through the Roman countryside, his paintings became “more permeated in reality, with more explicitly naturalistic references” (e.g. Figure 2.1).⁵ Bassi’s commitment to including “accurate observations of nature” in his paintings,⁶ based on detailed studies made at sites, earned him the sobriquet “maestro del verismo [master of realism].”⁷ Given his desire to be trained by Bassi, the young Guérard had clearly decided on a career as a landscape artist rather than following in his father’s footsteps as a miniaturist. The only known surviving work from this period is his first oil study made in the field, entitled *Torre del Quinto bei Rom*, 1831 (private collection).⁸ His later painting of Marmore Falls (see pages 462 to 464), a favourite site of Bassi, suggests that his first formal art tutor nurtured the young artist’s love of wilderness scenes.⁹

5. “Giambattista Bassi, View of the Tiber from the Torre de Dragona,” ValutazioneArte.it, accessed February 15, 2022, <https://www.valutazionearte.it/artisti/giambattista-bassi/>. Translation by Google Translate.

6. Candice Bruce, “Eugen von Guérard and the Hudson River School: Romantics in the Wilderness,” *Art and Australia* 18, no. 2 (1980), 164.

7. “Giambattista Bassi,” Wikipedia, accessed February 10, 2002, https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giambattista_Bassi.

8. “Meine erste Studie nach der Natur” is inscribed on the back of the painting (Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 28, footnote 77.)

9. Pullin claimed that the painting was “virtually a homage to his teacher, so similar is the style and composition” to Bassi’s falls (Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 30).



Figure 2.1. A 'realistic' landscape by Bassi

Giambattista Bassi, *The Cascata Delle Marmore on the River Velino near Terni*, 1820, oil on canvas, 98.5 × 72.4 cm, present location unknown.

During their time in Rome, the Guérards lived in the German artist quarter near the Spanish Steps. Two decades earlier, in 1810, a group of young artists who rejected the dominant neoclassical approach of the Vienna Academy departed for Rome where they set up a colony called the Brotherhood of St Luke in a deserted monastery.¹⁰ The group was led by Johann

10. Lionel Gossman, "Unwilling Moderns: The Nazarene Painters of the Nineteenth Century," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 2, no. 2 (2003), 18–21.

Friedrich Overbeck (1789–1869) and Peter von Cornelius (1783–1867). Inspired by Albrecht Dürer and the early Raphael, these German Romantic painters wished to realise a true German art that expressed spiritual values. Although not intending to imitate the early masters, what they desired was a “return to nature and to a close observation of nature.” This strict “adherence to truth to nature” in their art was not an end in itself but had to be at the service of religion.¹¹ As the founders dressed as if they were disciples of Jesus, they became known pejoratively as Nazarenes. By the time of the Guérards’ arrival in Rome in 1831, the brotherhood had dissolved and most members had returned to northern Europe, although Overbeck still resided in the city.¹² Critically, though, Eugene would have met Friedrich Wilhelm Schadow (Figure 4.2, bottom left), an ex-Nazarene and, at the time, the director of the Kunstakademie (Art Academy) in Düsseldorf, who was on sabbatical in Rome with some of his students. This encounter was to have a significant influence on Eugene’s ultimate choice of academic training.

In the early years of the brotherhood in Rome in the 1810s, the highly experienced Austrian landscape artist Joseph Anton Koch (1768–1839) became the unofficial tutor of the young artists. He continued to act as a father figure for other young German-speaking artists who came to Rome in the following decades and, as such, Eugene would have been introduced to him. Koch’s landscapes paintings are based on actual sites and the artist was highly interested in the latest developments in the natural sciences, particularly in geology. He sought to convey some of those geological theories in his works, such as *The Schmadribach Falls*, 1821/22 (Figure 2.2, left), which he claimed was “a true portrait of nature.”¹³ Timothy Mitchell claimed that the painting “remains one of Koch’s most original works and illustrates the impact of the new

11. Keith Andrews, “Nazarenes and Pre-Raphaelites,” *Bulletin John Rylands Library* 71, no. 3 (1989), 36–37.

12. Guérard claimed to have met some of the founders of the Nazarene movement, whom he referred to as the friends of Cornelius (Guérard, Reply on the Critic). If so, that could not have occurred solely in Rome in 1831.

13. Letter from Koch to Robert von Langer, August 10, 1811, quoted in Timothy Mitchell, *Art and Science in German Landscape Painting* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 132.

concepts in natural sciences on landscape art.”¹⁴ According to Nils Buttner, Koch combined the “precise rendering of geological details” with the “pictorial concepts of classical landscape painting,” as evidenced in *The Schmadribach Falls* (Figure 2.2, left, cf. right).¹⁵ Margaret Doyle agreed, arguing that it is “at once a realistic and artificial image... a combination of the real and the ideal that is at the heart of Koch’s aesthetic.”¹⁶ If Eugene saw some of the geologically informed landscapes in the artist’s studio in Rome or later in galleries in northern Europe, it may have kindled his interest in portraying the geological features of landscapes, which is apparent in his Antipodean wilderness works.



Figure 2.2. **Comparing Koch’s painting of the Schmadribach Falls with a site photograph**
Left: Joseph Anton Koch, *The Schmadribach Falls*, 1821/22, oil on canvas, 132 × 110 cm, Neue Pinakothek, Munich. Right: similar view of the falls, taken in 2012 from close to Koch’s vantage point. Photographer: Joss Fredy.

14. Mitchell, 128–132.

15. Nils Buttner, *Landscape Painting: A History*, trans. Russell Stockman (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2000), 266–268.

16. Margaret Doyle, “Koch, Joseph Anton 1768–1839,” in *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760–1850*, 2 vols., vol. 1, edited by Christopher John Murray (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2004), 620.

Naples, 1832–1838

In 1832 father and son moved to Naples, where Bernard became a court painter, producing miniatures and possibly some landscapes for the Bourbon court of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, although none of the latter has been sighted on the internet. The 1881 biographical account of Eugene's life merely mentions that he was "actively engaged in landscape painting" during the six years he was there. Edward Comstock noted that "during the summer months father and son went on sketching trips through southern Italy," visiting all the locations that overseas artists on a pilgrimage to southern Italy were expected to view, including Pompeii, Paestum, Vesuvius, Amalfi, Cetara, Salerno and Capri. In 1834 they also "circumambulated Sicily." During these excursions, Eugene "learned from his father to record his daily travels in pocket-sized sketchbooks," which served as an aide-memoire for studio compositions completed at a later date.¹⁷

In the catalogue for the 2011 retrospective exhibition, Ruth Pullin stated that "nothing definitive is known about with whom or even whether Eugene studied during the six years in Naples."¹⁸ Regardless, in her earlier thesis she claimed that Guérard "painted with Pitloo and the School of Posillipo," and the evidence for this association was her discovery that for his entire adult life Guérard had kept a small oil study by Pitloo of the coastline at Castellammare.¹⁹ Anton Sminck Pitloo (1790–1837) was a Dutch painter who, after training in Paris, migrated to Rome where his reputation as a landscape painter was established. In 1815 he moved to Naples, where he was eventually appointed professor of landscape painting at the Naples Academy of Fine Art in 1824. He also established a private academy in his studio, which attracted overseas students. Pitloo often painted *vedute* of Naples and the surrounding countryside outdoors with natural light rather than in the studio.²⁰ As Pitloo had associated with Bassi during his time in Rome, Bassi

17. Comstock, "An Australian Romantic," 12–14.

18. Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 3. Guérard himself stated that he had only studied art in the schools of Rome and Düsseldorf (Eugene von Guérard, *Journal of an Australian Gold Digger*, unpublished manuscript, SLNSW, 1).

19. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 40.

20. *Vedute* are landscapes or townscapes that are illustrated accurately enough to permit topographical or architectural identification.

would have provided Eugene with an introduction to the Dutch artist,²¹ but there is no evidence that Eugene was ever enrolled in either the public or private school led by Pitloo.

Pitloo was also one of the leading figures in the School of Posillipo, which was a loose group of landscape painters based in the waterfront neighbourhood of Posillipo in Naples. The school was at its peak in the 1830s, when the Guérards were residing in Naples, and it can be assumed that Pitloo would have introduced Eugene to other members of the group. According to Pullin, light itself appears to be the real subject of many of the landscapes produced by School of Posillipo artists.²²

Undoubtedly, Eugene would have produced a significant number of landscape paintings during his time in Naples and up to the year in which he formally enrolled in an art academy in northern Europe, a period covering approximately eight years, but to date only eight works have been identified by this researcher and four of those were painted in the year he enrolled. The works are all Italian scenes, with four being coastal landscapes and the rest being inland scenes. Five of the paintings are of scenes in Sicily, four of those being views of Mt Etna. The remaining three landscapes portray views near Naples. The truthfulness of scenes ranges from a work with an accurate background but an imaginary monastical foreground (*View of Palermo from Santa Maria Di Gesu*, 1840, oil on canvas, 40 × 66 cm, present location unknown),²³ to another painting with an accurate foreground and a realistic, if somewhat exaggerated view, of the more distant landscape visible from the Greek theatre at Taormina in Sicily (Figure 2.3).

21. Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 38.

22. Pullin, 48.

23. According to staff at the monastery when the author visited the site in 2019, the elaborate monastical cloisters in the painting never existed at the monastery of Santa Maria di Gesù in Palermo.

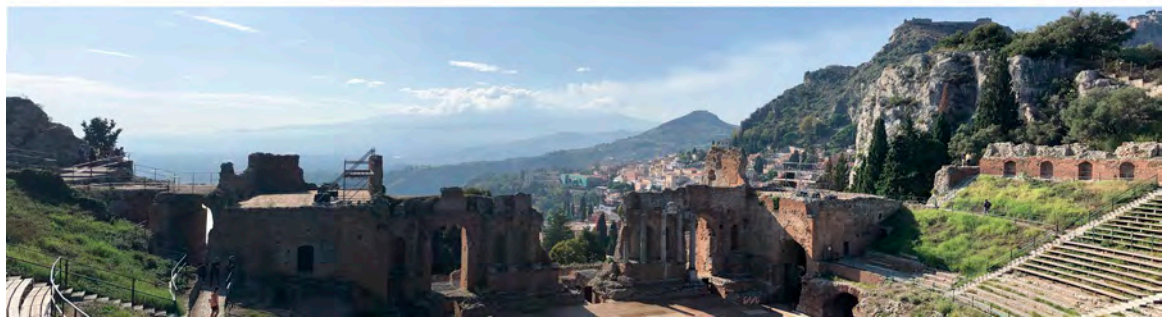


Figure 2.3. **Comparing a Sicilian landscape with the actual view**

Top: *Mt Etna from Taormina*, 1838, oil on canvas on board, 51.0 × 91.0 cm, present location unknown. Bottom: view from the Greek theatre in Taormina, 2019. Photograph: author.

In October 1836, a cholera epidemic broke out in Naples and lasted a year. Eugene’s “beloved father” succumbed in November. The young artist remained in Naples for 18 months before departing in May 1838. As recorded in his sketchbooks, he journeyed north, visiting Rome, Tivoli, Florence and Milan, before travelling through Switzerland and boarding a Rhine steamer in Kehl, Baden, going to Düsseldorf in northern Europe, arriving in August.²⁴

24. Ruth Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller: The Sketchbooks of Eugene von Guérard* (Ballarat: Art Gallery of Ballarat, 2018), 53–56.

Düsseldorf, 1838 – late 1840s

While “family connections” in Düsseldorf, where his father Bernard had been raised, may have “influenced his decision to go there,” the primary reason for Eugene’s move was to receive formal artistic training at the Kunstakademie (Art Academy), although he was not able to formally enrol until 1840 at the age of 29 (Figure 2.4).²⁵ As Comstock noted, “for a landscape painter with his background [in Italy], Düsseldorf was an excellent choice,” given its growing reputation as the leading academy for landscape painting in the German-speaking states.²⁶ However, the presence of Schadow, one of the ex-Nazarenes whom Guérard had met in Rome a decade earlier, as director of the academy may have been influential in his decision to train there.²⁷



Figure 2.4. **The artist when he commenced studying in Düsseldorf**

Friedrich Bosser, *Portrait of Eugen von Guérard*, c. 1840, oil on canvas, 16.6 × 12.8 cm, NGV.

25. Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 62.

26. Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 15.

27. Three ex-Nazarenes were influential in the development of the Düsseldorf Academy – Peter von Cornelius, Schadow and Karl Friedrich Lessing. See Mathew C. Potter, “Pre-Raphaelite Germanism,” in *The Inspirational Genius of Germany: British Art and Germanism 1850–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 69.

Guérard's enrolment in the academy fortuitously coincided with the return of Johann Wilhelm Schirmer (1807–1872, Figure 4.2, bottom right) from a “mandatory trip to Italy” with some of his students.²⁸ In earlier decades, Schirmer had been a painter of idealised historical and religious landscapes. According to Sabine Wieber, however, he eventually “liberated German landscape painting from primarily serving as a setting for historical, mythological, or religious scenes,” thus enabling it to become an established and respected independent genre of art.²⁹ After Schadow became the director of the Kunstakademie in 1826, he appointed Schirmer as an assistant with responsibility for landscape painting in 1830, and by 1839 Schirmer was promoted to the position of professor of landscape painting. Guérard attended his landscape classes from 1840 to 1844.

According to Nikolaus Pevsner, Schirmer represented the idealising tradition in art that was practised in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁰ However, in the early decades of the nineteenth century landscape artists, including Schirmer, increasingly sought to balance the inclusion of naturalistic detail with the pictorial conventions of idealism. Schirmer had a “romantic’s reverence for nature,” and in his classes he informed his students that nature was to be their teacher rather than “works of antiquity.” He required “a *naturgetreue Wiedergabe* (a response true to nature).” Schirmer led his students on sketching expeditions to the nearby Neander Valley, where they were expected to make oil studies of vegetation, streams and rock formations.³¹ They were also encouraged to travel further afield to the Harz and Eifel regions, and Guérard went on a two-month hiking expedition to the Eifel region in 1843 and made a similar expedition to the Harz region in 1845. On those expeditions it appears that he recorded views of the natural world using pencil sketches only.

28. Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 3.

29. Sabine Wieber, “German Art Academies and their Impact on Artistic Style,” in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Art*, edited by Michelle Facos (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 106.

30. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Academies of Art: Past and Present* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), 232.

31. Guérard retained a number of these oil studies for the rest of his life.

Although Schirmer was an early advocate of outdoor painting (*freilichtmalerei*), Wieber claimed he had no interest in the “unmediated presentation” of observations. While his beautiful “atmospheric nature sketches” would be categorised nowadays as works of art, Schirmer considered them to be “mere means to an end.”³² The studies and sketches that students completed were intended to develop their observational skills of nature’s details and to progress their abilities as studio-landscape painters. While Schirmer affirmed the importance of accurately illustrating facets of nature, such as plants or rock formations, in a landscape painting, this had to be balanced with compositional requirements, particularly the positioning of elements within a landscape.

The oil studies and pencil sketches made on fieldtrips provided the resources for composing landscape paintings in the studio. As Pennonen argued, their purpose, therefore, was “not to imitate nature” as such, but to facilitate composition, through “paying attention to the angle of view, and the outlining of the subject.”³³ Despite the fact that such “realistic impressions of nature” recorded in the field “may have changed in terms of their overall character” by the time they formed part of larger studio compositions, Bettina Baumgartel argued that did not mean that those “landscapes appeared any less true to nature.”³⁴

The above assertion leads to a critical question regarding the extent to which the Düsseldorf approach to landscape painting nurtured by Schirmer can be considered a distinctive form of naturalism in art. At first glance, his masterpiece *The Wetterhorn with the Reichenbachtal*, 1824 (Figure 2.5, left), which “served his students as an Object of study,” appears to be both more natural and realistic than Koch’s portrayal of the same scene (Figure 4.7, left). However, when the scene is compared with an early photograph taken from close to where Schirmer made his original sketches of the Wetterhorn Massif, it is apparent that while the topography of the massif appears accurate, he has made the peaks steeper and the foremost peak

32. Wieber, “German Art Academies,” 106.

33. Pennonen, *In Search of Scientific and Artistic Landscape*, 118, 124.

34. Ernst Haverkamp, “The Norwegian Artists in Düsseldorf,” in *The Düsseldorf School of Painting and Its International Influence 1819–1918*, edited by Bettina Baumgartel (Düsseldorf: Museum Kunstpalast, 2012), 210.

lower in height than the one immediately behind it.³⁵ Furthermore, the entire fore and middle grounds in front of the massif are invented, despite the highly realistic-looking details of the rocks, trees, stream, shelter and cliff face. As the commentary provided by the Museum Kunstpalast makes clear, that although the realistic details suggest “an exact reproduction of nature,” Schirmer based the painting on several sketches and reorganised the naturalistic elements to form an “idealised composition.”³⁶



Figure 2.5. **Comparing Schirmer’s painting of the Wetterhorn with an early site photograph**
Left: Johann Wilhelm Schirmer, *The Wetterhorn with the Reichenbachtal*, 1824, oil on canvas, 242.0 × 199.0 cm, Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf Right: Charles Soulier, *The Wellhorn and the Wetterhorn, Rosenlauri, Switzerland*, 1865, albumen print, 25.1 × 19.4 cm.

The landscape approach practised and advocated by Schirmer, Guérard’s painting master at Düsseldorf, involved painting scenes with realistic details of nature, but often in a rearranged view for compositional purposes. Contemporary art historians have used different terms to

35. Why Schirmer repeated Koch’s topographical infidelity is a mystery, given that he had visited the site. Perhaps that artistic liberty was somehow related to paying homage to his role model.

36. “The Wetterhorn, Johann Wilhelm Schirmer, 1838,” accessed February 18, 2022, <https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/the-wetterhorn/IAFydD-PWVAPZw?hl=en-GB>.

describe the style, often conflating standard definitions of *idealism*, *naturalism* and *realism*.³⁷

Wieber described the Düsseldorf approach as *naturalism* because of the artists' "commitment to a faithful depiction of carefully chosen...natural phenomena."³⁸ Torsten Gunnarsson noted the *semi-realism* of the Düsseldorf School, which was based on a "combination of realistically reproduced details and an often readjusted or rearranged whole."³⁹ Pennonen noted that several scholars used the term *detail realism* when describing the school's approach to landscape painting, a term that referred to the "meticulous depiction of different details of the landscapes." However, the artists at the time spoke about the *new naturalism*, which meant "fidelity to the particularities of the object." Referring to a recent exhibition in Estonia, Pennonen noted that the realistic Düsseldorf style was called *idealistic naturalism*, although she herself preferred to call it *scientific naturalism*.⁴⁰ Of all the alternatives, the term *semi-realism* appears to be the most fitting.

Fifteen landscape paintings were identified by this author as having been produced by Guérard after enrolled at the academy in Düsseldorf and before his departure from Europe.⁴¹ Twelve of the works are of scenes in Italy, including views in Campania, Sicily and near Rome. Two works are of scenes in German states, and one other is unspecified. Ten of the works represent actual views, while five others are either compositional exercises or possibly unidentified views. While the four paintings that include identified buildings are accurately rendered portrayals, those that illustrate natural landscapes tend to have significant modifications. For example, the painting *Cape St Vito from Alcamo, Sicily*, 1844 (Figure 2.6, middle), illustrates

37. According to standard definitions in a dictionary of art history terms: *idealism* is "a type of landscape painting... in which nature is depicted as it ought to be, rather than as it is"; *naturalism* is an "approach to art in which objects are depicted by the artist as they are empirically observed"; and *realism* is "art in which subjects from real life are depicted... including...rural life [and] landscapes" (Michael Clarke, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 126, 166, 209).

38. Wieber, "German Art Academies," 106.

39. Torsten Gunnarsson, *Nordic Landscape Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 106.

40. Pennonen, *In Search of Scientific and Artistic Landscape*, 34, 124, 198.

41. Oil studies are not included in this count. Several previously unknown works held by European collectors have recently emerged, suggesting that more will appear as auction houses have realised that much bigger prices can be obtained by selling the works in Australia.

a topographically identifiable landscape on the northern coast of Sicily, based on a sketch made a decade earlier. However, the entire foreground is invented when compared with the field drawing and a photograph taken from close to Guérard's vantage point (Figure 2.6, top and bottom). Accurate renditions of the distinctive plants and the local dress, based on other field sketches, grace the work. The difference in appearance between the foreground rocks in the painting and those in the site photograph may be accounted for by the absence of any drawings of the rock details in Guérard's sketchbook. The invention of a whole village on the middle ground promontory, however, goes beyond the typical practice of the Düsseldorf school.



Figure 2.6. **Fidelity of a landscape painted during Guérard's time in Düsseldorf**

Top: *Capo St Vito v. Alcamo*, pencil, ink and sepia wash on paper, 12.4 × 18.8 cm, folio 12, “Sketchbook III, Naples and Sicily, 1834,” private collection. Middle: *Cape St Vito from Alcamo, Sicily*, 1844, oil on panel board, 23.2 × 33.8 cm, present location unknown. Bottom: Alcamo Marina beach. Photographer unknown.

After completing Schirmer's landscape classes in 1845, Guérard attended the architecture and perspective classes led by Rudolf Wiegmann (1804–1865) during the years 1846 and 1847.⁴² By the time he had completed his training at the Düsseldorf academy, the 36-year-old was a highly trained and mature artist,⁴³ with a well-established artistic style and approach to composing landscapes. According to Comstock, Guérard's landscapes "underwent little change" stylistically. "Subject [matter] rather than style" defined the various stages of his subsequent artistic career, with his pictures largely "connected to where he lived." Comstock argued, therefore, that the Italian landscapes painted by Guérard in the 1840s in Germany had "all the characteristics" that can be seen in his Australian landscapes.⁴⁴ Bruce affirmed this contention in 1980, when she wrote that "from the mid-fifties to the last of his [Antipodean]works in the eighties" there was a "virtual absence of style change."⁴⁵

A number of other landscape artists who trained at the Düsseldorf academy, or who were influenced by the style of landscape painting developed there, eventually also became major wilderness painters in Scandinavian or New World countries.⁴⁶ Often these artists are referred to as belonging to the Düsseldorf School of landscape painting, regardless of whether they had been formally trained there or not. The leading Norwegian painter Hans Gude was in the same landscape class as Guérard for several years. Although Guérard sketched Gude on a field trip they attended, there is no evidence that they maintained a relationship post-Düsseldorf.

42. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 67.

43. Pullin, 159.

44. Comstock, "An Australian Romantic," 14.

45. Candice Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard* (Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1980), 82.

46. American artists influenced by the Düsseldorf approach include George Bingham, Worthington Whittredge, William Haseltine and Albert Bierstadt. These painters were associated with what became known as the Hudson River School.

The ‘missing years,’ 1848–1852

Little is known of Guérard’s whereabouts or activities between 1848 and 1852, until he stated in his only extant journal that he was in England in 1852.⁴⁷ As he wrote in his defence to James Smith’s critique of his oeuvre that “during his long artistic life in Australia, Italy, Germany, Switzerland [*sic*], Belgium, Holland, France and England he had a good many occasions to see the finest works of art,” it can be assumed that some of those ‘missing’ years were spent in one or more of those countries.⁴⁸

Australia, 1852–1882

According to the artist, by 1852 he had decided to travel to Australia to “try his luck there as landscape painter,”⁴⁹ but before departing from London in 1852 he joined a French company intending to travel to the newly discovered Victorian goldfields in order to become “rich without much trouble.” Arriving early in 1853, he spent 16, largely fruitless, months of back-breaking work digging for gold at Ballarat in western Victoria. In April 1854 he went to Melbourne to fulfil his original ambition, by commencing a career as an Antipodean landscape painter.⁵⁰ In the same year he married his fiancée Louise Arnz, who had travelled to Melbourne from Düsseldorf. Although Guérard had made many sketches of the goldfields and some of the surrounding landscape, he did not paint any Ballarat goldfield landscapes until decades later (e.g. Figure 3.1, bottom).

Initially, the artist painted Victorian landscapes which he sought to sell through exhibitions and by displaying them in a local business. He then began to receive commissions to paint particular views, especially when he commenced undertaking expeditions to the western Victorian plains. There he would often stay with the prosperous ‘squatters,’ who leased large

47. Guérard, *Journal of an Australian Gold Digger*, 1. The artist does appear to have regularly and then later, intermittently, attended a composition discussion group in Düsseldorf between 1847 and 1852 (see Eugene von Guérard, “Volume 07: Sketchbook XVIII, Düsseldorf, 1847–53,” reference code 1001146, Dixson Library, SLNSW.)

48. Guérard, *Reply on the Critic*.

49. This decision may have been because of the difficulty of earning a living as a landscape artist from sales of works in the Düsseldorf art market.

50. Guérard, *Journal of an Australian Gold Digger*, 1, 42.

acres known as runs or stations, and farmed thousands of sheep or cattle. Frequently, he received commissions to paint views of the homesteads or runs of the wealthier squatters. At the same time he often painted some of the wilderness views he encountered on his travels, which would have appealed more to a metropolitan audience who wished to see views of the ‘untouched natural world’ of Australia.

In the second half of the 1850s Guérard undertook sketching trips further afield to Tasmania, South Australia and New South Wales. During his 30-year sojourn in the Antipodes he completed more than 20 major excursions in south-eastern Australia, “trekk[ing] to some of the most remote and inaccessible regions of southeastern Australia,”⁵¹ recording the views, and the botanical and geological features he encountered in his sketchbooks and on larger sheets. In a letter to the German-Austrian geologist Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1829–1884), the artist wrote that he had “to travel thousands of miles on horseback, on foot and at sea, to conquer troubles of all kinds, to suffer deprivations for many months in the wilderness,” in order to sketch features of the Australian landscape.⁵² As an experienced landscape painter, Guérard was “consistently aware of his geographical location, the points of the compass noted and distant peaks identified by name.”⁵³ As well as travelling across vast rural expanses, he also visited wilderness areas such as the Otways, the Gippsland Alps and the Snowy Mountains.

During the 1850s and 1860s, the natural sciences were thriving in Melbourne as field research was conducted into the geography, geology, botany and meteorology of the recently established colony of Victoria. Guérard was keenly interested in scientific developments relating to the Antipodes. He became involved in the leading scientific society in Melbourne, the Royal Society of Victoria, becoming a member in 1860 and serving on its council from 1864–1867. He even contributed a short paper on the height of mountain ash trees (*Eucalyptus regnans*) in eastern Victoria, which would have been unusual for an artist. He developed strong, long-lasting

51. Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 144.

52. Quoted in Ferdinand von Hochstetter, “Eugen von Guérard’s Australische Landschaften,” *Mitteilungen der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Geographischen Gesellschaft* 13 (1871), 156. Translated by Susanne Harding.

53. Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 8.

friendships with scientists and explorers, including: the government botanist and director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Ferdinand von Mueller (1825–1896);⁵⁴ the government meteorologist and founder of the Flagstaff Observatory, Georg von Neumayer (1826–1909); the explorer, surveyor and anthropologist Alfred Howitt (1830–1908); and the geologist Julius von Haast (1822–1887), who was based in New Zealand. Both Mueller and Neumayer were devotees of the polymath scientist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859),⁵⁵ whose hugely influential mid-nineteenth-century, five-volume series *Kosmos* sought to provide a description of the universe in all its aspects.⁵⁶ Both of the German scientists based in Melbourne saw their work as fulfilling Humboldt's injunction to investigate the natural world,⁵⁷ making use of an empirical, multi-disciplinary approach.⁵⁸

Guérard accompanied two major scientific expeditions to the Otways and the Snowy Mountains led by Neumayer, investigating the geomagnetism of Australia, and two surveying expeditions in the Victorian Alps, led by Howitt. The Russian-born, Swiss-trained landscape painter Nicholas Chevalier (1828–1902) also accompanied either the scientist or the explorer on a number of their expeditions, sometimes in the company of Guérard. Although not participating in any official capacity as artists, their presence on Neumayer's expeditions resonated with Humboldt's assertion that the work of both scientists and artists were complementary in informing the public

54. Mueller named a small lake in the Royal Botanical Gardens after the artist, who had helped him with aesthetic aspects of the design of the gardens.

55. The influence of Humboldt on the German scientists who had migrated to Victoria is discussed in Gabrielle L. McMullen, "Noted Colonial German Scientists and Their Contexts," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* 127 (2015): 9–16.

56. Alexander von Humboldt, *Kosmos: Entwurf Einer Physischen Weltbeschreibung*. 5 vols (Stuttgart und Tubingen: Cotta, 1845–1862).

57. Mueller was known as the 'Humboldt of Australia' (see R. W. Home, "Humboldtian Imagery and the 'Humboldt of Australia'," *Pacific Science* 52, no. 4 (1998): 294–300). Before coming to Melbourne, Neumayer had visited Humboldt seeking support for his proposed geophysical research (R. W. Home, "Neumayer, Humboldt and the Search for a Global Physics," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* 123, no. 1 (2011): 7).

58. For a discussion on Humboldt's mandate for scientists see Susan Faye Cannon, "Humboldtian Science," in *Science in Culture: The Early Victorian Period* (New York: Dawson and Science History Publications, 1978), 73–110, and Michael Dettelbach, "Humboldtian Science," in *Cultures of Natural History*, edited by N. Jardine, J. A. Decord, and E. C. Spary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

about the natural history of the Earth. The two artists occasionally painted the same scene based on their individual field sketches (e.g. Figure 12.4), which provides an indication of the extent of the fidelity to nature and of the liberties that mid-nineteenth-century landscape artists routinely adopted. The two Antipodean artists developed a close friendship that lasted until Guérard's death in 1901.

During the 15 years that Guérard pursued a career as a full-time landscape painter between 1855 and 1870, he relied on commissions from runholders for homestead views and a small, loyal group of patrons who appreciated his wilderness landscapes. His works were included in major exhibitions in Melbourne and Sydney during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, but often he struggled to make a satisfactory living out landscape painting. In 1870 he was appointed the curator of the Melbourne Gallery (now the National Gallery of Victoria) and master of the School of Art and instructor of painting at the National Gallery School, posts he held until his departure from Australia. Naturally his output fell significantly during this period, which was compounded by the fact that his landscapes fell out of favour with much of the art-buying public in Melbourne.⁵⁹ Later in the 1870s, he encountered criticism from some of his students over the somewhat rigid curriculum in the art school, as his emphasis upon "accuracy and fineness of detail" denied students the opportunity to paint subjects en plein air with spontaneity.⁶⁰

The catalogue raisonné released in 1982 as part of a substantial publication on the life and works of Guérard indicates that during his sojourn in Antipodes he produced up to 150 or so landscape paintings, not all of which were known to be extant at the time.⁶¹ The landscapes range from untouched wilderness scenes to homestead-and-run works. The wilderness scenes include mountains, volcanic craters, hills, coastal cliffs, forests, plains, lakes, rivers and waterfalls. The oil paintings vary in size, but nearly all of those viewed are highly detailed, with convincing-looking geographical, geological, botanical, ecological and meteorological features. The vast majority of works are views of specific, named locations. The landscapes often incorporate much

59. Bonyhady, "The Tipping Point," in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 39–41.

60. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 84.

61. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 179–286.

wider panoramic views than the artist's earlier European works, but he successfully integrates the details of nature within the overall design of his paintings. The humans included in most landscapes are illustrated at a very small size, operating as staffage to give an indication of the scale of other features, as well as providing some human interest. The initial impression gained by scanning images of the available works is that his style is little modified from that which he practised in the Italian works produced in Düsseldorf, other than the artist having to come to grips with the very different flora of Australia, the distinctive colours of the land, the unusual landforms, the often vast spaces, and the relatively low elevations of many of the mountains and hills of an ancient continent. Perhaps the painting that best illustrates some of the compositional and stylistic adaptations that Guérard made in order to illustrate the very different landscapes he encountered in the New World is *View of the Grampians and Victoria Ranges from Mount Rouse, West Victoria*, 1861 (Figure 2.7), with its panoramic view encompassing a vast plain and the far mountain range sharply delineated,⁶² all framed by the rising topography of the foreground on each side of the painting. The detailed botanical and geological features in the foreground are effectively integrated into the overall view through the use of colour.

62. Guérard did not use aerial perspective to create depth in the pictorial space of his Antipodean landscapes. His distant hills and mountains are always painted in careful detail.



Figure 2.7. **Guérard's adapted painting style for Australia's vast open spaces**

View of the Grampians and Victoria Ranges from Mount Rouse, West Victoria, 1861, oil on canvas, 71.0 × 137.0 cm, private collection.

Germany, 1882–1891

For a variety of reasons, Eugene, Louise and their daughter, Victoria, decided to return to Europe after he had resigned his posts in 1881. As part of the trip 'home' they travelled through Italy, where Guérard took his family to many of the places he had visited in his youth. After arriving in northern Europe, they settled in Düsseldorf, living there for nearly a decade. Guérard maintained relationships with Smith in Melbourne and Haast in Christchurch during this period by letter writing and also through visits by the Antipodeans to Düsseldorf on separate occasions.⁶³ He also renewed his friendship with Neumayer, who visited from Vienna. Guérard continued to paint landscapes in retirement (Figure 2.8), relying on field sketches made in earlier decades. He attempted to sell some Antipodean works in Düsseldorf but encountered little interest; others he shipped back to Melbourne in batches where there was still some demand, particularly for his Italian works. Of the 15 late works identified by this author, six are Italian scenes, seven Antipodean views, two are of the Red Sea, and none is of northern Europe.

63. Fortunately Guérard's letters to both were preserved in the respective recipients' archives, but they provide very little insight into his artistic intentions or convictions.



Figure 2.8. **The artist in retirement**

Self portrait, c. 1880, oil on board, dimensions and present location unknown.

The painting *View of Capri taken from the Punta di Tragara* (Figure 2.9), completed in 1883, is stylistically little different from another view of Capri from a different vantage point painted by Guérard nearly 40 years earlier in Düsseldorf (*Evening Landscape from the island of Capri*, 1846, present location unknown) except for a pinkish palette replacing a yellow one. In terms of subject matter, the late painting encompasses a panoramic, topographically identifiable view of the western end of the island.⁶⁴ The work is highly detailed, with convincing geological, botanical and architectural features, but it has a partially invented foreground. The work confirms that the artist was stylistically consistent throughout his adult life ever following his landscape training in Düsseldorf.

64. During a 2017 visit to Capri by the author, the work was confirmed to be highly faithful to the view, including the details of the rock formation in the foreground.



Figure 2.9. **A late Italian scene by Guérard**

View of Capri taken from the Punta di Tragara, c. 1883, oil on canvas, 48.3 × 72.5 cm, private collection.

London, 1891-1901

In 1891, Eugene and Louise moved to London to live with Victoria, who had married an Englishman, Reginald Blunt. Guérard was greatly bereaved when his beloved wife died shortly afterwards, but he lived on for another decade, during which he renewed his friendship with the London-based Nicholas Chevalier and continued to correspond with James Smith in Melbourne. Shortly before Guérard completed his last two known finished works in 1892,⁶⁵ both of which are Antipodean scenes, he wrote to Smith saying:

Up to the present moment I did not feel able to sit down at my easel in order to begin to paint again as my mind is too restless. I require a study which absorbs my thinking entirely from the usual direction, but shortly I will try it to do something in my old profession, as very often when I see good Pictures I feel the wish to produce something of the kind, notwithstanding that there is very small chance to dispose of it.⁶⁶

65. Guérard only signed paintings that he considered were finished.

66. Letter from Eugene von Guérard to James Smith, October 5, 1892, James Smith Papers.

Surprisingly, one of those two paintings, entitled *Milford Sound, Mitre Peak and Bowen Falls*, 1892 (Figure 2.10), exhibits a significant stylistic change. In all of his previous “well finished” works, brushstrokes were never evident,⁶⁷ yet in this one they clearly are. An initial assumption that this stylistic change was due to his waning eyesight preventing him from undertaking very fine brushwork was disproved by the other 1892 painting, *Mount William as seen from Mount Dryden in The Grampians, Victoria* (Figure 8.14), which is just as highly finished as the rest of his oeuvre. Whether this late stylistic experiment was a result of observing the brushstrokes visible in Impressionist works in London galleries will never be known.



Figure 2.10. **A significant late stylistic change**
Milford Sound, Mitre Peak and Bowen Falls, 1892 oil on board, 23 × 31 cm, The Fletcher Trust Collection, Auckland.

Eugen von Guérard died just after the turn of the century in 1901, at the age of 90. He was buried in Brompton Cemetery, Chelsea, next to his wife. His grave can still be visited.

67. Guérard, Reply on the Critic. Several decades earlier, painting a work that was not “well finished” would have been an anathema for the artist.

Chapter 3 – Commentary on Guérard’s fidelity to nature

This chapter is the first of two examining literature relating to the issue of fidelity to nature in the Antipodean landscape paintings of Guérard. While the following chapter focuses on artworks, artists, artistic movements and landscape painting theories that purportedly influenced his practice, this chapter concentrates on what commentators have asserted about how the painter practised fidelity to nature. The literature includes private correspondence, exhibition reviews, critiques of paintings and scholarly publications. In the first part of the chapter, Guérard’s defence of his artistic practice is examined in depth, and contemporaneous commentary by critics, reviewers, colleagues and friends involved in the Melbourne art world from the mid-1850s up to his death in 1901 is surveyed. Posthumous commentary relating to fidelity to nature in his oeuvre, as well as in individual paintings, by art historians, critics, curators, reviewers, connoisseurs, environmental historians, scientists and Guérard aficionados is then reviewed. As this thesis seeks to investigate how Guérard practised fidelity to nature, the evidence advanced to support a particular opinion is considered as well, particularly any field evidence.

The artist’s correspondence

As the introductory chapter illustrated, there are very few direct references to the issue of fidelity to nature in the extant correspondence of the artist. The quoted references include expressions such as “true to nature,” “faithful to nature” and “imitate nature.” The paucity of explanatory references by the painter on his artistic intentions and practice may be due to the deliberate disposal of his journals and other writings during the First World War, or possibly because Guérard was not particularly inclined to explain his aesthetic convictions to others. That inclination is evident in the only surviving sets of outward correspondence by the artist – one to the art critic James Smith and the other to the geologist Haast. In neither case has any of the inward correspondence survived.

In the ten, often lengthy, letters written to Smith between 1860 and 1901,¹ there is no explicit discussion of the issue of fidelity to nature, which is surprising given that Smith had commented on the issue in numerous reviews. However, in an 1884 letter concerning a recently completed painting of “Old Ballarat” (Figure 3.1, bottom), which is based on a sketch made thirty years earlier (Figure 3.1, top), the artist describes how he did his best “to paint this subject as faithfully and true as possible.” Guérard wrote that he even went to the extent of ensuring the colour of the extensive midground grassed area had a yellow tone that reflected the summer time in which he made the sketch. However, he also stated in the letter that he had introduced the “partial shadows of clouds,” which had the effect of producing a greater variety of yellow tones, making the work “less monotonous in the centre.”² This vignette illustrates how he married his desire to be faithful to the subject with his need to create an aesthetically engaging picture for the viewer.

1. James Smith Papers, 1837–1909, accession number MLMSS 212, SLNSW.

2. Letter from Eugene von Guérard to James Smith, October 29, 1884, James Smith Papers.



Figure 3.1. Field drawing and painting of “Old Ballarat”

Top: *Vom publick haus zu Ballarat*, 1854, pencil on paper, 20.0 × 31.8 cm, AGB. Bottom: *Ballarat in the early times; As it appeared in the summer of 1853–54*, 1884, oil on canvas, 74.5 × 138.5 cm, AGB.

Of the twenty-two, also often lengthy, letters written to Haast between 1876 and 1885, the issue of fidelity to nature is very briefly touched upon in one letter only (Figure 3.2). The artist wrote, “Mein Streben ist es so weit als möglich Naturgetreu zu sein” (I strive to be as faithful to

nature as is possible)³ in reference to his paintings of Milford Sound/Piopiotahi and Lake Wakatipu in the South Island of New Zealand. Although Guérard did not expand upon what limitations existed to his being completely faithful to nature in those landscapes, he did comment in a later letter to Haast that he believed that “a thoroughly executed art work requires a deeper understanding of nature.”⁴

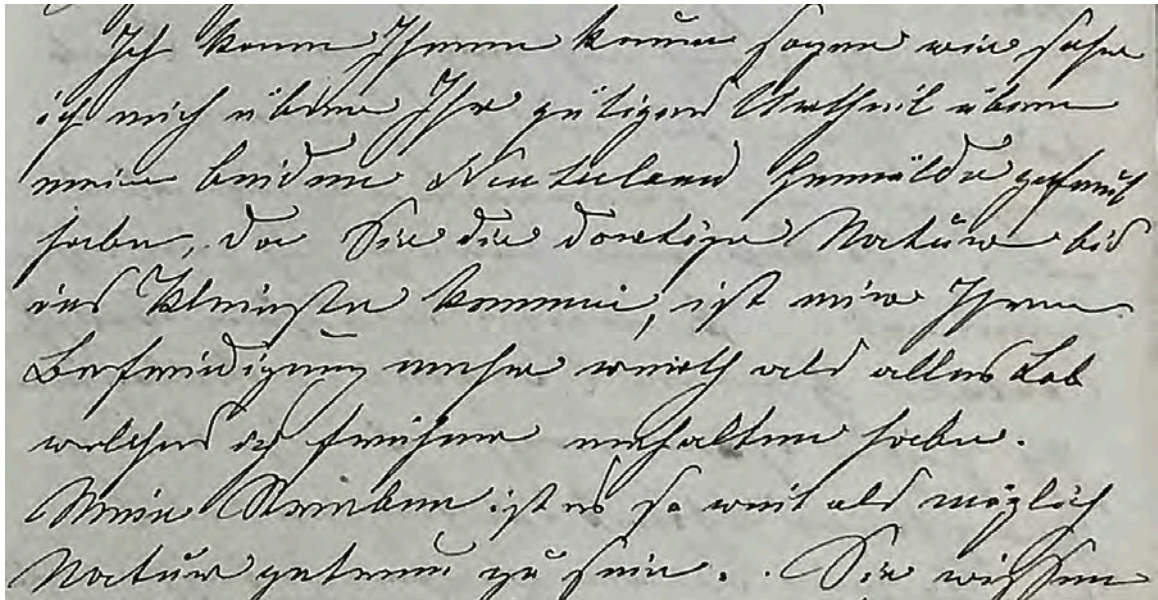


Figure 3.2. **Comment to Haast about being faithful to nature**

Excerpt from a letter by Guérard to Haast, December 29, 1879.⁵ The last complete sentence refers to his desire to be “faithful to nature.”

The artist’s defence of his practice

Given the dearth of commentary by the artist on the issue of fidelity to nature in his personal correspondence, there remains but one document in which Guérard discusses the issue to any great extent. This is his defence of his artistic practice,⁶ written in response to a highly critical newspaper review on the “main tendency of his art” by James Smith.⁷ This lengthy eight-page unpublished hand-written defence is a de facto declaration or manifesto outlining his aesthetic

3. Transcribed and translated by Sascha Nolden.

4. Letter from Guérard to Haast, April 27, 1881, in Darragh and Pullin, *Lieber Freund!*, 48.

5. Haast Family Papers, reference code 177-0037, ATL.

6. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

7. Smith, “Mr von Guerard’s New Picture.”

convictions, motivations and intentions. The limited extent to which it has been analysed or even discussed in the literature is surprising, but also understandable given the difficulty of deciphering what the artist wrote in a language that he had not entirely mastered. Despite reproducing Smith's critical review and Guérard's unpublished reply in full in an appendix, art historian Candice Bruce devoted only one paragraph to discussing the artist's defence, and the authors of the catalogue raisonné devoted only a single sentence to considering his response.⁸ Notwithstanding being familiar with Guérard's lengthy reply explaining why he created such highly detailed artworks, the art critic Christopher Heathcote perplexingly wrote that the artist "may not have left us a statement of his motives" for producing those landscapes.⁹ Pullin, however, claimed the document was a "unique statement of his aesthetic" and "deserved sustained analysis," devoting several pages to that task in her 2007 thesis.¹⁰

Given the significance of these two documents for an analysis of the fidelity to nature of Guérard's oeuvre, both the critique and the artist's reply have been reproduced in full in this thesis (Appendices C and D). Smith's criticisms are discussed in greater depth in the following section but, in summary, he accused the artist of practising an excessive, almost microscopic, fidelity to the details of nature at the expense of inspiring viewers to meditate on the divine handiwork that created the beauty encountered in nature.¹¹ Furthermore, the critic disparagingly labelled Guérard "our local apostle of microscopism in pictorial delineation."

As is evident in his reply, Guérard was clearly incensed by what he believed were invalid criticisms and by what he felt was a betrayal of Smith's hitherto warm friendship and positive reviews of his works. Given the strong emotions he was experiencing and the difficulties the

8. Candice Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard* (Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1980), exhibition catalogue, 85; Candice Bruce, Edward Comstock, and Frank McDonald, *Eugene von Guérard, 1811–1901: A German Romantic in the Antipodes* (Martinborough, New Zealand: Alister Taylor Publishers, 1982), 8.

9. Christopher Heathcote, "When Science Meets Art: Humboldt, von Guérard and the Australian Wilderness," *Art Monthly Australia* 145 (2001): 31.

10. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 18–21.

11. Hoorn claimed that Smith was criticising Guérard's pictures for their "over determination of style, not – as a number of writers have assumed – for their romantic qualities." See Jeanette Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral: The Making of a White Landscape* (Fremantle: Fremantle Press, 2007), 129.

painter had in writing grammatical English, it is not always possible to ascertain what he meant in some of the passages in the document.¹²

In his defence, Guérard asserted that, given nature is “so well finished in the details,” a landscape artist should strive to “imitate nature” both in the major elements of a composition (the “masses”) and in the illustration of its smaller scale features (the “details”). He qualified this, however, by stating that such imitative practice should only be to the extent that it is compatible with the overall compositional goal that the artist was seeking to achieve (the “effect”). Furthermore, Guérard believed that he executed his own artworks with the “greatest desire” to be faithful to nature as much as was possible within his artistic abilities, and that he hoped his landscapes would inspire “divine poetical feelings” in viewers.

Guérard did not elaborate further on what being “true to nature” or “imitating nature” implied for his artistic practice. However, as he was pleased by Smith’s somewhat dismissive comment that his landscapes would at least make “delightful illustrations” for botanical or geological publications, it can reasonably be assumed that botanical and geological fidelity at least were a significant element of “imitating nature.”

The artist decried the “unhappy period” in which he lived as being the worst for producing great landscape compositions because of the demand for works of art “copied or taken from nature.” Assuming the artist was not so distraught that he was contradicting himself, he would have been referring to the demand for “accuracy and topographical precision” in paintings.¹³ Such paintings sought to reproduce the same view as would have been captured in a photograph of the scene, thus producing works that he claimed would be “equal to machine art” only. Guérard had already declared that much as he admired the products of photography, such

12. As the reply was never published in the *Argus* newspaper, it may be that Guérard had second thoughts about what might be considered to be an intemperate response and therefore did not send his letter to the editor. Later correspondence indicates that a warm friendship between the artist and the critic was restored, although in what circumstances we do not know. Given that the handwritten document is located in Smith’s archives, Guérard is likely to have given the letter to Smith at some later date. Perhaps by that time they were able to discuss the issues in a more dispassionate manner.

13. See Andrew Sayers, “The Shaping of Australian Landscape Painting,” in *New Worlds from Old: 19th Century Australian & American Landscapes*, eds. Elizabeth Johns et al. (Canberra: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 54.

images would always lack “artistic individuality,” and it is evident he did not believe that an artist should literally reproduce a camera-lens view of a landscape. For Guérard, being “true to nature” did not involve what today is often referred to as photorealism in art. He considered himself to be an interpreter of nature not a literal transcriber. A more convincing resolution of the apparent contradiction stated above is that Guérard believed there was a significant difference between imitating and copying nature, with the former allowing for artistic creativity while remaining true to nature.

Contemporaneous commentary on fidelity to nature in Guérard’s landscapes

Guérard’s landscapes were studied in detail and extensively commented on by nineteenth-century Antipodean reviewers and art critics. A comprehensive search through newspapers and magazines published during the forty-year period subsequent to Guérard’s arrival in Australia was conducted by art historian Edward Comstock, and a large number of those reviews and critiques are included in the catalogue raisonné of Guérard’s works.¹⁴ The names of reviewers are usually not known, except for the critics James Smith and Frederick Sinnett. On the whole, references to the issue of the fidelity to nature of the artist’s landscapes are mostly of an incidental nature and are therefore rather brief, with the exception of more extensive discussion by Smith.

In order to capture what his contemporaries believed about the fidelity of his paintings, a thematic approach to the commentary is adopted, similar to that often used in the social sciences, as it is an efficient way of distilling a wide variety of opinions.¹⁵ Six themes are identified:

- fidelity to the scenery;
- fidelity to nature;
- representation of the special character of Australian scenery;
- detailing;

14. Transcripts of the commentary are found in the catalogue section of Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 179–286.

15. Paul C. Price et al., *Research Methods in Psychology*, 3rd American ed. (Pullman: Washington State University, 2017), 104, <https://opentext.wsu.edu/carriecuttler>.

- general accuracy; and
- scientific accuracy.

Although some reviewers may have used the words “faithful” and “accurate” interchangeably, the contexts in which they were used suggest a difference in meaning. As is typical in a thematic analysis, the phrases of commentators are selectively quoted to best express the intention of that person, and to ensure that their views are readily distinguishable from authorial interpretations or judgements. It should be noted that the quotations which follow are collated in Appendix A.

Fidelity to the scenery

A number of reviewers wrote about the artist’s fidelity to the scenery at a location. Some had no doubt that the particular landscape painting they looked at in an exhibition or studio was highly faithful to the view the artist observed at the site: *Mt Kosciusko seen from the Victorian border (Mt Hope Ranges)*, 1866 (Figure 6.1), was claimed to be “a faithful likeness of the place its author intended to represent”; *Basalt Rocks at Sandy beach near Cape Schanck*, c. 1860, “most faithfully represented” the wild coastal scenery of Victoria; *Spring in the valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges in the distance*, 1863 (Figure 7.5), “reproduces exactly” what Guérard saw; *Waterfall on the Clyde River, Tasmania*, 1877 (Figure 12.5), was “painted with obvious fidelity”; and the topography of *View in the Grampians*, 1870 (Figure 9.1), was undoubtedly “most faithful.” Other reviewers asserted the overall fidelity of his oeuvre to Australian scenery: his pictures were “faithful ... portraitures of Australian scenery”; and the “various localities” he illustrated in his works were “truthfully depicted.”¹⁶

Despite this certitude, the claims were not often based on personal familiarity with a site or backed up by reference to individuals who were. An exception was *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand*, 1877–79 (Figure 10.1), whose “conscientious fidelity” would be recognised by those fortunate enough to have visited the lake. One commentator was

16. *Argus*, January 2, 1872; *Argus*, November 20, 1860; *Illustrated Australian News*, July 27, 1867; *Argus*, August 25, 1877; *Argus*, July 13, 1870; *Argus*, April 22, 1855; *Age*, March 24, 1872.

more circumspect, merely stating that “every picture purport[ed] to be a transcript of natural scenery,” perhaps on the basis of the geographical titles given to works.¹⁷

Some reviews limited their assertions regarding fidelity to aspects of the scenery rather than to actual views: *Fern Tree Gully on the Dandenong Ranges*, 1857 (Figure 8.23) was a “faithful illustration” of “picturesque aspects of Victorian scenery” and a “faithful transcript ... of remarkable features of colonial scenery”; *Lake Wakatipu* reproduced “some of the of the grandest features of [the lake’s] scenery.” Whether faithfully reproducing specific aspects of a landscape also implied that the artist faithfully portrayed the view at the site is a moot point.¹⁸

James Smith had no doubt that Guérard’s landscapes were highly faithful to the scenes he observed, pithily asserting that: “Nothing is overlooked, nothing imperfectly recorded, nothing impertinently introduced.”¹⁹ He claimed the paintings described what the artist observed with “literal truth.” However, Guérard’s interpretation of the Australian landscape was also “faithful to a fault, and faulty, by reason of its excessive fidelity.”²⁰

Fidelity to nature

As well as references to Guérard’s landscapes being faithful to the scenery, some critics or reviewers made claims about the fidelity to nature of his paintings. As this may have had a different connotation from fidelity to the scenery, in the sense that the works were faithful to the natural history of the location, such references are discussed separately here. Some reviewers claimed that a particular work was indeed faithful to nature: *Castle Rock, Cape Schanck*, 1865 (Figure 3.3, top), was distinguished by its “conscientious fidelity to nature”; *View of Hobart Town, with Mount Wellington in the background*, 1856, and *View of Mount Abrupt, on the Wannon River, in the Grampians, Western District of Victoria*, 1856, were characterised by their “general faithfulness to nature”; *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863

17. *Argus*, May 17, 1877; *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, November 21, 1863

18. *Argus*, December 29, 1857; *Illustrated Melbourne News*, January 9, 1858; *Argus*, May 17, 1877.

19. That sentiment echoes the advice of the nineteenth-century art critic John Ruskin to the Pre-Raphaelites on how to approach nature: “rejecting nothing, selecting nothing, and scorning nothing.” See John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 2 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1846), 634.

20. *Illustrated Australian Mail*, February 22, 1862.

(Figure 3.4, middle), was “terribly true to nature” and a remarkable “representation of nature”; and no other artwork approached “so close to nature” as *Milford Sound with Pembroke Peak and Bowen Falls*, 1879 (Figure 10.2, bottom). Two reviewers commented on the fidelity with which specific aspects of the natural world were illustrated: the dramatic rock formations in *Tasman’s Island* [c. 1857] gave a “truthful view” of the rocks found there; and “mountain beauty” in *Spring in the Valley of the Mitta Mitta* was literally translated and painted with conscientious fidelity. Another anonymous reviewer made the more sweeping assertion that Guérard saw things “as they are” and that his style of painting was “distinguished by its fidelity” to nature.²¹

Smith explored the issue more than other commentators, stating that “few artists study nature more reverentially” and few “interpret her more faithfully” than Guérard.²² As an experienced and well-read art critic, Smith would have been familiar with Ruskin’s extended discussion of how the “work of imagination” transforms a “transcript of nature” into a work of art.²³ Smith understood and appreciated that although all landscape painting involved interpreting nature, it could be done with differing degrees of fidelity.

Very occasionally a reviewer questioned whether an aspect of a work was indeed faithful to nature, although this was usually limited to colouration: one wrote that, despite the overall fidelity to nature, the colours of the waves in *View of the granite rocks at Cape Woolamai*, 1872 (Figure 4.10, top), was a product of the “imagination of the painter” rather than his “fidelity to nature”; and another that those marine colours were “reminiscences” rather than “actual transcripts” of the colours the artist saw.²⁴ As the reviewers were anonymous, there is no way of knowing whether either was on the beach with Guérard on the day, but given the difficulties of reaching that vantage point it is unlikely that the artist would have been accompanied by critics.

21. *Argus*, May 17, 1865; *Newsletter of Australasia*, January 1857; *Australasian*, November 24, 1866; *New Zealand Mail*, December 6, 1877; *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, August 16, 1862; *Argus*, April 24, 1866; *Argus*, October 25, 1866.

22. *Argus*, November 1, 1862.

23. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, 2, 223–313.

24. *Age*, March 15, 1872; *Argus*, March 22, 1872.

Representation of the special character of Australian scenery

Some reviewers and critics commented specifically on Guérard's capacity to evoke the peculiarities of Australian scenery in his pictures. Whether they were referring to vegetation or landforms is not always clear. Smith claimed, "the physical features, the local colour and pervading sentiment [of *Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson's Valley, New South Wales*, 1862] are essentially Australian." Furthermore, the subject of that work was "racy of the soil," in the sense of exhibiting qualities of the land with a high degree of fidelity. The reason, according to the critic, was that Guérard had "saturated his mind...with the characteristics of Australian scenery" through "years of study and incessant practice."²⁵ Smith also argued the artist had captured "the peculiar character of the trees and the shrubs" in *View in the Grampians*, 1870 (Figure 9.1).²⁶

Sinnett asserted that in a number of paintings by Guérard, including *Mount William from Mount Dryden*, 1857 (Figure 4.1, top), the artist illustrated "unmistakeably Australian forests, mountains and plains" rather than merely "a forest, a mountain or a plain," particularly through the very "peculiar tints" of the vegetation, which he was able to exemplify.²⁷ Another reviewer wrote that *View of Mount Abrupt* was a "marvellous display" of Guérard's familiarity with the "characteristics of Australian scenery."²⁸

Other commentators claimed that: his works were "faithful...portraits of Australian scenery"; the peculiarities of the scenery were illustrated with great "power"; the unusual characteristics of an "Australian landscape" had been transferred onto canvas in a "masterly style" in *North view from Daylesford*, 1864; and *View of the Grampians with Mount Abrupt and Mount*

25. *Argus*, December 29, 1862. That sentiment is reminiscent of Alexander von Humboldt's call for a new style of landscape painting. See Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, trans. Edward Sabine, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans & John Murray, 1849), chapter II. However, there is no record of Smith acknowledging that he had read that work.

26. *Argus*, July 13, 1870.

27. Frederick Sinnett, *Illustrated Journal of Australasia*, January 1858. Sinnett may well have been referring to the blue tinge of distant hills, which occurs when gum trees release volatile oils on hot days.

28. *Age*, December 15, 1856.

Sturgeon in the Distance, 1874, exhibited the “most characteristic features of the scenery.”

Clearly, his contemporaries believed Guérard convincingly portrayed the distinctive features of Australian scenery, particularly the distinctive colours of the vegetation and unusual landforms.²⁹

Detailing

A significant number of reviewers or critics remarked specifically on Guérard’s attentive finish to the details of his landscapes. Sometimes the commentary went further, stating or implying that the detailing was faithful or accurate, presumably based on familiarity with the vegetation, landforms or geology, but in other instances the fidelity of the details was not necessarily implied. Some impressed commentators described the detailing as having an “extraordinary” or “microscopic” quality, and “remarkable exactness,” but another critic merely noted the “close attention to detail” in a painting. Botanical or geological detailing were specifically referred to: Sinnett claimed the “details of foliage” in *Mount William from Mount Dryden* are “given with a microscopic minuteness”; and another reviewer asserted that individual stones in *View of the granite rocks at Cape Woolamai* were painted with “minute distinctness and mathematical precision.” A number of commentators described the detailing as elaborate, but with a positive connotation. For example, *View of the Grampians and the Victoria Range from Mount Rouse*, 1861, was praised for its “faithful elaboration of detail.”³⁰

Smith, however, was not impressed with the detailing in *View in the Grampians*, asserting that the artist offered only a “minutely laborious description of almost every leaf upon the gum trees, and of every vein and crevice in the rocks.” The rest of his critique makes it clear that he was far from questioning the fidelity of the botanical and geological detail; rather, he believed it was excessively faithful.³¹ An insightful comment by a different reviewer attributed the very fine and distinctive detail visible in *Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges*, 1857 (Figure 8.23), to

29. *Argus*, February 1, 1855; *Newsletter of Australasia*, January 1857; *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, November 18, 1864; *Australian Sketcher*, August 7, 1875.

30. *Age*, December 15, 1856; *Illustrated Journal of Australasia*, January 1858; *Newsletter of Australasia*, January 1857; *Argus*, August 25, 1877; *Illustrated Journal of Australasia*, January 1858; *Age*, March 15, 1872; *Age*, October 3, 1861.

31. *Argus*, July 13, 1870.

Victoria's "rare atmosphere," which allowed the artist to observe and record the detail of "even the most distant" objects.³²

General accuracy

This section focuses on references relating to the accuracy of Guérard's landscapes in illustrating the landforms and vegetation he observed at sites, in the sense of literal reproduction. While the word "accuracy" might seem to be similar in meaning to "fidelity," the two words can be distinguished in that "accuracy" is generally used in the evaluation of his works on the basis of how it would compare with a photograph of the same scene. One commentator boldly claimed that "every landscape is an accurate portrait of the scene it professes to portray." Another claimed that like his previous works, *Castle Rock, Cape Schanck*, 1865, was distinguished by the "literal accuracy" with which the dramatic rock stack and shore platform were illustrated. A third wrote that different forms of vegetation were "accurately portrayed" in *Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges*. The reviewer of *Weatherboard Creek Falls* even claimed that the sandstone formations of the Blue Mountains were painted with "an accuracy that nothing can excel."³³

While it is not known whether any of those commentators had visited the sites of the paintings for which they claimed a high level of pictorial accuracy, the explorer Alfred Howitt (1830–1908), whom Guérard had accompanied on his expeditions into alpine Victoria, asserted that he could recognise the "individual physiognomies of trees" in the foreground of *Valley of the Acheron River*, 1863. Another reviewer claimed that the scene captured in *Cape Farewell, West Coast, Middle Island, N.Z.*, [1878], would be "immediately recognised" by all who had sailed past the "remarkable rocks."³⁴

32. *Age*, December 8, 1857. At a number of the sites visited, it was not possible to make out some of the painted features of distant hills and mountains even on clear, sunny days. However, travelling closer to those features confirmed that the painted features were accurate. It is likely that Victorian skies are much hazier now than in the mid-nineteenth century, perhaps due to the amount of wind-blown dust from exposed soils.

33. *Illustrated Journal of Australasia*, January 1858; *Argus*, May 17, 1865; *Age*, September 2, 1884.

34. *Illustrated Melbourne Post*, November 21, 1863; *Argus*, December 17, 1878.

Given the development of photographic equipment that could be more readily used in the field from the late 1850s onwards, it is unsurprising that some commentators began to compare the accuracy of scenes illustrated in Guérard's landscapes with photographic images. One reviewer claimed that an 1857 photograph of Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenongs by Antoine Fauchery (1827–1861) was “Nature’s affidavit of the truth” of Guérard’s painting of the same location.³⁵ With reference to his paintings in general, a reviewer writing in the 1880s asserted that the artist’s “scrupulous accuracy of detail” resulted in “almost photographic fidelity of representation.” However, a critic, most likely Smith, while acknowledging the “photographic accuracy” of the artist’s pictures, went on to argue that “breadth of treatment” was too often sacrificed by insistence on such visual accuracy.³⁶

Scientific accuracy

Several reviewers commented on the degree to which Guérard’s illustrations of plants and rocks are scientifically rendered. According to one, every tree in *View of Mount Abrupt* had a “botanical accuracy,” implying that the artist illustrated authentic botanical specimens. Another reviewer asserted that *Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges* was painted with such “technical minuteness as well as artistic effect” that it was a highly valuable botanical study of the diversity of native plants inhabiting that gully. Sinnett went further in his commentary on *Mount William from Mount Dryden*, declaring that “every tree...has not merely its local character, but its botanical peculiarities,” although it is doubtful that he had ever ascended Mt Dryden in order to become familiar with its “peculiar” vegetation, given its distance from Melbourne. Writing about *The Basin Banks, 20 miles south of Mount Elephant, 1857*, a reviewer who was at least familiar with the location noted that the work clearly illustrates the “geological formation” of the landscape and its “volcanic nature,” particularly as it portrays a maar lake and several craters.³⁷

35. *Argus*, August 13, 1858. The photograph is viewable at <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/299293>.

36. *Age*, September 1, 1884; *Argus*, January 2, 1872.

37. *My Notebook*, December 13, 1856; *Age*, December 8, 1857; *Illustrated Journal of Australasia*, January 1858; *Bell’s Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle*, December 12, 1857.

While acknowledging the artist's commitment to scientific accuracy, other critics either questioned or were doubtful about the artistic merits of such scientifically accurate renditions of natural features. Commenting on *Basalt Rock at Sandy Beach*, a reviewer believed that the attention devoted to the "form and colour" of the columnar-jointed basalt rocks meant the work would appeal to geologists rather than "mere connoisseurs of art." Smith claimed that the peculiar character of the trees and shrubs illustrated in *View in the Grampians* was so accurately rendered that he imagined that "a botanist would be almost able to discover amongst them the banksia, the casuarina and the xanthorrhoea or some other hardy inhabitants of these lofty regions."³⁸ For Smith, though, the level of scientific accuracy that permitted botanical identification represented the artistic cul-de-sac of microscopism, rather than exemplifying exceptional works.³⁹

Summary of contemporaneous commentary

Based on the thematic analysis of commentary by nineteenth-century critics and reviewers relating to the fidelity of Guérard's Antipodean landscapes, a general consensus among those observers is evident. In summary, his works were asserted to:

- faithfully render the views he observed at sites;
- truthfully illustrate the natural history of locations;
- effectively portray the distinctive character of Australian vegetation and landforms;
- minutely detail natural features;
- accurately reproduce vegetation and landforms with almost photographic fidelity; and
- offer scientifically valuable observations of flora and rock formations.

Indeed, the leading art critic during Guérard's Antipodean sojourn harboured no doubts about the artist's "conscientious fidelity" to Australian scenery and natural history,⁴⁰ whether he was praising it in early paintings or condemning the same practice in later works. Although several modern commentators noted that his foregrounds are often the site of artistic invention, no

38. *Argus*, July 13, 1870.

39. *Argus*, November 20, 1860; *Argus*, July 13, 1870.

40. Smith, "Mr von Guerard's New Picture."

nineteenth-century writer mentioned his modified foregrounds, perhaps out of ignorance or because it was an accepted practice not worthy of comment.

Justification of claims relating to the fidelity of specific paintings to the view visible at the site, as opposed to those involving less specific features such as vegetation, geography or geomorphology, is limited, given that commentators were highly unlikely to have visited the sites of Guérard's paintings, most of which were difficult to reach or inaccessible. Such claims were usually based on a more general familiarity with Australian scenery, landforms, geological features and flora. An example of a painting that might have challenged some of the assumptions held by nineteenth-century commentators regarding fidelity to the view of natural scenery in Guérard's oeuvre is the painting *Castle Rock, Cape Schanck*, (Figure 3.3), which, being on the Mornington Peninsula, was reasonably accessible for adventurous Melburnians



Figure 3.3. **Fidelity to the view in *Castle Rock, Cape Schanck***

Top: *Castle Rock, Cape Schanck*, 1865, oil on canvas, 61.0 × 91.3 cm, AGSA. Bottom: the same scene photographed from close to the artist's vantage point, 2018. Photograph: author.

Posthumous commentary on fidelity to nature in Guérard's landscape paintings

After his departure from Australia in 1882, little was written about Guérard's paintings by art critics or reviewers. This is not surprising given that his works had already fallen out of favour with the Melbourne art-buying public. Over a decade earlier they had already exhibited a clear preference for the more restful, bucolic landscapes of Louis Buvelot (1814–1888), who painted the “familiar settled countryside, generally close to Melbourne.”⁴¹ Few of Guérard's works were in public galleries at the time of his death in 1901, and were only acquired intermittently after that. In the first half of the twentieth century, art historians made very limited reference to the artist or his Antipodean oeuvre, let alone his fidelity to nature.⁴² The first identified reference to fidelity to nature in Guérard's paintings did not occur until the 1960s. The issue, however, has been explored in more depth during the last forty years as the artist's reputation as the leading landscapist in Australia during the mid-nineteenth century was rehabilitated. This came about through academic research and publications, increasing exposure of his works as they were acquired by state and national art galleries, and exhibitions that included his paintings or were devoted exclusively to his works.⁴³ The views of commentators who have written about Guérard's faithfulness to nature are explored below, mostly in chronological order, except where the judgements of an individual are traced over time to note how they evolved. As the focus of this thesis is the field evidence upon which judgements concerning the artist's fidelity to nature are based, where specific paintings are mentioned in support of an assertion, current field evidence, if available, is also discussed.

Twentieth-century commentary

The earliest identified reference in the literature to Guérard's fidelity to nature in the twentieth century is by the art historian Bernard Smith, who stated in 1962 that the artist rendered the “vegetation and terrain” of southeastern Australia with “polished accuracy.” Rocks and individual

41. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, xiii; Tim Bonyhady, “The Tipping Point,” in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 36–41.

42. Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 3.

43. The first exhibition devoted to his works (*Eugen von Guérard*, NGA, 1980) did not occur until nearly 100 years after he had departed Australia.

plants were illustrated with “detailed precision.” This avowal of botanical, topographical and geological exactness was not supported by reference to any paintings.⁴⁴

Although Guérard was a nineteenth-century Australian colonial painter, it was an American art history researcher, Edward Comstock, who completed the first academic study of the artist’s life and works in 1974. Comstock asserted that Guérard believed an artist should not “modify nature” to fit preconceptions, because every aspect of nature was part of the “divine order.” Even the colour of eucalyptus leaves could not be altered as light and colour were “divine attributes.” This preoccupation with illustrating the divine in nature resulted in a “vision too ideal to be true to life.”⁴⁵ On a more mundane note, Comstock also claimed the artist was not always topographically accurate, although the example supplied, *A View of the Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River*, 1864 (Figure 8.20, bottom), does not support that claim. He asserted that the artist had “transfigured reality” to create a “confluence of ridges” in the background of the painting to represent the divine, but that confluence is in fact faithful to the both the field drawing (Figure 8.20, top) and the view at the site (Figure 8.3, bottom).

Art historian Marjorie Tipping republished Guérard’s *Australian Landscapes* in 1975, which is a series of 24 tinted lithographs illustrating the diverse landscapes of southeastern Australia, with a lengthy introduction. In 1982, she published Guérard’s previously unpublished goldfields journal, illustrated with many of his field drawings and annotated extensively. According to Tipping, the artist’s field drawings afforded a “true representation” of the scenes he beheld, although no evidence was presented. Regardless, because the detailing was meticulous, she asserted that his paintings resembled images that would have resulted if they had been produced by a landscape photographer. Although she believed that his paintings were based on Guérard’s true-to-life sketches of landscapes, she qualified this by asserting he would enhance works by “interpolating flora, fauna and geological forms” that he had sketched elsewhere.

44. Bernard Smith, *Australian Painting 1788–2000*, 1st ed. (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1962), 58.

45. Edward Comstock, “Eugen von Guérard (1811–1901): An Australian Romantic” (Master of Arts dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1974), 43, 83, 95, 111.

Tipping did concede that sometimes Guérard painted grasstrees in locations where they did not exist naturally.⁴⁶

In the catalogue produced for the first exhibition devoted exclusively to Guérard's works, held in 1980, art historian Candice Bruce declared that it would have been "unthinkable" for the artist not to have been "scientifically correct" in his depiction of vegetation or skies.⁴⁷ This claim appeared to be based on what Guérard asserted about his artistic practice in his response to Smith's criticism rather than any assessment of the authenticity of his depiction of foliage or cloud formations.

The catalogue raisonné of Guérard's works, published by Bruce, Comstock and art dealer Frank McDonald in 1982, included sections on the artist's life, techniques and working methods. Fidelity to nature per se was not discussed in this major publication, but the authors did assert that "scientific accuracy" and "fineness of detail" were central to Guérard's oeuvre. This was qualified by a caveat that the artist practised "compilation" in some works – horizontally compacting observed views on the canvas – to make each aspect of a scene more compositionally significant.⁴⁸ The purported technique would suggest that such works are not perceptually faithful to the view, but the field research undertaken for this thesis uncovered no evidence of such compaction.⁴⁹

In the early 1980s, the Guérard aficionado and self-taught artist Dacre Smyth spent a year locating the sites of fifty of Guérard's Victorian pictures, as well as painting his own interpretations of the same views. By comparing them with his own paintings, Smyth wished to illustrate how "very accurate" Guérard typically was in his rendition of the topography. Although the foreground rocks in some paintings are still readily identifiable at sites, Smyth noted that it

46. Marjorie Tipping, *Eugène von Guérard's Australian Landscapes* (Melbourne: Lansdowne, 1975), 17, 18; Marjorie Tipping, *An Artist on the Goldfields: The Diary of Eugène von Guérard* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1982), 4, 10.

47. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 85.

48. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 22, 40.

49. Comparisons of many of his paintings with site views recorded in photographs taken from his vantage points indicate that scenes are not horizontally compacted; rather, summits are heightened and slopes are steepened.

was in painting foregrounds that the artist resorted to the “greatest inventiveness.” At Tower Hill he discovered the exact spot where the artist sat to make the missing field sketch on which the painting of the same name is based (Figure 1.2) but, after circling Mt Warrenheip several times, he failed to find the vantage point from where Guérard would have sketched the scene for *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat* (Figure 1.7). Smyth concluded that the artist may have merged “one foreground with another background.”⁵⁰ In a newspaper review of Smyth’s book, Bernard Smith averred that Smyth’s claim that Guérard’s painting, then entitled *View of the Serra Range in the Grampians from Mount Rouse, 1870*, was “indeed untrue” to the view was a “little rash.” According to Smith, the conventions of topographical art within which Guérard operated permitted “considerable freedom” in the modification of foregrounds to produce effective compositions, while still remaining “true to the general nature of the terrain.”⁵¹ Smyth, however, had claimed that the middle distance as well as the foreground were significantly different from the view. Regardless, the painting had been incorrectly titled and therefore Smyth was appraising it from the wrong location (see Chapter 9).

In the catalogue accompanying a 1986 exhibition of nearly all of Guérard’s South Australian sketches and paintings, curator Alison Carroll discussed the artist’s draughting skills and historian John Tregenza provided commentary on all of the sketches and paintings made of views in the colony of South Australia.⁵² Tregenza also followed in Guérard’s footsteps by visiting every site, often comparing a sketch or painting with the actual view, although no photographs were included. With regard to *Tanunda Creek South Australia, 1857*, Tregenza observed that the field drawing on which the painting is based is “generally faithful” to the

50. Dacre Smyth, *Views of Victoria: In the Steps of von Guérard* (Melbourne: Dacre Smyth, 1984), 16, 62.

51. Bernard Smith, “Painting Victoria’s Changes,” *The Age*, October 6, 1984.

52. Alison Carroll and John Tregenza, *Eugene von Guérard’s South Australia: Drawings, Paintings, and Lithographs from Journeys in South Australia in 1855 and 1857* (Adelaide: Art Gallery Board of South Australia, 1986).

topography, with the scene still being “very much the same.”⁵³ However, the artist heightened the “drama of the composition” by inserting a waterfall in the foreground and horizontally compressing the landscape. Tregenza asserted that “despite these distortions” the work still conveyed the essential granitic character of the landscape. The principal sketch on which the painting *Scenery in the Mount Lofty Ranges, near Adelaide, and a View of the Gulf of St Vincent, South Australia*, c. 1860 (Figure 8.13, top), is based, is a realistic portrayal of the “singular outcrop of Stonyfell quartzite” at the site. However, according to Tregenza, the painting is not a “literal record,” but rather a composite work in which the artist combined a number of different views, including one of grasstrees observed and sketched nearby and another of a waterfall over a kilometre away, recalled rather than sketched.⁵⁴

Cultural historian Tim Bonyhady investigated the sites of some of Guérard’s paintings more thoroughly than most commentators and he was therefore in a position to comment authoritatively on the fidelity to nature in those works. Writing in 1985 about the development of Australian landscape painting in the nineteenth century, he examined *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863 (Figure 3.4, middle), in detail. In this work Guérard combined two accurately rendered sketches made from nearby vantage points atop Mt Townsend. Bonyhady stated that Guérard portrayed a “topographically accurate middle and far distance,” but the principal sketch on which the painting is based did not include the massive mound of granitic boulders on the left of the work. The historian asserted that the use of an “artificially composed foreground” framing the scene was typical of mid-nineteenth-century colonial topographical art.⁵⁵ Twenty-five years later, Bonyhady went further, declaring that the artistic liberty Guérard took when he “invented the extraordinary rock pile” went beyond that of any other of his works.⁵⁶

53. When the location was visited in 2018 it was impossible to reach the site because of the rampant growth of blackberry.

54. Carroll and Tregenza, *Eugene von Guérard’s South Australia*, 64–65.

55. Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, 94.

56. Bonyhady, “The Tipping Point,” 39.

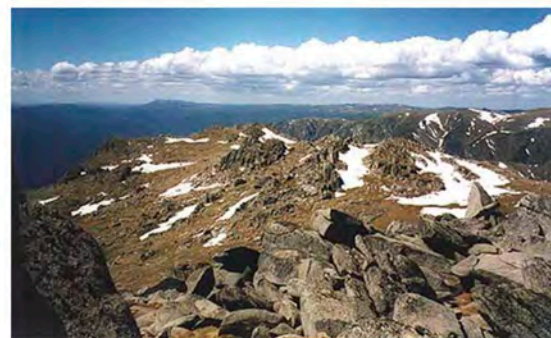


Figure 3.4. **Fidelity to nature and artistic licence in the view from Mt Townsend**

Top and bottom left: [Mt Kosciuszko 19 Nov 62] folio 72 and verso, “Volume 12: Sketchbook XXXIII, No. 15 Australia, 1862,” reference code 825419, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Middle: *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciuszko, 1863, oil on canvas, 66.5 × 116.8 cm, NGA.* Bottom right: Alan Levy, *View from the summit of Mt Townsend*, November 1997.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Image sourced from the webpage <http://members.pcug.org.au/~alanlevy/Thumbnails/Images/Skiing/VonGuerard.htm>, accessed February 15, 2022.

Although various forms of vegetation in *Forest scene near Kiama*, 1863, are “accurately portrayed,” presumably judged so on the basis of his familiarity with the Illawarra vegetation rather than just a comparison with the field drawing, Bonyhady also noted that the flat foreground, along with the stream, rocks, shrubs, palm trees and skeletal tree, were all introduced. According to the historian, the artist was able to paint such features authentically because of the geological and botanical details recorded in his sketchbooks.⁵⁸ With regard to *Tower Hill*, Bonyhady noted that a senior botanist had found that, despite the abundance of identifiable botanical detail in the painting, the presence of grasstrees was “startling and unexpected” in a volcanic landscape, and queried whether their insertion might be “artistic licence.” Bonyhady supposed that Guérard was tempted to introduce them to make the foreground more engaging.⁵⁹

In a history of Australian colonial art published in 1991, Ron Radford, then director of the Art Gallery of South Australia, claimed that in *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite* (Figure 1.6) Guérard had “taken great pains to specify the rocks and the vegetation: the blackwoods, the eucalypts, the grass-trees, the various native grasses and what could be a blackberry vine,” although there was “some slight adaptation to the exigencies of art.”⁶⁰ However, a few years later he asserted that although in general Guérard devoted “naturalistic care” to recording the geology, botany and especially the ecology of a site, *Stony Rises* was neither a “geologically or geographically accurate” portrayal of the Stony Rises district. Furthermore, it was the artist’s “least topographically accurate work.” Radford based this judgement on his visits to the Stony Rises district, which does not have any rock formations such as the one illustrated. He argued the

58. Tim Bonyhady, *Australian Colonial Paintings in the Australian National Gallery* (Canberra: Australian National Gallery, 1986), 176, 185.

59. H. H. Willis, Senior Botanist at the Royal Botanical Gardens in Melbourne, noted in Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth*, 358.

60. Ron Radford, “Eden Before the White Serpent,” in *Creating Australia: 200 Years of Art, 1788–1988*, ed. Daniel Thomas (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 1991), 80.

work was not even a composite work based on merging several drawings, rather it was a *caprice*.⁶¹

In the catalogue that accompanied a 1998 exhibition comparing nineteenth-century Australian and American landscapes, art historian and curator Andrew Sayers noted that the locations of most of Guérard's landscapes are geographically identified. This meant that despite the occasional "compositional manipulation" in his paintings, it was possible to determine the exact location of the vantage point from where the field drawing was made. Sayers did not provide any examples to illustrate this claim, but did describe a counterexample of the only painting he believed to be "general rather than specific to a location" – *Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865 (Figure 12.8, bottom). In contrast, he wrote that *Castle Rock, Cape Schanck* (Figure 3.3, top) was admired for its fidelity to "the geological facts of the scene."⁶²

Twenty-first-century commentary

In an insightful 2001 essay discussing the connections between science and art in Guérard's oeuvre, art critic Christopher Heathcote argued that while Guérard's wilderness landscapes are exacting records of the geological and ecological features of each location, the artist never entirely freed himself of European artistic conventions, such as enclosing a view within a coulisse, and creating an imagined one if a suitable natural one was not to be found nearby. The example Heathcote quoted is the same as the one Bonyhady discussed in detail – *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*. Another "mannerism" that Heathcote claimed Guérard had adopted was "qualitative involution." According to the critic's understanding of this convention, a wide vista could be laterally compressed to fit the dimensions of the canvas as in *Mount Kosciusko*, or two sketches could be combined to create a composite work such as in

61. Ron Radford and Jane Hylton, *Australian Colonial Art 1800–1900* (Adelaide: Art Gallery Board of South Australia, 1995), 100. A *caprice* is a composition that combines real and/or imaginary features, usually architectural, in a fantasy setting. Radford's conjectures are refuted in Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity," 1038–1041.

62. Andrew Sayers, [essay on *Castle Rock, Cape Schanck*, 1865], in Johns et al., *New Worlds from Old*, 159.

Weatherboard Creek Falls.⁶³ No visual evidence or reference was advanced to support either claim.⁶⁴

In 2004, cultural historian Martin Thomas wrote extensively about Indigenous and colonial myths that informed interpretations of the meaning of the Blue Mountains. He found it difficult to determine exactly where Guérard made the sketch on which *Weatherboard Creek Falls* is based despite his familiarity with the region, but he did recognise that the major difference between the accurate field sketch and the painting occurred in the foreground. The artist flattened the “tilted and inhospitable boulders” to form a stage for the Indigenous man. Furthermore, Thomas claimed the vista had been compressed to allow its “most dramatic elements to fit within the pictorial frame.”⁶⁵

Curator Michael Varcoe-Cocks has written more widely on the fidelity of Guérard’s pictures than most twenty-first-century commentators. In a 2005 article, he noted that the field drawings for wilderness landscapes usually lacked foreground detail, so foregrounds became the “locus for improvisation” to guide the viewer’s focus through the scene. Varcoe-Cocks asserted that the artist sometimes “recycled elements” from other works or included detail from small “focused botanical sketches” in his foregrounds, although no examples of this practice were provided.⁶⁶ The article also stated that Guérard’s wilderness pictures exhibit greater “compositional freedom” than homestead view paintings. As this involved a significant degree of “artistic licence in terms of scale,” Varcoe-Cocks clarified that “fictitious foreground elements” were often incorporated along with sketched features, and through these additions the scale of

63. Heathcote, “When Science Meets Art,” 31.

64. *Weatherboard Creek Falls* is based on a single large sketch. The foreground details of the painting have been embellished by the artist.

65. Martin Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon: Imagining the Blue Mountains* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2004), 74. Although the vertical dimension of the painting is more exaggerated than that of the field drawing, the extra space is filled with additional foreground detail and sky. When compared with a photograph of the same view from the same vantage point, there is no indication that the vista has been compressed.

66. Varcoe-Cocks could have provided a geological example of this practice using the painting *View of the Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River*, 1864 (Figure 8.20, bottom), which was the context of his comment.

features was sometimes manipulated.⁶⁷ Perceptively, he observed that such “liberties” challenged the oft-held notion that Guérard was obsessed with “truthfulness to nature.” Despite such “romanticizing embellishments,” Varcoe-Cocks declared that wilderness paintings are “accurate depictions of place,” although this appears to be based on an implicit assumption that Guérard’s field drawings are accurate records, without necessarily having visited sites to confirm this.⁶⁸

In another article written in 2007, Varcoe-Cocks explored the theme of fidelity in relation to three other paintings. With regard to *Warrenheip Hills* (Figure 1.7) he argued that, notwithstanding the “specificity of the title,” the painting is based on views from more than one location, although none was identified. Regardless, Varcoe-Cocks asserted that the painting confirmed Guérard’s commitment to “geographical fidelity.” He also noted the artist had included a variety of plant species and inserted additional foreground rocks “not originally recorded.” Although the curator considered that this early Antipodean work was characterised by only a moderate level of artistic invention and that it was a “precursor to a more detailed observation of nature,” he asserted that Guérard never “relinquished his artistic licence.”⁶⁹

Several years later, in the catalogue accompanying the retrospective exhibition, Varcoe-Cocks declared that the painting *Sunset, New South Wales* (Figure 12.8, bottom), is one of a very small number of works in which the artist departed from his “typical fidelity” to engage in a “more stylised mode of landscape painting.” Although he did not describe that mode, he was probably referring to the convention of combining different views within a single work. In contrast, the artist’s renditions of the Weatherboard Falls in the Blue Mountains confirmed the central tendency of Guérard’s artistic practice – a “faithful description of nature” that revealed its “inherent picturesque beauty.” No other colonial artist rendered the landscape with such fidelity, which was attributable to his unique “empirical approach.” Elaborating further, Varcoe-Cocks declared that the essence of Guérard’s artistic intentions was to render the natural world he

67. Presumably through modifying the size of staffage.

68. Michael Varcoe-Cocks, “The Verisimilar Line: The Use of Infrared in a Survey of a Group of Paintings by Eugene von Guérard,” *Melbourne Journal of Technical Studies* 2 (2005): 26, 33.

69. Michael Varcoe-Cocks, “A Brush with Fidelity: Three Works by Eugène von Guérard,” *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 47 (2007).

observed with “unrelenting precision,” but qualified this by saying that although a field drawing could not record the “infinite details of leaves, grasses or rocks,” the artist’s “pragmatic substitution of local forms” in the foreground of a painting would suffice to ensure the work was true to the location. As the painting under discussion was *Tower Hill*, his assertion in this instance is problematic as the substitution of grasstrees in a volcanic landscape lacked ecological fidelity.⁷⁰ A more convincing example of this substitutory practice would be when the artist “incorporated” sketches of the eucalypt trees at Dinner Creek into the foreground of *Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border* (Figure 6.1).⁷¹

In 2007, art historian Jeanette Hoorn asserted that Guérard’s works overall reflected the strong interest that colonists had in “accurate topographical description” of the landscape, with the exception being *Stony Rises*, which bore little physical resemblance to the rugged volcanic landscape of the Stony Rises district.⁷²

Ruth Pullin is the art historian who has researched and published on Guérard’s life and art most extensively. In her 2007 doctoral thesis on Guérard and the science of landscape painting, Pullin asserted that in the artist’s lithographic portrayal of the coast in *South End of Tasman’s Island* at “no point did he compromise the accuracy of his observations.” The artist “remained faithful” to the dolerite rock formations observed at the site, even in the fine details. Regardless, Pullin argued that Guérard’s “rejection” of the calm weather conditions he experienced on the day was done with the aim of communicating “a larger geological truth” relating to the forces that shaped the formations over aeons. According to Pullin, Guérard’s commitment to “truth to nature” outweigh demands for realism in art.⁷³

70. Michael Varcoe-Cocks, “The Act of Painting,” in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 29, 30; Varcoe-Cocks, [essay on *Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 164; Varcoe-Cocks, [essay on *Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson’s Valley, New South Wales*, 1862], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 206.

71. Michael Varcoe-Cocks, [essay on *Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border*, 1866], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 254; Hook, “Using Spatial Technology,” 20.

72. Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral*, 147.

73. Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 176, 27–28, 111.

In a 2008 article on Guérard's portrayal of the volcanic features of western Victoria, Pullin asserted that although the form of the maar crater in *Lake Bullen Merri*, 1858 (Figure 8.17, bottom), had been "compressed laterally" to create a sense of "movement into the distance," this had not compromised the artist's self-imposed obligation to accurately portray the geology of the crater lake.⁷⁴ In a 2009 article on Guérard's painting of alpine landscapes in New Zealand, Pullin stated that the artist's rendition of identifiable plant species illustrated his commitment to "botanical specificity and diversity," and that the peaks in the paintings of both Lake Wakatipu and Milford Sound/Piopiotahi are topographically accurate and therefore geographically identifiable. Guérard's concern with "scientific accuracy" was also evident in his portrayal of the "rocky glacial moraine" of Lake Wakatipu, and the "vertical ridges" of the huge rock formations visible in Milford Sound/Piopiotahi.⁷⁵ In support of these claims to botanical and geological fidelity, Pullin referenced scientists whom she had consulted.

In an article published in 2011, Pullin asserted that Guérard was committed to the "detailed and accurate portrayal" of Antipodean landscapes. Accordingly, she detailed the geological accuracy with which the different lava flows are recorded in the commissioned drawing *Fall of the Lallal* [sic] *Creek* (Figure 1.3, top), and the meticulous rendering of the sandstone strata in the painting *Weatherboard Creek Falls*. Although no photographic evidence or scientific opinion was supplied in either instance, the author was clearly familiar with both sites and acknowledged the contributions of several geologists.⁷⁶

As the author of a significant number of essays in the catalogue accompanying the 2011 retrospective exhibition, Pullin touched on the issue of fidelity to nature in seven paintings. Framing that discussion is her claim that the artist intended to illustrate the unfamiliar Antipodean landscape "truthfully with both the accuracy of a scientist and the poetry of an artist." According

74. Ruth Pullin, "The Vulkaneifel and Victoria's Western District: Eugène von Guérard and the Geognostic Landscape," *Melbourne Art Journal* 11/12 (2008): 21–22.

75. Ruth Pullin, "Eugene von Guérard and the Geognostic Landscape of New Zealand," *Journal of New Zealand Art History* 30 (2009): 12–14.

76. Ruth Pullin, "Geology and the Landscape Painter: Eugene von Guérard," *ESHG Newsletter* 42, December (2011): 4, 7, 9.

to Pullin, every detail of *Warrenheip Hills* is closely and accurately observed,⁷⁷ with the basalt clearly articulated and the plants “botanically identifiable.” In *Mount William and part of the Grampians in West Victoria*, 1865, the artist “remained faithful” to what he observed at the site, as recorded in the field drawing. Topographical fidelity was both “preserved and transcended” for the sake of a “larger truth” in *View of the Wannon Springs in Grampians, with Mt Abrupt, Colony of Victoria*, 1859. The foreground of the drawing on which *View of the Grampians and the Victoria Range from Mount Rouse* is based is “only hinted at,” which was typical of the artist’s practice of focusing on the middle and back grounds of scenes. The flock of cockatoos and the meeting with the shepherd recorded in *Cathedral Range, Valley of the Acheron River, Victoria*, 1863, must have been “etched into von Guérard’s memory,” acknowledging that neither event was recorded or noted in the sketchbook. Pullin claimed that the details of the fern trees, rocks and fallen logs in *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges* (Figure 1.4, bottom) “followed closely” that recorded in the field drawing, although she omitted to say that the dominant peak in the painting did not. The art historian asserted that this particular work was “true to nature” because it illustrated the connection between plant species and the environments they are found in. In her final essay, on *Milford Sound* (Figure 10.2, bottom), Pullin argued that Guérard illustrated the geology of the fiord with the “precision of a scientist.”⁷⁸

In a subsequent article, Pullin asserted in 2015 that the artist made “meticulously detailed and accurate” field drawings of the landscape with its flora and rocks, and brought “scientific exactitude” to portrayals of the geological features of landscapes, such as the sandstone cliffs of the Blue Mountains, a glacial *cirque* on the Kosciuszko Massif, and the vertical metamorphic

77. This assertion is challenged in Hook, “Brushes with Infidelity,” 1043–1051.

78. Ruth Pullin, “Inexhaustible Treasure: von Guérard in Australia,” in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 104–105; Ruth Pullin, [essay on *The Grampians for the south*, 1856], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 126; Ruth Pullin, [essay on *View of the Wannon Springs in The Grampians, with Mt Abrupt, Colony of Victoria*, 1859], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 130; Ruth Pullin, [essay on *View of the Grampians and Victoria Ranges, from Mount Rouse, West Victoria*, 1861], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 132; Ruth Pullin, [essay on *Cathedral Mount, Valley of the Acheron River, Victoria*, 1863], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 138; Ruth Pullin, [essay on *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges, c. 1870*], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 173; Ruth Pullin, [essay on *Milford Sound with Pembroke Peak and Bowen Falls, 1877–1879*], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 265.

strata of a New Zealand fiord.⁷⁹ In her 2018 book on the sketchbooks of Guérard, Pullin asserted that the painter's "accurate delineations" of plant species in *Fern Tree Gully* (Figure 8.23) meant that "virtually all" are identifiable today, referencing a leading Victorian botanist.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the geology of Milford Sound/Piopiotahi was illustrated with a "degree of specificity" that exceeded that of contemporaneous artists. As the Grampians appear to be much closer in the drawing on which *Mount Rouse* is based than to a modern observer on the crater rim, Pullin suggested the artist had used a telescope to augment his sketch, thereby foreshortening the midground. In her final comment relating to the fidelity to nature of Guérard's landscape paintings, Pullin acknowledged that, while the artist had "faithfully reproduced the precisely observed middle ground and background" of the field sketch in *View of the Grampians with Mount Abrupt and Mount Sturgeon in the distance*, 1875 (Figure 8.31, middle), he had "worked the foreground in the studio," introducing "anecdotal details."⁸¹

In an edited international book published in 2020, Pullin asserted that the coastal rocks in *Castle Rock, Cape Schanck*, 1865 are "precisely articulated [and] geologically accurate."⁸² However, a visual comparison of the rock formations in the painting with those visible in a site photograph taken from close to Guérard's vantage point (Figure 3.3 top and bottom) reveals significant differences in the scale of Castle Rock compared to the cape itself and in the regularity and dip of the successive lava flows.

Finally, in a chapter of a 2021 book edited by art historian Christopher Allen, Pullin wrote that in the painting *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863

79. Ruth Pullin, *The Artist as Geotourist: Eugene von Guérard and the Seminal Sites of Early Volcanic Research in Europe and Australia*, vol. 417 (London: Geological Society of London, Special Publications, 2016), 7. A *cirque* is a steep-walled C-shaped hollow formed by glacial erosion.

80. Although another leading botanist, Leon Costermans, considered that only a few species were identifiable (email message to author, September 13, 2016).

81. Ruth Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller: The Sketchbooks of Eugene von Guérard* (Ballarat: Art Gallery of Ballarat, 2018), 135, 165, 172, 248.

82. Ruth Pullin, "The Düsseldorf Effect: Nineteenth-Century Practice with Twenty-First-Century Relevance," in *Colonisation, Wilderness and Spaces Between: Nineteenth-Century Landscape Painting in Australia and United States*, edited by Richard Read and Kenneth Haltmann (Chicago: Terra Foundation for American Art and University of Western Australia, 2020), 105.

(Figure 3.4, middle), the artist presents to the viewer “a spectacle of unrivalled topographical, geographical and geological precision,” and that in *Fern Tree Gully* Guérard engaged in a “botanically precise portrayal of the species that populated the shady fern glade.”⁸³

To return briefly to commentary about fidelity to nature by other essay-writing curators in the 2011 *Nature Revealed* catalogue, Humphrey Clegg asserted that the artist “remained characteristically faithful” to the observed landscape in *Mr John King’s Station*, 1861 (Figure 14.1, bottom); Tracey Lock-Weir claimed that although Guérard was a “painter of scientific truth,” *Stony Rises* is an “unprecedented fantasy landscape”; Angela Goddard noted that the foreground of *A view from Mt Franklin towards Mt Kooroocheang and the Pyrenees*, c. 1864, was “worked up later in the studio”; Jane Davidson-Ladd asserted that the artist introduced a rock outcrop into the foreground of *Lake Wakatipu*; and art historian Gerald Vaughan acknowledged that although the distant topography in *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko* was “absolutely” accurate, the rock pile in the foreground is an “introduced compositional feature.”⁸⁴

In a 2011 blog written in response to the retrospective exhibition, ecologist Ian Lunt asserted that Guérard’s paintings reproduce his accurately rendered “field sketches in striking detail, especially the topography ... and details of rock outcrops.” However, the artist modified foregrounds extensively, particularly as foregrounds were often “left blank” in sketches. In a number of paintings “logs, rocks, shrubs and people were added and moved to create the masterpiece.” This was problematic from a botanical point of view as the “apparent faithfulness to the local flora may be at least partly contrived.” Lunt particularly questioned the inclusion of grasstrees (*Xanthorrhoea* species) in *Tower Hill* (Figure 1.2, top) as “botanists have long

83. Ruth Pullin, “Eugene von Guérard and Colonial Art in Melbourne 1850–1880,” in *A Companion to Australian Art*, edited by Christopher Allen, ed., (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell, 2021), 156, 150.

84. Humphrey Clegg, [essay on *Mr John King’s station*, 1861], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 190; Tracey Lock-Weir, [essay on *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 118; Angela Goddard, [essay on *A view from Mount Franklin towards Mount Kooroocheang*, c. 1864], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 200; Jane Davidson-Ladd, [essay on *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand*, 1877–1879], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 262; Gerard Vaughan, [essay on *North-east view from the northern top of Mt Kosciusko*, 1863], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 256.

questioned whether grasstrees ever occurred” there. Furthermore, Lunt asserted that Guérard inserted twin-trunked grasstrees as “foreground set pieces” in a number of other paintings.⁸⁵

In a 2011 book on colonial drawings, curator Alisa Bunbury claimed that Guérard’s commissioned drawings included “meticulously rendered depictions” of botanical, geological and meteorological features, and Clegg asserted that he captured the Australian landscape with “more accuracy” than any other colonial artist in Victoria, attributing this to his “dedicated and fastidious” commitment to “truthfully capturing” the scenes encountered.⁸⁶ Neither author advanced any evidence in support.

In his ground-breaking 2012 book on how Indigenous peoples modified the vegetation of Australia, historian Bill Gammage claimed that Guérard’s landscapes were such “accurate depictions” that if he did not recognise a view in the field he assumed he was in the wrong location. Although he claimed that the artist “squeezed scenes horizontally” and “embellished foregrounds with transient detail,” Gammage believed that such artistic practices did not render Guérard’s landscapes “inaccurate.”⁸⁷

Art historian Sascha Grishin published a major history of Australian art in 2013, in which he used phrases such as “exacting empirical observations,” “crystalline precision” and “botanical exactitude” to describe Guérard’s artistic practice, while at the same time claiming the painter frequently “married different” aspects of a scene in composite works, although only one example was mentioned.⁸⁸ In 2014, art critic Patrick McCaughey asserted that, despite Guérard being a “painstaking recorder” of Antipodean nature, obsessed with the “minutiae of forest and field,” he

85. Ian Lunt, “Art vs. Science: von Guérard’s Pot Plants,” *Science and Nature Writing* (blog), March 12, 2011, <http://ianluntecology.com/2011/08/06/art-vs-science-von-guerards-pot-plants>.

86. Humphrey Clegg, [essay on Guérard’s presentation drawings], in *This Wondrous Land: Colonial Art on Paper*, ed. Alisa Bunbury (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2011), 151; Alisa Bunbury, [essay on Guérard’s lithographs], in Bunbury, *This Wondrous Land*, 154.

87. Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth*, 18.

88. Sasha Grishin, *Australian Art: A History* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2014), 100–101, 113.

mastered both the “distance and wide open spaces” of southeastern Australia scenery.⁸⁹ In the same year, art historian David Marshall wrote that although Guérard often “worked a foreground *repoussoir* [emphasis added]” into his paintings,⁹⁰ he “rarely strayed far” from the visual “facts.” An example of the latter claim is the gold mine the artist inserted in *View North from Daylesford*, 1864.⁹¹ Although the Garibaldi Mine was not visible within the field of view of the sketch on which the painting is based, the mine was accurately reproduced as viewed from a superior vantage point.⁹²

In a 2017 article, field researcher George Hook analysed fidelity to nature in three landscape paintings by Guérard, which he asserted were all composite works. Although many of the artist’s landscapes have “constructed foregrounds” when compared with the field drawing, Hook argued that if such foreground features are based on “topographical, botanical and geological details” present near the site, then those paintings should be considered faithful to the view, as empirically observed, and the natural history of the site. However, in composite landscapes where two different landscape views are combined, Hook asserted that “significant infidelities” to nature can occur when the “geography, geology or ecology” of one site is privileged over that of the other. While *Fern Tree Gully* is generally true to the large field drawing, whose geographical, geological and hydrological features were confirmed to be faithful to the site, the insertion of Langdale Pike, a “sandstone crag” located 30 km away, rendered the work topographically unfaithful. In *Stony Rises*, the insertion of a realistic rendition of an actual rock formation in a geographically specified landscape resulted in a significant “geological infidelity,” because the “granitic outcrop” was imposed upon an “exclusively basaltic landscape.” Furthermore, the insertion of grasstrees in the foreground of the work resulted in an “ecological

89. Patrick McCaughey, *Strange Country: Why Australian Painting Matters* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2014), 6, 45.

90. A *repoussoir* is an object, such as a tree, inserted in either side of the foreground, which frames the composition and leads the viewer’s eye into the scene.

91. The location of this painting is not currently known.

92. David R. Marshall, “Eugene von Guérard’s Views of the Daylesford Region for William E. Stanbridge,” *La Trobe Journal* 93–94 (2014): 22–23, 26.

infidelity” as grasstrees have not been found growing naturally in volcanic soils in Victoria. In *Warrenheip Hills*, Guérard imposed a view of Mt Warrenheip from the west upon a landscape looking toward the mount from the north. According to Hook, that imposition gave the mount a more readily recognisable volcanic appearance as crater-bearing, and so the scene could still be considered to be faithful to nature if the “perspectival infidelity” is overlooked. However in seeking to emphasise the volcanic origin of the landscape, Guérard “transformed” the irregular basalt boulders at the site into tessellated basaltic pavement. Hook concluded by asking whether such infidelities might also occur in non-composite works in which the overall view is faithful to the topography and geography of the site but geological or ecological details might be untrue to the natural history of the location.⁹³

In a subsequent article, on fidelity to nature in *Thal um Mt. Wellington bei Hobart ‘Insel Tasmania, Australien’*, 1886 (ATL), Hook argued that although that painting is also a composite work, the inclusion of an accurate image of a nearby sandstone stream bed in the foreground of the work “attests to Guérard’s expressed desire to ‘imitate nature’ in the details as well as the overall effect of a painting.” The insignificant stream in the foreground of the field drawing was replaced by the exposed sandstone rock outcrop for dramatic effect. The inserted exposure informs the viewer about the “geological origins of the site,” but the vertical jointing illustrated is not a feature of that outcrop. Overall, Hook’s assessment was that the work exhibited “a significant concern for topographical and geological fidelity,” although somewhat lacking in “botanical exactitude.”⁹⁴

Summary of posthumous commentary

Excluding discussion of composite works, most modern commentators extol the geographical, geological, ecological and botanical fidelity of Guérard’s Antipodean landscapes. In some instances, such claims are made on the basis of site visits by the commentator, although photographic or scientific evidence is rarely supplied. In other instances, the assertion that his

93. Hook, “Brushes with Infidelity,” 1030–1031, 1033, 1036, 1040, 1042–1043, 1049, 1052.

94. Hook, “Tasmanian Arcadia,” 53–54.

paintings are faithful to nature appear to be based solely on the received wisdom, or easy recognition of Antipodean landscapes. Furthermore, some works are considered true to nature if there is a high degree of conformity to a drawing purported to have been done in the field, which raises the question as to whether all of his drawings are accurate field records, rather than some being compositional studies in which features may have been modified or inserted for artistic reasons. While a significant number of commentators acknowledge that the foregrounds of his paintings are often invented, it is often claimed that such features are based on observations made at or near the site, either recorded as additional sketched details or retained in the artist's visual memory, so that the work remains true to nature. Sometimes this assertion is supported by reference to a site visit or a consultation with a scientific expert. In a few cases, the supplementary sketches have been identified. However, no photographs confirming the accuracy of "recalled" details were supplied. A composite work, however, is likely to be acknowledged as not being faithful to some aspect or other of nature, but few commentators were aware that more than the one oft-quoted composite work, *Sunset, New South Wales*, exist.

Conclusion

The main difference between the "fidelity to nature" claims made by contemporaneous commentators and those made by modern writers relates to the freedom with which Guérard composed the foregrounds of paintings. There has also been a growing realisation that some of his works are of a composite nature, based either on combining sketches of more than one view, not necessarily at the same location, or on inserting sketched, recalled or imagined details into a work largely faithful to a single view. These contemporary insights have largely come about because of increased engagement in fieldwork in order to evaluate the fidelity of his paintings to the view at the site and the natural history of the location, and a greater acknowledgement of some of the pictorial conventions of nineteenth-century landscape painting.

As will be discussed in Chapter 12, the findings of the empirical research undertaken as part of the research program, including those of both the survey and the case studies, confirm some of the above contemporaneous and posthumous assertions but cast some doubt on other

conjectures. Before the methodology adopted in the research program is described in detail, the following chapter explores the purported influences referenced in the literature on how Guérard practised fidelity to nature in his landscape paintings.

Chapter 4 – Commentary on influences on Guérard’s fidelity to nature

This chapter surveys the evolution of claims in the literature on artworks, artists, artistic movements, academic training and landscape painting theories that may have influenced how Guérard practised being “true to nature” in his oeuvre and in particular works of art. The literature includes reviews of individual paintings and exhibitions of his works, exhibition catalogues, scholarly articles, landscape painting theories and art history books. Short passages by commentators are often quoted to ensure their views are accurately presented. As this thesis is concerned with the accumulation of empirical evidence on which to base conclusions about how Guérard practised fidelity to nature, evidence supporting or rebutting a conjectured influence is considered as well.

As art historian David Hansen critically pointed out in a review of the *Nature Revealed* exhibition, some of the identified “resonances” between Guérard’s works and those of other artists were “very much a matter of untethered visual analogy, not a matter of direct historical association.”¹ This chapter, therefore, also seeks to discriminate between weakly developed and supported conjectures and those that have been more extensively expounded and are possibly historically justifiable.

Contemporaneous commentary on influences on Guérard’s fidelity to nature

In the commentary written while the artist was alive, or shortly thereafter, there are very few references to exemplars that may have influenced how Guérard practised being “true to nature.” Most Antipodean reviewers of English origin lacked familiarity with early- to mid-nineteenth-century continental artists, paintings, movements and landscape painting theories,² such as the works of Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840), the Nazarene and German Romantic movements,

1. David Hansen, “Eugene von Guérard: Nature Revealed,” exhibition review, *Art & Australia* Winter (2012), 674–675.

2. In the extensive collection of contemporaneous reviews of Guérard’s paintings compiled in the catalogue raisonné, only two critics, James Smith and Frederic Sinnett, referred to any Continental influence or association. See Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 179–286.

and the treatise of Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869).³ Alternatively, Guérard’s style of landscape painting may have been seen by his Australian contemporaries as an original response to the very different Antipodean landscape, unmediated by the artistic traditions and conventions of Europe. Regardless, despite the general lack of art historical contextualisation in this literature, several influences or resemblances have been proposed.

Jan Brueghel the Elder

In the 1850s, the leading Melbourne art critic James Smith glowingly compared one of Guérard’s paintings to those of Jan Brueghel the Elder (1563–1625). In his review of the painting *View of Mount Abrupt, on the Wannon River, in the Grampians, Western District Victoria*, 1856, Smith claimed that “Velvet Brueghel” could hardly have “bestowed more pains or higher finish.”⁴ While this passage merely suggests similarity in artistic practice, Smith, who later in life came to believe in spiritualism, went much further after the artist’s death in 1901. In a lengthy letter to the editor in 1906 (Appendix B), he claimed that Guérard’s spirit had revealed to him that the artist had discovered in the afterlife that Velvet Brueghel had been his muse throughout his artistic life. According to Smith, Guérard was not pleased to hear Breughel telling him in person that he had guided his “pencil,” even though the Flemish artist assured him that he had not lost his individuality, that he was not “an automaton.” Whether Smith was convinced that Breughel’s work was a significant influence on Guérard’s oeuvre before this delusional fantasy occurred is not known.⁵

Jan van Eyck

Smith also suggested that *View of Geelong*, 1856 (Figure 8.25), displayed a “Flemish exactitude” in the “elaborate manipulation of foliage” and the “lucid treatment of the minutest object,” clearly a reference to the works of Jan van Eyck (c. 1390–1441).⁶ As Guérard had visited Belgium during the late 1840s or early 1850s, it is highly likely he would have had opportunities to view works by

3. Carl Gustav Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting, Written in the Years 1815–1824*, trans. David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002).

4. James Smith, *Argus*, October 23, 1856.

5. James Smith, “Science Versus Spiritualism,” *West Gippsland Gazette*, May 8 1906, 7.

6. James Smith, *Argus*, May 24, 1856.

van Eyck in Bruges and Ghent, particularly the Ghent Altarpiece. Certainly he claimed to have seen the “finest works of art” on display in galleries and churches in Europe.⁷

Alexander von Humboldt’s Kosmos

When reviewing Guérard’s paintings at an 1857 exhibition, the German-speaking literary critic Frederick Sinnett stated that the artist’s works, particularly *Mount William from Mount Dryden* (Figure 4.1, top), which portrayed “unmistakeably Australian forest, mountains and plains,” caused him to “forcibly recall” a passage by the scientist Alexander von Humboldt (Figure 4.2, top left) in the second volume of *Kosmos*, which he quoted in full in English. The most pertinent sentence stated that the “art of landscape painting requires a great number and variety of actual and sensible observations [of nature], which the mind must contrive and fertilise by its own power, and then restore to the senses as a new work of art.”⁸ Although not imputing any Humboldtian influence, Sinnett argued that Guérard’s landscapes exemplified the approach the scientist advocated for a new kind of landscape painting based on detailed observation and artistic creativity. Furthermore, the artistic treatment associated with such detailed observation and accurate rendering of nature did not undermine the aesthetic qualities of Guérard’s compositions – “the whole is a picture in the fullest sense of the word.”⁹

7. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

8. Sinnett’s translation of a sentence from Alexander von Humboldt, *Kosmos: Entwurf Einer Physischen Weltbeschreibung*, vol. 2 (Cotta: Stuttgart und Tubingen, 1847), 88–89.

9. Sinnett, *Illustrated Journal of Australasia*, January 1858, 35–36.



Figure 4.1. View of Mt William in the Grampians from Mt Dryden

Top: *Mount William from Mount Dryden*, 1857, oil on canvas, 61.9 × 91.4 cm, AGWA. Bottom: *View of Mt William from N. to S. [from] Mt Dryden [May or June 1856]*, pencil on paper, 28.6 × 45.0 cm, in album “Warnambool to Mount Zero 1856,” reference code E-338-f, ATL.

John Ruskin and Pre-Raphaelitism

In his 1870 critique of Guérard's practice, Smith declared that the artist had "adopted the new doctrine" of Pre-Raphaelitism championed by the English art theorist John Ruskin (1819–1900; Figure 4.2, top right). The art critic asserted this was unsurprising given that antecedent to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood were the Nazarenes, the group of German artists based in Rome in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which included Schadow and Schirmer (Figure 4.2, bottom left and right).¹⁰ Smith alleged that, although the obsession of the Nazarenes and the Pre-Raphaelites with "microscopic pictorial delineation" was an extravagance that the founders of those movement eventually abandoned, Guérard was still the "local apostle."¹¹ The painter's "minutely laborious" descriptions of leaves and rocks resulted in works that failed to meet the injunction of the "high-priest of Pre-Raphaelitism ... 'to fill the thirst of human heart for the beauty of God's working'."¹²

In his somewhat intemperate, unpublished response to the allegation that his style of painting was Pre-Raphaelite,¹³ Guérard sought to assure the public that he had never heard of that school until 1854, implying that Ruskin's writings had not influenced the development of his artistic practice.¹⁴ Rather confusingly, he then went on to state that the sole reason that he "adopted that so caled [*sic*] style was that he finds nature so infinitely pre Raffaelite [*sic*] and with all the existing difficulties he wished to paint so closely as he saw the details and effects of nature."¹⁵ Rather than taking this to mean that in the mid-1850s Guérard had adopted the "new

10. Keith Andrews, "Nazarenes and Pre-Raphaelites," *Bulletin John Rylands Library* 71, no. 3 (1989): 36–37; Mathew C. Potter, "Pre-Raphaelite Germanism," in *The Inspirational Genius of Germany: British Art and Germanism 1850–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

11. Smith's use of the word "delineation" references its use by Ruskin in *Modern Painters*. See also Thomas J. Tobin, ed., *Worldwide Pre-Raphaelitism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), 215–216.

12. The passage that Smith quotes is from John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 4 (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1860), 118.

13. Pullin, "Colonial Art in Melbourne 1850–1880," 159.

14. Guérard's artistic style changed little throughout his entire Antipodean sojourn. See Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 82.

15. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

style” of landscape painting, the artist was merely acknowledging that his established style was similar to that of the Pre-Raphaelite school, because he too wished to be “true to nature” and nature was wonderfully detailed. In support of this interpretation, fourteen years earlier Smith had asserted that Guérard’s work displayed “a fidelity to nature *similar* to that which is now aimed at by the Pre-Raphaelite school of artists [emphasis added].”¹⁶ No critic or art historian has subsequently claimed that Guérard’s oeuvre was influenced by Pre-Raphaelitism, most likely because there is an acceptance that while there are similarities in the approach taken to illustrating nature in minute detail, there is no evidence that he was familiar with the paintings, artists, theories or publications associated with Pre-Raphaelitism prior to arriving in Australia.

16. James Smith, *Argus*, May 21, 1856.

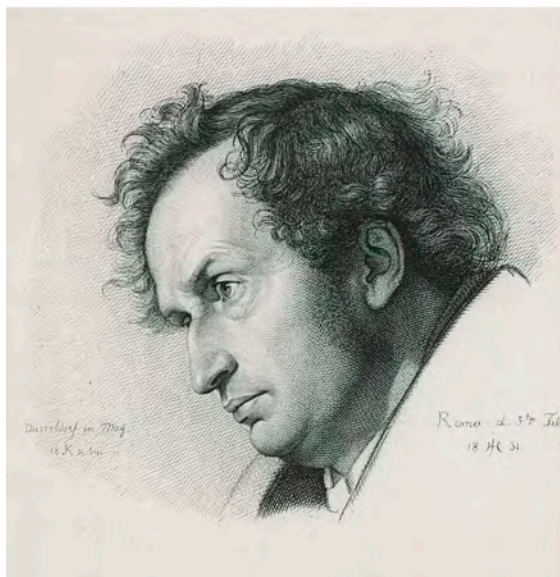


Figure 4.2. **Historical figures who purportedly influenced Guérard's fidelity to nature**

Top left: Joseph Karl Stieler, *Alexander von Humboldt*, 1853 (detail), oil on canvas, 107 × 87 cm, Charlottenhof Palace, Potsdam. Top right: Charles Murray, *Portrait of John Ruskin*, 1875 (detail), watercolour and gouache on paper, 47.6 × 31.1 cm, Tate Britain. Bottom left: Josef Keller, after Julius Hübner, *Portrait of Wilhelm von Schadow*, 1834, etching, dimensions unspecified, Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf. Bottom right: Unknown artist, *Johann Wilhelm Schirmer*, 1853 (detail), pencil on paper, present location unknown.

Posthumous commentary on influences on Guérard's fidelity to nature

Since the painter's death, a variety of claims have been made in the literature about artworks, artists, artistic movements, academic training and landscape painting theories that influenced

Guérard's commitment to being true to nature in his artistic practice. Sometimes a critic, curator or an art historian proposed a new exemplar, but most reiterated or reinforced an earlier claim, with some dismissing one. References to such influences are presented in the chronological order in which they were first proposed and published, in order to trace the evolution over time of such assertions in the literature. Individual conjectures of influential commentators are traced over time in order to ascertain whether their views changed, followed by the assertions of other commentators who agreed or disagreed with that particular conjecture. Where possible, the evidence on which different conjectures are based is also discussed or examined.

Biedermeier School

In his monumental history of Australian painting, first published in 1962, Bernard Smith argued that Guérard's landscapes owed most to the Austrian Biedermeier School,¹⁷ specifically the works of Ferdinand Waldmüller (1793–1875), which the colonial artist would “certainly have known.” According to Smith, Waldmüller sought “absolute naturalism” in his landscapes, similar to that demanded by the Pre-Raphaelites.¹⁸ No subsequent commentator has argued for a Biedermeier influence, and Ruth Pullin dismissed the claim on the basis that Smith offered “no evidence” that Guérard would have encountered Waldmüller's work.¹⁹

“Typical” landscape tradition

Smith also argued that Guérard's works were late examples of “‘typical’ landscape,” a style developed during the previous hundred years by “artists, travellers, geographers and critics,” which evolved out of the *topographical* and *picturesque* genres.²⁰ Smith defined a ‘typical’ landscape as one in which the elements of the composition are “carefully selected” so that the

17. The essence of this school's approach was “the faithful and objective rendering of nature.” See Geraldine Norman, *Biedermeier Painting 1814–1848: Reality Observed in Genre, Portrait and Landscape* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 8.

18. Smith, *Australian Painting 1788–2000*, 58.

19. Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 159.

20. *Topographical* landscapes usually depicted topographically accurate scenes, while *picturesque* landscapes were typically “full of variety, curious details [of nature] ... and roughness and irregularity,” (Michael Clarke, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 190–191).

“essential qualities” of a specific geographical milieu are expressed. The artist would introduce flora, fauna, rocks and human figures that were “most representative” of the location.²¹ In his later classic publication on European artistic interpretations of the Pacific, Smith explicitly linked the concept of ‘typical’ landscape to the writings of Humboldt. The ‘typical’ landscape style of painting was given “a theoretical justification and championed as an artistic programme” by Humboldt in *Kosmos*.²² However, as the period under discussion in the book concluded in 1850, before Guérard arrived in the Antipodes, Smith did not make any connection between the scientist’s theories and the artist’s practice.²³ Although Smith was disappointed that his concept of ‘typical’ landscape did not gain a wider appreciation in the international art history literature, Andrew Sayers asserted that the retrospective exhibition of 2011 gave belated “prominence to the role of Humboldt – the central theorist of landscape types” in moulding Guérard’s worldview.²⁴

21. Smith, *Australian Painting 1788–2000*, 58.

22. Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768–1850*, 2nd ed. (Sydney: Harper and Row, 1984), 4.

23. Sayers argued that Smith would “doubtless have found in von Guérard – a thoroughly Humboldtian artist – the most complete manifestation of ‘typical’ landscape.” See Andrew Sayers, “A Half-century On: The Legacy of European Vision and the South Pacific,” in *The Legacies of Bernard Smith: Essays on Australian Art, History and Cultural Politics*, eds. Jaynie Anderson, Christopher R. Marshall and Andrew Yip (Sydney: Power Publications in association with the Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2016), 27.

24. Sayers, “Legacy of European Vision,” 27.



Figure 4.3. **More historical figures who purportedly influenced Guérard's fidelity to nature**
Top left: Gerhard von Kugelgen, *Portrait of Caspar David Friedrich*, c. 1810–20, oil on canvas, 53.3 × 41.5 cm, Hamburger Kunsthalle. Top right: Franz Gareis, *Novalis*, 1799, medium, dimensions and collection unknown. Bottom left: Salvator Rosa, [Self-portrait], c. 1645, oil on canvas, 116.3 × 94 cm, National Gallery, London. Bottom right: Julius Hubner, *Portrait of Carl Gustav Carus*, 1844, oil on canvas, 94.8 × 73.7 cm, Goethe-Haus, Frankfurt.

German Romanticism

In his 1967 thesis, Edward Comstock posited Guérard as an “Australian Romantic” significantly but not wholly influenced by German Romanticism. According to art historian William Vaughan, that movement involved a new response to illustrating nature, such that it could evoke a religious or emotional experience in the artist and viewer. This passion for nature had a “strong mystical element.”²⁵ Painting became a “form of worship,” a means of reaching towards God.²⁶ Comstock asserted that German painters rediscovered the landscape of their native country through a “systematic and scientific study of the northern countryside.” This led to the conclusion that “landscape painting was much more than mere topographical representation,” that it could be imbued within an intense spirituality, and that the artist could be “guided by divine inspiration.”²⁷ Comstock’s description relates more to the approach adopted by the early Romantics practising in the first third of the nineteenth century, as exemplified by some of the works produced by the trio of artists associated with the Dresden Academy,²⁸ Friedrich, Carus and Johan Christian Dahl (1788–1857). However, he failed to recognise that the later Romantic artists whom Guérard encountered in Düsseldorf in the 1840s had a different agenda, involving precisely delineated, realistic details of nature set in naturalistic-looking contexts without mystical overtones (see pages 112–114). This difference might be the actual reason why Guérard had apparently absorbed the ideas of the Romantics in “diluted form” only, rather than Comstock’s conjecture that being academically trained meant that Guérard could not have acquired the “purity of vision” of the leading Romantic theorists and artists. Furthermore, Guérard’s migration to Australia freed him from the “debilitating influence” of the Düsseldorf School, enabling him to develop his own mature Romantic style, which addressed the demands of portraying completely different

25. William Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting* (London: Yale University Press, 1980), 1,

26. David Blayney Brown, *Romanticism* (London: Phaidon, 2001), 123–124.

27. Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 19–22.

28. During this period, the Dresden Academy was acknowledged as the leading institution in the German-speaking states for landscape painting training.

landscapes from those of Germany, free of the melancholy associated with much German Romantic art.²⁹

In 1980, curator Daniel Thomas declared in the introduction of an exhibition catalogue that Guérard could not have been unaware of the tenets of Romanticism.³⁰ However, in the catalogue raisonné published two years later, the authors asserted that although the colonial artist was “bound by similar strivings,” he may have been unaware of the “dogma of Romanticism.”³¹ Despite this caveat, the artist was categorised as a “German Romantic in the Antipodes” in the book’s title. Alison Carroll claimed in 1986 that, through “compositional arrangement, light and colour,” Guérard translated the “linearity and detail” of his drawings into the “vision splendid of German Romantic art.”³² In the catalogue for a major exhibition held in 2008, subtitled *The Triumph of Landscape Painting*, Ron Radford declared that the artist “brought German Romanticism to the southern hemisphere,” citing his pictures of the “fiords and alps of New Zealand.”³³ In contrast, though, curator Lucina Ward asserted in the same publication that Guérard “remade Romantic ideas and landscape conventions in Australia” but did not elucidate how.³⁴ In 2011, Humphrey Clegg asserted that Guérard’s mountain landscapes are “firmly in line with the principles” of German Romanticism.³⁵

Caspar David Friedrich

Caspar David Friedrich (Figure 4.3, top left) was the leading exponent of German Romanticism in art in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, although his reputation steadily declined during

29. Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 19–22.

30. Daniel Thomas, “Introduction,” in Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 11.

31. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 8.

32. Alison Carroll, “Eugene von Guérard: the Draughtsman and his Views of South Australia,” in Carroll and Tregenza, *Eugene von Guérard’s South Australia*, 8.

33. Ron Radford, “The Triumph of Landscape Painting,” in *Turner to Monet: The Triumph of Landscape Painting*, edited by Christine Dixon, Ron Radford, and Lucina Ward (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2008), 9.

34. Lucina Ward, “Science and the Sublime: Nature as Spectacle,” in Dixon et al., *Turner to Monet*, 21.

35. Clegg, [essay on Guérard’s presentation drawings], in Bunbury, *This Wondrous Land*, 148.

the last 15 years of his life before he died in relatively obscurity in 1840, the year in which Guérard commenced studying at the Düsseldorf Academy.³⁶ Like Guérard, his works were rediscovered only after a “century of obscurity.”³⁷ Friedrich managed to synthesise both the visionary and naturalistic trends of Romanticism in his spiritual and “detailed interpretation of nature.”³⁸ The earliest reference to Friedrich in the literature on Guérard is by Comstock, who claimed that the colonial artist “immersed himself in nature” just as Friedrich had, although this resulted in a “vision too ideal to be true to life.”³⁹ Nearly a decade later, Marjorie Tipping wrote that Guérard “came to admire” Friedrich’s works, elaborating further in 1982 that this was possible because the painter had travelled widely in Germany before emigrating to Australia.⁴⁰ In 1980 Candice Bruce merely claimed that Guérard would probably have seen Friedrich’s paintings.⁴¹ In the same year, Thomas declared that even if Guérard had never viewed any of Friedrich’s works, his works were closer to them than those of any other leading German Romantic artist.⁴² Such hesitancy is unwarranted as Guérard was clearly familiar with the painting that Friedrich is best known for today – *The Wanderer above the Sea of Fog*, c.1818 (Figure 4.4, bottom) – given his highly imitative sketch of another wanderer, positioned atop the Victorian Alps (Figure 4.4, top).⁴³ Furthermore, Guérard’s later moonlight painting moonlight painting (Figure 4.5, left) is strongly reminiscent of Friedrich’s *Forest Interior by Moonlight* (Figure 4.5, right).

36. “Caspar David Friedrich,” Wikipedia, accessed 20 January 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caspar_David_Friedrich.

37. Mark Stocker, email message to author, March 7, 2022.

38. Brown, *Romanticism*, 132; Ron Radford, “The Triumph of Landscape Painting,” 9; Werner Busch, “Empirical Studies of Nature,” in *The Romantic Spirit in German Art 1790–1990*, ed. Keith Hartley, Henry Meyric Hughes, Peter-Klaus Schuster, and William Vaughan (Stuttgart: South Bank Centre, National Galleries of Scotland and Oktagon Verlag, 1994).

39. Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 95.

40. Tipping, *Eugène von Guérard’s Australian Landscapes*, 9; Tipping, *An Artist on the Goldfields*, 6.

41. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 79.

42. Thomas, “Introduction,” in Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 11–12.

43. The painting combines images of mountains sketched in five different, sometimes widely separated, locations (“Wanderer above the Sea of Fog,” Wikipedia, accessed February 15, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wanderer_above_the_Sea_of_Fog).



Figure 4.4. Guérard's imitation of the *Wanderer* pose

Top: [...] *Mt Kent 12 Dec 60*, 1860, pencil on paper, folio 23, "Volume 11: Sketchbook XXXII, No. 13-14 Australian, 1860–1861," reference code 825421, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Bottom: David Caspar Friedrich, *The Wanderer above the Sea of Fog*, c. 1818, oil on canvas, 98 × 74 cm, Kunsthalle Hamburg. The location of Friedrich's painting during Guérard's time in Düsseldorf in the 1840s is not known.



Figure 4.5. **Comparing Guérard's moonlit forest scene with Friedrich's**

Left: *Moonlight in an Australian Forest*, 1883, oil on composition board, 41.9 × 31.8 cm, present location unknown. Right: Caspar David Friedrich, *Forest Interior by Moonlight*, c. 1823–30, oil on canvas, 70.5 × 49.0 cm, Staatliche Museum zu Berlin.

In 1984, however, Bernard Smith claimed that Dacre Smyth's paintings and investigations of Guérard's sites provided no support for the "widespread but groundless opinion" that Guérard's oeuvre was "deeply influenced" by the works of Friedrich. This was despite conceding that Guérard's paintings possessed "romantic qualities."⁴⁴ In contrast, Carroll asserted in 1987 that there was a "close relationship" between some motifs in Friedrich's paintings and those used by Guérard in his later Antipodean landscapes, referencing the "sublime mountains, cathedral-like trees and lonely figures" identified by Bruce.⁴⁵ Carroll also outlined other compositional similarities between the works of the two artists, particularly Guérard's adoption of Friedrich's technique of combining "various documentary drawings" into more "satisfying

44. Smith, "Painting Victoria's Changes," 179. How Smyth's work provided no support for the "groundless opinion" judgement by Smith is not explained in the article.

45. Alison Carroll, "Eugene von Guérard: the Draughtsman and his Views of South Australia," 3, 6, 8.

compositions,”⁴⁶ citing the painting *Scenery in the Mount Lofty Ranges near Adelaide, and a view of the Gulf of St Vincent*, c. 1860 (Figure 8.13, top) as an example. In his 2008 history of Australian art, McDonald claimed that recent commentators turned “more frequently” to the works of Friedrich as the model for Guérard’s paintings.⁴⁷ In a subsequent history of Australian art, Grishin asserted that *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863, was one of the artist’s “most Romantic paintings, celebrating the sublime in nature in the best traditions of Friedrich.”⁴⁸ However, even while the influence of Friedrich on Guérard’s oeuvre was still being lauded, a very different guiding star for Guérard was being proposed, in the person of Alexander von Humboldt. Before that development is explored, some other possible influences, which were proposed beforehand, are considered.

Roger Cardinal’s formulation of Novalis’s concept of “Qualitative Involution”

For Bruce, writing in 1980, the connection between Guérard’s and Friedrich’s art was not necessarily one of direct influence; rather, both artists employed the same pictorial technique, in Guérard’s case, “constantly throughout his career.” She referred to this technique as *qualitative involution*, which the art historian Roger Cardinal had previously explained was the “pictorial realization” of a key principle of Romanticism espoused by the German philosopher Friedrich von Hardenberg (1772–1801; Figure 4.3, top right), better known by his pen-name Novalis. The philosopher claimed that Romanticism was “nothing more than a qualitative involution.” Cardinal therefore asserted that the principle of “qualitative involution” as applied to landscape painting involved “gathering together sketches of various elements of a landscape done at different times and often in different places.” These images were then synthesised through an “act of inner

46. For example, *The Watzmann*, 1824/5 (Alte Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin). For details, see Mitchell, *Art and Science*, 176–177.

47. John McDonald, *Art of Australia*, vol. 1, *Exploration to Federation* (Sydney: Pan MacMillan, 2008), 182.

48. Grishin, *Australian Art*, 101.

vision” to produce a work of art that is a product of the imagination. This process intensified the “inherent spirituality of the phenomenon.”⁴⁹

Although Bruce referred only to the compilation of two very different scenes in *Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865 (Figure 12.8, bottom), she extended Cardinal’s definition of qualitative involution to include the horizontal compaction of panoramic views to “capture the artist’s ideal,”⁵⁰ giving as examples *Views in the Grampians*, 1870 (Figure 9.1), *Purrumbete from across the lake*, 1858, *Tower Hill*, 1855 (Figure 1.2, top) and *The Mitre Rock and Lake from Mount Arapiles*, 1874 (Figure 8.26, top).⁵¹ However, field research carried out as part of this thesis confirmed that none of those paintings has a compacted horizon when compared with a panoramic photograph taken at the site of the same field of view.

In 2001 Christopher Heathcote also claimed that Guérard resorted to qualitative involution when composing a picture, whether by “condensing a greater vista” or by creating a composite view, citing *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko* as an example of the former and *Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson’s Valley, New South Wales*, 1862, as an example of the latter.⁵² In reality, the former is an example of a composite rather than a compacted view,⁵³ and current field research confirms that the second example is not a composite view.⁵⁴

In his history of Australian art published in 2013, Sascha Grishin asserted that qualitative involution was “frequently employed” by Guérard as he “married different aspects of a scene to maximise the dramatic impact of the whole,” referencing the two Kosciuszko paintings as

49. Roger Cardinal, *German Romanticism in Context* (London: Studio Vista, 1975), 70.

50. Timothy Mitchell noted Friedrich’s “normal procedure of compression and elongation,” which he applied to his painting *Alpine Landscape* 1824 (no longer extant), (Mitchell, *Art and Science*, 173.)

51. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 81.

52. Heathcote, “When Science Meets Art,” 31.

53. Alan Andrews, *Kosciuszko: The Mountain in History* (Canberra: Tabletop Press, 1991), 159–163.

54. The painting is based on a single large accurate sketch (*View above the Wetherbord fall, blau Montans* [i.e. Weatherboard Falls, Blue Mountains] N.S.W., 20-22 December 1859, pencil on paper, 33 × 66cm, reference code 843994, SLNSW), with invented foreground details.

examples.⁵⁵ As the two drawings on which each painting is based have been identified, both are indeed compiled works, but two examples are insufficient to justify the use of the adverb “frequently.”

Claude Lorrain (Gellé)

In a 1980 article, Bruce asserted the “inevitable” influence of the style of landscape painting developed by Claude Lorrain (c. 1600–1682) on Guérard’s work, based on his assumed exposure to Claude’s works during his time in Rome.⁵⁶ According to Thomas, Claude’s works were “so much admired” that their impact on a nineteenth-century landscapist such as Guérard was unavoidable. Claude’s inescapable influence was most clearly seen in the “sunlit Aboriginal Arcadia” of *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat* (Figure 1.7).⁵⁷ In her thesis, Pullin asserted that “the light, the balanced composition and the grouping of trees” in *Warrenheip Hills* were reminiscent of Claude’s work.⁵⁸ There has, however, been little specific commentary on the pictorial conventions associated with Claude that are apparent in Guérard’s works, such as the invention of foreground interest using details sketched “after nature,” the framing of a scene with a coulisse in order to guide the viewer’s eye into the scene, and the use of tonal zones to distinguish fore-, mid- and backgrounds within the pictorial space.⁵⁹ Regardless, his landscape *The Mountains of San Denato in the Naples Region* (Figure 4.6), painted in 1847 after he had largely completed his

55. Grishin, *Australian Art*, 101.

56. Candice Bruce, “Eugen von Guérard and the Hudson River School: Romantics in the Wilderness,” *Art and Australia* 18, no. 2 (1980): 164. He may well have seen some of Claude’s paintings in the National Gallery in London in 1852.

57. Thomas, “Introduction,” in Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 14–16.

58. Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 228; Martin Sonnabend, Jo Whiteley, and Christian Rumelin, *Claude Lorrain: The Enchanted Landscape* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2011), 15–16.

59. Malcolm Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 97–99; Kenneth Clark, *Landscape into Art* (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 1956), 77; Paul Richard, “Art’s Continental Drift,” *Washington Post*, February 7, 1999, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/lifestyle/style/1999/02/07/arts-continental-drift/5a8fcae4-36a7-4188-af1e-0cec39f4deff>.

artistic training in Düsseldorf, is an excellent example of a landscape painted in the Arcadian Claudian mode.⁶⁰



Figure 4.6 **A landscape by Guérard influenced by Claude's pictorial conventions**
The Mountains of San Denato in the Naples Region, 1847, oil on canvas, 108.5 × 146.5 cm,
present location unknown.

The Nazarenes

According to the authors of the 1982 catalogue raisonné, although it was clear from Guérard's defence that the artist was impressed by the careful style of the Nazarenes, it would be difficult to "establish their impact on...his art."⁶¹ This was particularly so as Guérard neither affirmed nor denied that the Nazarenes were influential in the development of his style of painting, which essentially involved "imitating nature" in the details as well as the masses, provided it

60. The composition of the painting is modelled on a work by Adrian Ludwig Richter (1803–1884), entitled *Rocca di Mezzo in the Sabine mountains*, 1824/5 (Museum der Bildenen, Leipzig). While Guérard's hilltop town is an accurate portrayal of the village of San Donato in the Campania, the fore-, mid- and backgrounds are all invented.

61. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 4.

was compatible with the overall effect that he was seeking to achieve. In contrast, Pullin argued in 2007 that Guérard's response to Smith's critique revealed that the Nazarenes were "unequivocally important" for the artist, but this was primarily in terms of the "role of drawing as a defining element of the Nazarene style," which became an essential part of his artistic practice. Pullin also claimed that the Nazarenes inspired Guérard's devotion to practising art in the Antipodes with "an almost religious zeal." Furthermore, the Nazarenes were influential in his commitment to "accuracy in portraying nature," but this connection was asserted rather than supported by any documentary evidence.⁶²

Salvator Rosa

The catalogue raisonné authors asserted that Guérard's paintings also developed from the tradition established by the seventeenth-century painter Salvator Rosa (1615–1673).⁶³ Previously Comstock had claimed that the artist was schooled in the "traditions" of Rosa during his youthful tuition in Rome.⁶⁴ Bruce went further, asserting that Guérard "transformed the conventions" he absorbed from his study of Rosa's works in his artistic responses to the challenges of the Australian landscape, without specifying how.⁶⁵ According to Heathcote, the artist publicly declared his love for the "wilderness genre" when he went to a high society ball in Melbourne dressed as Rosa, wearing the hat and garb Rosa illustrated in his self-portrait (Figure 4.3, bottom left).⁶⁶ Pullin later claimed that the inclusion of "bent and broken tree forms" in the foregrounds of some of Guérard's paintings reflected Rosa's influence,⁶⁷ and Varcoe-Cocks asserted in 2011

62. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 7–21.

63. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 27.

64. Comstock, "An Australian Romantic," 12.

65. Bruce, "Eugen von Guérard and the Hudson River School," 164.

66. Heathcote, "When Science Meets Art," 28; *Argus*, August 28, 1863.

67. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 36 footnote 9.

that *Tanunda Creek, South Australia*, 1857 was beholden to Rosa's "heroic landscapes" and that Guérard held that painter in "high esteem."⁶⁸

Bernard von Guérard

In her 2007 doctoral thesis, Pullin tentatively claimed that Eugene's father may have been "his most influential teacher." As a painter of miniatures, Bernard had "exceptional skills for working in minute detail," skills he would have taught his son. She argued that this acquisition was evident in Eugene's Antipodean works, which recorded "natural phenomena with the accuracy and detail required by science." Furthermore, Pullin asserted that his "later ability to create panoramic landscapes of great depth without sacrificing often minute detail owes a great deal to the miniaturist techniques he learnt from... his father."⁶⁹ However, regardless of acquired skills in painting the minutest details of nature, it is unlikely that his father would have influenced how he practised fidelity to the actual views he beheld.

Giambattista Bassi

Although both Comstock and Bruce mentioned Bassi, neither attributed any influence on Guérard's practice to that artist. In her thesis, Pullin remarked that the impact of Bassi on Guérard's style was not as "marked" as that of other contenders, but was evident in the assemblage of "spatial elements" in a composition. However, she did later assert that Bassi was one of the "key figures" in Guérard's career, through his concern with responding to the "truth" of a landscape with "emotional honesty."⁷⁰ While Bassi's naturalistic elements might have sparked Guérard's interest in portraying features of nature accurately, the relatively brief time Guérard was tutored in Rome as compared to the much more extensive period during which he underwent artistic training elsewhere in his adulthood, indicates that it is unlikely that Bassi would have been a major influence on how he practised being faithful to nature in his compositions.

68. *Tanunda Creek, South Australia*, 1857, oil on canvas on board, 32 × 27 cm, present location unknown. Michael Varcoe-Cocks, "Weathered by Water," in Pullin, 205.

69. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 12–13.

70. Pullin, 30–32, 250. The other key figures mentioned were Pitloo, Schirmer, Lessing, Carus and Humboldt.

Joseph Anton Koch

Pullin also asserted that the geological interests and artistic innovations of Koch inspired Guérard's concern for illustrating geological truths in his paintings. She claimed that the influence of Koch's paintings, which sought to "convey ideas about the meaning of earth's form" and the "relationships between individual parts of the natural world," on Guérard's style was "life-changing," without citing any documentary evidence. Koch's portrayal of "elements of the natural world with a new level of truth and scientifically informed accuracy" were highly relevant for Guérard's Antipodean practice.⁷¹ However, it is evident from comparisons of both of Koch's major alpine paintings, *Schmadribach Falls* (Figure 2.2) and *The Wetterhorn with the Reichenbachtal*, 1824 (Figure 4.7), with site photographs that the topographical and geological details of the mountains in each have been highly modified, and the riverscape in both, invented. In particular, the relative heights of the two foremost peaks of the Wetterhorn have been reversed. If the geological details of Guérard's rendition of mountainous Antipodean landscapes investigated in this study prove to be far more naturalistic and accurate than Koch's, then the putative influence of Koch on how Guérard practised fidelity to nature would come into question.

71. Pullin, x, 8, 30, 24.



Figure 4.7. **Comparing Koch’s painting of the Wetterhorn with a historical site photograph**
 Left: Anton Koch, *The Wetterhorn with the Reichenbachtal*, 1824, oil on canvas, 91 × 81 cm, Kunst Museum, Winterthur. Right: Charles Soulier, *The Wellhorn and the Wetterhorn, Rosenlaui, Switzerland*, 1865, albumen print, 25.1 × 19.4 cm.

Anton Pitloo and the School of Posillipo

Pullin claimed in her thesis that “despite his experimentation with the style of the School of Posillipo,” Guérard eventually decided that an approach in which “forms and details were dissolved in the effects of light and atmosphere” was not for him,⁷² which clearly has implications for how he practised fidelity to nature in the Antipodes. Regardless, Pullin did assert that Pitloo was a key figure in Guérard’s development as a landscape painter and used a comparison of their renditions of coastal views at Naples and Vietri to illustrate how Pitloo’s treatment of the intense light of the Mediterranean would have influenced Guérard’s works.⁷³ Furthermore, she argued that “his apprenticeship under Pitloo and the large clear skies of Naples” may also have prepared him to respond faithfully to the intensity of the light in Australia.⁷⁴

72. Pullin, 48.

73. The paintings are Anton Pitloo, *Castel dell’Ovo a Napoli*, c. 1820, oil on canvas, 76 × 103 cm, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Moderna, Rome, and Eugene von Guérard, *Marina at Vietri*, 1845, oil on canvas, 71 × 104 cm, present location unknown.

74. Pullin, 47–48, 250.

The Düsseldorf Academy

While Comstock noted that the training for landscape painters at the Düsseldorf academy involved a “thorough study of the details of nature,” and students were urged to “study nature in the open air on sketching trips,” he made no comment on how that might have affected Guérard’s practice.⁷⁵ Neither Tipping nor Bruce contributed any further insights to the influence of this training on Guérard’s commitment to fidelity to nature. Although the catalogue raisonné authors discussed Guérard’s time at the academy, they did not explore potential influences on his Antipodean fidelity to nature other than to declare that Schirmer’s revolutionary approach “required detailed study and observation” of nature (e.g. Figure 4.8).⁷⁶



Figure 4.8. The practice of sketching nature accurately

[Düsseldorf student George Saal sketching nature’s details], folio 18, “Volume 05: Sketchbook XV, Germany, 1843, 1845, 1850–51,” reference code 919076, Dixson Library, SLNSW.

In contrast, Pullin wrote extensively about the influence of the Düsseldorf Academy, with its “dedicated school of landscape painting,” on Guérard’s artistic practice. In 2007, she asserted that one of the “most influential figures” in Guérard’s artistic career was the landscape painting master at the academy, Wilhelm Schirmer. The concern shown by that artist for truthfully illustrating features of the natural world with “scientifically-informed accuracy” was relevant for

75. Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 11, 15, 17.

76. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 4–8.

Guérard's future practice. According to Pullin, field trips organised by Schirmer with the explicit aim of "observing and recording nature directly" were "critical to his subsequent practice" in Australia.⁷⁷ In the oil studies of "riverbanks and rocks" required by Schirmer, Guérard learnt to "penetrate beyond surface impressions" in order to record the characteristics of plant species with "scientific precision" and to "understand geological structures." Guérard's declared intention to imitate nature as far as it was compatible with the effect of a painting, resonates with Pullin's assertion that Schirmer recognised that a commitment to "objectivity and truth in nature had to be balanced with the requirements of a composition."⁷⁸

The field trips that Schirmer organised in the nearby Neander Valley required students to closely observe the unusual rock formations found there, which Guérard recorded in two oil studies.⁷⁹ This was intended to imprint the geological character of the rock outcrops in their memories, and bring greater veracity to their finished landscapes. According to Pullin, this was an essential technique that Guérard practised extensively in the production of Antipodean works with significant geological content. In conclusion, Pullin argued that his paintings expressed the "commitment to truth to nature" advocated by Schirmer at the Düsseldorf Academy.⁸⁰

In her thesis Pullin stated that Guérard also studied landscape painting under Carl Friedrich Lessing (1808–1880), who was the professor of historical painting at the Düsseldorf Academy. She argued extensively that, as one of his teachers, Lessing exerted a major influence on Guérard's artistic career and practice, basing this claim on assumed similarities in approach, subject matter and interests.⁸¹ Regardless, there is no documentary evidence that the younger

77. These excursions often involved making detailed oil studies of natural features of landscapes in situ. Plein-air painting may, as Pullin pointed out, seem "completely antithetical" to Guérard's practice of producing highly detailed and finished oil paintings completed entirely in his studio, but it did develop his skills in observing and recalling nature's details.

78. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 4, 8, 70, 96.

79. *Rabenstein*, 1841 and *Below the Rabenstein*, 1841, both in a private collection. See Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 89, 91.

80. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 85, 93, 106, 111.

81. Pullin, 1, 4, 70, 85, 86, 190.

artist was ever taught or tutored by Lessing in any formal or informal way.⁸² He may, however, have interacted with Lessing on one of the field trips to nearby locations that Schirmer organised for the landscape painting classes, but more likely he would have been introduced to Lessing in the academy. While Lessing made numerous expeditions to the Eifel region to sketch the unusual geological and geographical features there, Guérard's excursion to the Eifel in 1843 did not coincide with any of Lessing's numerous visits (nor with those organised by Schirmer).⁸³

Alexander von Humboldt

From the mid-1970s onwards the writings of Alexander von Humboldt on the role of landscape painters in the second volume of his magnum opus *Kosmos*, first published in 1847, is mentioned increasingly in the literature as having had a major influence on how Guérard practised his art. In his manifesto for a new kind of landscape painting, Humboldt asserted that it “requires for its development a large number of various and direct impressions [of nature], which, when received from the external contemplation, must be fertilized by the powers of the mind, in order to be given back to the senses of others as a free work of art” that is able to communicate nature's truths that elude scientific description.⁸⁴

Although Comstock made no mention of Humboldt as a possible influence in his thesis, in 1975 Tipping implied that Guérard's migration to Australia in 1852 was inspired by Humboldt's mandate for artists to travel to the ends of the earth in order to illustrate the diversity and unity of nature, without citing any evidence.⁸⁵ In 1982, she went further, asserting that Humboldt's ideas about the uniqueness of geographical environments enabled Guérard to interpret the “elusive character” of the Australian landscape, particularly the peculiar light, the

82. Records of student enrolments in the Düsseldorf Academy are held in the Düsseldorf Presidential Office.

83. Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 190.

84. Alexander von Humboldt, *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*, trans. E.C. Otté, vol. 2 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866), 93–95, 19–20.

85. Tipping, *Eugène von Guérard's Australian Landscapes*, 9.

“long distances” and the “wide expanses of sky.” Thus, according to Tipping, Humboldt was the artist’s “guiding star.”⁸⁶

In 1985, Bonyhady stated that Guérard “probably became aware of Humboldt’s ideas” before arriving in Australia, but conceded that the connection between his more “exotic subjects” and Humboldt’s writings was “never discussed” by contemporaneous commentators, nor is it “conveniently documented” anywhere. As Bonyhady pointed out, there is only Sinnett’s reference to Humboldt in the entire corpus of contemporaneous critiques and reviews relating to Guérard’s art, which, as noted earlier in this thesis, did not impute any influence. Regardless, Bonyhady asserted that those members of the Melbourne public cognisant with Humboldt’s manifesto for landscape artists would generally have believed that, through his “precise observation of nature” ennobled by “creativity,” Guérard realised the “grand style in landscapes” advocated by Humboldt in works such as *Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges* (Figure 8.23).⁸⁷

In the catalogue of a 1998 exhibition devoted to comparing nineteenth-century Australian and American landscapes, Elizabeth Johns wrote that Guérard was “perhaps already familiar with the Humboldtian scientific philosophy when he arrived” in Australia, while Andrew Sayers asserted that one of the most highly original features of Guérard’s works, the balancing of “scientific accuracy and emotional response,” met Humboldt’s expectations of landscapists.⁸⁸

Three years later, in 2001, Heathcote went further, arguing that Guérard’s oeuvre was undoubtedly influenced by the writings of Humboldt. Although not presenting any documentary evidence for the purported influence, Heathcote advanced several lines of circumstantial evidence for the painter’s supposed affiliation. Firstly, the geophysicist Neumayer, whom the artist accompanied on several scientific expeditions, was a devotee of Humboldt and carried a “well

86. Tipping, *An Artist on the Goldfields*, 67.

87. Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, 65–66.

88. Elizabeth Johns, “Landscape Painting in America and Australia in an Urban Century,” in Johns et al., *New Worlds from Old*, 37; Andrew Sayers, “The Shaping of Australian Landscape Painting,” in Johns et al., *New Worlds from Old*, 62.

read copy of *Cosmos*” as he criss-crossed Victoria.⁸⁹ According to the critic, Guérard would have “received a solid dose” of Humboldt’s idea on art from Neumayer on their expeditions if he was not already familiar with them. Secondly, as the artist’s alpine landscapes are “exacting records” of the geology and ecology of locations, they provide “visual evidence” that his works comply with Humboldt’s decree, which Heathcote paraphrased as a “landscapist should be a precise natural historian.” Thirdly, his paintings of temperate and subtropical rainforest display all of the qualities Humboldt required of tropical landscape painting. Lastly, Heathcote claimed that, as Guérard’s paintings were built up from observed and recorded “detail upon detail,” they illustrated the New World in keeping with Humboldt’s injunctions. In conclusion, though, Heathcote conceded that Guérard “may not have left us a statement of his motives” for making such “thorough records” of Australian wilderness.⁹⁰

In her 2007 thesis, Pullin asserted that the connection between Humboldt and Guérard had not been “analysed in depth,” nor the implications for his practice “fully explored” in the literature. She declared that the colonial painter’s artistic vision was defined by his commitment to the “scientific and aesthetic theories” on landscape painting propounded by Humboldt. Pullin argued the artist’s “empirical observations” of landscapes made alongside the physical measurements taken by Neumayer on scientific expeditions reflect the “unity of art and science” espoused by Humboldt (e.g. Figure 4.9). Their parallel empirical methodologies embody the “essential point of contact” between Humboldt’s manifesto and Guérard’s artistic practice. Furthermore, his Antipodean paintings met Humboldt’s challenge to “seize upon the true image of the varied forms of nature” in the interior of distant continents.⁹¹

89. Heathcote did not provide evidence of any sort to support the latter claim.

90. Heathcote, “When Science Meets Art,” 30–31.

91. Pullin, “The Science of Landscape Painting,” 6, 2, 8, 144, 162; Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. 2, 93.



Figure 4.9. **The artist portrayed alongside the scientist**

North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko, 1863 (detail), NGA. The scene illustrates the close connection between the scientist (kneeling figure) and the artist (gesturing figure), as advocated by Humboldt.

Pullin claimed that as Guérard's "scientifically-informed observations" were guided by Humboldt, he was, therefore, "a *Reisekünstler* or 'travelling artist' [underlined emphasis added]."⁹² While asserting that the scientist's influence upon his art was "pervasive," Pullin conceded that there was no "tangible connection" with the scientist for Guérard's "Humboldtian enterprise."⁹³ Essentially, Pullin argued that, because Guérard's works could be shown to have met Humboldt's expectations of landscape artists, he must therefore have been a committed adherent of Humboldt's manifesto.⁹⁴ However, consistency with Humboldt's expectations in itself does not constitute necessary and sufficient evidence confirming Pullin's conjecture.

Regardless, in subsequent publications, Pullin continued to assert that Guérard's life and works were significantly influenced by Humboldt's writings. In the catalogue for the 2011 retrospective exhibition, she wrote that the painter was "inspired by Humboldt" to truthfully illustrate the unfamiliar Australian landscape with the "accuracy of a scientist and the poetry of an

92. *Reisekünstler* (travelling artist) is a contemporary term for a painter who, inspired by Humboldt, travelled to far-flung destinations in order to illustrate the geographical, ecological and geological features of diverse landscapes.

93. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 141.

94. Pennonen made a similar claim that Düsseldorf-trained artists from Scandinavia were familiar with, and influenced by, Humboldt's writings. However, she conceded that "there is no written evidence that any of the artists" had read Humboldt's works. She argued instead that "his ideas and theories were widely known, and they bear such obvious similarities to the landscape paintings concerned that we can *at least assume* that these artists were aware of his publications (emphasis added)," (Pennonen, *In Search of Scientific and Artistic Landscape*, 53).

artist.” His “precise, detailed and integrated” portrayal of *Tower Hill* (Figure 1.2, top) was based on his allegiance to Humboldt’s conception of nature. *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges* (Figure 1.4, bottom) explicitly illustrated Humboldt’s theory of plant geography. The Kosciuszko expedition exemplified the “complementary relationships between science and art” advocated by Humboldt. Furthermore, Pullin unequivocally declared that the artist was “the Humboldtian Reisekünstler of the Australian New World [underlined emphasis added].”⁹⁵

In her 2018 book on Guérard’s life as a travelling artist, Pullin repeated her conviction that Humboldt’s visionary ideas about the natural world had influenced the artist’s decision to migrate to Australia, the first step on his “Humboldtian ambition” to illustrate an “unexplored field.” Moreover, the painter was one of a “cohort of German artists and scientists in Melbourne whose careers and travels were profoundly shaped by the influential scientist.” Guérard’s presence on scientific and exploratory expeditions led by Neumayer and Alfred Howitt proved that he was indeed the “quintessential Humboldtian Reisekünstler [underlined emphasis added].”⁹⁶

Although not necessarily dismissing all influence of Friedrich on Guérard’s works, the retrospective exhibition was instrumental in advocating Humboldt as Guérard’s guiding light, and most reviewers accepted the new interpretation of the meaning and intent of his Antipodean works. Philosopher Patrick Hutchings concurred that the artist followed Humboldt’s advice in the study and illustration of “local, specific vegetation,” as evidenced in *Tower Hill*, and that the Kosciuszko expedition exemplified Humboldt’s advocacy of the complementary roles of art and science.⁹⁷ Ecologist Ian Lunt agreed with the contention that Guérard followed in “Humboldt’s footsteps,” seeking to “paint landscapes, fauna and flora as accurately as possible.” However, the

95. Pullin, “Inexhaustible Treasure: von Guérard in Australia,” in *Nature Revealed*, 104; Pullin, [essay on *Tower Hill*, 1855], in *Nature Revealed*, 114; Pullin, [essay on *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges*, c. 1870], in *Nature Revealed*, 173; Pullin, “Eugene von Guérard: Art, Science and Nature,” in *Nature Revealed*, 20, 26.

96. Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 21, 89, 207.

97. Patrick Hutchings, “Eugene von Guérard: Nature Revealed,” exhibition review, *Art Monthly Australia* 246 (2011): 76–77.

artist experienced the “tension between art and science” in his “quest for accuracy and the need for balance and composition,” which sometimes led to the inclusion of inappropriate species.⁹⁸

Hansen noted that, under the current example of “revisionism,” the lens for interpreting Guérard’s work was no longer that of German Romanticism. Instead, the artist should primarily be viewed as a Humboldtian expedition artist. This observation was prefaced by the statement that the “history of art is a cumulative discipline with each generation contributing its own archival and pictorial discoveries and its own *ideological ... inclinations* [emphasis added].” Given that Hansen concluded the review by saying he looked forward to the next generation’s “vision of von Guérard,” it would be reasonable to assume that he was not fully convinced that the Humboldtian lens would be the enduring definitive prescription.⁹⁹

Reviewing the *Nature Revealed* exhibition for the *Times Literary Supplement*, Patrick McCaughey asserted that Pullin documented with “tact and thoroughness” the case for a “radical” reinterpretation of Guérard’s art through the “lens of science,” with Humboldt replacing Friedrich as the key influence. Noting that while the “scientific” interpretation might be “plausible and impressive,” he argued that the evocative power of the artist should not be ignored.¹⁰⁰

Such was the impact of the retrospective that subsequent commentary on Guérard’s paintings largely accepted the new orthodoxy with little critical or rigorous examination of the Humboldtian *Reisekünstler* conjecture or the evidence on which it was based. This was true of the first published article based on the research associated with this thesis, which analysed three composite works by Guérard. Despite identifying instances where those paintings significantly failed to meet Humboldt’s expectations regarding geographical, geological or ecological fidelity to nature, Hook did not question whether Humboldt’s manifesto for landscape painters was a major influence upon Guérard’s artistic practice.¹⁰¹

98. Lunt, “Art vs. Science: von Guérard’s Pot Plants.”

99. Hansen, “Eugene von Guérard: Nature Revealed,” 674–675.

100. Patrick McCaughey, “Nature’s Grandest Theatre: Science, Landscape and the Australian Sublime,” exhibition review, *Times Literary Supplement*, July 22, 2011

101. Hook, “Brushes with Infidelity,” 26.

At this point it is important to reflect on the fact that no mention of Humboldt in the artist's extant correspondence and other writings has ever been found, notably in his 2,200-word defence of his artistic practice in the face of James Smith's highly critical review of his oeuvre, nor any reference to the possible influence of the scientist's writings on Guérard's artistic convictions or works in the extensive contemporaneous commentary. Either the artist's aesthetic convictions were not influenced by Humboldt's manifesto for landscape artists in *Kosmos* or, if they were, then he was reluctant to acknowledge the Humboldtian connection.¹⁰² The latter conjecture is improbable as there is no obvious reason for hiding the influence of Humboldt on his oeuvre or even just on his decision to migrate to Australia, if indeed either was true. Given that Smith also wrote that Guérard was "innocent of vanity," modest and self-effacing, it seems very unlikely that he would want to deliberately hide an important formative influence.¹⁰³ Moreover, he would have been admired if he had declared that he applied Humboldt's theory of landscape painting in his works, given the scientist's huge international stature in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰⁴ He could easily have claimed that he came to Australia to fulfil Humboldt's wish that landscape artists would "pass beyond the narrow limits of the Mediterranean... far into the interior of [other] continents,"¹⁰⁵ but he never did, not even on the occasion when he proposed the toast to the scientist at the *Humboldtfeier* held in Melbourne in 1859.¹⁰⁶ A more reasonable conclusion to draw is that Humboldt did not exert a significant influence on Guérard's artistic practice.

Carl Gustav Carus

The German physiologist, painter and art theorist Carl Gustav Carus (Figure 4.3, bottom right) is frequently mentioned in the literature as a writer whose treatise *Nine Letters on Landscape*

102. It has been suggested that Guérard might have wanted to conceal certain influences on his artistic practice in order to avoid any interpretation that his work was derivative, but as Humboldt was not an artist, Guérard's landscapes cannot be derivative in this instance.

103. James Smith, "A Colonial Artist," *Examiner and Melbourne Weekly News*, May 16, 1860, 8.

104. Wulf, *The Invention of Nature*, 273.

105. Humboldt, *Cosmos*, vol. 2, 93.

106. The *Humboldtfeier* was a celebration of the life and works of Humboldt (*Melbourn Deutsche Zeitung*, September 1859).

Painting (published in full in 1831), influenced how Guérard practised his art. In essence, Carus asserted that the landscape artist must “impress upon himself the true types of a wide variety of forms [of nature], in order that the lineaments of just *those* forms may seem to impress themselves spontaneously on his work; that forms derived from his own imagination may nevertheless appear clad in the pure truth of nature,”¹⁰⁷ which Humboldt’s later declaration in *Kosmos* (see page 114) is very similar too.

In 1974 Comstock wrote that the artist “may have known of Carus’s work” as he approached landscape painting in a manner similar to that which Carus advocated, producing a “spiritual revelation” equal to that received directly from nature.¹⁰⁸ In 1980, Thomas implied an influence when he claimed that Guérard’s paintings were closer to those of Carus (and Friedrich) than to those of the Nazarenes, specifically mentioning the “remarkable” similarity between Guérard’s *Cape Woolamai* (Figure 4.10, top) and Carus’s *Basalt Formations in Fingal’s Cave* 1844 (Figure 4.10, bottom). According to Thomas, Carus advocated that landscape artists should “study vegetation, climate, rock formations” so that they knew “Nature as a reality both concrete and spiritual,” which Guérard clearly had.¹⁰⁹ In the same publication, Bruce merely stated that it “seems probable” that Guérard would have read the treatise by Carus, one of the leading “exponents of German Romanticism” in art.¹¹⁰ In the context of discussing the influence of German Romanticism on Guérard’s art, the catalogue raisonné authors made no claim for any influence of Carus’s theories on the works of the Antipodean painter. However, in 2001, Heathcote claimed that “we know” that Guérard had read *Nine Letters*, without providing any direct, circumstantial or associational evidence in support.¹¹¹

107. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting*, 130.

108. Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 82–83.

109. Thomas, “Introduction,” 11–12.

110. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 79.

111. Heathcote, “When Science Meets Art,” 30.



Figure 4.10. **Comparing Guérard's granitic sea stacks with basalt pillars painted by Carus**
Top: Eugene von Guérard, *View of the granite rocks at Cape Woolamai*, 1872, oil on canvas, 65.8 × 114.6 cm, present location unknown. Bottom: Carl Gustav Carus, *Basalt Formations in Fingal's Cave*, 1844, watercolour, 27.7 × 32.0 cm, Kunstmuseum, Basel.

In 2007 Pullin stated that, as with the connection between Guérard and Humboldt, the impact of Carus's writings on the artist's practice had not been explored or analysed in depth. Apparently exposed to the ideas advocated by Carus during his training at the Düsseldorf Academy, Guérard integrated those expectations into his "philosophy of landscape painting." The accuracy of his "scientifically-informed observations" in Australia was guided by Carus. Furthermore, Pullin claimed that Guérard's artistic vision was formed by his commitment to the "scientific and aesthetic theories on landscape painting" advocated by Carus as well as those of Humboldt.¹¹²

Although there is no record of Guérard owning a copy of, or having ever read, *Nine Letters*, Pullin argued it would have been available in the library of the Düsseldorf Academy,¹¹³ and its contents discussed in the landscape painting school. However, in his 2002 introduction to *Nine Letters*, art historian Oskar Bätschmann noted that when Carus's eighth letter, which presented the key ideas of his landscape painting theory,¹¹⁴ was first published in the pages of the leading art journal, *Kunst-Blatt*, in 1826, not one of the contributors during the following five years took any notice of Carus's essay despite the debate that raged over imitation versus the ideal in landscape painting.¹¹⁵ It is doubtful, therefore, that art students in Düsseldorf would have been discussing *Nine Letters* a decade later.

Regardless, in keeping with Carus's injunctions, Guérard's oil studies in the Neander Valley were "filled with botanically identifiable plants growing under geologically identifiable rocks." Furthermore, on excursions to the geologically fascinating Eifel region, Pullin asserted that Guérard learnt to observe and sketch "rocks ... with unprecedented scientific accuracy," and

112. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 2, 6, 8, 146, 159–160, 75, 112, 117.

113. As a fire destroyed the library of the Düsseldorf Academy in 1872, there is no record that any publications by Carus or Humboldt were "held there in Guérard's day" (Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 75).

114. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting*, 123-131.

115. Oscar Bätschmann, "Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869): Physician, Naturalist, Painter, and Theoretician of Landscape Painting," in Carus, 32.

came to believe that illustrations of rock formations could reveal something of their geological history, as Carus claimed.¹¹⁶

As with the putative influence of Humboldt upon Guérard's practice, Pullin supplied no documentary evidence, arguing instead that because his Antipodean works accord with Carus's tenets, he must therefore have been directly influenced by *Nine Letters*. For example, in the "wave-like imagery" of the "serrated escarpments" illustrated in *Sources of the Wannon*, Guérard echoes the comparison made by Carus between the mountains of the Reisenbirge and the "gentle surge of a rolling swell"; and in the lithograph *South End of Tasman's Island*, the artist told the "geological truth of the subject" as Carus advocated without compromising the "detailed accuracy of his observations." Writing about *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko* (Figure 4.11, top), Pullin asserted that Guérard's approach epitomised Carus's words that: "[e]verything I saw incited me to pursue a strict truthfulness: not one line in a mountain range ... could ever seem to me to be accidental or undeserving of precise reproduction,"¹¹⁷ implying "scientific accuracy was essential." Guérard's introduction of a massive pile of granitic boulders to act as a coulisse for the composition seems to be somewhat at odds with this sentiment. However, according to Pullin, as such rock piles are typical of the location and the geometry of the composition suggests the geological history of the massif, the picture remains true to nature, if not to the details of the scene.¹¹⁸

116. Pullin, 112, 117.

117. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting*, 137.

118. Pullin, "The Science of Landscape Painting," 194–95.

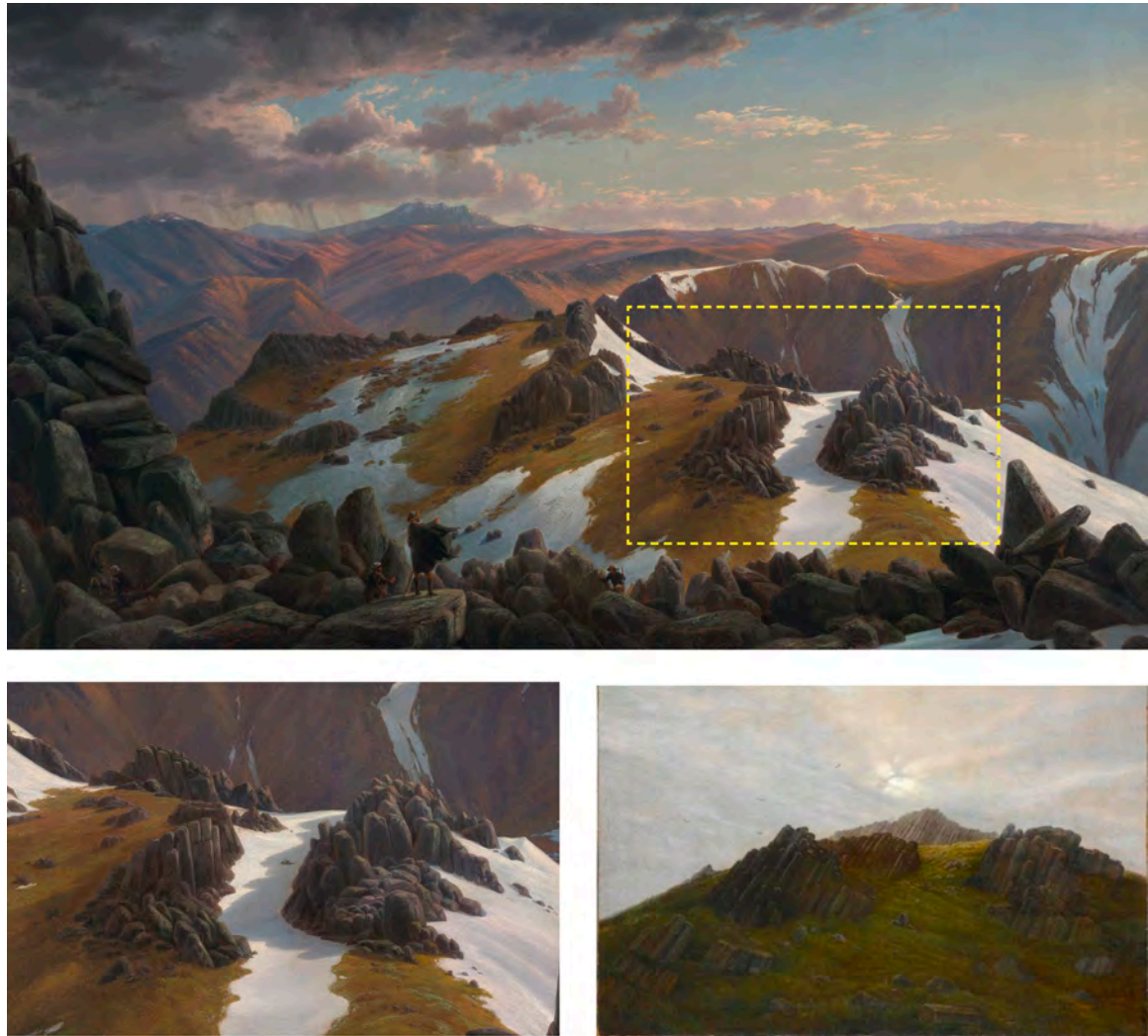


Figure 4.11. **Comparing Guérard’s granitic rock outcrops with basaltic outcrops by Carus**
 Top: *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciuszko*, 1863, oil on canvas, 66.5 × 116.8 cm, NGA. Bottom left: *North-east view* (detail). Bottom right: Carl Gustav Carus, *Geognostische Landschaft*, 1820, oil on canvas, 91.5 × 133 cm, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.

The art historian also noted similarities between the near-vertical granitic slabs in the midground of the Mt Kosciuszko painting (Figure 4.11, bottom left) and the tilted “basalt skittles” of *Geognostische Landschaft*, 1820, by Carus (Figure 4.11, bottom right), suggesting the colonial artist had seen the work by Carus.

Although Pullin argued strongly that Carus’s *Letters* played a critical role in the development of Guérard’s Antipodean landscapes, what is not addressed is why the artist never mentioned Carus in any of his correspondence or his extended defence of his artistic intentions

and practice in the face of Smith's criticism.¹¹⁹ Smith criticised Guérard for feeling "nothing" or caring "little about" ensuring that his painting of the Grampians filled the "thirst of the human heart for the beauty of God's working" as Ruskin instructed.¹²⁰ It would, therefore, have been apposite for the artist in his response to have quoted or, at the very least, mentioned the writings of Carus, who advocated a very similar approach,¹²¹ if indeed his artistic practice had been significantly influenced by Carus, although very few of the intended readers would have heard of Carus.

Based on her doctoral research, Pullin promoted both Carus and Humboldt as being leading influences on Guérard's practice in a number of journal articles and in the retrospective exhibition which she co-curated. In subsequent publications, other commentators have tended to reinforce the conjecture without questioning the evidential basis or providing any additional support. The influence of Humboldt is mentioned more often than that of Carus, perhaps because the scientist is a well-known, larger-than-life historical figure, whose influence on landscape painting in the New World has been the focus of renewed interest in recent decades.¹²²

Guérard's guiding light: Friedrich or Humboldt?

While support for the conjectured influence of Humboldt's writings upon Guérard's works tended to increase as a consequence of the retrospective exhibition, that favouring the influence of Friedrich's paintings was not entirely silenced. In the *Nature Revealed* exhibition catalogue Vaughan argued that in *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, the windswept man pointing to the grandeur of nature plays the same role as a *Rückenfigur* in

119. While this absence of references could be attributed to the loss of correspondence and other personal documents, such as journals, when Guérard's descendants disposed of some of his archive during the First World War (see footnote 44 on page 22), the complete absence of any reference to either Carus or Humboldt in his extended correspondence with the Smith and Haast is not so easily dismissed.

120. Smith, "Mr von Guerard's New Picture."

121. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting*, 110, 130–131.

122. For example, Valéria Piccoli, "Field to Studio," in *Picturing the Americas: Landscape Painting from Tierra Del Fuego to the Arctic*, edited by Peter John Brownlee, Valéria Piccoli, and Georgiana Uhlyarik (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 48.

Friedrich's works,¹²³ such as the observer in *The Wanderer above the Sea of Fog* (Figure 4.4, bottom).¹²⁴ However, the figure in *Mount Kosciusko*, which is intended to be the artist himself, is engaged in a different kind of relationship with his surroundings from that of a *Rückenfigur* in Friedrich's works, and is portrayed on a very different scale from the Wanderer.¹²⁵ In his history of Australian art, Grishin asserted that Guérard was a "follower" of Friedrich as well as of Humboldt, citing *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko* as the key example of Friedrichian influence, with its immense, awe-inspiring vista and the "stock motif" of tiny foreground figures "dwarfed by nature," facing away from the viewer, acting as a "compositional strategy" to emotionally engage the viewer.¹²⁶

McCaughey summarised the shift in emphasis in his 2014 panegyric on why Australian painting matters, arguing that when Guérard was rediscovered forty years earlier, the artist Friedrich (Figure 4.12, left) was claimed to be his "guiding light" and the "divinity of nature" his creed. However, more recently Pullin and others had proposed that the unified approach to the study of nature advocated by the scientist Humboldt (Figure 4.12, right) was the "key influence" on Guérard's art. According to McCaughey, though, the artist united the "streams of inspiration that fed his art" – Humboldt's requirement for empirical observation and Friedrich's passion for the "divinity of untouched nature" – in works such as *Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border* (Figure 6.1), with its "romantic view" of the landscape and "Humboldtian vision of nature's zones," and in his "chef-d'oeuvre," *North-east view from the northern top of Mount*

123. A *Rückenfigur* is a rear-view figure looking out onto a landscape. The function of a *Rückenfigur* is usually thought to be that of a surrogate, enabling the viewer to imagine what it would feel like if they stood in their shoes responding to that view of nature. However, some writers disagree with this characterisation of the Wanderer. See Johannes Grave, *Caspar David Friedrich* (Munich: Prestel, 2012), 203–206; Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art*, 143.

124. Gerald Vaughan, [essay on *North-east view from the northern top of Mt Kosciusko*, 1863], in Pullen, *Nature Revealed*, 256.

125. Grave, *Caspar David Friedrich*, 202–206.

126. Grishin, *Australian Art*, 97, 101.

Kosciusko. For McCaughey, these works confirmed Guérard's equal admiration for Friedrich and Humboldt. However, two examples are a very small sample on which to base a conclusion.¹²⁷



Figure 4.12. **Guérard's guiding light? Friedrich or Humboldt**

Left: Georg Friedrich Kersting, *Caspar David Friedrich in his Studio* (detail), c. 1811, oil on canvas, 54 × 42 cm, Kunsthalle, Hamburg. Right: Friedrich Georg Weitsch, *Portrait of Alexander von Humboldt*, 1806, oil on canvas, 126.0 × 92.5 cm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Discriminating between purported influences

While the cases for some of the purported influences have been extensively developed, others are weakly substantiated, mostly relying on assumed visual similarities. Of all the purported influences, the one that seems most unlikely is that of the pious and sentimental Biedermeier style of painting, which was championed only once and then ignored by other art historians. As it is highly unlikely that Guérard would have encountered any works produced according to the 'typical' landscape tradition in the eighteenth century, such as works by artists who accompanied

127. McCaughey, *Strange Country*, 45–49. The possible influence of Carus was not mentioned by McCaughey at all.

voyages of discovery in the Pacific,¹²⁸ that influence can be discounted. While Guérard sometimes resorted to making wilderness scenes more rugged and dramatic than in reality, and frequently inserted deadwood as Rosa did, the Italian artist is unlikely to have had any significant impact on how the Antipodean landscapist practised fidelity to nature.

Although Guérard's paintings are sometimes as highly detailed and carefully finished as those of "Velvet" Brueghel, there is little else to suggest that the Flemish artist influenced how Guérard practised fidelity to nature. Even though the heightened rendering of detail in many Pre-Raphaelite paintings is also apparent in Guérard's landscapes, the artist stated that he knew nothing about that movement until after he had "exhibited his first pictures of Australian scenery in Melbourne" in 1854.¹²⁹

The principle of qualitative involution propounded by Novalis may have had some relevance for Continental Romantic artists influenced by philosophical concepts, but no reliable evidence was advanced to support the contention that Guérard ever practised Bruce's extension of the principle in the Antipodes. While it is apparent that Guérard's works conform with some of the landscape conventions established by Claude, particularly the inclusion of realistic detail in invented foregrounds and the framing of views using a coulisse, none of his Antipodean paintings presents an idealised scene of the kind favoured by Claude. Therefore, the French artist is unlikely to have been a significant influence on how the colonial landscapist practised fidelity to nature.

Although the artist's father Bernard may well have taught him how to illustrate details effectively, it is unlikely that he would have influenced how Eugene decided to practise fidelity to nature in landscape compositions. As Guérard's first formal tutor, Bassi might have sparked his interest in visiting and painting rural scenes, but the influence of that artist appears to have been more in the spatial design of compositions than on how Guérard sought to be faithful to nature.

128. See James Taylor, *Picturing the Pacific: Joseph Banks and the Shipboard Artists of Cook and Flinders* (London: Alard Coles, 2018).

129. Guérard, Reply on the Critic. Around this time he may have met the sculptor Thomas Woolner, who was one of the original seven who founded the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in 1848 in London. Woolner was in Australia from October 1852 to July 1854.

Although Guérard did not adopt the style of landscape painting practised by Pitloo and the School of Posillipo, their treatment of light may well have assisted him in handling the intensity of light under Antipodean skies. Regardless, it is obvious from a casual look at his Antipodean oeuvre that he had a predilection for portraying early-morning or late-afternoon scenes, when the sun is much less intense and the contours of the landscape are much better defined. While Guérard may have encountered Lessing’s works in his studio or in the academy, there is no evidence that Lessing ever formally taught or informally tutored Guérard.

Purported influences on how Guérard practised fidelity to nature that have been more extensively developed and are potentially historically justifiable are summarised in Table 4.1, with the respective advocates listed.

Table 4.1. Significant purported influences on how Guérard practised fidelity to nature

Purported influence	Advocates	Features relevant to fidelity to nature
German Romanticism in general	Comstock, Thomas, catalogue raisonné authors	Detailed observation of natural world; nature paintings evoke a spiritual response to divine handiwork in nature
Caspar David Friedrich	Tipping, Thomas, Carroll, MacDonald, Grishin, McCaughey	Nature paintings evoke intense emotional/spiritual response but include faithful details of observed nature; some composite works
The Nazarenes	Catalogue raisonné authors, Pullin	Carefully finished works in which natural features are accurately portrayed
Joseph Anton Koch	Pullin	Modification of geological and geographical details to convey a deeper level of “truth”
Düsseldorf Academy training	Comstock, Pullin, Clegg	Thorough study of details of nature in the field; realistic portrayal of elements of natural world in an often rearranged view; heightened rendering of detail
Alexander von Humboldt	Tipping, Bonyhady, Heathcote, Pullin, McCaughey	Scientifically informed observations of nature enriched by artist’s imagination to produce creative works that convey the essential nature of a geographical location
Carl Gustav Carus	Comstock, Thomas, Heathcote, Pullin	Artist must absorb true forms of nature, so that imagined forms portrayed in paintings are true to nature; rock formation can inform viewers of geological history

It should be noted that the table does not include the proposition that a significant influence on how Guérard practised fidelity to nature might have been the Antipodes itself, which Comstock

had indirectly advocated in his thesis when he wrote that “by choosing to work in Australia, Guérard was forced to evolve his own doctrine of artistic freedom.”¹³⁰ As McCaughey fittingly noted, the “experience of Australia and its capacity to modify the schemas” that Guérard “inherited cannot be dismissed.”¹³¹

Conclusion

The literature records a wide range of possible significant influences upon how Guérard practised being true to nature in his Antipodean landscapes. While it is reasonable to assume that the practices of most nineteenth-century artists would have been influenced by a number of different factors, such as earlier painters, contemporary artists, critics, artistic and philosophical movements, academic training, or prevalent theories on the role of landscape painting, it is highly unlikely that the wide range of influences listed above would all have influenced Guérard. More probable, two or three of the listed influences would have contributed significantly to shaping his aesthetic convictions and how he practised fidelity to nature, while a few others might have had a minor influence on his oeuvre, and the rest, none at all.

The key issues, though, are the dearth of documentary evidence and the reality that most of the significant conjectured influences are supported by *circumstantial* or *associational* evidence only,¹³² some of which is too limited in scope to draw a wider conclusion, too tenuous in nature, or based upon questionable evidence. Assertions based on the detailed analysis of artworks, such as that conducted by Varcoe-Cocks,¹³³ or on the type of fieldwork advocated and carried out by Bonyhady¹³⁴ and subsequently practised by Hook,¹³⁵ rest on firmer ground.

130. Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 19.

131. Patrick McCaughey, “Likeness and Unlikeness: The American – Australian Experience,” in Johns, *New Worlds from Old*, 17.

132. *Circumstantial* in the sense that, because Guérard’s works accord with the established practice of a school or a landscape painting manifesto, he must therefore have been directly influenced by it. *Associational*, in the sense that because Guérard had close relationships with scientists with Humboldtian convictions, he must therefore have been a Humboldtian landscape painter.

133. For example, Varcoe-Cocks, “A Brush with Fidelity.”

134. Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, 93.

135. For example, Hook, “Tasmanian Arcadia.”

Furthermore, the tendency to assume that, because Guérard's works might resemble those of another artist, abide by the tenets of an artistic movement, or accord with aspects of a theory or manifesto on landscape painting, the artist must therefore have been directly influenced by that exemplar conflates correlation with causation, reinforcing Hansen's insight that some claims are based on visual analogies rather than established historical connections. Clearly, major swings have occurred, such as from the spiritually enlightened, composite landscape paintings produced by Friedrich, to landscape painting theories that sought to balance scientific accuracy with an emotional or religious response to nature, as advocated by Humboldt and Carus respectively. These swings in opinion have occurred largely without any assessment of whether previous claims might have equal validity or not, which is required if art historical study of Guérard's oeuvre is to function as the "cumulative discipline" Hansen asserted it to be,¹³⁶ and McCaughey's approach exemplifies.¹³⁷

Whether the quantitative methodology adopted in this research program generates empirically based generalisations that clarify which of the purported significant influences resonate well with how Guérard practised fidelity to nature is explored in Chapter 13, the second discussion chapter. Guérard's empirically established fidelity practice is also compared with that of two other Düsseldorf-trained or influenced artists who became major wilderness painters, as that comparison has some bearing on the question of whether the challenges and expectations of wilderness painting caused artists to modify the tenets of the Düsseldorf landscape painting school as they sought to be "true to nature".

136. Hansen, "Eugene von Guérard: Nature Revealed," 674

137. McCaughey, *Strange Country*, 49.

Chapter 5 – Methodology part A: Assembling the sample

Before undertaking the quantitative survey of fidelity to nature in Eugene von Guérard's Antipodean landscape paintings, it was first necessary to assemble a substantial sample of the total population of possible subjects. Ideally, each subject would consist of a quartet of resources: a high-quality colour image of the landscape painting, a high-resolution scan of the field drawing on which the work is based, a good-quality site photograph of the view that the artist had sketched, and a digital elevation model or virtual view generated at the vantage point. The survey instrument itself consists of three parts, which are described in detail in Chapter 7, while their resource requirements are summarised here. The first part of the survey, which focuses primarily on features of each painting, needs as a minimum an image of the work; the second part, which assesses the fidelity of the field drawing, requires a scan of the field drawing and a site photograph or virtual view; and the third part, which is used to evaluate the fidelity to nature of the artwork, requires an image of the painting and at the very least one of a field drawing scan, a site photograph or a virtual view. When only an image of a landscape painting is available, that work is still included in the first part of the survey, as those pictures contribute data relating to the overall characteristics of Guérard's Antipodean oeuvre, even though it would not be possible to assess the degree of fidelity to nature of natural features illustrated in those works for which the field sketch could not be located nor a site photograph taken.

This chapter explains how paintings were selected and scans obtained; how field drawings were identified and scans obtained; how sites were researched, located, and visited; how vantage points were determined; how site photographs and virtual views were obtained; and how subjects for the survey were assembled.

Deciding on the types of works that qualify

Although Guérard is currently acclaimed as Victoria's, and perhaps Australia's, pre-eminent mid-nineteenth-century landscape painter,¹ that does not necessarily mean that all of his Antipodean

1. Christopher Allen, "Eugene von Guérard: Nature Revealed," exhibition review, *The Australian*, April 7–8, 2018.

works necessarily qualify as landscape paintings per se. Definitions of *landscape painting* in dictionaries of art terms have a high degree of commonality (Appendix E) – essentially any work in which the principal motif or subject is natural scenery qualifies as a landscape painting. For the purposes of this study, however, the working definition of an Antipodean landscape painting is *a painting whose principal subject is an expanse of Australian or New Zealand natural scenery*. This definition maximises the number of works included in the sample and resolves the problem of whether or not to include paintings in which humans are the dominant motif, with natural scenery forming the background. Such scenes where everyday human activities are the principal subject matter are better categorised as examples of *genre painting*,² and are therefore not included in this study.³

Initially, for a work to be included in the study, it was also required to illustrate a potentially geographically identifiable landform, such as an actual waterfall, river, mountain range, bluff, volcano or lake. While this qualification would have increased the probability of locating, visiting and photographing a greater proportion of the sites of the field drawings on which paintings are based, it would have precluded up to 13 works that illustrate wilderness scenes but lack distinctive geographical features. Given that the field drawings for most works are extant, and that including those works would provide useful data for the first and last parts of the survey, the landform requirement was discarded. It was necessary, however, to consider whether the working definition should refer to just an *expanse of scenery* rather than an *expanse of natural scenery*, given that a significant number of Guérard's *homestead views* illustrate pastoral landscapes with both modified and natural scenery.⁴ Given that many European artworks

2. *Genre painting* involves portraying scenes of everyday life. See “Art History 101: The Difference Between ‘Genres’ and ‘Genre Painting’,” How to Talk About Art History, accessed April 10, 2018, <http://www.howtotalkaboutarthistory.com/art-history-101/art-history-101-the-difference-between-genres-and-genre-painting>.

3. Three such excluded paintings are: *Aborigines Met on the Road to the Diggings*, 1854 (GAG); *I have got it*, 1854 (SLV); and *Natives Chasing Game*, 1854 (NLA).

4. *Homestead views* illustrate the homes and runs (stations) of wealthy pastoralists, who often squatted on vast acreages of land in mid-nineteenth-century Victoria. See also Mary Eagle, “Homestead Views by Eugene von Guérard,” *Art on View* 48 (2007), 30–35.

categorised as landscape painting (and which therefore, according to the generally accepted definition, ought to be views of natural scenery) are in fact rural views,⁵ it was a justifiable decision that *natural scenery* should include both wilderness and pastoral scenes,⁶ rather than just landscapes that, to European eyes, appeared to be unmodified by humans.

As Guérard painted some European scenes after his arrival in Australia in 1852, and some Antipodean scenes after his return to Europe in 1882, the date of a particular work cannot be used to judge whether it is Antipodean or not. Regardless, deciding whether a particular landscape painting is a view of Antipodean scenery or not is usually a straightforward task given the subject matter, title, date and provenance of the work, and, if located, the field drawing on which it is based. Often field drawings have annotations that provide further information on the geographical location and visible features, the names of the run or run-holder if it is a pastoral scene, and the date sketched. Even when all of the above clues are occasionally absent, the distinctive landscapes and/or vegetation illustrated in those works meant they were readily included or excluded in the sample of Antipodean landscape paintings.

While it is obvious that all large oil paintings of Antipodean scenery should be included in the study,⁷ particularly given the sheer amount of time and effort invested in producing such highly detailed landscapes, the situation with smaller oils is not so clear cut.⁸ For the purposes of this study, a small oil is included in the sample if Guérard produced it in response to a commission, sold it to a member of the public or an institution, or gave it to a friend. On a number of occasions, however, he produced small *oil studies* of scenes, most likely in the field in front of the subject.⁹ These were either done for his own pleasure or intended to be part of an archive of

5. See, for example, many of the illustrations in Buttner, *Landscape Painting: A History*.

6. As opposed to views of built environments, such as villages, towns or cities, which are better described as *urban landscapes*.

7. As Guérard rarely painted watercolours, they have not been included in this study.

8. For the purposes of this study, small oil paintings are considered to be those with the longest side less than 40 cm.

9. As they were done in the field, such *oil studies* are considered to be the equivalent of field drawings rather than compositional studies

coloured field studies of promising scenes, on which future landscape paintings might be based.¹⁰ While his typical practice was to sign and date oil paintings, he rarely did so with oil studies, the implication being that he did not consider them to be “Works of Art.”¹¹ In all, 14 of 30 smaller Antipodean landscapes are identifiable as oil studies and therefore excluded from the study (Appendix F).¹²

Obtaining high-quality scans of artworks

The ultimate aim was to acquire as many high-quality images of Guérard’s paintings from institutions and individuals as possible. However, in order to assemble a working reference set to start with, illustrations in the main publications on Guérard’s work were scanned. Reasonable quality scans of a large number of works were obtained from the *Nature Revealed* exhibition catalogue. Further good-quality images were obtained by scanning the much larger reproductions of paintings found in the catalogue raisonné.¹³ The catalogue produced for the first significant exhibition of Guérard’s works held in the twentieth century was also a source of further reference images, but mostly in black and white.¹⁴ High-resolution scans of a significant number of works were obtained by downloading images placed by various institutions on the website Wikimedia Commons.¹⁵

The list of works in the back of each of the three catalogues mentioned above usually specifies the collection in which each featured work is held. After identifying all of the public institutions in Australia and New Zealand that held works by Guérard, their online collections

10. Michael Varcoe-Cocks, [essay on *Mount Abrupt, the Grampians, Victoria, 1856*], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 124; Michael Varcoe-Cocks, [essay on *Honey Suckles, Cape Schanck, 1873*], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 220.

11. “Works of Art” is the term the artist used when discussing his landscape paintings. See Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

12. Michael Varcoe-Cocks, Head of Conservation at the National Gallery of Victoria, provided valuable assistance with identifying which small works were likely to have been oil studies, based on technical features of the works.

13. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*.

14. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*.

15. “Eugene von Guérard,” Wikimedia Commons, accessed February 24, 2020, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Eugene_von_Guerard.

were explored. A few institutions, such as the State Library of Victoria, have high-resolution scans of a number of artworks that are freely available for downloading. Other institutions, such as the National Library of Australia, have only low-resolution images accessible for viewing and downloading. The institutions that hold the largest collections of Guérard's paintings, namely the National Gallery of Victoria, the Art Gallery of New South Wales and the National Gallery of Australia, have websites that enable some of works to be viewed at high resolution, but it is not possible to download those images.¹⁶

Early in the research, high-resolution images from galleries were purchased at standard prices, but eventually reduced prices were negotiated on the basis that the images were required for research purposes only, rather than for publication. A few galleries, notably the AGNSW, supplied some images for free. In order to acquire high-resolution images of privately owned landscape paintings that had been on display in the retrospective exhibition, the copyright office of the NGV was asked to supply the high-resolution scans they had on file for numerous paintings. Eventually a significant number of scans of privately owned paintings was supplied.

A Google search for images of Guérard's works located low-resolution, often poorly illuminated images of a significant number of paintings that had not been reproduced in any of the three catalogues. Most of these images were associated with art auction house websites. After consulting the Australian Art Auction Records and the Australian and New Zealand Art Sales Digest websites,¹⁷ a more comprehensive list of currently "known" Antipodean landscape paintings was developed.¹⁸ Although these auction entries generated a list of which auction houses had sold which Guérard paintings, no information was provided as to the catalogue dates.

16. However, high-resolution scans of most of the paintings in the NGV had been supplied to Wikimedia Commons by the gallery.

17. "Johann Joseph Eugen Von Guérard," Australian and New Zealand Art Sales Digest, accessed July 4, 2018, [https://www.aasd.com.au/index.cfm/list-all-works/?concat=Von GuerardJohan](https://www.aasd.com.au/index.cfm/list-all-works/?concat=Von+GuerardJohan); "Johann Joseph Eugen Von Guérard (1811–1901) Australia," Australian Art Auction Records, accessed July 4, 2018, <https://www.artrecord.com/index.cfm/artist/6322-von-guerard-johann-joseph-eugen/medium/1-paintings>.

18. For the purposes of this thesis, a work is categorised as "known" if it appears to be a substantive entry in the catalogue raisonné or it has come to light since then.

Several days were spent trawling through up to six decades of catalogues from Sotheby's, Deutscher et al., Menzies, Bonhams, Christies, Leonard Joel and Lorraine Diggings auction houses held in the Shaw Library of the NGV. Reproductions of artworks illustrated in the more recent catalogues were scanned. Many of those entries also had a useful short essay on the painting, reflecting the increasing popularity of Guérard's paintings and their rapidly escalating prices. Regardless, no better-quality images of paintings sold in earlier decades were presented in those catalogues than on the auction records websites.

Given that the survey instrument ideally involves a close scrutiny of detailed features of paintings, it was important to obtain as many high-quality, high-resolution scans as possible. Out of the total collection of 121 images of Antipodean landscape paintings acquired (Appendix H, 3rd column), 77 (64%) are excellent high-resolution scans; 14 (12%) are good-quality, medium-resolution scans; 17 (14.2%) are adequate-quality, lower-resolution scans; and 13 (11%) are poor-quality, low-resolution scans, with three of these being monochrome images. Those less-than-satisfactory scans limited the range of features that could be assessed in the survey, with the only possible response for the fidelity of a number of variables being "indeterminable."

Accumulating a comprehensive and valid collection of scans of Guérard's landscape paintings was complicated by the fact that he often painted multiple, sometimes nearly identical versions of the same scene, although not necessarily at the same dimensions. Such "same scene" works are sometimes difficult to distinguish unless high-resolution scans are available for viewing. The catalogue raisonné, however, proved useful for determining whether multiple versions exist and for distinguishing between them, often on the basis of size or provenance.

At the end of this process of searching for images of Guérard's Antipodean landscape paintings from a variety of sources, it was evident from the catalogue raisonné listing that a significantly larger number of Antipodean landscapes had been painted by him than the number of images accumulated. These unsighted works may be in unknown private collections in Australia or overseas. Others may have been destroyed, or lost track of during the intervening

century and a half, having not been auctioned or exhibited since the 1960s.¹⁹ Alternatively, some of these entries are based on such limited information that they could in fact be describing a painting listed elsewhere in the catalogue raisonné. Offsetting a possible reduction in the total number of paintings listed in the catalogue raisonné due to duplicated entries is the fact that at least 15 previously uncatalogued works have emerged since 1982, all of which are represented in the collection of images accumulated for this study.

After reconciling the data relating to the assemblage of Antipodean landscape painting scans with the data in the catalogue raisonné, and then rationalising the merged listing, a further 41 works in addition to the scanned ones were identified. The catalogue raisonné authors had established that seven of these were in private collections in 1982, but it was not possible to source images of any of those works currently. Nearly 30 of the other “missing works” have distinctive titles and possibly descriptions, with some even having dimensions specified, which strongly suggests that those entries represent actual works. The other five entries have vague titles and very little further information, so they may not represent missing works at all. Given that some of the “missing works” listed in the catalogue raisonné might refer to known paintings, a conservative estimate of the total number of known, but not necessarily sighted, Antipodean oil landscapes is 155 works. Given that further uncatalogued works may emerge in future decades, the total number of Antipodean landscapes painted by Guérard, whether extant or not, is likely to have been about 160.

Although the sample of 121 oil paintings of Australian and New Zealand scenery (Appendix H, 2nd column) used in this study is large (76%) compared to the estimated total number of works making up the original population, the question arises as to whether the sample is representative or not. Had any biases been introduced into the sample because certain types of paintings are more likely to be in the “no image available” or “missing work” categories? For example, it could be that homestead view paintings (Appendix P) are under-represented in the sample because some are still in the possession of descendants of the commissioning squatter,

19. When previously “lost” Antipodean works by Guérard turn up overseas, they are usually auctioned in Australia, given the higher demand for such works in that country.

who either value their privacy or are unaware that they have a Guérard hidden in the attic.²⁰ As 32% of the 25 known works that qualify as homestead view paintings were not included in this study, and 26% of the 137 known paintings that are not homestead views were not included, it is unlikely that homestead view works are under-represented in the sample.²¹ More obviously, 60% of the 10 known New Zealand paintings are missing from the sample, as compared to only 24% of the known Australian works, which may be due to the fact that Guérard's works are not as well known in New Zealand, and are therefore less likely to have come to light if they are still in existence somewhere in that country. However, as the ten known New Zealand works form only a small proportion (6%) of the 160 known Antipodean works, the proportionally fewer New Zealand landscapes is unlikely to be a significant source of bias.

“Same scene” artworks

Although images of more than 120 Antipodean landscape paintings were acquired, not all of them are of distinct scenes. Guérard sometimes painted several versions of the same scene (e.g. Figure 7.5). Some of these “same scene” works (e.g. *Spring in the valley of the Mitta with the Bogong Ranges*, 1863; Figure 7.5, top) are commissioned smaller or larger versions of paintings that had already been exhibited (e.g. *Spring in the valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges*, 1866; Figure 7.5, bottom).²² Others completed as oil on board pictures (e.g. *View of the granite rocks at Cape Woolamai*, 1872) may have been worked up in preparation of producing a larger work (e.g. *View of the granite rocks at Cape Woolamai*, 1872; Figure 4.10). As these small, preparatory works were signed, dated and sold, they are included in the sample as well. In all, there are 11 scenes with two painted versions and three with three in the sample (Table 7.1). In total, there are 17 works illustrating previously painted scenes, and therefore the field drawings on which only 104 distinct scenes are based needed to be located (Appendix H, 5th column).

20. One such example is the painting *Lake Bullen Merri*, 1858, currently in a private collection in Scotland. Maggie Black, email message to author, April 21, 2017.

21. An unsighted painting is categorised as “known” alongside sighted works if it appears to be a substantive entry in the catalogue raisonné.

22. Frances Lindsay, [essay on *Spring in the valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges*, 1866], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 251–253.

Locating the field sketches on which paintings are based

During his extensive travels throughout Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, New South Wales and New Zealand between 1853 and 1878, Guérard sketched many thousands of often annotated images of Australasian scenery in situ, either in pocket-sized sketchbooks (e.g. Figure 5.1) or on large loose sheets of paper. Multiple sketches of each size are sometimes joined up to form panoramas.²³ Most of the sketches were done in pencil but some small drawings are inked in or had wash added at a later date. Often the pencil marks in the sketchbook drawings are faint and the annotations difficult to read.



Figure 5.1. Cover of one of Guérard's pocket-sized sketchbooks

Front cover of "Volume 15: Sketchbook XXXVIII, No. 20 Australia and New Zealand, 20 Jan. - 20 Feb. 1876," 10.2 × 16.0 cm, reference code 825444, Dixson Library, SLNSW. The book mostly contains sketches of New Zealand scenery.

Guérard took all of his sketchbooks and nearly all of the large drawings back to Europe when he left Australia permanently in 1882.²⁴ Eventually, his grandson Jack Blunt (b. 1893) inherited the sketchbooks after the artist's daughter Victoria died in 1925. In 1969, Jack sold 17 of the 18 sketchbooks with Antipodean scenery to the Clune Gallery in Sydney, which were then on-sold to the SLNSW in 1970.²⁵ The remaining Antipodean sketchbook was purchased by the

23. Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 301–304.

24. Some larger sketches that were preparatory drawings for commissioned homestead paintings were given to the commissioning squatter along with the artwork.

25. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 174.

SLNSW from Frank McDonald, owner of the Clune Gallery, in 1975.²⁶ Judging by Guérard's own Roman numeral numbering of the sketchbooks, four Antipodean books are missing, presumed lost. Some pages from missing sketchbooks, which would have been numbered IX, XX and XXI,²⁷ found their way into a loose collection of small and large drawings held in the SLV.²⁸ The sketchbook that would have been labelled XXXVII, in use sometime between 1872 and 1876, appears to have been lost in its entirety, but its original existence was confirmed by research into a Tasmanian painting by Hook.²⁹

Given that there are many thousands of drawings in the extant Antipodean sketchbooks, finding the small sketch on which a painting may have been based was challenging at times. The most obvious approach depended on gleaning useful location information from the title of a work. The content descriptions of sketchbooks used prior to the year in which a landscape was painted usually constrained the possibility of finding a small field sketch on which the work may be based to one or possibly two or even three sketchbooks. Entering "Guérard + <location>" in the *Manuscripts, oral history and pictures* search engine of the SLNSW often narrowed down the field to a specific sketchbook or two. A browser search on the contents list of a sketchbook identified the folio numbers of relevant drawings, which were then viewed by clicking on tiny thumbnail images. Locating the field drawings on which paintings with poorly specified titles are based, however, usually involved trawling through all of the images in multiple sketchbooks, checking the often faint images for features resembling those in the work.

While all of the extant Antipodean sketchbooks have been digitised by the SLNSW, the freely downloadable scans of the pages of most sketchbooks had a resolution of only 100 pixels

26. See "[List of Australian Sketchbooks by Eugene von Guérard]," State Library of New South Wales, accessed March 1, 2018, <https://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110332609>.

27. These three sketchbooks would have been pencilled during the period late 1852 to early 1854.

28. Ruth Pullin, "Not Lost, Just Hiding: Eugene von Guérard's First Australian Sketchbooks," *La Trobe Journal* 93–94 (2014): 27, <https://www.slv.vic.gov.au/sites/default/files/La-Trobe-Journal-93-94-Ruth-Pullin.pdf>.

29. Most likely, it contained sketches made during Guérard's second expedition to Tasmania in 1875. The four known paintings resulting from this visit are based on extant large drawings, but one is also partly based on an accurate but missing sketch. See Hook, "Tasmanian Arcadia," 52.

per inch (ppi) at 100%, with just a few sketchbooks scanned at a resolution of 200 ppi at 100%.³⁰ This usually meant that unless the sketch had been inked in, the lower-resolution scans have faint or fuzzy details, and annotations that are often difficult to read, which can only be improved upon to a limited extent in imaging programs.³¹ Although it was possible to purchase high-resolution images of drawings from the SLNSW, the cost of this exercise – requiring up to 90 or more sketches – proved prohibitive.³²

Near the end of his life, Guérard catalogued more than 400 large Antipodean drawings into 25 named collections, most of which were eventually bound in Morocco-leather-covered folders (e.g. Figure 5.2).³³ These albums were acquired by the London bookseller Francis Edwards and on-sold to the booksellers Angus & Robertson and Dymocks in Australia. Many of those albums were purchased by Sir William Dixson, who eventually donated them to the SLNSW. Others were purchased directly by that library, one album found its way into the NLA, and five albums were purchased by the New Zealand collector Alexander Turnbull, who eventually bequeathed them to that nation. A number of other large drawings were not incorporated into albums and eventually found their way into the SLV and SLNSW collections, or are held in private collections.³⁴

30. For optimal viewing, drawings need to be scanned with a resolution of 300 ppi at 100%.

31. Processing in Photoshop involved duplicating the layer to enable the image to be multiplied, which was then flattened before levels were adjusted to produce images with greater contrast.

32. Since the SLNSW launched its new catalogue, either late in 2020 or early in 2021, it is now possible to download higher-resolution scans of the drawings in the sketchbooks, but by then all of the fieldwork and the three parts of the survey had been well and truly completed.

33. See Edward Augustus Petherick's list of sets of large drawings by Guérard reproduced in Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 27.

34. See Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 25–29. Some of these drawings may never have left Australia, having been given to the commissioners of the paintings.

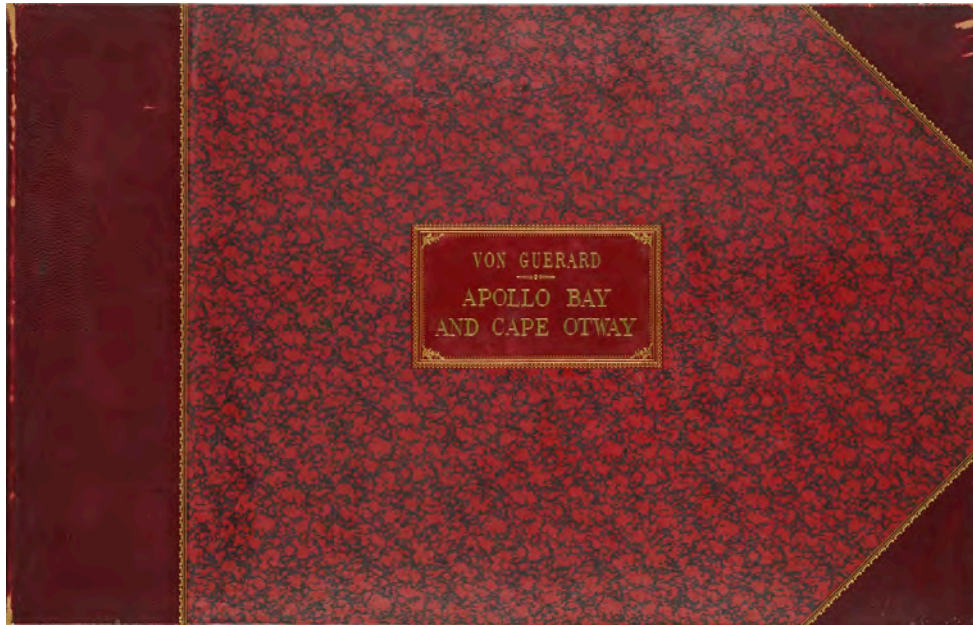


Figure 5.2. **Cover of one the albums of large drawings**

Front cover of the album “Apollo Bay and Cape Otway, 1859–1862,” 37.5 × 58.5 cm, reference code 825478, Dixson Library, SLNSW.

To facilitate locating large drawings on which paintings might be based, a reference set was created, consisting of low-resolution scans of drawings, whether in albums or still loose, downloaded from the SLNSW, SLV, NLA and ATL websites. As one whole album, a few images in several other albums, and a number of loose drawings in the SLNSW collection had not been digitised, this necessitated visiting the Dixson Library of the SLNSW in Sydney to photograph those images. Eventually, a comprehensive collection of scans of Guérard’s large Antipodean drawings was assembled, which were then date-coded to sort them into chronological order. Searching the folder of scans using location information gleaned from the title of the work usually located possible source sketches. For paintings with unspecified, poorly specified or erroneously specified locations in their titles, the entire set of drawings up to the year in which the painting was made often had to be reviewed.

Field drawings were located for 91 (89%) of the 104 distinct scenes in the sample of 121 Antipodean landscapes by Guérard (Appendix H, 6th column).³⁵ Despite the attention paid to his pocket-sized sketchbooks in the literature on his paintings, 50 (55%) of the distinct scenes for

35. Sometimes, a particular scene was found to be based on views recorded in two distinctly different field drawings, indicating that the painting is in fact a composite view.

which field drawings have been located are primarily based on large field drawings (Appendix H, 7th column) rather than small sketches in his pocket-sized sketchbooks.³⁶ Given that the large drawings usually include far more detail than the small sketches, it was important to obtain high-resolution scans of as many of these drawings as possible in order to facilitate detailed comparisons with site photographs and paintings. The SLNSW generously supplied high-resolution scans of the majority of the large field drawings. Several high-resolution scans of large drawings were downloaded from the SLV website. Although scans of relevant large field drawings held in the ATL are not downloadable, they can be viewed at high resolution or purchased.³⁷ A set of “missing” large drawings, on which four homestead view paintings are based, was eventually encountered hanging in a hallway of the homestead of a descendant of one of the early squatters in the Western District of Victoria, who allowed them to be photographed.

Field drawing or composition study?

Given that the second part of the survey instrument assesses the fidelity to nature of the drawings on which paintings are based by comparing them with site photographs, and the third part involves comparing paintings with field drawings as well as site photographs, it was important to have confidence that an identified drawing was actually done in the field in front of the subject. The portability of Guérard’s pocket-sized sketchbooks, the immediacy and often partial completeness of the sketches, the reliance on pencil, and the specification of locations and dates, as well as annotations, all imply that sketchbook drawings had been done in situ.³⁸ However, the context in which large drawings were made is not so clear cut – are they primarily compositionally promising, accurate field drawings largely completed in front of the subject, or

36. Two of the 50 distinct scenes, *View of the Wannon Springs in the Grampians, with Mount Abrupt*, 1859 (private collection), and *Purrumbete from across the Lake*, 1858 (NGA), are based on known but unsighted large drawings.

37. Prior to 2017, only medium-resolution scans of most of Guérard’s large drawings in the collection of the Alexander Turnbull Library were available for viewing, but after the author wrote to the Chief Librarian in October 2016, the library decided to rescan the entire set of drawings and make them available for viewing at high magnification.

38. Whether such sketches are accurate records is evaluated in the second part of the survey.

have the view and/or natural features already been enhanced in some way, thus altering their status to that of composition studies?

In the *Eugen von Guérard* exhibition catalogue, Candice Bruce categorised all large, non-commissioned drawings as composition studies, which were “preparatory for oil paintings.”³⁹ The curator did not clarify whether she believed that such studies had been done in the field, in accommodation later in the day, or in Guérard’s studio. As 45 (49%) of the 91 distinct scenes with located field drawings are based solely on a large drawing, this implies that those drawings are highly likely to have been executed in front of the subject, albeit of views that Guérard was inclined to think might form the basis of an appealing composition and therefore worth the extra effort.⁴⁰ In the catalogue raisonné, the authors contended that a distinction should be drawn between large drawings mostly completed in the open and composition studies done back in the studio. Large drawings done in the field were typically “rough in execution and most often loose in their handling.” In contrast, composition studies were large and detailed.⁴¹ Pullin argued that Guérard often took large loose sheets of paper with him on expeditions, which the artist “used interchangeably with the sketchbook.” These large loose drawings were his “working drawings,” just as images in his sketchbooks were. His usage of large sheets was “determined as much by circumstance as by purpose.”⁴²

39. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 127.

40. This assumes that there is no missing sketchbook with a field sketch on which the large drawing could have been based. Given Guérard’s numbering system, it is highly unlikely that there are more missing sketchbooks other than those identified earlier in this chapter.

41. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 175. That said, some large sketches, which were undoubtedly completed in the field, are highly detailed and tightly finished. See, for example, Varcoe-Cocks, “The Verisimilar Line,” 27.

42. Ruth Pullin, “The Centrality of Drawing,” in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 169; Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 25.

A close study of the 51 large drawings on which the majority of Guérard's landscape paintings in the sample are primarily based,⁴³ revealed that these sketches typically exhibit the following features:

- the subject matter does not fill the whole sheet;
- the paper is not of very good quality and often roughly cut;
- some features are just outlined or roughly sketched or shaded in;
- the scene is nearly always drawn in pencil and not inked or washed in;
- location details and date are present;
- words may be visible on some elements of the drawing;
- detailed annotations in nineteenth-century German are present beneath the subject;
- colour indicators are sometimes present, either as notes on elements or crayoned in.

These features strongly suggest that those large drawings must have been largely or fully completed in the field in front of the subject.⁴⁴ However, that does not necessarily imply they were not enhanced in some way as compared to the generally accepted fidelity to the view of Guérard's sketchbook images.

A few of the large detailed sketches on which paintings are based are, however, composition studies rather than accurate field drawings, made either in response to, or in anticipation of, a commission, or in the hope of eventually selling a painting based upon it through exhibiting the work. With those drawings the artist may have felt free to enhance the view in order to present a more appealing composition. One such large sketch that should be categorised as a composition study is a view across a large lagoon looking toward the Major Mitchell Plateau and the Serra Range (Figure 5.3, top), which the painting *Mount William and part of the Grampians in West Victoria*, 1865, is based on. A site photograph taken of the same scene from near Lake Muirhead (Figure 5.3, bottom) confirms that the artist accurately rendered

43. Two of Guérard's composite paintings (*Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865 [SLNSW] and *North View from Daylesford*, 1864 [private collection]) are each based on two large field drawings of quite different scenes.

44. Given the constraints of time, daylight and weather conditions, Guérard may well have fleshed out the details of some drawings as he sat around a campfire or a squatter's dining table in the evening.

the locations and topography of the Serra Range and the foothills of the plateau, but his sketch of the plateau itself compresses the horizon horizontally and expands it vertically relative to the rest of the background in order to create a much more dramatic profile. As there is no small sketch on which the drawing could have been based in the sketchbook used during that expedition,⁴⁵ he must have commenced the drawing in the field. The modification of the profile of the highest plateau in the Grampians National Park (Gariwerd) may have been a deliberate embellishment despite good visibility on the day, or possibly a pragmatic one if cloud conditions did not permit Guérard to accurately record the shape of the plateau. Either way, the drawing cannot be considered to be an accurate field drawing with which to compare the painting.

45. "Volume 04: Sketchbook XXV, No. 7 Australian. May-June 1856, January 1857," reference code 824696, SLNSW.

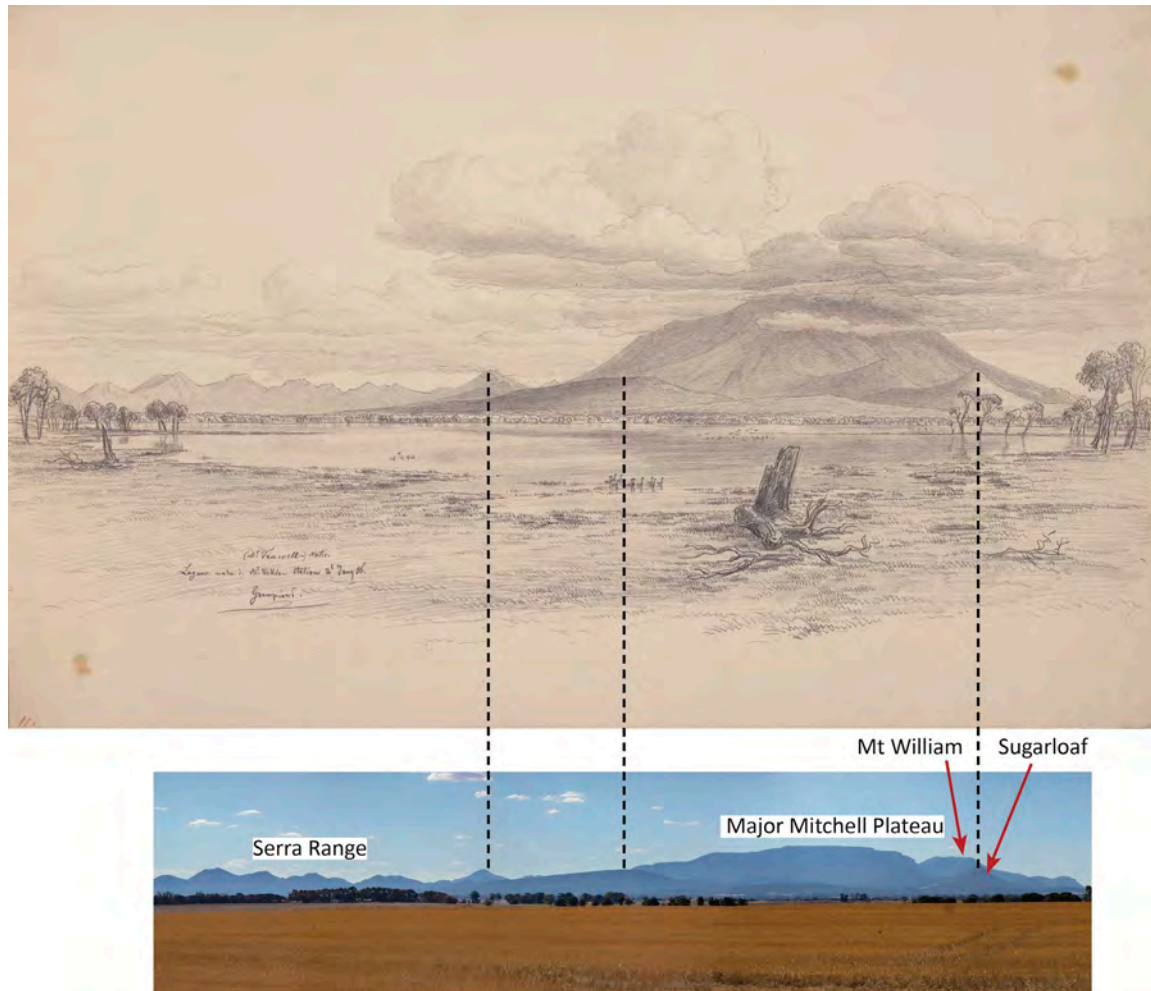


Figure 5.3. **A composition study rather than a field drawing**

Top: (*Mt. Tauwell*) *Nativi. Lagune nahe d. Mt William Station 2r Juny 1856. Grampians, 1856*, pencil on paper, 28.7 × 45.0 cm, in album “Warnambool to Mount Zero 1856,” reference code E-338-f, ATL. Bottom: Serra Range and Major Mitchell Plateau viewed from near Lake Muirhead, 2017. Photograph: author. Mt William is on the far right (northern) end of the plateau.

A different kind of issue arises when both a large and a small drawing exist for a particular painting – which should be considered the field drawing to compare with the site photo and the painting? Initially, there appeared to be 13 such paired drawings associated with Antipodean landscape paintings in the sample, but a careful inspection indicated that five of the large drawings are composition studies rather than field drawings, given that they encompass the same scene but with invented foreground detail and extra sky added to fill out the different format.⁴⁶ In those instances the small sketches are treated as the field drawing. Of the remaining

46. Small sketches tend to be more panoramic in format when compared to the larger drawings whose heights are generally about two-thirds as long as their widths.

eight pairs, six of the large drawings either have different vantage points, principal sight lines or fields of view from the small sketch, in which case the sketched view that most closely resembles the painting qualified as the field drawing.⁴⁷ The other two highly detailed large drawings were clearly completed on site over several days given the stated dates and accurate additional detail, thus qualifying them as the field drawings.

As to why Guérard might have completed two sketches of the same scene, albeit of different dimensions, there are several possibilities. Firstly, the artist may have had only enough time to do a quick small sketch of a promising scene at the site and then developed a larger drawing based on the smaller one shortly afterwards, e.g. the two sketches of a view of the Kosciuszko Massif from near Mt Hope (Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4), on which the painting *Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border (Mount Hope Ranges)* 1866 (Figure 6.1), is based. Secondly, Guérard may have made several small sketches of different views on a squatter's run and then, in response to an expressed interest in a particular view, developed a larger drawing based on the preferred smaller one to give the potential commissioner a better idea of what a painting might look like. One such instance involves the sketches made from the crater of Bald Hill (Figure 5.4), one of which formed the basis of the painting *View of Mt Sturgeon and Mt Abrupt from the Crater of Bald Hill 1856*, 1869. Thirdly, the artist may have made the larger drawing in front of the same subject on a return visit at a later date in response to receiving a commission, e.g. the small and large drawings of the view from Highett's Farm on the Barrabool Hill made in 1855,⁴⁸ which formed the basis of the painting *View of Geelong*, 1856 (Figure 8.25).

47. This involves a consideration of the respective vantage points, sight lines, angles of view and horizons (see Figure 6.8).

48. *Barabool Hills*, c. 1855, folio 70, "Volume 01: Sketchbook XXII. No. 4 Australian. Apr. 1854 - Dec.1857, 1858," reference code 824690, SLNSW; and *Highetts Farm*, 1855, pencil on paper, 28.5 × 41.0 cm, folio 6, in album "Station Peak, Geelong, 1855," reference code 448817, SLNSW.



Figure 5.4. **View from the Bald Hill crater**

Top and middle: [Untitled] and *Bald Hill*, 29 Mai 56, 1856, pencil on paper, folios 8 and 9, "Volume 04: Sketchbook XXV, No. 7 Australian. May-June 1856, January 1857," reference code 824696, Dixon Library, SLNSW. Bottom: *View of Mt Sturgeon & Abrupt from the crater of Baldhill [sic]*, 29 May 1857, 1857, pencil on paper, 28.7 × 45.0 cm, folio 3 in album "Warnambool to Mount Zero 1856."

Locating sites

Although there are only 104 distinct scenes portrayed in the sample of 121 paintings, as a collection of field drawings that relate to most of those 104 scenes was assembled it became apparent that a significant number of painted scenes are in fact composites incorporating scenery from two different sketched views. Usually one of them, the principal field drawing, supplied the major features on which a painting is based, with the secondary one providing additional landscape features.⁴⁹ Often the secondary field sketch is of a view near the principal one, but occasionally it is of a view many kilometres away.⁵⁰ Such composite scenes may be based on two large or two small drawings, or on a combination of the two sizes. In all, there are 18 such painted scenes (Appendix G and Appendix H, 4th column), which incorporate scenery from two field drawings, rather than just detail from a close-up sketch of some nearby feature. This meant that there were 122 sites in total to be located.

The titles that Guérard originally gave to his artworks, or those designated by exhibitors, reviewers, curators, cataloguers and art historians, sometimes provide accurate information that can be used to narrow the range of possible locations from which the artist may have made the field drawing. For those works that were not given a locationally-based title, sometimes it is possible to match them up with a place-named sketch, thereby identifying the actual view. In other cases, though, incorrect titles have been ascribed to a work by individuals who were not familiar with the subject matter or the actual location. One such example is a painting of a view in the north Grampians (Figure 9.1), incorrectly titled *View of the Grampians from the top of the Serra Range* in a number of publications (see page 306).

For the 23 identified paintings of homestead views or runs in the sample (Appendix P),⁵¹ which were either commissioned or purchased by wealthy Victorian squatters, the established title of a work usually includes the name of the run and/or the squatter. Early directories of squatters

49. In contrast though, the painting *Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865 (SLNSW), is based equally on two large field drawings (Figure 12.8, bottom).

50. See Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity," 1033.

51. The presence of sheep or cattle usually indicates that a painting is of a pastoral run even when there is no sign of the homestead.

allowed the name of a run to be confirmed if the squatter's name was known.⁵² These runs could then be located on the map *The Pastoral Holdings of the Port Phillip District, 1835–51* (Figure 5.5), which shows the approximate extent of runs. This made it possible to find the corresponding area on a digital topographic map by comparing early routes, which eventually became modern roads. As the name of the original run often became the name of a village or small town that is still in existence, this made the task of flagging the general location of the site of a homestead view painting much easier.

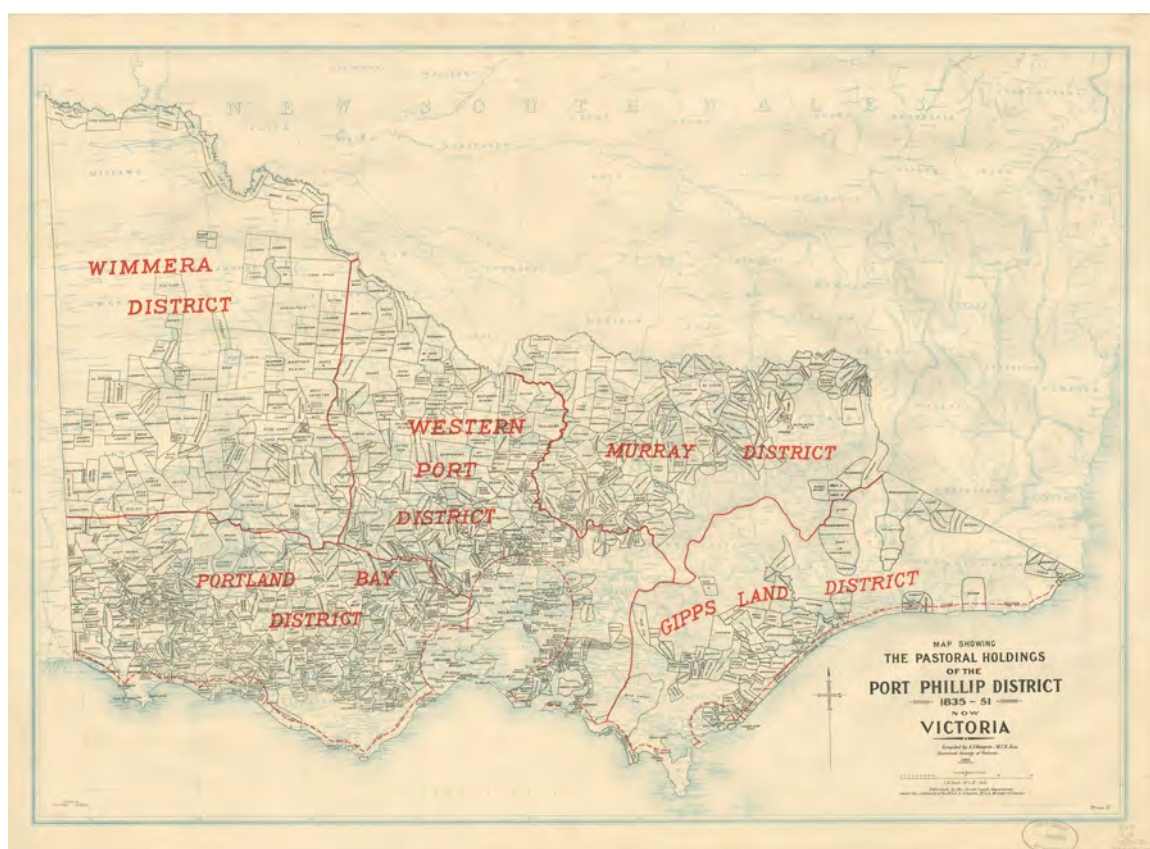


Figure 5.5. **Mid-nineteenth-century runs in Victoria**
Map showing the pastoral runs in Victoria between 1835 and 1851.⁵³

If a run illustrated by Guérard still existed in some form or other as an agricultural enterprise, it was sometimes possible to find the physical address of the property merely by doing

52. For example, *The Squatters' Directory* (Melbourne: Edward Wilson, 1849).

53. Alfred Kenyon, *Map Showing the Pastoral Holdings of the Port Phillip District 1835–51, Now Victoria* (Melbourne: Historical Society of Victoria, 1932), SLV, accessed August 20, 2018, <http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/105595>.

an internet search on the name of the station. If some of the original homestead buildings or historical replacements are still in existence, it was also possible to locate physical addresses through the Federation Home website,⁵⁴ or by downloading reports from the Victorian Heritage Database.⁵⁵

A significant number of non-homestead view works portray readily identifiable geographical features, which have since become popular sites for tourists. The location of views – of waterfalls such as Wentworth and Steavenson Falls, of dramatic coastal formations such as those at Cape Schanck and Cape Woolamai, from ancient volcanoes such as Mt Elephant and Mt Rouse, into volcanoes such as Tower Hill, across lakes such as Gnotuk, Bullen Merri and Illawarra, and from towering escarpments such as at Govett’s Leap near Blackheath in the Blue Mountains west of Sydney – could readily be determined on topographic maps.

In 1984, the self-taught artist Dacre Smyth published a small book that compared more than fifty of Guérard’s Victorian landscapes with his own paintings of the same views.⁵⁶ Much sustained effort was required for Smyth to locate the views illustrated in some of those works, and he helpfully provided information on how to reach most of them. A number of other wilderness sites have been researched by local historians, Guérard aficionados and art historians, and the locations determined and detailed in publications or on websites.⁵⁷ For some “non-wilderness” paintings, local historians sometimes provided useful information on possible locations on private land.⁵⁸

54. “Federation Home,” accessed February 12, 2020, <https://federationhome.com>.

55. “Heritage Council Victoria,” accessed March 6, 2018, <http://vhd.heritagecouncil.vic.gov.au>.

56. Smyth, *Views in Victoria*.

57. For example, for the painting *View of the Wannon Springs in the Grampians, with Mount Abrupt* 1859 (private collection), see Thomas Parkes, “Finding Eugene Von Guérard,” *The Grampians* (blog), accessed August 7, 2021, <https://thomasparkes.wordpress.com/2008/12/08/finding-eugene-von-guerard>.

58. For example, for the painting *View from Fritz Wilhelmberg, Herne Hill*, 1860 (GAG), see Jo Mitchell, “Find Fritzwilhelmberg,” *Barwon Blog*, May 19, 2016, <https://barwonblogger.blogspot.com/search?q=fritz>.

The subjects of 21 (17%) of the 122 known sketched scenes on which the 104 distinct scenes illustrated in the sample are based can be broadly classified as isolated wilderness or nature scenes, rather than rural holdings, urban locations, popular coastal spots or current tourist sites. Identifying the location of some of those isolated scenes proved challenging. Sketches completed when the artist accompanied the geophysicist Georg von Neumayer or the explorer Alfred Howitt on expeditions into the ranges of northeastern Victoria were particularly problematic. Identifying such locations involved assembling a sequence of small and large sketches in chronological order and then correlating the sequence with routes on early maps, narratives in the official report of an expedition, and informal travel descriptions in personal correspondence. A striking example of the success of this approach is in determining the location where Guérard sketched a view of the Kosciuszko Massif, which then became the primary field drawing for his dramatic work *Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border*, 1866 (Figure 6.1), the details of which are discussed in the case study in Chapter 6.

Overall, the general locations of 103 (84%) of the 122 sketches, on which the 104 distinct scenes in the sample of paintings are based, were determined (Appendix H, 8th column). Of the other 19 drawings, nine were forest, creek or coastal scenes with no identifiable geographical feature, three were of sites that were lost after logging, one was of a site rendered invisible under urban sprawl, one was accessible only by sea, and five others were not investigated sufficiently.

Despite the high rate of success in establishing the general location of so many of Guérard's sites, visiting some of the more isolated ones proved challenging at times. Regardless, though, of whether a site was readily accessible, in difficult terrain or quite isolated, determining Guérard's vantage point once a site was reached in order to photograph the same field of view as that captured in the artist's field sketch was not always a straightforward exercise.

Early site visits

Initially, visiting sites involved going to readily accessible locations in western Victoria, such as Tower Hill, Mount Rouse and the twin lakes near Camperdown. Guérard's vantage point at each site was readily determined by moving around until the view coincided with that recorded in the

field drawing. A photograph encompassing the same field of view as the sketch was taken if the view was not interrupted by vegetation in a major way. Close-up shots of relevant details, such as vegetation and rock formations, were also taken.

This approach proved successful for a period of time, with some sites making the task easy by having a display panel showing the relevant painting at Guérard's original vantage point (e.g. Figure 1.2). Eventually, after all such easy-to-locate sites had been visited, it became apparent that, despite knowing the general location of a view sketched by Guérard, a considerable amount of time would be wasted at more challenging sites in attempting to locate his vantage points unless sufficient knowledge of those locations was acquired beforehand. The natural and environmental histories of locations were, therefore, researched before sites were systematically visited in a series of field trips across Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand.

Research prior to site visits

In order to investigate the site of a Guérard landscape painting before visiting it, the following resources were typically located and consulted:

- the essay discussing the work in the retrospective exhibition catalogue;
- information about the painting in the catalogue raisonné;
- articles and other books that discussed the specific work;
- local history books, websites and blogs;
- historical maps;
- articles, books and blogs on the natural and environmental history of the location; and
- a geological map and report covering the district.

Although researching each site took significantly longer than expected, it did result in many successful site visits, during which Guérard's vantage point was located relatively easily and his field of view photographed. This phase of the field research resulted in the accumulation

of a wealth of resources and reference material, which permitted the selection of a wider range of paintings for the case studies than anticipated.⁵⁹

Searching for early site photographs

Internet searches often produced relevant photographs of a site before fieldwork occurred. For some of the more popular sites, an abundance of photographs is available online, which often provided valuable visual information on what to expect at the site. Some of these photographs proved to have been taken from close to Guérard's vantage point, although not always along the same principal sight line nor encompassing the same horizontal and vertical fields of view (see Figure 6.8 for a visual explanation of these terms). Site visits were, however, undertaken wherever possible. In the few instances where it was not possible to reach a site, if another photographer's image was viewable online it was used rather than excluding the work from the second part of the survey. Permission was sought for any such images reproduced in this thesis.

The principal purpose of the second part of the survey (Appendix J) is to ascertain whether Guérard's field drawings are accurate records of the scenes he beheld by comparing them with site photographs. Comparing them with modern site photographs, however, limits the analysis to enduring features of landscapes, such as topography, landforms and geological features, which excludes other key aspects such as most botanical and ecological features.⁶⁰ Locating photographs taken within a decade or two of the time of the artist's visit offered the possibility of comparing other features that might have been less modified by human activity over the shorter period of time than had elapsed since the artist sketched the view at a particular site. Most of these searches were made through the Trove website of the National Library of Australia,

59. In all, nine paintings were investigated as case studies, some of which form part of this thesis and others of which are discussed in published articles only.

60. At a few sites, distinctively shaped trees that Guérard sketched are still in existence, although some are skeletal. One such living example is the leaning river red gum in the painting *James Glass's station on the Goulburn River, Victoria*, 1862 (Figure 8.9).

and the digital catalogue of the State Library of Victoria.⁶¹ The search terms used included the names of any geographical feature, the squatter and/or the run, which were more often than not stated on the field drawing on which the artwork is based. Despite searches made in relation to nearly every painting, only a handful of comparable photographs taken from close to Guérard's vantage points, and encompassing a similar field of view, were located. The view captured in a sketch made in 1864 (Figure 5.6, top), and illustrated in his 1870 painting *Ravine near Glenlyon, Upper Loddon* (Figure 8.24, left), was photographed (Figure 5.6, bottom) by the Frenchman Antoine Fauchery about six years before the artist visited the site.⁶² The accuracy with which the artist rendered the shapes and locations of living and dead trees is apparent. In 1865, Guérard made a highly detailed drawing (Figure 5.7, top) of a view of a squatter's homestead on the outskirts of Melbourne in response to a commission he completed in 1867 with the work *Mr Clark's Station, Deep Creek, near Keilor, 1867* (NGV). A section of the same view was photographed by Charles Nettleton just a few years after the sketch was made (Figure 5.7, bottom). The photograph confirms the botanical accuracy with which the artist recorded both the exotic and native plant species. Although few in number, the two photographs are indicative of the fidelity of both Guérard's pocket-sketchbook-sized and large field drawings.

61. The websites of the state libraries of New South Wales, South Australia and Tasmania were also searched, as were those of the National Library of New Zealand, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and DigitalNZ.

62. Guérard had met Fauchery in 1853 during his time as a miner on the Ballarat goldfields. See Tipping, *An Artist on the Goldfields*, 56.

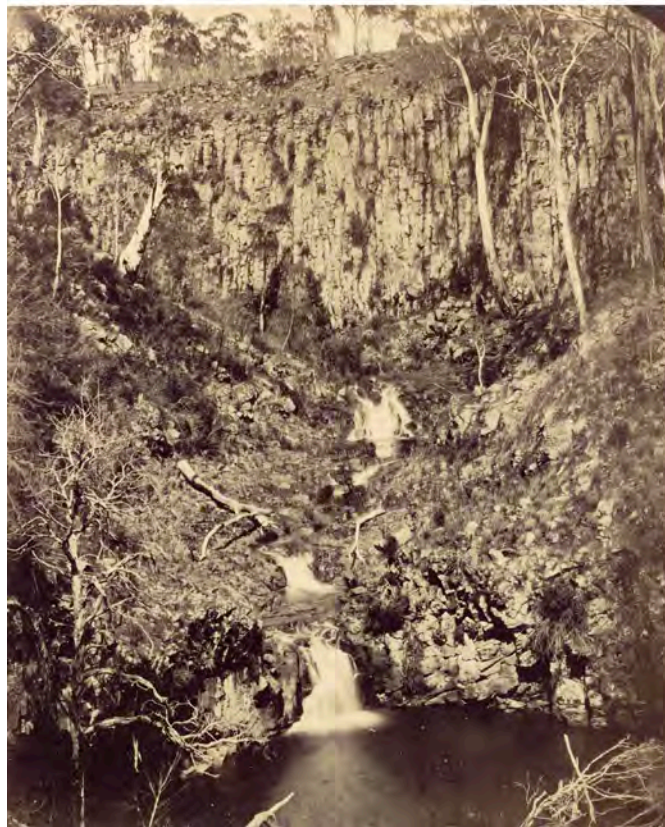


Figure 5.6. **Glenlyon Falls on the Loddon River**

Top: *Loddon Falls*, 2 May 1864, 1864, folio 20, “Volume 14: Sketchbook XXXV, No. 17 Australian, 1864–1865,” reference code 825434, Dixon Library, SLNSW. Bottom: Antoine Fauchery, *Falls at Glen Lyon Upper Loddon River*, c. 1858, albumen silver photograph, 24.9 × 20.6 cm, accession number H84.167/38, SLV.

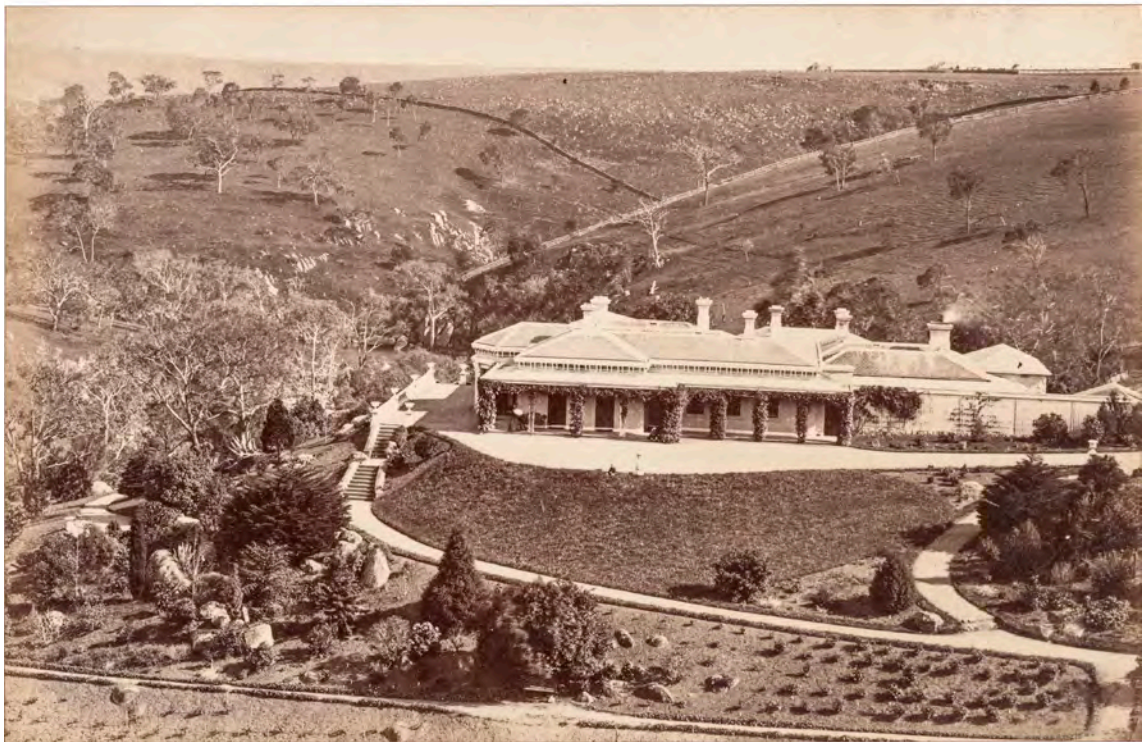


Figure 5.7. Comparing a field drawing of a homestead with an early photograph

Top: *Deep Creek Homestead*, c. 1865 (detail), pencil on paper, folio 1 in album “Sketches 1863–1866, 1870, 1877,” reference code 825485, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Bottom: Charles Nettleton, *Squatters Residence. Deep Creek Bulla Bulla 15 Miles N.E. [sic] from Melbourne*, c. 1862, albumen silver photograph, 13.0 × 20.0 cm, BIB ID 1708287, SLV.

As photographic techniques developed later in the nineteenth century, photographers were able to venture further afield with less cumbersome equipment. A significant number of photographs taken closer to the turn of the twentieth century in the same area as scenes painted earlier by Guérard were located, for example the Lake Wakatipu photographs of Alfred Burton (see Chapter 10). Often these were of features illustrated in a painting, but usually not from the same vantage point nor encompassing the same field of view. Nevertheless, they provide evidence confirming the general accuracy of Guérard's field drawings.

Using digital technology to locate sites and determine vantage points

A few art historians have conducted field research to determine the location of all views within a geographical region painted by a particular landscape artist. For example, Pavel Machotka's extensive research in the 1990s uncovered the sites of many of the previously unlocated views in Provence that Paul Cézanne (1839–1906) had painted, and Pamela Robertson was able to locate the vantage points of many of the French watercolours Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868–1928).⁶³ Machotka's use of topographic tools to locate sites was limited to occasionally making use of a printed topographic map to align features visible in a painting before visiting a site.⁶⁴ When John Tregenza visited all of the sites of Guérard's South Australian drawings, lithographs and paintings in the 1980s, he used "contour maps at a scale of 1:50,000 as a guide" to locate sites.⁶⁵

For this research project, in order to locate some of Guérard's more elusive vantage points, Global Positioning System (GPS) coordinates, generated by identifying the likely location of a site on a digital topographic map, were used to access satellite and 'street views' in Google Earth and the virtual views generated by PeakFinder. The latter is an application used on a tablet or smart phone, which generates a digital elevation model (DEM) that shows in outline form the

63. Pamela Robertson and Philip Long, *Charles Rennie Mackintosh in France* (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2019), 31–95.

64. Pavel Machotka, *Cézanne: Landscape into Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 52.

65 John Tregenza, "Illustrations with Commentaries," in Carroll and Tregenza, *Eugene von Guérard's South Australia*, 17.

topography of the landscape from a particular spot. The accuracy of PeakFinder’s virtual views can be confirmed by using the application at a site and enabling “Camera” mode. The digital outline will then be seen to closely match the camera’s image of the landscape visible on the screen of the device (Figure 5.8).



Figure 5.8. The accuracy of PeakFinder’s digital elevation modelling

The PeakFinder overlay (in black or white depending on the background) can be seen to closely match the profiles of the hills and mountains that surround Akaroa Harbour in New Zealand.

These digital technologies proved particularly useful for pinpointing a site and sometimes even determining the artist’s vantage point before visiting a site, as was true for the painting *Dandenong Ranges from Beleura*, 1870 (Figure 5.9, bottom), where the vantage point was determined to be in the grounds of Beleura House by matching up the digital elevation model generated by PeakFinder (Figure 5.9, top) with the painted view. Guérard’s vantage point was then confirmed by a site visit.

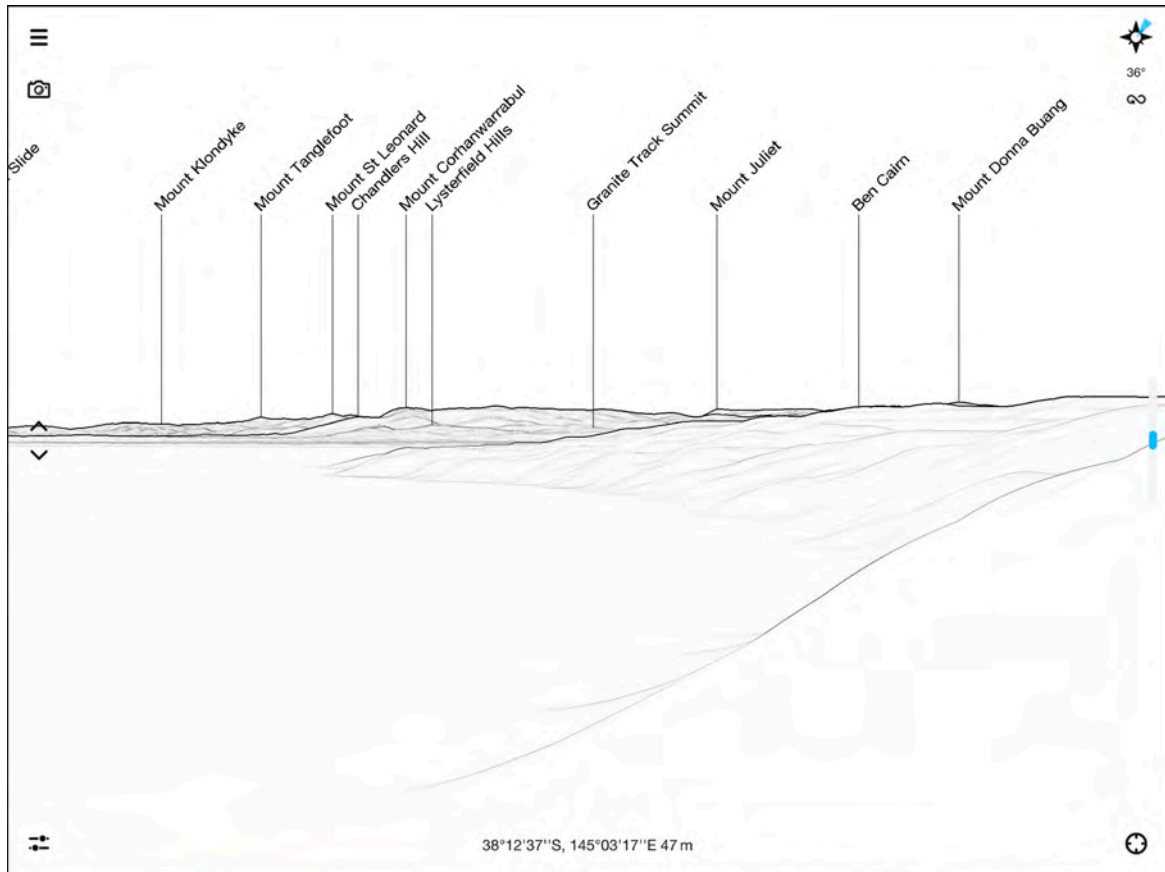


Figure 5.9. **Identifying the vantage point using the virtual view**

Top: PeakFinder virtual view from the vantage point of the painting, with the GPS coordinates.

Bottom: *Dandenong Ranges from Beleura*, 1870, oil on canvas, 66.1 × 104.2 cm, NGA.

Visiting sites

Guérard travelled extensively throughout southeastern Australia, and to a much lesser extent in New Zealand. As stated previously, the general locations of 103 (84%) of the 122 known sketches, on which the 104 distinct scenes illustrated in the sample are based, were eventually determined (Figure 5.10). These were assigned to 30 districts to facilitate a series of field trips during 2016 and 2017, each of which would take in a number of relatively closely located sites. In total, there were 21 such districts in Victoria, being the primary focus of his travels, four in New South Wales, three in South Australia, one in Tasmania and one in New Zealand. Field trips were usually one, two or three days in length, with two five-day trips covering South Australian and Tasmanian sites, respectively. Some field trips took in several districts, while other districts required several field trips to reach all sites. Sometimes this was due to the sheer size of a district and time constraints. On several occasions, failure to locate a site required further research and then a return visit. Certain sites were visited several times in order to obtain photographs under better conditions, particularly clearer skies.



Figure 5.10. **Sites of the sketches on which Guérard's Australian paintings are based**
Positions of all of the located sketched views on which the Australian landscape paintings in the sample are based (Australia Base Map, Memory-Map).

Many of Guérard's sites are located in national parks, which often made accessing them relatively easy given established tracks to, and lookouts from, his vantage points overlooking dramatic scenes that have tourist appeal. One constraint on taking site photographs of landforms such as waterfalls from Guérard's vantage points is the presence of safety barriers. In those situations, a photograph taken from as close as possible to the vantage point had to suffice. Allowance needed to be made for this displacement in the survey when comparing a field drawing with a proximal site photograph displaying a degree of perspectival shift.

While the view illustrated in the field sketches on which a few of the homestead-view paintings are based could be photographed from a vantage point that is now beside a public road, most required visiting the run to gain permission to access the site. As it was often difficult to find out who currently owned or managed these properties before a visit, this usually required cold calling. For nearly every such visit, once the purpose of the visit was explained, the owners or managers of the agricultural enterprises were very amenable. All of these individuals, even those who were not descendants of the original commissioning squatter, were aware that Guérard had painted a view of the old homestead or the run itself. Some even pointed out the exact spot where they believed Guérard had sat to sketch the view.

For some wilderness paintings, the site is now part of farmed land, in which case permission was usually sought from the landowner to cross the property. On a few occasions when there was nobody at home on a property, a note was left explaining the purpose of the visit. No communications either acknowledging or objecting to those visits were received. Locating the vantage point of a few river sites involved walking considerable distances up or down a creek that crossed multiple properties.⁶⁶ Where topographical maps indicated that the bed and banks of such

66. For example, sites along the Yarrowee, Barwon and Moorabool Rivers, and Wild Dog Creek in Victoria and Tanunda Creek in South Australia. Some creeks were so overgrown with blackberry that a machete was required to clear a pathway.

a creek were Crown land,⁶⁷ the path of the watercourse was followed without seeking the permission of any of the adjacent landowners, although the few individuals who were encountered along such a route were informed of the purpose of the excursion. Two Victorian sites were identified as being within water catchments and permission was readily granted by Central Highlands Water in Ballarat to access those sites.⁶⁸

Overall, the artist's vantage points at 88 (85%) of the 103 located sites were determined and eventually reached (Appendix H, 9th column), which left 15 not reached. For seven of those sites, which were visited, it was either not possible to determine Guérard's vantage point or the route was impassable. Four were not visited because there was insufficient time during a particular field trip. Three remained unvisited because their location was not determined until after the field trip to that particular district was completed. One was inaccessible in Bass Strait.

Obtaining site photographs

Despite reaching the artist's vantage points at 88 sites, varying degrees of success were experienced in taking useful site photographs (Appendix H, 10th column) with which to compare Guérard's sketched and painted views in the second and third parts of the survey, respectively. Ideally, a site photograph needed to be taken from the vantage point, encompassing the same field of view as the sketch. Overall, excellent site photographs were taken at 38 sites; useful ones at 21; limited ones at 9 because of haze; partially obstructed images at 17 because of vegetation; and no site photograph at 3. The last result was due to not having sufficiently limited the possible locations of the vantage point to a manageable area beforehand, as unconstrained roaming proved unprofitable.

67. "Crown Land Water Frontage Licences," Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 2015, accessed November 9, 2020, https://www.forestsandreserves.vic.gov.au/_data/assets/pdf_file/0014/31424/Crown-land-water-frontage-licences.pdf.

68. The site of the principal drawing on which *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (AGSA), is based, is located in the Lal Lal Reservoir; and the site of the principal drawing on which *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (NGV), is based, is located between Kirks and Pincotts Reservoirs.

Safety on field trips

Federation University Australia requires the completion of a Hazard Identification, Risk Assessment and Control (HIRAC) report in conjunction with the principal thesis supervisor before fieldwork is undertaken. A wide range of hazards, associated risk levels and mitigation measures were identified before the main body of field excursions took place. Hazards identified ranged from developing hypothermia if lost in the bush, falling from cliffs, getting infected from cuts and drowning in waterways, to being struck by lightning. This consideration of hazard and risk factors was effective in increasing awareness of potential dangers in the field. While no critical incidents occurred during the 60 or so field trips made for this research program, encountering a highly venomous tiger snake (Figure 5.11) on an excursion to locate the site of a drawing of the Mt William Range did result in becoming more aware of risks peculiar to the Australian bush, and more familiar with the recommended technique for dealing with snake bites.



Figure 5.11. **An example of a “fieldwork risk”**

A tiger snake (*Notechis scutatus*) encountered near the foot of Mt William in the Grampians. Photograph: author.

Using sight lines to determine vantage points

On visiting a site and reaching the approximate location of the vantage point of a field drawing, it usually proved necessary to move some distance sideways, or back and forth, until midground

features aligned well with background features immediately behind them, as illustrated in the sketch. Sometimes there would be a sight line that crossed two distinct and readily identifiable features which made this task much easier (see page 190 and Figure 6.8). But standing on a sight line does not necessarily mean that a viewer is at the vantage point. On some occasions movement backward or forward along a sight line was required until other features in the sketch either came into view or disappeared.

In other instances, spotting a sketched foreground feature, such as a distinctively-shaped rock in the field, enabled the vantage point of a field drawing to be fixed with some precision (e.g. Figure 5.12). Photographing the same field of view as in the sketch was usually straightforward from such fixed vantage points, unless the scene is obstructed by vegetation.



Figure 5.12. **Identifiable rock used to determine a vantage point**

Top: *Stoneleigh*, 21 May 66, 1866, folio 7, “Collection of Views, 1855–1875,” reference code 825457, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Bottom: basalt rocks on a rise at Stoneleigh Station, 2017. Photograph: author.

Taking site photographs

When at or close to the vantage point of one of Guérard’s field drawings, the challenge was to take a site photograph that encompasses the same field of view as the sketch so that a valid comparison can be made (e.g. Figure 5.13). Ideally, a site photograph should take in the same horizontal field of view as defined by the features visible at each end of the sketch’s horizon. The photograph should also capture the same vertical field of view, but as clouds are fleeting features,

the sky above the highest summit can be ignored. More important is ensuring that the extent of foreground recorded in the sketch is also captured in the photograph.⁶⁹



Figure 5.13. **Photographing the same view as a field drawing**

Left: *Strath or Queen Parrot Creek, 14 Jan. 1862*, folio 3 in album “Goulburne [sic] River, 1862,” reference code 825493, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Right: Strath Falls, 2016. Photograph: author.

Given the relative flatness of much of the Australian landscape and often significant distances between the observer and recognisable geographical features, capturing the same field of view as the sketch on which a painting is based, as well as the details thereof, required the use of cameras with a variable focal length ranging from wide-angle to telephoto views. This facilitated the photographing of significant features in close-up or wide-angle view. A compact travel camera with a focal length range of 24–720 mm, and a larger bridge camera with a focal

69. Owing to the limited height compared to the width of pages in Guérard’s sketchbooks, generally very little foreground is recorded in those field drawings. His large field drawings encompass a much greater vertical field of view, which enabled him to sketch foregrounds with a greater depth of field.

length range of 25–400 mm, proved adequate for recording the required imagery at sites.⁷⁰ As an additional benefit, the compact travel camera was also GPS-enabled,⁷¹ which meant that accurate latitudinal and longitudinal coordinates for the vantage point were encoded with each digital image (Figure 5.14).⁷² The GPS coordinates proved useful for flagging sites on digital topographical maps (e.g. Figure 5.10), and for identifying the peaks in Guérard’s sketches using PeakFinder (e.g. Figure 10.9).

70. The cameras used were the Panasonic Lumix DMC-ZS40 and Lumix DMC-FZ1000, respectively. The focal length ranges are the equivalent focal lengths of 35 mm film.

71. The DMC-ZS40 has built-in GPS but also utilises Global Navigation Satellite System (GLONASS) to ensure a high degree of accuracy.

72. The GPS coordinates recorded by the camera at several geodetic survey markers indicated that they were accurate to within ± 0.2 arc-seconds, which is approximately equal to ± 6 m. This accords with the 5–10 m level accuracy of uncorrected GPS signals across Australia. See “Understanding Positioning Australia,” GeoScience Australia, accessed June 20, 2021, <https://www.ga.gov.au/scientific-topics/positioning-navigation/positioning-australia/understand-positioning-australia>.



Figure 5.14. Determining the GPS coordinates of a known vantage point

Site photograph taken in 2015 close to the vantage point where Guérard sketched *Wild Dog Creek*, 7 Oct. 59, 1859, 1859 (Figure 1.4, top). Photograph: author. The site is near to the point where the creek flows into Apollo Bay, Victoria. Inset: the GPS coordinates of the vantage point.

The horizontal field of view captured in many of the field drawings on which Guérard based his Antipodean paintings is typically about 75°, which necessitated the use of the widest angle of the zoom lenses (focal length ~25 mm) to capture the same view. The very wide view in some sketches (e.g. Figure 5.15, top) required the use of “panorama mode” of the cameras, which automatically stitches together a series of wide-angle images as the photographer swivels, to form a single continuous view (e.g. Figure 5.15, bottom). This mode makes any straight horizontal lines in the foreground appear somewhat curved, but as there were few features with such edges at sites, this distortion could largely be ignored.



Figure 5.15. **Panoramic photograph matching the view of a field drawing**

Top: *The Great Lake from the Old Mans Head, 31. January 1875*, pencil on paper, 30.4 × 130.8 cm, reference code 457541, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Bottom: panoramic photograph of the Great Lake taken from the top of Mackersey Head, 2018. Photograph: author. A field of view of more than 110° was necessary to match that of the field drawing.

While the panorama camera mode can capture views matching the full horizontal field of view of the widest of Guérard’s field drawings, the details of more distant features were often lacking in resolution, and some of these photographs failed to capture the vertical field of view of Guérard’s large field drawings, even when the sky was excluded. To overcome these issues, a sequence of overlapping photographs was manually taken using the bridge camera, which had a large lens that allowed more light to reach the sensor, thus providing greater detail. The principal sight line of the camera was shifted to the right each time a shot was taken, until the whole view had been captured. The sequence of images was then stitched together using the Photomerge function of Photoshop. While this approach reproduced more distant features in greater detail, it sometimes failed to encompass the vertical field of view, particularly of the large field drawings, whose height-to-width ratios are higher than in many of the sketchbook drawings. In an effort to compensate for this, several overlapping sequences were sometimes taken, each one a higher view of the scene than the previous one. However, stitching these together proved problematic even when the camera was mounted on a tripod, as the camera was not being rotated about its “no

parallax” position.⁷³ The compromise solution involved stitching together a single manual sequence taken in *landscape mode*, which encompassed the whole horizontal field of view of the sketch and reproduced mid- and background detail well, and supplementing this with a panoramic shot in *portrait mode*, which captured the foreground in greater depth across the whole of the horizontal field of view.⁷⁴

Dealing with obscured views

Tall trees or thick vegetation obscured the view from some of Guérard’s vantage points. Sometimes it was possible to take a site photograph that replicated part of the scene sketched in the field drawing. On other occasions it was possible to get a clearer view of mid- or background features in the sketch by moving further away to a higher point along the principal sight line, or by shifting either to the left or right of his vantage point until the view was no longer obstructed, even though that view would be somewhat different from that of the sketch. This perspectival shift needed to be taken into account when comparing features of the field sketch (and painting) with those illustrated in such a displaced site photograph. Drone photography offered a remedy to this issue by providing an unobstructed view along the principal sight plane of the sketch, but from some distance above the artist’s vantage point.⁷⁵ However, the prohibition on using drones in national parks meant that this was not an option in many instances. At the two sites where a drone camera was used to take elevated photographs above a heavily forested location,⁷⁶ the resulting images confirmed the general accuracy of the horizon that Guérard had sketched when the view was unobstructed. An alternative approach for dealing with obstructed views involved substituting a PeakFinder view of the sketched scene generated at the vantage point of the sketch,

73. The advice provided by a photography expert on how to overcome this issue by using a nodal rail and levelling devices proved beyond the author’s technical abilities.

74. *Landscape mode* is when the camera body is horizontally oriented, and *portrait mode* is when the camera body is vertically oriented.

75. At an unobstructed site, the mid- and backgrounds in a photograph taken from about 50 m above ground level are little different from those in a photograph taken at ground level.

76. See page 198 and Hook, “Brushes with Infidelity,” plates 16 and 19.

which at least enabled assessment of the fidelity of sketched features to the virtual topography and horizon at the site.

Assembling spreads for the paintings in the sample

Ideally, in order to evaluate the fidelity of one of Guérard's landscape paintings to the view of natural scenery at the site, the required primary resources are scans of the painting and the field drawing, as well as the site photograph and the PeakFinder view at the vantage point.⁷⁷ Secondary visual resources include other field drawings showing details inserted in paintings; early site photographs, if extant; and photographs of site details, such as rock exposures.

Occasionally, both a large drawing and a small sketch of the same scene may be used as primary resources if both have clearly been completed in the field in front of the subject. In instances where it was not possible to obtain a site photograph, the PeakFinder virtual view substitutes for the site photograph, which at least permits an assessment of the fidelity of mid- and background topographical features.

The relevant resources for each painting in the sample are arranged on a single-page spread of an A3-sized, landscape-oriented InDesign document,⁷⁸ which eventually expanded to become a 121-page file accommodating all of the Antipodean landscape paintings for which images had been acquired. Each spread is usually divided into four quadrants (e.g. Figure 5.16), and typically the painting is placed in the bottom right quadrant, the principal field sketch in the top right quadrant, and the site photograph in the bottom left quadrant. Images of other sketched or photographed details are usually found in the top left quadrant. The transparent PeakFinder virtual view is moved around to overlie either the field drawing or the painting. This arrangement works well for most landscape-oriented artworks, but some rearrangement is necessary for panoramic and portrait-oriented artworks.

77. An appropriately scaled, transparent PeakFinder view can be placed over the field drawing or painting, thus facilitating assessment of whether peaks have been heightened or slopes steepened.

78. InDesign is a page-layout program capable of producing long, complex documents.

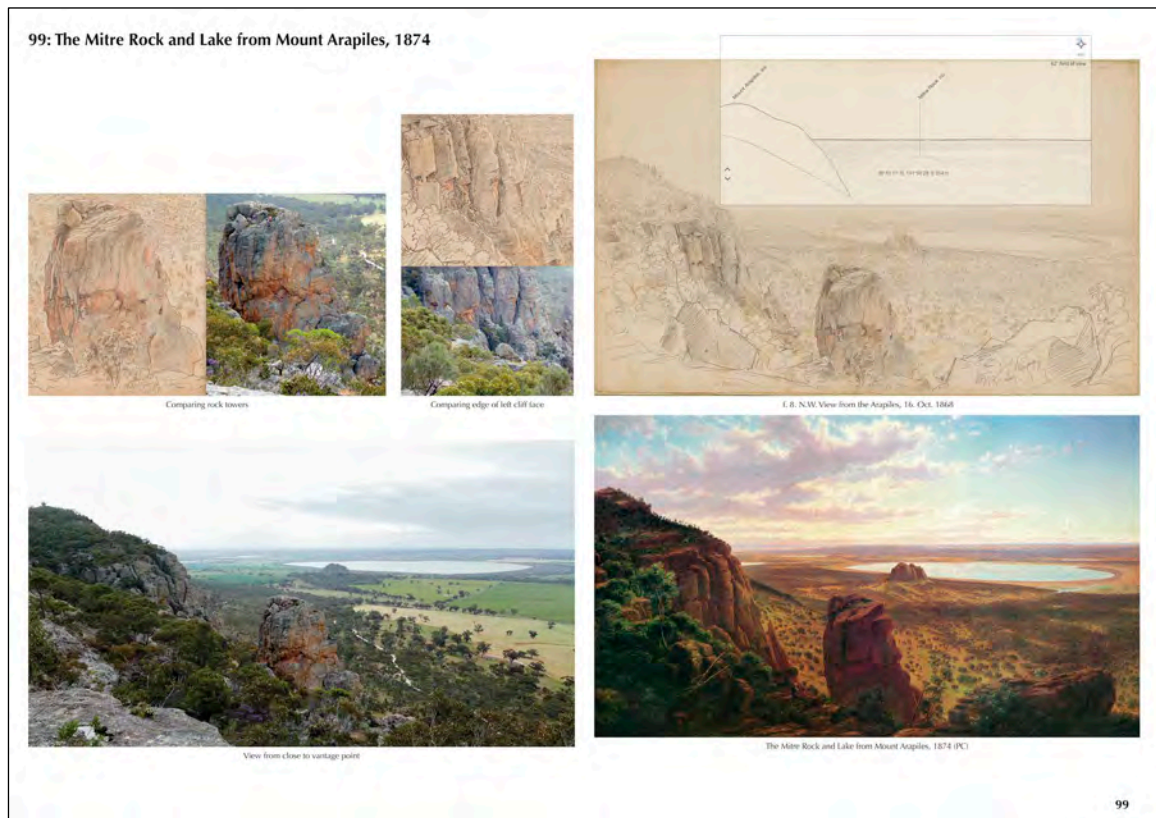


Figure 5.16. **Spread used to compare a painting with the field drawing and site images**

Top left: paired details of the field drawing and site photograph. Top right: *N.W. View from the Arapiles, 16 Oct. 68, 1868*, pencil and crayon on paper, 40.0 × 63.0 cm, folio 8 in album “Winmera [i.e. Wimmera], Lake Hindmarsh, etc. 1868,” reference code 825487, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Bottom left: site photograph taken from close to the artist’s vantage point, 2017. Photograph: author. Bottom right: *The Mitre Rock and Lake Arapiles, 1874* (PC), oil on canvas, 61.2 × 106.8 cm, private collection. Inset: PeakFinder virtual view from the artist’s vantage point.

The high-resolution screen of the large desktop computer used for this research enabled the spreads to be viewed in sharp detail.⁷⁹ Attaching a large, high-resolution monitor to that computer meant that it was possible to compare a full-screen image of a field drawing with a full-screen image of the field drawing or artwork, by double clicking on those images in a spread, which then opened them individually in Preview.⁸⁰ This proved to be more effective than comparing the field drawing or painting with the site photograph on the same screen, as pairs of images could be seen and compared in great detail, enabling the second and third parts of the survey instrument to be completed with a greater degree of confidence.

79. The 27-inch iMac computer has a retina display screen, which has such a high density of pixels that individual pixels are not visible to the human eye, thus rendering very crisp images.

80. Preview is an image-viewing application on Apple computers.

Before the methodology underpinning the survey design and the development of the survey instrument are explored in detail in Chapter 7, a fieldwork methodology case study illustrates how some of the approaches and techniques outlined in this chapter were used to determine the location of the previously unknown site of one of Guérard's major landscape paintings, which was then confirmed by an excursion into the Australian Alps. The resulting site photograph made it possible to assess aspects of the work's fidelity to nature.

Chapter 6 – Fieldwork methodology case study: *Mount Kosciusko, 1866*

This chapter describes the research and fieldwork undertaken to locate, visit and photograph the previously unknown site of a major landscape painting by Guérard in the National Gallery of Victoria, entitled *Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian Border (Mount Hope Ranges)*, 1866 (Figure 6.1).¹ While this particular work required intensive efforts to identify the site and determine the vantage point, it illustrates well the combination of techniques, instruments and software that can be used to locate the views recorded in the field drawings on which the artist's landscape paintings are based, and how the fidelity of such field drawings to the natural scenery visible at a site can be assessed.

Early opinion

The painting was received favourably by Melbourne reviewers when it was exhibited, with one, most likely the leading Melbourne art critic James Smith, commenting in the *Argus* in 1872 that the painting “is a minute and faithful likeness of the place its author intended to present,”² although the basis on which that judgement was made is unclear as no reviewer had ever been anywhere near the site. The one person who could have commented authoritatively on the accuracy or otherwise of the picture was the geophysicist Georg von Neumayer, but as he had departed Australia in 1864 he would not have seen the finished work, and it is unlikely that he would have been able to recall the scene in sufficient detail a decade after being at the site. Regardless, the reviewer went on to mention the oft-claimed “photographic accuracy of this artist's pictures,” but as will be seen, the photographic accuracy of this particular artwork is open to challenge.

1. The name of the mountain was originally spelt Kosciusko but was changed to Kosciuszko by the Geographical Names Board of New South Wales in 1997.

2. James Smith, *Argus*, January 2, 1872.



Figure 6.1. **Painting of the Kosciuszko Massif**

Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian Border (Mount Hope Ranges), 1866, oil on canvas, 108.2 × 153.3 cm, NGV.

Fieldwork by other researchers

While Tim Bonyhady carried out extensive field research in the 1980s at the site where Guérard made the two sketches on which the painting *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863 (Figure 3.4), is based, he did not investigate the site at which the artist made the sketches from which *Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian Border* is derived.³ The author of several historical accounts of the expeditions of early Australian explorers, the late Alan Andrews, wrote comprehensively about the exploration and artistic illustration of the Kosciuszko Massif (Figure 6.2), including Neumayer's expedition.⁴ Even though Andrews successfully located the sites of most of the sketches that Guérard completed of Australia's highest summits,

3. Bonyhady, *Australian Colonial Paintings*, 188–194. Bonyhady was engaged in a survey of colonial paintings in the National Gallery of Australia at the time, and this painting was not part of that collection.

4. Andrews, *Kosciuszko: The Mountain in History*, 145–152.

he did not locate the vantage point from which Guérard sketched the *massif* itself.⁵ No further investigation into the location of that site is documented, although Bill Gammage reported that he had unsuccessfully looked for the site from close to the Geehi River in New South Wales.⁶

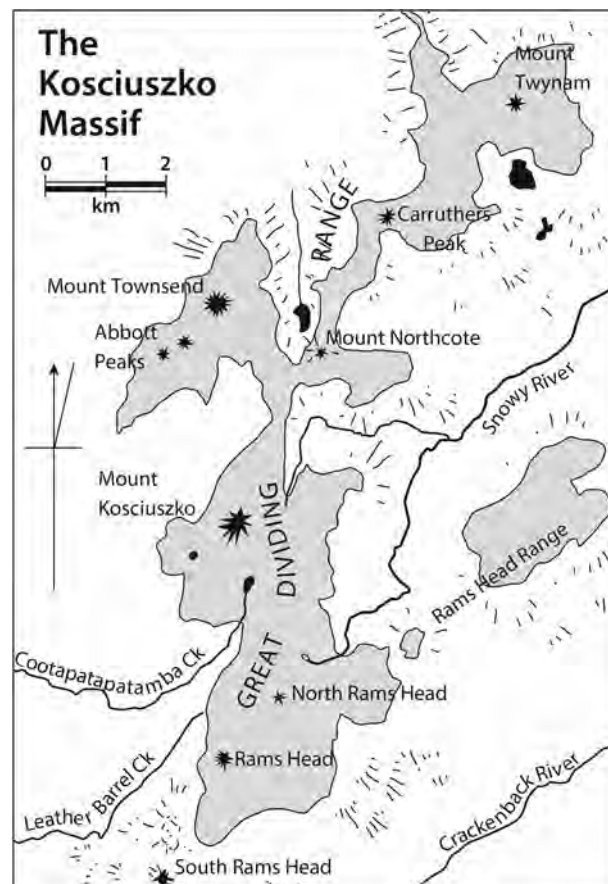


Figure 6.2. **The Kosciuszko Massif**

Map of the Kosciuszko Massif, reproduced with permission by Tony Mander after an inset in a map drawn by Philip Cleaver.⁷ The grey area is that part of the massif above the 2,000 m contour.

Interpreting the painting

Mt Hope lies to the southwest of Mt Kosciuszko, so the geographical orientation of the view is to the northeast from the Mt Hope ranges in Victoria across the border to the southwestern flanks of the distant Kosciuszko Massif in New South Wales. Given that orientation and the graduated colour of the sky on the right of the work, the pattern of illumination and shadowing on the massif implies that the painting illustrates an early-morning scene. The middle ground illustrates the

5. A *massif* is a geographical term describing a compact group of mountains.

6. Bill Gammage, conversation with author, May 17, 2017.

7. Andrews, *Kosciuszko: The Mountain in History*, 23.

foothills of the Mt Hope ranges, and in the foreground a stream flows through what appears to be wet *sclerophyll* montane forest.⁸ Such forests occur at elevations between 1,100 m and 1,500 m above sea level (asl) in moderately fertile, high-rainfall areas, and typically have a tall, open eucalypt tree canopy with an understorey of shrubs and ferns.⁹ The huge eucalypts in the foreground, most likely Alpine Ash (*Eucalyptus delegatensis*),¹⁰ dwarf the human figures. In the painting a rider approaches two dismounted men. One of them with a dog beside him greets the rider, while the other attends a campfire, and their horses graze in the clearing.

When Guérard made the field drawings on which the painting is based, he was accompanying a two-man scientific expedition led by Neumayer to measure the strength, declination and dip of Earth's magnetic field at a series of sites in the Victorian Alps, which lasted from 16 October to 23 December 1862.¹¹ Although Guérard was not engaged as an official artist, he was a member of the party as Neumayer's private guest so that he could sketch the dramatic alpine scenery they encountered. From the geophysicist's detailed narrative of the trip in his official report, it is clear that the mounted figure is intended to represent the scientist on his white horse Tommy; the waving figure, the artist with the scientist's dog Hector; and the man attending the fire, Neumayer's assistant Edward Brinkmann.¹² This portrayal of the activities of the three members of the expedition, which also occurs in his painting *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, reflects the historical significance that Guérard attached to the expedition.

8. *Sclerophyll* vegetation typically has hardened, closely attached leaves that hang vertically.

9. Leon Costermans, *Native Trees and Shrubs of South-Eastern Australia* (Sydney: Reed New Holland, 2009), 85.

10. Leon Costermans, email message to author, July 24, 2017.

11. R. W. Home, "Neumayer, Humboldt and the Search for a Global Physics," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* 123, no. 1 (2011), <https://doi.org/10.1071/RS11002>; Douglas Morrison, "Georg von Neumayer's Magnetic Survey of the Colony of Victoria 1858–1864," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* 123, no. 1 (2011), <https://doi.org/10.1071/RS11048>.

12. Georg von Neumayer, *Results of the Magnetic Survey of the Colony of Victoria* (Mannheim: Schneider, 1869), 67–69.

Identifying the field drawing

At first glance, the mid- and background of the painting appear to be based on a large drawing of the Kosciuszko Massif in the distance, with tree-covered hills forming the middle ground (Figure 6.3), dated “16 November 1862.” In turn, that drawing appears to be based on a small field sketch of the Kosciuszko Massif (Figure 6.4), also dated “16. Nov. 62.” The small sketch comprises two facing pages and a single-page extension of the view out to the right, found on successive sheets in one of Guérard’s pocket-sized sketchbooks, thus forming a panoramic field of view. The panoramic sketch captures a much wider horizontal field of view than the large drawing, and the details of the more distant peaks jutting out above the right flank of the massif in the painting are visible only in the small sketch. The large drawing encompasses a greater vertical field view, with the additional sky and extended foreground creating a much greater depth of field, but it is apparent that the foreground of painting is not based on the foreground of the large drawing, nor is it based on that of the panoramic sketch.



Figure 6.3. Large field drawing of the Kosciuszko Massif

Mount Kosciusko [sic], N.S.W., seen from Mt Hope on the Victorian side, f. N.W., 16 November 1862, 1862, pencil on paper, 36 × 58 cm, folio 17 in album “Sketches in Victoria, 1862,” reference number 825496, Dixson Library, SLNSW.

On the relatively few occasions when Guérard completed both a large and a small sketch of the same scene, the large drawing was usually based on the small one and completed soon after visiting the site (see page 150 for possible explanations of this practice).¹³ When Neumayer wrote in his official report of the expedition that the artist “made *a* sketch of Mt. Kosciusko [emphasis added]” from their “first glimpse of that highest point of the Australian continent,”¹⁴ undoubtedly he was referring to the small sketch. With the vertical field of view being limited by the narrow format of the sketchbook, there was no room for the artist to include foreground detail. Guérard realised, therefore, that he would need to illustrate the foreground of this important vista in the more typical landscape format of one of his large sheets of drawing paper.



Figure 6.4. **Small panoramic sketch of the Kosciuszko Massif**

Mt Kosciusko (7200'), 16 Nov 62, 1862, pencil, ink and wash on paper, 9 × 32 cm, folios 64 and 65, “Volume 12: Sketchbook XXXIII, No. 15, Australian, 1862,” reference number 825419, Dixson Library, SLNSW.

The question arises as to whether Guérard sketched the much larger drawing at the location as well. Given the party would not have lingered long at the site, as they needed to complete the long trek to the Tom Groggin Station before nightfall, the artist would have had little time to commence a large sketch, let alone sufficient time to complete the details in situ. At best, he may have had time to pencil in major features in outline form only. At a later stage, he copied details from the left three-quarters of the small panoramic sketch onto the large sheet, and then fleshed out the foreground based on either his visual memory of the clearing or his imagination, and embellished the cloud formation. The topography of the Kosciuszko Massif and the foremost tree-top line in the large drawing align closely with those features in the small

13. In this instance the artist invested time in making a large drawing of an important scene, which he later painted without the benefit of a commission.

14. von Neumayer, *Magnetic Survey*, 76.

sketch. That the shape and location of the lower cloud layer in the large drawing match those in the panoramic sketch tends to confirm that the former was not sketched in situ, as surely the clouds would have been moved on by the wind.

A composite work?

Although the mid- and backgrounds of the painting are largely based on features illustrated in the two drawings, the foreground does not resemble that of the large drawing at all. There is no other sketch in either the sketchbook or the album associated with the expedition that resembles the landscape illustrated in the foreground of the painting, which implies that the foreground is a product of the imagination of the artist. As such the work does not qualify as a *composite work*, as the requirement is that such works are based on sketches of at least two landscape views.

However, according to Michael Varcoe-Cocks, Guérard “incorporated ... sketches” of some large trees.¹⁵ These include sketches of large living trees near McDougal’s Station (Figure 6.5, left) and of a still-standing skeletal tree at Dinner Creek (Figure 6.5, right) in the largely invented foreground of the painting (Figure 6.5, centre), although the painted skeleton is a mirror image of the sketched one. The artist also inserted the massive stump of a fallen eucalypt tree in the right foreground (Figure 6.1), which may be a visual reference to lightning striking “some of the immense trees” that the party experienced on the trek to the Mt Hope ranges.¹⁶

15. Varcoe-Cocks, [essay on *Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border*, 1866], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 254.

16. von Neumayer, *Magnetic Survey*, 75.



Figure 6.5. **Source sketches of the foreground trees**

Centre: *Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian Border* (detail). Left and right: *Near McDougals Station, 13 Nov 62, 1862* and *Dinner Creek, 16 Nov. 62, 1862*, folios 61 and 63, “Sketchbook XXXIII.”

Confirming the name of the site

As to where exactly the party was when Guérard sketched the main view, an annotation on the right panel of the panoramic sketch stating “View from Mt. Hope Ranges” in brackets confirms that the vantage point was somewhere on the Mt Hope ranges rather than on Mt Hope itself, as was mistakenly stated in the title of the large drawing (along with the incorrect bearing). Further locational information is recorded in Neumayer’s account of that day, which is reproduced below in part as it provides some clues that contributed to locating the site.

Though dense fog covered the hills on the morning of the 16th we started early. ... At 10h a.m, we reached the top of Mt. Hope (4505) ... Arrived at the Dinner Creek (4057) by 12h a.m. and made a short stay; temp. of air 67°.1, temp. of creek 49°.1, at 1h p.m. On starting at 2h we had again to mount a steep hill. At 3h p.m. we were on *View Point* (4490) from which M. de Guérard made a sketch of Mt. Kosciusko. Here we got the first glimpse of that highest point of the Australian continent and the sight was truly grand. The huge forms of this magnificent range, beheld on a delightful day under a deep blue sky, reminded

one of the mountain scenery in Italy. From “View Point”, the descent into the valley of the Indi is very steep and requires a great deal of care and precaution in effecting it. We were, however, so fortunate as to arrive safe and sound at Groggan’s [*sic*] station (1615) on the Indi river at 7h p.m.¹⁷

A small annotation in nineteenth-century German in the far left of the panoramic sketch, transcribed as “Schau Punkt,” can be translated as “View Point.”¹⁸ This could be taken to confirm that the drawing was made at the spot Neumayer referred to as *View Point*, although the annotation is oddly placed in the sky surround by three crosses. While there is no geographical feature known as *View Point* on the modern topographic map covering the Mt Hope ranges, the geophysicist did have a map of the route they were following. At the time the route was used to move cattle and supplies between Omeo and Tom Groggin Stations. The stock route is thought to have been based on a traditional Indigenous pathway used to reach the Kosciuszko Massif from Omeo during summer months to feast on the migrating Bogong moths.¹⁹ Given Neumayer’s italicisation and insertion of quotation marks, *View Point* was marked on the sketch map given to him by the district surveyor at Albury, Edward Twynam,²⁰ but that map has not survived.

Locating *View Point*

A section of the *Tom Groggin* topographic map (Figure 6.6) shows the current route from Mt Hope in the southwest to Tom Groggin Station in the northeast. This track follows the ridge line of the northern part of the Mt Hope ranges, but does not descend into the valley on the eastern side of the ridge line to cross Dinner Creek as the route taken by Neumayer’s party did. After they departed Dinner Creek at 2 pm, they ascended a steep hill until they regained the main ridge line, and continued until they reached *View Point* at three o’clock in the afternoon.

17. von Neumayer, *Magnetic Survey*, 75–76.

18. Susanne Haring, email message to author, March 19, 2018.

19. Peter Gardner, “Aboriginal Routes and Guides of the Victorian High Country,” (unpublished paper written for the Historical Section of the Department of Conservation and Environment, 1980), accessed 20 June 2017, <http://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Aboriginal-Routes-and-Guides-of-the-Victorian-Alps.pdf>.

20. von Neumayer, *Magnetic Survey*, 70.

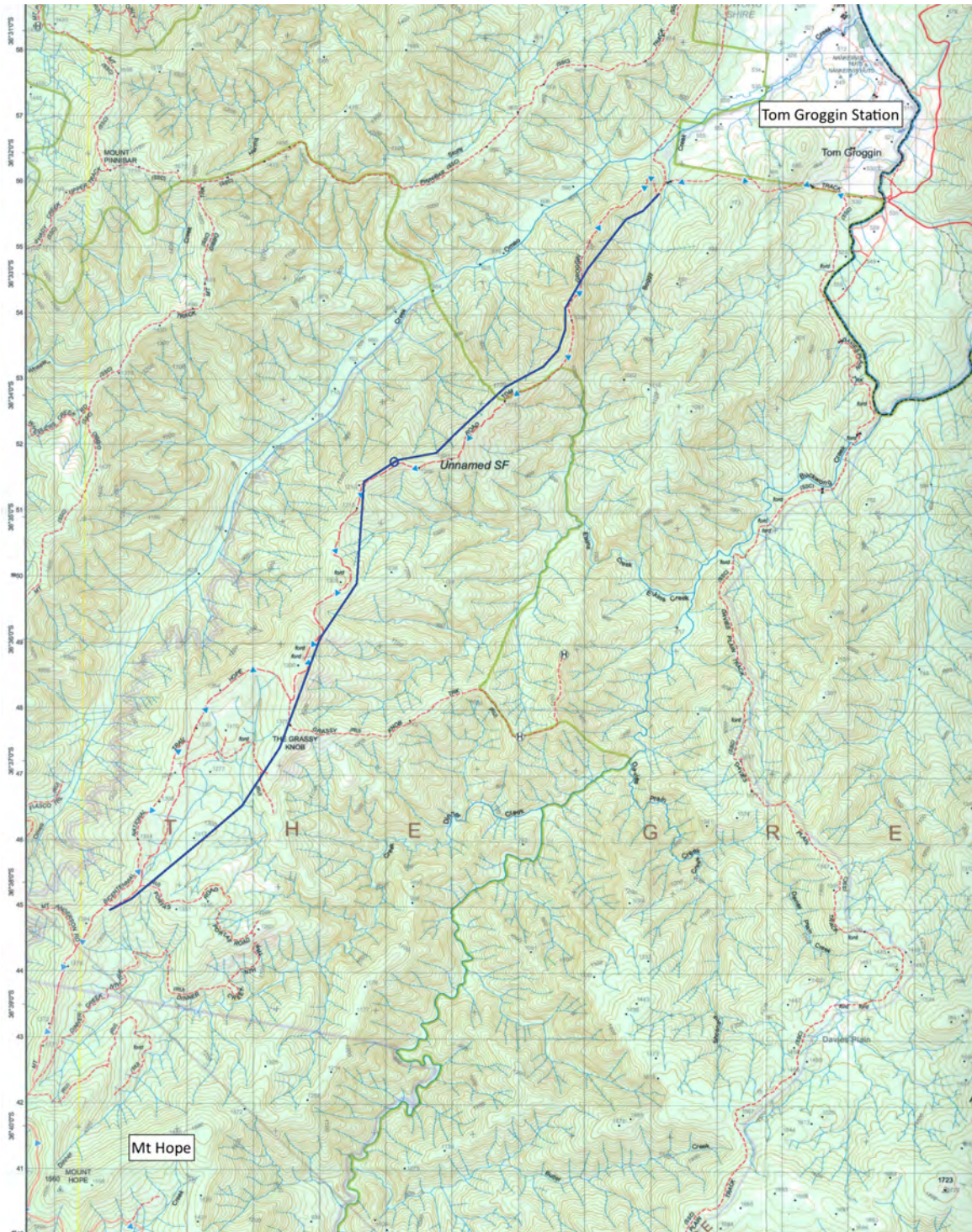


Figure 6.6. Routes from Mt Hope to Tom Groggin Station

Tom Groggin topographical map (detail).²¹ The blue line shows the outline of the route surveyed by Alfred Howitt in 1865 (see Figure 6.9). The dashed red line besides the blue line shows the modern route of the four-wheel-drive track from Mt Hope to Tom Groggin Station

21. *Tom Groggin 8524-N 1:50,000 Map*, 2nd edition (Melbourne: Department of Sustainability and Environment, Victoria, 2013).

An altitudinal clue

Initially, it was thought possible to locate likely sites of *View Point* by considering Neumayer's calculated altitude of 4,490 ft asl (1,369 m asl). The geophysicist estimated altitudes by using the barometric or thermometric method.²² The thermometric method uses the boiling point temperature of water, which decreases at higher altitudes due to the lower air pressure. A direct reading of air pressure from a barometer, or an indirect reading of air pressure derived from a steam table, is inserted into the formula $Z = 62,900 \times \log_{10}(P_o/P)$, where Z is the altitude in feet, P the air pressure at the location in any unit and P_o the air pressure at sea level at the same time measured in the same unit.²³ In a detail of the painting *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko* (Figure 6.7), Neumayer, identifiable by his legionnaire's cap, can be seen diligently measuring the boiling point of water using an instrument called a hypsometer. At that location, the geophysicist recorded the boiling point of water on Mt Townsend as being 198.62 °F,²⁴ and, after he had returned to Melbourne and accessed the hourly weather data recorded at the Flagstaff Observatory,²⁵ he calculated the altitude to be 7,140 ft asl.

22. Florian Cajori, "History of Determinations of the Heights of Mountains," *Isis* 12, no. 3 (1929): 482–514, <https://doi.org/10.1086/346425>; Henry Negretti and Joseph Zambra, *A Treatise on Meteorological Instruments: Explanatory of Their Scientific Principles, Method of Construction, and Practical Utility* (London: Negretti & Zambra, 1864), 39–46, 95–99.

23. Bob Graham, "Frémont and the Determination of Elevations," accessed May 7, 2018. <http://www.longcamp.com/hypsometry.html>.

24. von Neumayer, *Magnetic Survey*, 77.

25. Georg von Neumayer, "Description and System of Working of the Flagstaff Observatory, Melbourne," *Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria* 3 (1858): 101; R. W. Home, "Georg von Neumayer and the Flagstaff Observatory, Melbourne," in *From Berlin to the Burdekin: The German Contribution to the Development of Australian Science, Exploration and the Arts*, eds. D. Walker and Jurgem Tamke (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 1991), 40–53.



Figure 6.7. **Determining the elevation of Mt Townsend using a hypsometer**
North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko (detail).

In order to gain a measure of the margin of error involved, Neumayer's estimates of the altitude of five supposedly known sites were compared with modern topographic measurements (Table 6.1).²⁶ The large discrepancy between the two Mt Hope figures was puzzling until it was realised that Mt Hope was not on the original stock route (Figure 6.9) but about 1 km to the east through thick bush, which the party would not have traversed.²⁷ Excluding Mt Hope, the errors are all about 2% or less lower than the actual heights. Adding the maximum error to Neumayer's estimate of the 1,369 m asl for *View Point* gives a revised height of nearly 1,400 m asl. The only summit close to that height north of where Neumayer's party regained the ridge after leaving Dinner Creek is located approximately 400 m north of the location of The Grassy Knob. At 1,390 m asl, that peak initially seemed a likely candidate for *View Point*.

26. Tom Groggin 8524-N; Willis 8524-S 1:50 000 *Topographic Map* (Melbourne: Department of Sustainability and Environment, Victoria, 2013); "Highest Mountains," Geoscience Australia, 2010, accessed May 18, 2018, <http://www.ga.gov.au/scientific-topics/national-location-information/landforms/highest-mountains>.

27. As the closest summit to Mt Hope along the ridge track has a height that matches the scientist's estimate to within a few metres, the most probable explanation for the discrepancy is a case of mistaken identity.

Table 6.1. Accuracy of Neumayer’s elevations

Comparing Neumayer’s estimates of elevations with modern topographic data. The measurements for Mt Kosciuszko and Mt Townsend are from the Geoscience Australia website, and the Mt Hope and Tom Groggin figures from the Tom Groggin topographic map.

Location	Date	Neumayer’s estimate		Topographic data (metres asl)	Percentage error
		(feet asl)	(metres asl)		
Mt Hope	16/11/62	4,505	1,373	1,558	-11.9%
South Rams Head camp	18/11/62	6,254	1,906	1,929	-1.2%
Pinnacle Hill (Rams Head)		7,038	2,145	2,190	-2.1%
Mt Kosciuszko	19/11/62	7,176	2,187	2,228	-1.8%
Mt Townsend	19/11/62	7,140	2,176	2,209	-1.5%

Two sight line clues

The second strategy used to restrict the range of possible locations of the artist’s vantage point involved looking for sight lines (Figure 6.8) that transect two identifiable features on his panoramic sketch. If two such sight lines existed, and could be transposed onto a topographical map, then where they intersected in the Mt Hope ranges would help limit the search area to a manageable size. The peaks in the sketch were identified by comparing them with the virtual view from The Grassy Knob using PeakFinder. Unfortunately, there was only one such transecting sight line – a view through Dead Horse Gap of the top of Knob Hill (1,950 m asl). By itself, this sight line proved of little use as, although the 12°-arc virtual view back through Dead Horse Gap from the top of Knob Hill took in the northern part of the Mt Hope ranges. Over a distance of 30 km the arc encompassed a 5 km-wide swathe of the landscape. The other possibly useful feature in the sketch is a view of the top of Dicky Cooper Bogong (2003 m asl) just above the left flank of Mt Townsend. In terms of finding the general location of *View Point*, any physical or virtual view from somewhere in the Mt Hope ranges would need to include the top of Dicky Cooper Bogong on the left, as well as the top of Knob Hill within Dead Horse Gap on the right. By testing unobstructed virtual views of the Kosciuszko Massif from different altitudinal locations on the northern part of the Mt Hope ranges, it was determined that *View Point* would need to be at an altitude of at least 1,200 m asl.

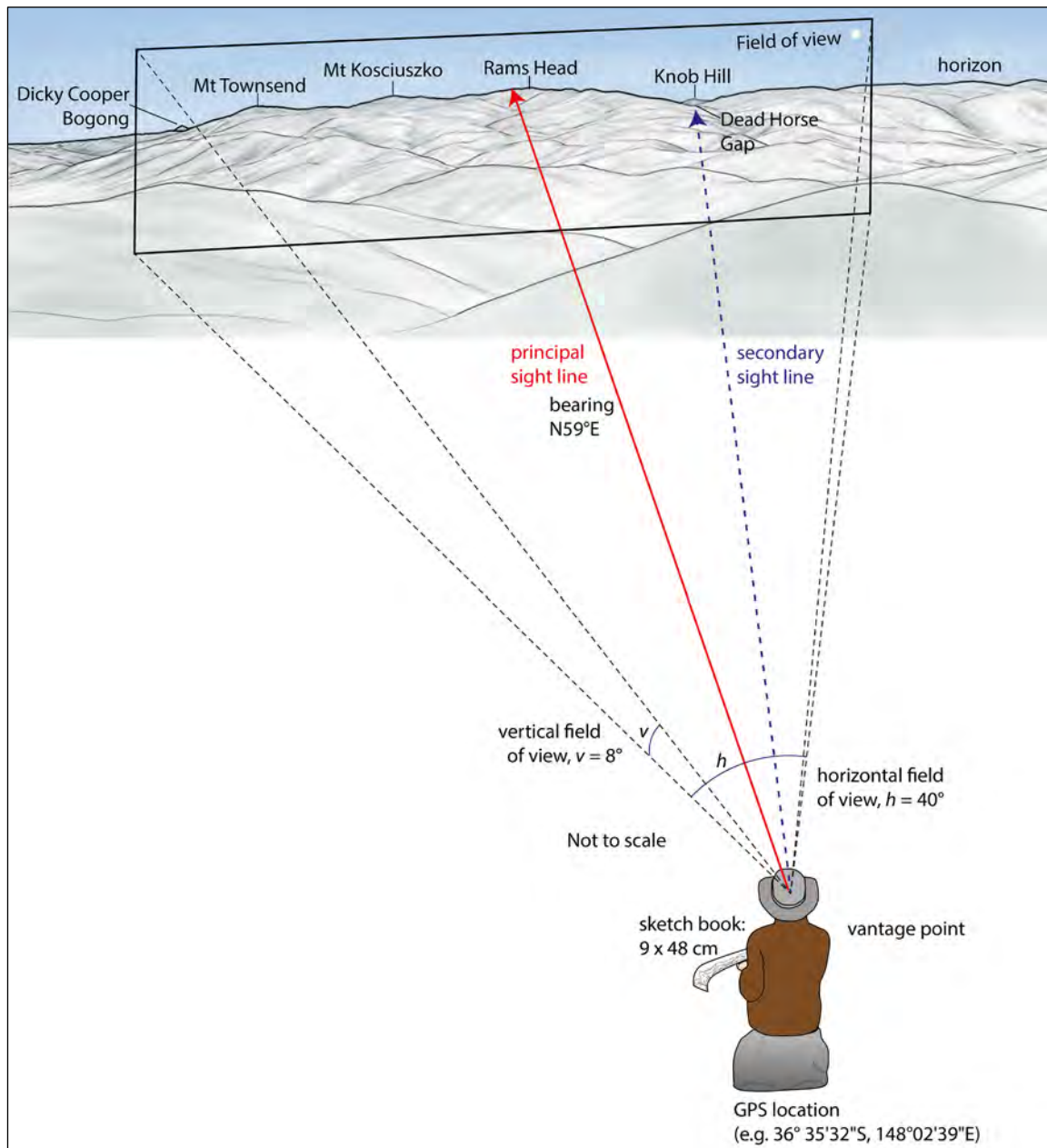


Figure 6.8. Features of Guérard's field of view at *View Point*

Vantage point, field-of-view and sight lines relating to Guérard's sketching of the Kosciuszko Massif from *View Point*. Illustrator: Tony Mander.

A sketch map clue

While the correction to Neumayer's estimate, to give a maximal elevation of up to 1400 m asl for *View Point*, and the minimal altitudinal requirement of 1,200 m asl for specific peaks to be visible over the flanks of the Kosciuszko Massif, were significant clues, unless the actual route the trio followed could be determined, the probability of locating Guérard's vantage point, either virtually or physically, was minuscule given the large area involved (up to 5 km²). Fortuitously, a chance

discovery of a sketch map (Figure 6.9) by the explorer and anthropologist Alfred Howitt (1830–1908) in the Public Records Office of Victoria led to a breakthrough. Guérard had previously accompanied Howitt on a trip deep into the Gippsland Alps in 1860–61, exploring areas previously unknown to Victorian colonists, which was the artist’s first experience of such challenging terrain.²⁸

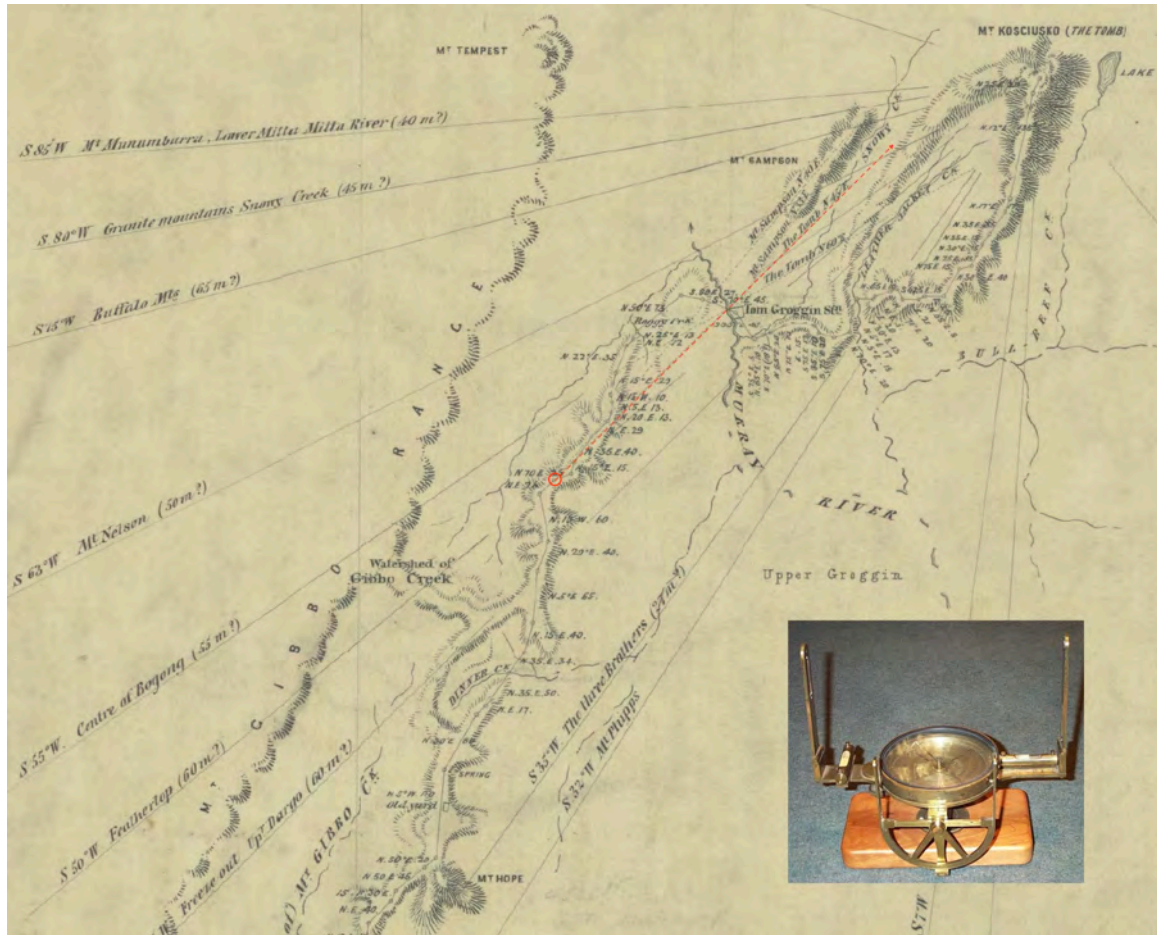


Figure 6.9. **Howitt’s map**

Alfred Howitt, *Sketch Plan of track from Omeo Station to Tom Groggin and the Summit of Mt Kosciusko*, 1868 (detail), 46 × 65 cm.²⁹ The red circle indicates the location where Howitt took his first bearing on Mt. Kosciusko. Inset: brass circumferentor manufactured by R. Field & Son, c. 1880, similar to the model Howitt would have been used. Photograph: Mark Morrison.

28. Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 207–211.

29. Alfred Howitt, *Sketch Plan of Track from Omeo Station to Tom Groggin and the Summit of Mt Kosciusko* (Melbourne: Public Record Office of Victoria, 1868).

According to the biography of the explorer written by his grand-daughter Mary Howitt Walker, Howitt travelled from Omeo to the highest summit in Australia late in 1865,³⁰ just three years after Neumayer's expedition in 1862. Most likely he surveyed the route on that trip and used his field book to construct the 1868 sketch map. Given the small time difference involved, the route on that map is most likely to have been the same route that Neumayer's party followed. When rotated clockwise by $\sim 10^\circ$, the general shape of the track (Figure 6.6, blue line) north from the approximate location of The Grassy Knob to Tom Groggin on Howitt's map is a close match with the shape of the current track in the same section of the modern topographical map (Figure 6.6, dashed red line near the blue line), confirming that the current track essentially follows the pathway of the original stock route. Therefore, *View Point* must lie on or close to the current track. Further south, however, the route from Mt Hope to the approximate location of The Grassy Knob on Howitt's map does not follow the ridge line as the modern track does, rather it descends into the valley on the east side before crossing Dinner Creek and then ascending back to the ridge line, just as Neumayer described in that section of his narrative.

A magnetic clue

At a point well north of The Grassy Knob, Howitt recorded his first bearing (N45°E) on "The Tomb," as Mt Kosciuszko was then sometimes called because its flattened shape resembled the mound in Krakow erected to commemorate the Polish freedom fighter Tadeusz Kościuszko (1746–1817), after whom the explorer Pawel Strzelecki (1797–1873) had named the highest summit in Australia in 1840. Could the spot where Howitt took his first bearing on Australia's highest point be the same location as where Neumayer's party first saw the Kosciuszko Massif on "a delightful day under a deep blue sky"?³¹ Given that Howitt experienced clear skies on the day he traversed the Mount Hope ranges,³² that seemed a likely possibility.

30. Mary Howitt Walker, *Come Wind, Come Weather: A Biography of Alfred Howitt* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1971), 163–164.

31. von Neumayer, *Magnetic Survey*, 76.

32. Letter from Alfred Howitt to his sister Ann Mary Watts, January 28, 1866, Alfred William Howitt Papers, 1837–1930, accession no. MS 9356, SLV.

If Howitt's bearing on Mt Kosciuszko was made from *View Point*, then reversing that bearing from the top of Australia's highest peak should traverse the Mt Hope ranges close to where Guérard sketched, but that depends on the accuracy of the bearing. Howitt had already completed several expeditions into the Gippsland Alps for the Victorian government, particularly in the search for mineral resources, and those "mountain journeys also entailed taking accurate bearings and drawing map."³³ Howitt would have been competent user of a circumferentor or surveyor's compass (Figure 6.9, insert) and a theodolite,³⁴ although he does not seem to have used the latter instrument on this trip, given the limited precision of the bearings. Not unexpectedly, given the meandering nature of the track, all of the bearings between his waypoints are to the nearest multiple of 5°. His 18 major bearings to distant landmarks, however, appear to be more carefully measured and are accurate to the nearest multiple of 2.5°, with half degrees rounded up.

As mentioned previously, the outline of Howitt's track needed to be rotated clockwise by about 10° before it aligned with the modern route (Figure 6.6). This suggests the bearings on his map are magnetic rather than geographic. The north-pointing arrow on the map, labelled "M.N." for magnetic north, confirms this. According to Neumayer's generalised magnetic declination map,³⁵ the *declination* for this region of the Alps was about 9°45' east of true north in the epoch 1858–64,³⁶ meaning that 10° would need to be added to any magnetic bearing to give the geographical bearing. Howitt may not have corrected the bearings on his 1868 sketch map because he was awaiting publication of Neumayer's book with its declinations for the whole of Victoria.

Correcting Howitt's bearing on Mt Kosciuszko from N45°E to N55°E, then reversing it, gives a true bearing of S55°W. Knowing that the design of Howitt's circumferentor enabled him to reliably estimate a bearing only to the nearest multiple of 2.5°, and allowing a further margin

33. Walker, *Come Wind*, 115.

34. Eric Smith, "A Brief History of Surveying in NSW," accessed November 5, 2018, <http://www.dohertysmith.com.au/blog/a-brief-history-of-surveying-in-nsw>.

35. von Neumayer, *Magnetic Survey*, inside back cover.

36. The *declination* of a location is the difference in degrees between magnetic north and true north.

for any reading error or local magnetic disturbance, the sector between bearings S52.5°W and S57.5°W from the top of Mt Kosciuszko was plotted on a scan of the combined *Tom Groggin* and *Willis* topographic maps. A section of the Tom Groggin Track approximately 5 km in length lies within that sector (Figure 6.10, area between the dashed black lines).

Integrating the clues

Taking into account all of the clues, the location of *View Point* should be:

- below the 1400 m contour of the topographic map;³⁷
- above the 1200 m contour and have an unobstructed view of the Kosciuszko Massif, with Dicky Cooper Bogong just visible above the left flank of Mt Townsend and the top of Knob Hill just visible through Dead Horse Gap;³⁸
- on or close to the present track;³⁹ and
- somewhere along the stretch of the track intersected by the bearings S52.5°W and S57.5°W from the top of Mt Kosciuszko.⁴⁰

Locations along the track that meet, or are close to meeting, the above criteria, were marked on a section of the digital topographic map – six in total (Figure 6.10, red flags).

Although waypoints #5 and #6 are outside the area encompassed by the margin of error allowed for the reverse bearing, they were included as they are close to The Grassy Knob (the only named point along the Tom Groggin Track) and the expected altitude, and also because the assumption that Howitt took his bearing from *View Point* might not be sustained. Even though features of the distant Kosciuszko Massif in the PeakFinder virtual view at each of the waypoints match features in Guérard's panoramic sketch rather well, the fore- and midground features fail to align to a lesser or greater degree. Waypoint #4 was the most promising general location and, despite testing nearby sites further north and south along the track virtually, no better vantage point was located.

37. Given the maximum potential error of von Neumayer's altitudinal calculation.

38. Given the detail in the panoramic sketch that Guérard made at that spot.

39. Given that the modern route follows the original stock route that Howitt mapped.

40. Based on reversing Howitt's bearing and allowing for a generous margin of error, with the assumption, however, that Howitt actually took the bearing at *View Point*.

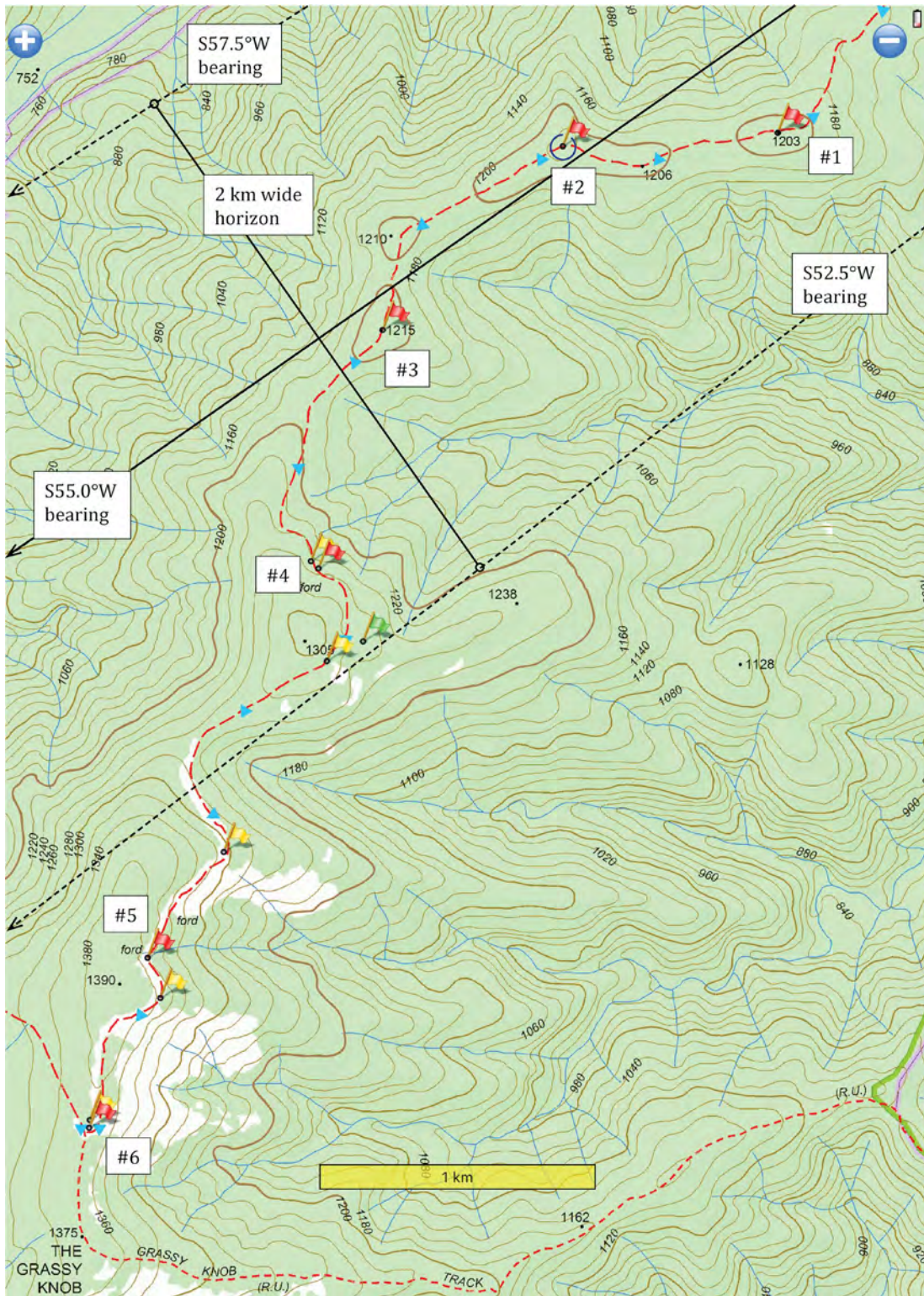


Figure 6.10. **Possible locations of View Point**

VicMap 25K East, Memory-Map (detail). The area between the dashed black lines is the sector defined by the reverse bearing. The red flags are six possible locations of *View Point* along a section of the Tom Groggin Track. The thicker brown line is the 1200 m contour. Waypoint #2 within the blue circle is the most likely location of where Howitt took his first bearing on Mt Kosciuszko. The yellow flags indicate sites where the drone camera was used, and the green flag, the most likely location of *View Point* where Guérard made his sketch.

Visiting the Mt Hope ranges

Before undertaking an excursion to the Victorian Alps to examine the actual view from each waypoint, the route from Tom Groggin Station to The Grassy Knob was traversed virtually using Google Earth's satellite view. What was immediately apparent is that thick forest is growing on either side of the entire length of the track. The only clearing along the track is about 400 m north of where The Grassy Knob is marked on the topographic map, and even that clearing appeared to be surrounded by tall, thick bush. Although it might be possible to spot a few openings among the trees surrounding the track, which would allow a panoramic view of the Kosciuszko Massif and part of the range to the right of Dead Horse Gap, it would be highly unlikely that such a gap would occur at or close to each of the six waypoints. In order to deal with this issue, a drone camera was taken on the trip so that the view above tree-top level could be recorded even if that raised the altitude of putative vantage points by 50 m or so, which would alter the perspective somewhat.⁴¹ Such an elevation would lower the midground ridges of the Mt Hope ranges relative to the background, but features of the more distant Kosciuszko Massif would not be altered by this relatively small change in perspective.

As the northern end of the Tom Groggin Track is often closed by Parks Victoria during winter months, the trip was planned for April 2018. The weather on the scheduled day was sunny and still, with a crystal-clear atmosphere after early-morning fog evaporated. For much of the 20 km drive southward toward The Grassy Knob, the track was overhung by the crowns of tall eucalypt trees. A digital topographic map on a tablet mounted on the dashboard of the four-wheel-drive vehicle tracked progress, enabling each waypoint to be identified. Along the entire length of the relevant section of the track, no completely unobstructed opportunities for photographing the Kosciuszko Massif presented themselves.

Eventually, the southernmost extent of the trip at The Grassy Knob was reached, which as expected from the satellite imagery is completely surrounded by tall, dense bush. The drone camera was sent up and wide-angle photographs of the Kosciuszko Massif were taken from a

41. It should be noted that all of the waypoints are outside of the boundaries of the Kosciuszko National Park. The use of drone camera in national parks in Victoria is banned.

height of about 40 m above the grassy clearing. The intention on the drive back to the Murray River crossing on the Tom Groggin Station was to repeat this exercise at each waypoint if there was clear space overhead and, if not, to do so at the nearest open space (Figure 6.10, yellow flags), until midground features resembling those in the sketched views were spotted. Near waypoint #4, the shapes of the foothills of the Mt Hope ranges visible in the drone camera view clearly resembled the profiles in the two sketches. Fortunately, only a small distance further north a view of the Kosciuszko Massif was spotted through gaps in the foliage, and a series of overlapping telephoto shots was taken from left to right across the entire massif. From the shape and location of the nearest ridges of the Mt Hope ranges below the road, it was obvious that Guérard's vantage point must be close by but no longer in a clearing. No other vistas of the Kosciuszko Massif were observed on the return journey.

Confirming the site

After the trip, the telephoto images were stitched together by photographer Andrew Thomas using the Photomerge function of the Photoshop application, and the resulting panorama dehazed in Camera Raw so that features of the distant massif were enhanced as much as possible. However, the view of Mt Kosciuszko itself was obscured by the crown of a large Mountain Gum (*Eucalyptus dalrympleana*) adjacent to the track.⁴² The section of the panorama with the crown was clipped and replaced with another image of Australia's highest peak and the lesser summits in front of it, taken from an unobstructed spot a few metres away (Figure 6.11). While the midground ridges of the Mt Hope ranges (dark green) resemble those in the large drawing (Figure 6.3), they are clearly shifted to the right, suggesting that Guérard's vantage point would have been somewhere to the southeast, off the track, but not far away.

42. Identified by Leon Costermans, email message to author, April 24, 2018.



Figure 6.11. **View of the Kosciuszko Massif from the Mt Hope ranges**

Section of a panoramic image of the Kosciuszko Massif assembled by Andrew Thomas from a series of overlapping photographs taken from close to waypoint #4 on the Tom Groggin Track. Photograph: Andrew Thomas.

That insight led to a more intensive use of PeakFinder back in the office. The vantage point of the application was systematically shifted in a southeasterly direction away from waypoint #4. When a screen shot of the virtual view at a distance of approximately 300 m (Figure 6.10, green flag) was overlain on the large drawing, the virtual profile matched most of the features of the drawing well (Figure 6.12). More importantly, though, the foreground ridges in the virtual view were correctly positioned relative to features of the massif immediately behind as recorded in the field drawing – the requirement that is critical for accurately determining Guérard’s vantage point. The drawing had to be rotated 2.5° anti-clockwise to align with the profile. This misalignment would have been due to the difficulties of completing the panoramic sketch on which the large drawing is based in a small sketchbook balanced on the artist’s knees.

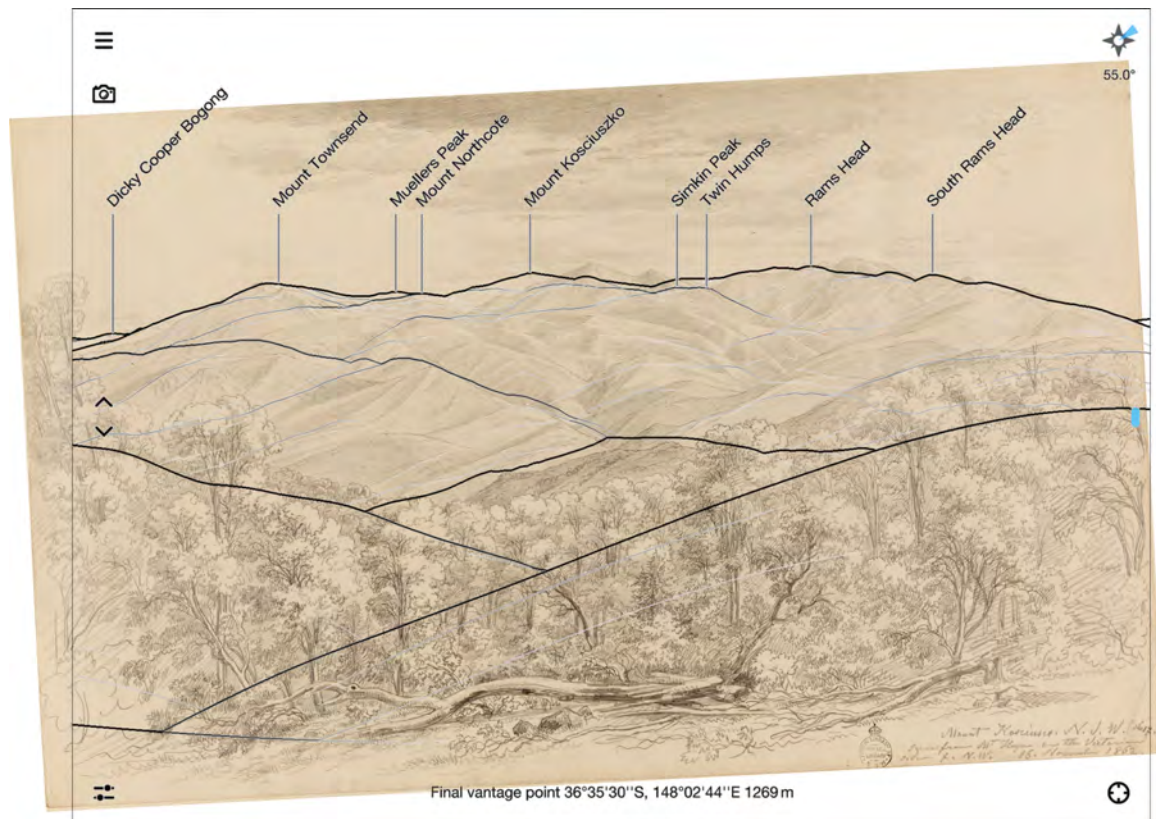


Figure 6.12. **Comparing the virtual view with the sketched view**

Mount Kosciusko [sic], N.S.W., seen from Mt Hope, rotated 2.5° anticlockwise. Overlay: PeakFinder virtual view from a location very close to *View Point* (Figure 6.9, green flag).

There is little doubt that *View Point*, where Guérard sketched, is located close to the GPS co-ordinates 36°35'30"S, 148°2'44"E, bearing in mind that a latitudinal measurement to the nearest *arc-second* represents an interval of about 31 m,⁴³ and that a longitudinal measurement to the nearest arc-second at 37°S represents an interval of about 16 m.⁴⁴ As Google Earth's satellite view indicated that the location is in the middle of dense bush, there would have been no possibility of getting a clear view of the Kosciuszko Massif from ground level.

Even though it turned out that the location where Howitt took his first bearing on Mt Kosciuszko (Figure 6.10, waypoint #2) is nearly 2 km NNE of *View Point*, perhaps because of cloud cover earlier in the day when he passed *View Point*, Howitt's map proved instrumental in confirming that the Tom Groggin Track followed the path of the old stock route, and reversing

43. An *arc-second* is 1/60th of an arc-minute, which is 1/60th of a degree.

44. "Measuring in Arc-Seconds," ESRI, 1999, accessed May 9, 2018, <http://www.esri.com/news/arcuser/0400/wdside.html>.

Howitt's bearing helped to restrict the search area for *View Point* to a limited section of the track, adjacent to which its location was eventually determined to be.

Resolving the elevational discrepancy

The elevation reported by PeakFinder for a particular pair of GPS coordinates is based on Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM) elevational data,⁴⁵ which according to the current consensus is accurate to ± 16 m at a 90% confidence interval.⁴⁶ The 1,262 m asl elevation determined by the PeakFinder application for that location close to Guérard's vantage point is still approximately 110 m lower than the 1369 m calculated for *View Point* by Neumayer. An altitudinal estimate that is 9% higher than the actual height is difficult to account for given that the scientist's other readings are all 1–2% lower than the peaks involved. As the Shuttle's radar sampled every 1 arc-second,⁴⁷ to some extent the altitudinal discrepancy could be accounted for by the sloping topography, although in fact it is only gently sloping at that location (Figure 6.10, green flag). Other possible explanations include a measurement, recording, calculating, or typesetting error. The relevant page of a handwritten copy of Neumayer's excursion diary authenticated by the scientist himself,⁴⁸ on which the narrative section of *Results of the Magnetic Survey of the Colony of Victoria* is based, excludes the possibility of a typesetting error and indicates that this particular elevation was based solely on an aneroid barometer measurement. Given the scientist made corrections to five of the aneroid measurements on that page, a measurement error seems likely, perhaps due to a calibration issue. The transposition of numbers in a measurement is also a possibility given that in the same paragraph the air temperature is recorded as 17.5° when clearly the figure was meant to be 71.5°.

45. Fabio Soldati, email message to author, July 12, 2018.

46. M. Mukul et al., "Uncertainties in the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM) Heights: Insights from the Indian Himalaya and Peninsula," *Scientific Reports* 7 (2017): 1–2, <https://doi.org/10.1038/srep41672>.

47. NASA, "U.S. Releases Enhanced Shuttle Land Elevation Data," accessed May 9, 2020, <https://www2.jpl.nasa.gov/srtm/index.html>.

48. Georg von Neumayer, "Authentic Copy of the Diary, Taken During My Excursions and Trips in Connection with the Magnetic Survey of the Colony of Victoria," 1868, Bundesamt fuer Seeschiffahrt und Hydrographie, 241, Bundesamt fuer Seeschiffahrt und Hydrographie, Hamburg.

Topographical fidelity of the panoramic field drawing

Given that the eucalypt oil-tinged blue foothills of the Kosciuszko Massif visible in the photograph are 15–20 km away, the difference between the panoramic photograph view (Figure 6.11) and the view that would be visible 300 m away at *View Point*, if the original clearing had still been in existence, would involve a minimal perspective shift as far as the massif is concerned.⁴⁹ The photographed view of the massif itself is, therefore, considered to be essentially the same as what Guérard beheld, other than the impact of recent bush fires. Of particular interest is the question of how faithfully the artist rendered the topography of the massif and, if there are any significant differences, whether they were deliberate or incidental. As the large drawing is clearly based on only a section of the small panoramic field sketch, the comparison is made with the latter (Figure 6.13).

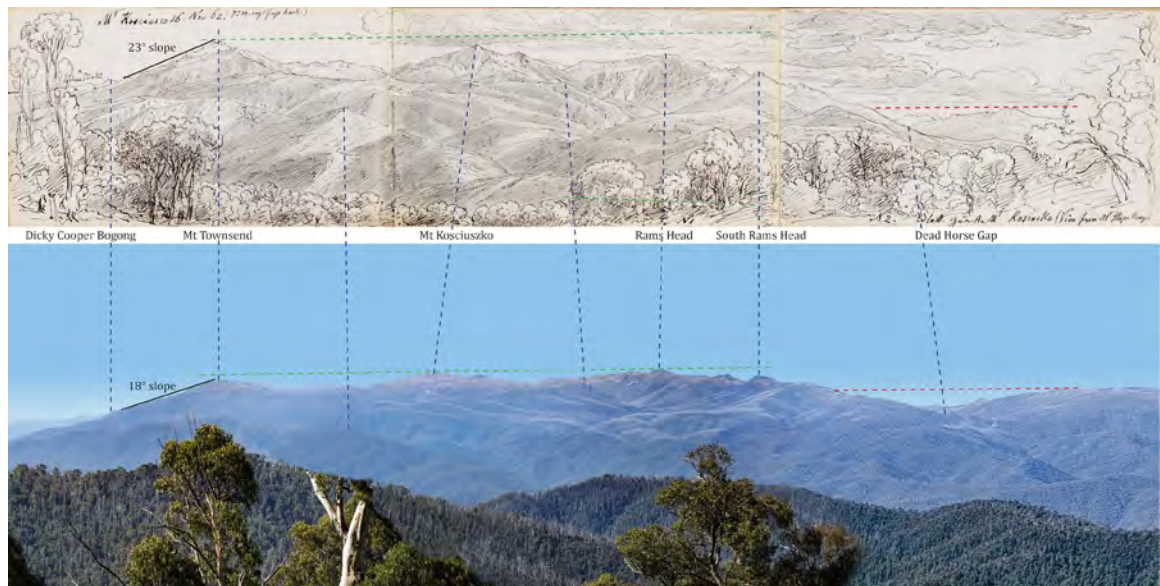


Figure 6.13. **Comparing the panoramic field drawing with the photographed view**

Top: *Mt Kosciuszko (7200')*, 16 Nov 62. Bottom: extended site photograph assembled from all of the photographs taken at waypoint #4. Photograph: Andrew Thomas. The dashed lines indicate the degree of alignment of gross topographic features.

To facilitate a valid comparison, the drawing has been scaled so that Mt Townsend and South Rams Head align with the same peaks in the panoramic photograph. The crown of the Mountain Gum blocking the view of Dead Horse Gap was excised, but replaced this time with

49. A major perspective shift would, of course, occur for the foothills of Mt Hope ranges.

imagery taken by the drone-mounted camera about 25 m above the road as no telephoto image of that part of the massif was available. What is immediately apparent is that the sketched massif dominates the landscape much more than it does in reality, a difference that was noticeable when the sketch was held up and compared with the view at the spot where the photographs were taken.

While the contours of many of the peaks and foothills of the sketched massif tend to match those in the site photograph (Figure 6.13), and have therefore been rendered relatively accurately, there are some significant topographical discrepancies, including the following:

1. Mt Kosciuszko is located more to the right relative to Mt Townsend and Rams Head.
2. The main summits of the massif itself are heightened, with steeper slopes.
3. The range to the right of the massif is reduced to an incorrectly shaped summit ridge of reduced height.

The above transformations give the massif a more discrete and dominant appearance, make the peaks appear more distinctive and dramatic, and render Mt Kosciuszko as the central focus of the massif. These enhancements are further embellished in the painting (Figure 6.14).

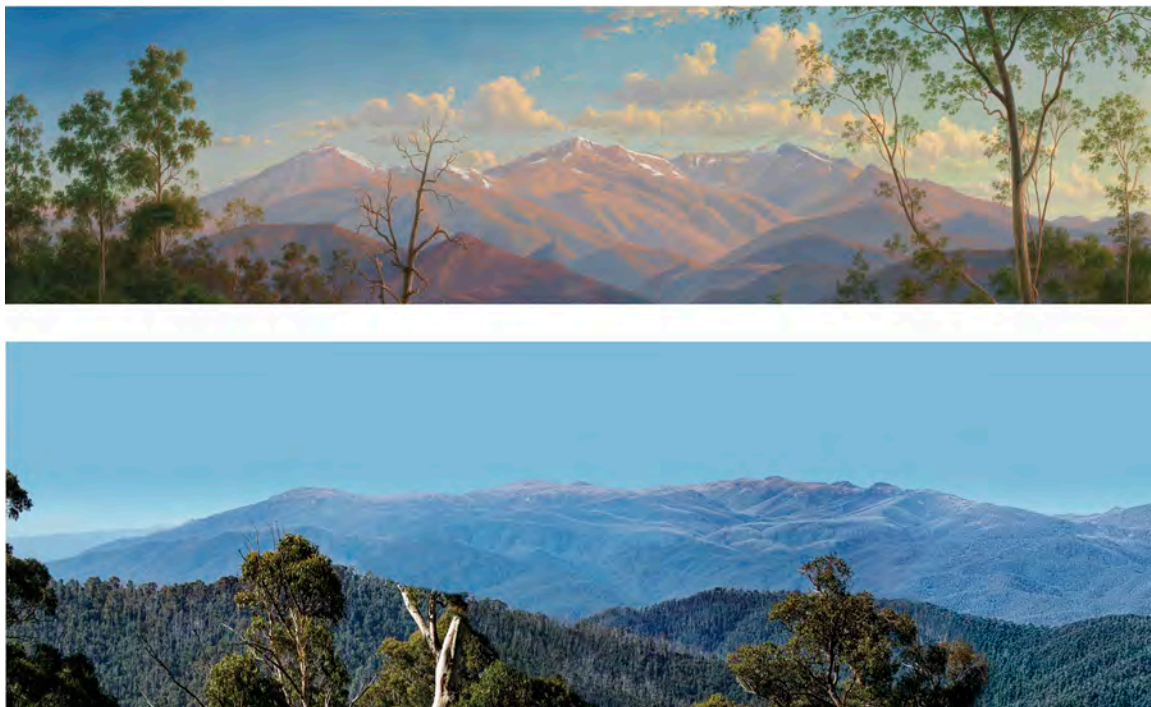


Figure 6.14. Comparing the painted massif with the site photograph

Top: *Mount Kosciuszko, seen from the Victorian Border* (detail). Bottom: site photograph taken from close to Guérard's vantage point. Photograph: Andrew Thomas.

As will be seen, such painted embellishments are not atypical of Guérard's Antipodean landscapes, as they enabled him to create dramatic works of art that countered the general flatness of the Australian landscape, the limited elevations of landforms and the great distances to many of the geographical features visible in a view, which often made landforms appear diminutive. However, it is highly unusual to encounter such embellishments in his field sketches, other than a modest increase in elevations, unless the drawing is a composition study rather than a field drawing, which the small panoramic sketch clearly is not. It could be argued, therefore, that the site has not been located. However, the close alignment of the summits and foothills of the massif, as well as the foothills of the Mt Hope ranges, with the profiles evident in the PeakFinder view (Figure 6.12) strongly refutes that possibility.

It is puzzling that Guérard should make such transformations while sketching on paper in the field in front of his subject, rather than when painting on canvas in the studio in front of his easel. Some of the differences between the sketched view and physical appearance of the massif might have occurred because the artist was in a hurry to capture his "first glimpse of that highest point of the Australian continent" before the party had to move on. But centring Mt Kosciuszko as well as elevating and isolating the massif implies that he made a deliberate effort to dramatise the view, an effect that is more apparent in the large drawing. As he made the small sketch, Guérard was already contemplating what a sublime and significant scene the view could become if some topographic and temporal enhancements were made,⁵⁰ which tempted him to practise a degree of pictorial licence usually reserved for the studio. As such, his drawings of the Kosciuszko Massif are atypical of his field practice.

Conclusion

The use of applications based on satellite imagery and GPS or SRTM data, such as Google Earth, Memory-Map and PeakFinder, to locate difficult-to-find, isolated sites of views illustrated in

50. Guérard also shifted the time of day from mid-afternoon to early in the morning.

paintings of wilderness and alpine areas, as many of the views in Guérard's paintings are, is an innovative approach for which no precedent has been found in the literature.⁵¹

The potential for utilising this spatial technology, along with the other strategies described in this chapter, to find the vantage points of previously unlocated views that Guérard sketched in the field, and then painted back in his studio, is further realised in the research conducted into some of the landscape paintings included in the survey or selected for case studies. This included locating isolated, undocumented sites in the Grampians of western Victoria and elsewhere, and finding previously undiscovered sites in more accessible locations, by using those spatial tools in conjunction with geographical, geological and ecological clues recorded in the field sketches on which the artworks are based.⁵² PeakFinder's digital elevation model, in particular, proved to be a highly useful tool for locating the vantage points of views illustrated in Guérard's landscape paintings.

The spatial technology and techniques discussed in this chapter have a wider relevance for art historians interested in locating currently unlocated sites of scenes illustrated by other landscape artists, particularly nineteenth-century colonial painters whose wilderness or alpine sites may not be well documented.

51. An article based on the research undertaken for this chapter was published as Hook, "Using Spatial Technology."

52. For example, see Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity."

Chapter 7 – Methodology part B:

Designing and administering the survey instrument

As outlined in the introductory chapter, the primary purpose of the survey is to evaluate the fidelity of Guérard's Antipodean landscapes to the view of natural scenery at the sites and to the natural history of the locations where he made the sketches on which the paintings in the sample are based. Of the three parts of the survey instrument, it is the third one that facilitates a detailed comparison of a variety of aspects of paintings with the visual and natural features of sites. The portrayal of enduring site features, such as the topography, geomorphology and geology, is compared with site photographs or, in the case of topography, with the virtual view if the actual view from the vantage point is obstructed. While non-enduring site features, such as ecological and botanical aspects, can be compared with early photographs in a few cases, for most paintings these features must be compared with those recorded in the field drawing on which the painting is based. This, of course, assumes that field drawings are accurate records of the natural scenery that the artist observed at the sites.

The validity of this assumption is assessed by the second part of the survey instrument, in which a select range of enduring features illustrated in nearly all extant field drawings is compared with those visible in site photographs and/or virtual views, where those have been obtained. If such sketched aspects prove to be accurate depictions of enduring features, then it is reasonable to conclude that the artist also accurately recorded non-enduring features in those field drawings, such as ecological, botanical and meteorological aspects. Furthermore, if it is found that nearly all field drawings are faithful records, then it would also be reasonable to assume that for those paintings whose sites have not been located, and therefore site photographs and/or virtual views are lacking, the field drawings on which they are based, if in existence, are faithful records of both enduring and non-enduring features that Guérard observed at the site.¹

1. Field drawings were not located for 14 of the 104 distinct scenes illustrated in the sample of 121 paintings.

The first part of the survey instrument documents specific features of paintings, the field drawings on which they are based, and the sites where the sketches were made. While those data are not used to make any generalisations about the overall fidelity to nature of Guérard's Antipodean landscapes, they are sources of information that are drawn upon in the comparisons made in the second and third parts of the survey.

Software applications used

The survey instrument was developed and administered using the database program FileMaker Pro (FMP) version 15, while descriptive statistics were generated, and statistical analysis was undertaken, using the application Statistical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS) version 26.²

Development of the first part of the survey instrument

The first part of the survey, entitled "Features of an Antipodean landscape painting, its source sketch(es) and site photo(s)" (Appendix I) is designed to capture as much useful information about a landscape painting, the relevant field drawing(s) on which it is based, and the site where the sketching was done as possible. As such, it also functions as a database for ongoing research and publication on Guérard's Antipodean landscapes, including data relating to a wide range of aspects, not all of which are analysed or discussed in this thesis.

Many of the items included in this section of the survey originated when aspects of different landscape paintings exhibited states that could be differentiated, and therefore treated as variables, were identified. These aspects included the type of landscape, the dominant landform, geological features, type of vegetation, identifiable flora and fauna, weather conditions, cloud types, bearings and time of day, as well as human activity and structures, Indigenous presence and intended historical period. There are also some items relating specifically to artistic techniques, such as the use of an internal framing device and the *compositeness* of a painted view.³ The range of items included was extended to cover non-content aspects of paintings, such as the year

2. The abbreviation SPSS originally stood for Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, indicative of its original use.

3. *Compositeness* relates to whether a painted scene is based on the view sketched from a single vantage point or on several sketches of scenery made from different vantage points.

completed, commissioning, location of the work, versioning, orientation and size of canvas. Attributes relating to the field drawings on which paintings are based, such as the year sketched, expedition, size of sketch, whether in an album or sketchbook, versions of the same view, etc., were added. To complete the coverage, items relating to site locations were included as well, such as the colony, geographical location, GPS coordinates and virtual view, as well details of historical and contemporary site photographs. The items were eventually arranged into the following sections: Details of the painting; Colony and related expedition; Source sketch(es); Compositeness; Features of the painted scene; Principal site visit and site photography; PeakFinder view at principal site; and Historical photo of principal site.

In contrast to the predominantly *ordinal variables* rated in the second and third parts of the survey, nearly all of the items included in the first part are *nominal variables*.⁴ The format of most items included in this part is structured so that only a limited range of possible responses (also known as value labels) is available for selection. For example, for the variable “Dominant weather” the available responses are: “cloudless day,” “sunny with clouds,” “overcast,” “raining,” “stormy” and “other” (Figure 7.1). As SPSS applies statistical analysis to numerical data only, the number next to the appropriate value label is entered into the “weather” *field* by clicking on a drop-down list of numbers.⁵ Provision is made for any significant issue or aspect to be noted in a separate text field, which often has a placeholder instruction on how to assess or what should be recorded. In the case of some features where, for whatever reason, it is either inappropriate or impossible to identify a categorical state that the variable exhibits in a particular painting or field drawing, the options “irrelevant [for the scene]” and “indeterminable” are provided.

4. *Ordinal variables* have values that lie along a continuum from less to more of the quantity involved, while *nominal variables* have values that are distinct categories, which are not necessarily ordered in any particular way.

5. In this context, a *field* is an entity used to store data relating to a specific feature for each painting in the database.

29. Dominant weather:

cloudless day (1), sunny with clouds (2), overcast (3), raining (4), stormy (5), other (6), irrelevant (66), inde 1

2

3

4

5

6

66

99

30. Main cloud type:

cirrus (1), cirrostratus (2), cirrocumulus (3), altostratus (4), altocumulus (5), nimbostratus (6), cumulus (7), 4

cumulonimbus (9), stratocumulus (10), other (11), can't identify (33), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99) 5

31. Human beings visible:

present (1), absent (2), indeterminable (99) 6

66

99

Figure 7.1. **Examples of nominal items used in the survey**

Examples of items included in the first part of the survey instrument, showing the typical format.

Initially, the set of possible responses for each variable was based on the most obvious options, but some of those response lists were expanded when the prototype version of the survey instrument was tested on twelve paintings investigated after early site visits. At a later testing stage, after all of the fieldwork had been completed, the developed survey instrument was tested on a selection of ten diverse landscapes followed by ten randomly selected, previously unassessed works from the sample, in order to identify the full range of possible states that each variable could exhibit across Guérard’s Antipodean oeuvre. The listed categories for the vast majority of the variables included in the final iteration of this part of the survey instrument were found to accommodate nearly all possible states exhibited when the instrument was freshly applied to all 121 paintings in the sample, with only a few items requiring extra category states.

Development of the second part of the survey instrument

Although forest ecology researcher Michael Ryan asserted that Guérard’s field drawings “were essentially ‘unadulterated’ scenes,”⁶ the principal purpose of the second part of the survey instrument, entitled “Fidelity of enduring features illustrated in a field drawing to those observed at the site” (Appendix J), is to confirm whether or not the field drawing on which each painting is based provides a reliable record of enduring natural features visible at the site when Guérard

6. Michael Ryan, “Does Early Colonial Art Provide an Accurate Guide to the Nature and Structure of the Pre-European Forests and Woodlands of South-Eastern Australia? A Study Focusing on Victoria and Tasmania” (Master of Forestry thesis, Australian National University, 2009), 159.

made the sketch.⁷ If so, that source sketch can then be confidently used in the assessment of the fidelity of non-enduring features in the painted scene.

Role that field drawings play in assessing the fidelity of paintings

Although site photographs of the same view, taken from close to the vantage point of many of the artist's Antipodean paintings, were obtained on field trips, some aspects of those landscapes have changed over the intervening century and a half or more, due to human modification of the environment or natural processes. Ideally, any evaluation of the fidelity of one of Guérard's landscapes to the view of the natural scenery at the site would involve comparing the painting with a site photograph taken within a decade or two of his visit, from his vantage point and encompassing the same field of view (e.g. see Figure 5.6). However, very few such photographs have been found to date.

Given the limited number of early photographic resources, the fidelity of the artist's portrayal of many non-enduring site features in paintings can be assessed only by comparing them with the relevant field drawings. But how can one be confident that the field drawings are reliable records? Comparing them with contemporary site photographs suffers from the same limitation as comparing the paintings, unless the comparison is restricted to enduring features of the landscape, such as the general topography and the elevations of summits, as well as landforms and major rock formations. If such enduring features of sites prove to be accurately recorded in field drawings, then it would be reasonable to assume that non-enduring features, such as ecological, botanical and meteorological aspects, would have been faithfully recorded as well. In this case, the fidelity of a much wider range of painted features other than enduring ones can be evaluated by making use of field drawings as well as site photographs and virtual views.

7. In the case of composite landscape paintings based on merging imagery from two or more field drawings of different landscapes, only the fidelity of the drawing whose features dominate the painting is assessed. The exception is *Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865 (SLNSW), whose features are equally based on two field drawings (Figure 12.8).

Fidelity items relating to enduring features of landscapes

Aspects of physical features of landscapes that are unlikely to have changed within the historical time period involved include the following eight features:

- the elevation of the main summit and the profile of the horizon;
- the contours of midground hills and valleys, and the slopes of the foreground;
- the appearance of large foreground boulders;
- the general shape and location of major rock outcrops;
- the geological properties of outcrops such as jointing and bedding; and
- the drainage lines of a creek or the shoreline of a large waterbody.

The enduring nature of most of these features over the timespan involved, such as those related to gross topography, can be assumed, but for others, such as outcrops and drainage lines, confirmation is provided on the basis of comparing how those features are recorded in contemporary site photographs with how they were portrayed in field drawings in the sample.⁸

Given that it is not possible to use comparative measurements to make objective judgements about whether an enduring feature has been accurately sketched or not, descriptive ordinal scales were developed for subjectively assessing the fidelity of eight enduring features illustrated in field drawings against their illustration in site photographs and virtual views. Initially, the type of scale used was a five-point *descriptive rating scale*,⁹ but in early testing it proved difficult to consistently distinguish between five levels of fidelity. More reliable four-point scales were therefore used instead (e.g. Figure 7.2), which resulted in more consistent, albeit less well differentiated, decisions being made. Depending on the context, the descriptive scales used are variations on the following ordinal pattern: “very accurate (4),” “mostly accurate (3),” “significantly modified (2)” and “highly modified /inserted (1).” The “inserted” option is used when a feature, such as a rock outcrop, is not present at the site but the artist has introduced it in

8. It should be noted that not all of the identified enduring features included in the survey instrument are relevant for every landscape sketch.

9. The scoring for a *descriptive rating scale* is done on the basis of rank-based descriptions. The appropriate number of steps to use for such a scale depends on the nature of the variable and the precision with which judgements can be consistently made.

the sketch. Options are also provided to cater for the following situations: “no comparison possible (33),” when no site photograph or virtual view is available; “irrelevant (66),” if a particular feature is not included in the field drawing; and “indeterminable (99),” when the feature is so small or indistinctly sketched that it is not possible to assess its fidelity to the site. Instructions clarifying how to assess or what to record for each variable are inserted as placeholders in the extended text boxes, which also allow for any particular issue or aspect to be noted.

The image shows a portion of a survey form with three items, each with a descriptive ordinal scale and a rating dropdown menu. Item 9 is 'Foreground slopes (cf. site photo only):' with a scale of 'very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified (1), no comparison possible (33), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99)'. Item 10 is 'Foreground boulders (cf. site photo):' with a scale of 'very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified/ inserted (1), no comparison possible (33), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99)'. Item 11 is 'Massive rock outcrop (cf. site photo):' with a scale of 'very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified (1), no comparison possible (33), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99)'. A dropdown menu is open next to item 9, showing the options 4, 3, 2, 1, 33, 66, and 99.

Figure 7.2. **Examples of descriptive ordinal scales used in the survey**

The number next to a value label in each list of possible responses is used to select the appropriate numerical option from the drop-down list attached to the rating field.

The fidelity response chosen for each enduring feature item in this part of the survey is based primarily upon comparing the appearance of that feature in the field drawing with how it appears in the site photograph and secondarily in the virtual view, as displayed on the spread assembled for the painting based on the drawing (e.g. Figure 5.16). In instances where the GPS coordinates of the vantage point at which the artist sketched the field drawing have been established but no site photograph obtained, the field sketch is compared with just the PeakFinder virtual view from those coordinates. This does, however, restrict the assessment of fidelity to topographic items such as summit elevation, horizon profile and midground topography.

There are some initial items not concerned with fidelity in the second part of the survey, which cover the quality of the field drawing image; the usefulness, period and field of view of the site photograph; and the principal comparison used in the assessment of the fidelity of the sketched enduring features. There are two items at the bottom of the form relating to the fidelity of any surviving trees and buildings, but these are relevant to only a small number of drawings.

As with the first part of the survey, the format and wording of items in the second part of the survey instrument was initially tested on field drawings associated with the twelve paintings investigated after early site visits. The instrument was then revised to take into account the ease with which each item could be assessed, the appropriateness of the descriptors, and their applicability to a range of different scenes. This involved modifying either the response-level descriptors or the guidance in the extended text boxes. As with the other parts of the survey, the revised set of items was later tested on the field drawings associated with a selection of ten diverse landscape paintings, followed by the drawings on which ten other randomly selected works are based. Some further fine-tuning was necessary to ensure clarity of expectation, wide applicability and ease of use before this part of the survey instrument was ready to be applied.

Summative measures

Near the end of the second part of the survey instrument (Figure 7.3), the number of scores of 4 and 3 is recorded, which indicates how many of the enduring features sketched in a field drawing are scored as “very accurate” or “mostly accurate.” Similarly, the number of scores of 2 and 1 is recorded to indicate the number of features that are either “significantly modified” or “highly modified.” The number of 33, 66 and 99 scores is logged, which signals the number of unscored items. The number of items assessed is also recorded, which provides critical information for deciding whether a field drawing should be used in the assessment of the painting.

Overall ratings: Number of assessed items:

Number of 4s and 3s: Number of 2s and 1s: Number of 33s, 66s and 99s: v

Note: 33 usually indicates the field drawing is missing or no site photo/PF view is available; 66 signifies the feature is irrelevant for the scene; and 99 implies the response is indeterminable as the drawing or photo lacks clarity or the feature is no longer present at site.

Overall fidelity rating (1-10, 0 dp, r.u.):

= (sum of all 1 to 4 scores for questions 6 to 13 ÷ maximum possible score ignoring all 33, 66 and 99 items) x 10

Figure 7.3. Summary of scores and overall fidelity rating for a field drawing

The bottom of the second part of the survey instrument, which is used to record the number of scores within distinct ranges, and to calculate an overall fidelity measure for a field drawing.

In order to make an assessment of the overall fidelity with which enduring features are recorded in a particular field drawing, a simple *measure* was added to the survey instrument

(Figure 7.3).¹⁰ This measure, entitled the *overall fidelity rating*, uses a scale of 1 to 10, with ten being the highest level of overall fidelity. It is calculated by summing the scores of 4, 3, 2 and 1 for the eight comparative items, dividing that number by the maximum possible score for those items alone, multiplying the answer by 10, and rounding up to the nearest whole number. When a variable aggregates the scores of a number of ordinal variables it can be considered to be an *interval variable*, with some additional descriptive statistics, such as the mean and standard deviation, becoming applicable.¹¹ It also means that the overall fidelity ratings for the entire cohort of field drawings can be displayed on a histogram.

All of the “non-missing” responses are given equal weighting in the above calculation, even though some features (e.g. foreground topography), whether highly faithful or highly modified, would play a much more dominant role in the scene recorded in the field drawing than others. Items rated as 33, 66 or 99 are treated as “missing values” and therefore ignored in the calculation. In instances where no site photograph or virtual view is available, all eight features are scored as “missing values” and the fidelity measure is ignored.

Implications of the overall fidelity rating and of the fidelity score of individual items

The primary function of the overall fidelity rating is to provide an indication of how faithful a field drawing is to the view that the artist observed at the site, notwithstanding that it relates to enduring features only. A high score for this measure should indicate that most, if not all, of the assessed enduring features have been accurately, or mostly accurately, recorded. In those instances, the field drawing can be confidently used in the assessment of the fidelity of non-enduring features portrayed in the painting that is based upon it, as there is no logical reason why most non-enduring features would be consistently recorded with any less fidelity than the

10. In the social science research literature, a *measure* is usually the sum or average of the scores for multiple items in a questionnaire, which is then used to score a variable such as resilience or problem-solving ability. These variables are known as *constructs*, as the underlying phenomena cannot be measured directly. There are thousands of established measures, with tested reliability and consistency, in use in social science research, see “Psychological Measurement,” in Price et al., *Research Methods in Psychology*, 60–76. However, no such measures have been located in the literature on landscape paintings.

11. With an *interval variable*, the space between each possible response reflects an equal amount of the variable. See Bruce B. Frey, *There’s a Stat for That* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2016), 4.

enduring ones. The exceptions are cloud formations and weather conditions, which could change dramatically during the course of a sketching period, particularly during the length of time required to complete a large, detailed drawing. In this situation the artist may have chosen to sketch the cloud formations or weather conditions that were present at a particular moment during the sketching period.

In instances where a particular enduring feature of a landscape is found to be significantly or highly modified in the field drawing, the equivalent feature in the painting would be compared with the site photograph or virtual view only.¹² It would not necessarily follow, though, that just because a single enduring feature has been modified that the field drawing should not be used to assess the fidelity of non-enduring features recorded in the painting. However, if two or more enduring features in a field drawing are found to be significantly or highly modified, then that drawing would not be used in the assessment of the fidelity of non-enduring features portrayed in the painting based on the drawing.¹³ In such instances, it is likely that the sketch is more in the nature of a composition study completed at a later stage away from the site (see page 146), in which certain artistic liberties have already been taken, rather than a field drawing.

There is an issue, though, with the validity of the overall fidelity rating for a particular field drawing if only a few of the enduring features in the sketch can be scored. A drawing could be rated as a 9 or 10 when the fidelity of only one or two enduring features has been assessed. This could occur because the comparison is based on the virtual view only (as no site photograph was obtained), or because the drawing lacked a foreground and a rock exposure. To circumvent this issue, the overall fidelity rating of a field drawing is considered to be meaningful only if at least three features have been assessed. Drawings with fewer than three enduring items scored are therefore ignored in the histogram and other descriptive statistics summarising the overall fidelity ratings for the sample of field drawings. The bar could have been set higher but five of the eight

12. Regardless, the site photograph and/or virtual view would be prioritised above the field drawing when assessing enduring features.

13. A field in the header of the third part of the survey indicates whether the field drawing is to be used or not.

enduring features assessed in this part of the survey are not necessarily relevant to every sketched landscape.

Lastly, there is the issue of whether a field drawing can be validly used in the assessment of the fidelity of features recorded in a landscape painting if the site has not been located and therefore no photograph or virtual view is available. Such drawings will not have an overall fidelity score as it is not possible to assess the fidelity of any features. If it is found that at least 90% of field drawings with at least three features assessed have an overall fidelity score of 8 or more on the 10-point scale, then it will be assumed that those unassessable field drawings are also highly likely to be accurate renditions of the scenes that Guérard beheld, as there is no logical reason why they should not be. Therefore, they too can be used to assess the fidelity of both enduring and non-enduring features in the paintings based upon them.

Development of the third part of the survey instrument

The purpose of the third part of the survey instrument, entitled “Fidelity of natural features illustrated in a painting to the view at the vantage point and the natural history of the location” (Appendix K), is to assess the fidelity of both enduring and non-enduring natural features illustrated in a landscape painting, and to use those scores to determine an overall fidelity rating for the work. The distribution of scores across the whole sample for each individual item in this part of the survey instrument is also used to identify features that are consistently illustrated with fidelity as opposed to those that are often significantly modified. Features illustrated in each landscape painting are compared with visual information in the site photograph, virtual view and field drawing, if available, as assembled on the relevant spread. This part of the survey evaluates the fidelity of a much wider range of features than those considered in the second part of the survey, as it embraces non-enduring as well as enduring features. Enduring features are typically compared with how they are documented in the site photograph and virtual view, or with just the field drawing if the former are unavailable, while the non-enduring ones are primarily compared with how those are illustrated in the field drawing or occasionally in early site photographs.

Excluded features

The initial task in the development of the third part of the instrument involved identifying the range of features for which levels of fidelity could be differentiated. An early decision was made, however, that when the fidelity of natural objects in a landscape painting is assessed, the colours of such features would be ignored for several reasons. The varnish applied to paintings by Guérard and later restorers yellows significantly with age, giving a false impression of the artist's colour palette.¹⁴ For example, the painting *Thal um Mt Wellington* (Figure 7.4) was thought to be a sunset scene until conservation work revealed it to be closer to a midday view. As the colour of the vegetation, rocks and clouds that the artist observed at a site would have depended on the light and meteorological conditions when he recorded the scene, there is little point in comparing the colours of a painted scene with those recorded in a site photograph, even if the time of day when the sketch was done is known. Lastly, in only a few instances did the artist use crayons (e.g. Figure 8.8) or annotations on a field drawing to specify colours, and even then it would only be done for some specific objects in a scene, so comparing the colour of a few objects in a painting with the colours he noted at the site would be of limited use in assessing the fidelity of his palette.

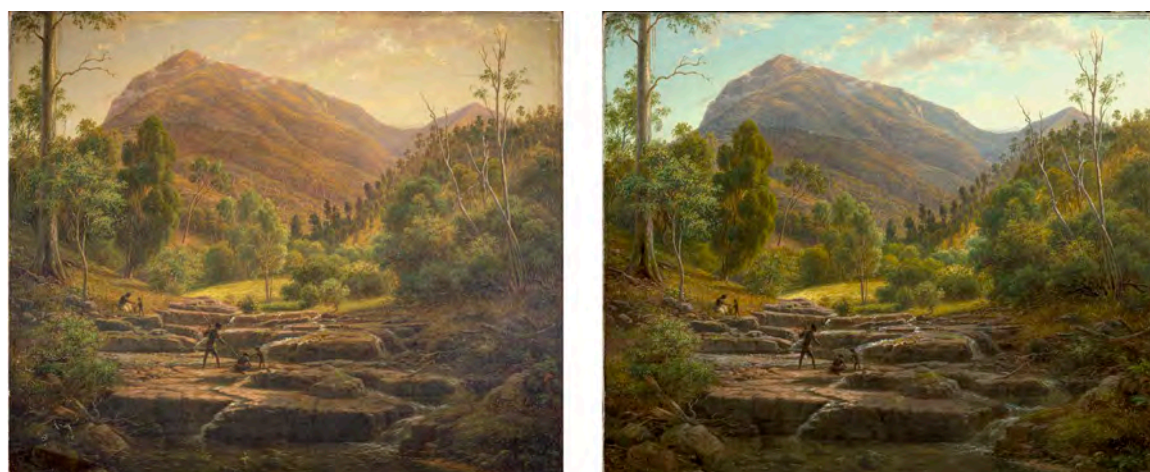


Figure 7.4. **The effects of ageing on the colours of an oil painting**
Thal um Mt. Wellington bei Hobart “*Insel Tasmania, Australien*,” 1886, oil on canvas, 38.0 × 45.5 cm, ATL. Left: before conservation work. Right: after conservation work, which included removal of the yellowing varnish layer and recoating.

14. See Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research, “Why Paintings Turn Yellow,” accessed February 12, 2020, <https://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/1999/09/990920071245.htm>.

Identifying constant and changeable features

Comparing features of *same-scene* landscape paintings gives a useful indication of the features the artist consistently illustrated as well as those he was prepared to modify for artistic purposes.¹⁵ This approach has the advantage of identifying features that Guérard freely adapted as opposed to those he apparently considered inviolable, without necessitating site visits. In the sample there are eleven scenes with two painted versions, and three with three (Appendix L).¹⁶ An initial cursory comparison identified a range of features that could be either distinctly different or more or less identically rendered within each set of same-scene paintings. The list included the following features: heights of distant peaks and hills, midground contours, foreground slopes, waterbodies, rock formations, internal framing, weather conditions, cloud formations, apparent time of day, animals present, birds in flight, foreground trees and shrubs, dead trees and fallen branches, and types of people present. For example, in the two paintings of the Mitta Mitta Valley (Figure 7.5), which are ostensibly identical scenes with many of the above features the same in each painting, closer examination reveals significant differences relating to: the foreground trail, rocks, shrubs and deadwood; the fauna and humans present; and the clouds.

15. *Same-scene* landscapes are paintings encompassing the same field of view and demonstrating the same perspective (i.e. views painted looking from the same vantage point).

16. There are other known same-scene works in Guérard's Antipodean oeuvre but, as images of those have not been sighted, they are not included in this study.



Figure 7.5. **Versions of the Mitta Mitta Valley scene**

Top: *Spring in the valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges*, 1863, oil on canvas, 43.5 × 69.3 cm, NGV. Bottom: *Spring in the valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges in the distance*, 1866, oil on canvas, 68.3 × 107.7 cm, NGV.

Each of the 14 sets of same-scene paintings was then examined in detail, and the features listed above rated as “basically the same,” “significantly different,” “irrelevant,” or “indeterminable” (Table 7.1). Features found to be illustrated consistently in same-scene paintings include: the heights of distant peaks and hills; the midground contours; the drainage lines of creeks and the extent of lakes; and the weather, cloud formations and solar illumination. In contrast, features that vary significantly in a number of the sets of same-scene works include: foreground contours, rock formations, internal framing, flora and fauna, dead tree trunks and the humans inhabiting the landscape.

Table 7.1. Comparison of selected features of same-scene paintings

Scene	Feature	Height of peaks/hills	Middle contours	Foreground slopes	Water body	Rock forms	Internal framing	Weather state	Cloud forms	Time of day	Animals present	Birds present	Trees, shrubs	Dead wood	People present
Fern Tree Gully, Dandenongs		I	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	I	D	S	D	I
Mount William from Mt Dryden		S	S	D	D	D	D	S	D	S	D	D	D	D	D
Lake Gnotuk/Basin Banks		S	S	S	S	S	D	S	S	S	S	S	D	S	D
Cabbage Tree Forest		S	S	S	S	I	S	S	S	S	I	I	S	D	S
Sydney Heads, from Vacluse		S	D	S	S	D	D	S	S	S	D	I	D	I	D
Weatherboard Falls, Blue Mountains		S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
Mitta Mitta Valley, Bogong Ranges		S	S	S	S	D	S	S	S	S	S	D	S	D	D
Cathedral Mount, Acheron River		S	S	S	S	S	D	S	S	S	S	D	S	S	S
Roses Gap, Grampians		S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	I	?	S	I	S
Granite Rocks at Cape Woolamai		S	S	D	S	D	D	S	S	S	I	S	S	I	D
Govett's Leap, Blue Mountains		S	S	D	S	D	S	S	D	S	I	D	D	D	D
Lake Wakatipu with Mt Earnslaw		S	S	D	S	D	S	S	S	S	I	D	D	D	D
Moonlight in an Australian Forest		I	S	?	I	I	D	S	S	S	I	I	D	S	S
Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River		S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	?	D	D	I	S

Key: S = basically the same; D = significantly different; I = irrelevant; ? = indeterminable

While the features that vary significantly in same-scene paintings are obviously aspects that Guérard felt at liberty to modify in different ways for artistic purposes, it cannot be assumed that those features which are consistently portrayed are necessarily ones that he illustrated with fidelity to the scene he observed at the site. In a number of instances the artist made a larger or smaller copy of the original work in response to demand, and a feature already modified in the initial work was duplicated in the subsequent work. For example, both of his paintings of Govett's Leap in the Blue Mountains have stepped rock ledges leading to a viewing platform for tourists (Figure 7.6, top and bottom), whereas an early photograph shows that there is in fact a gentle incline up to the viewing point (Figure 7.6, inset).

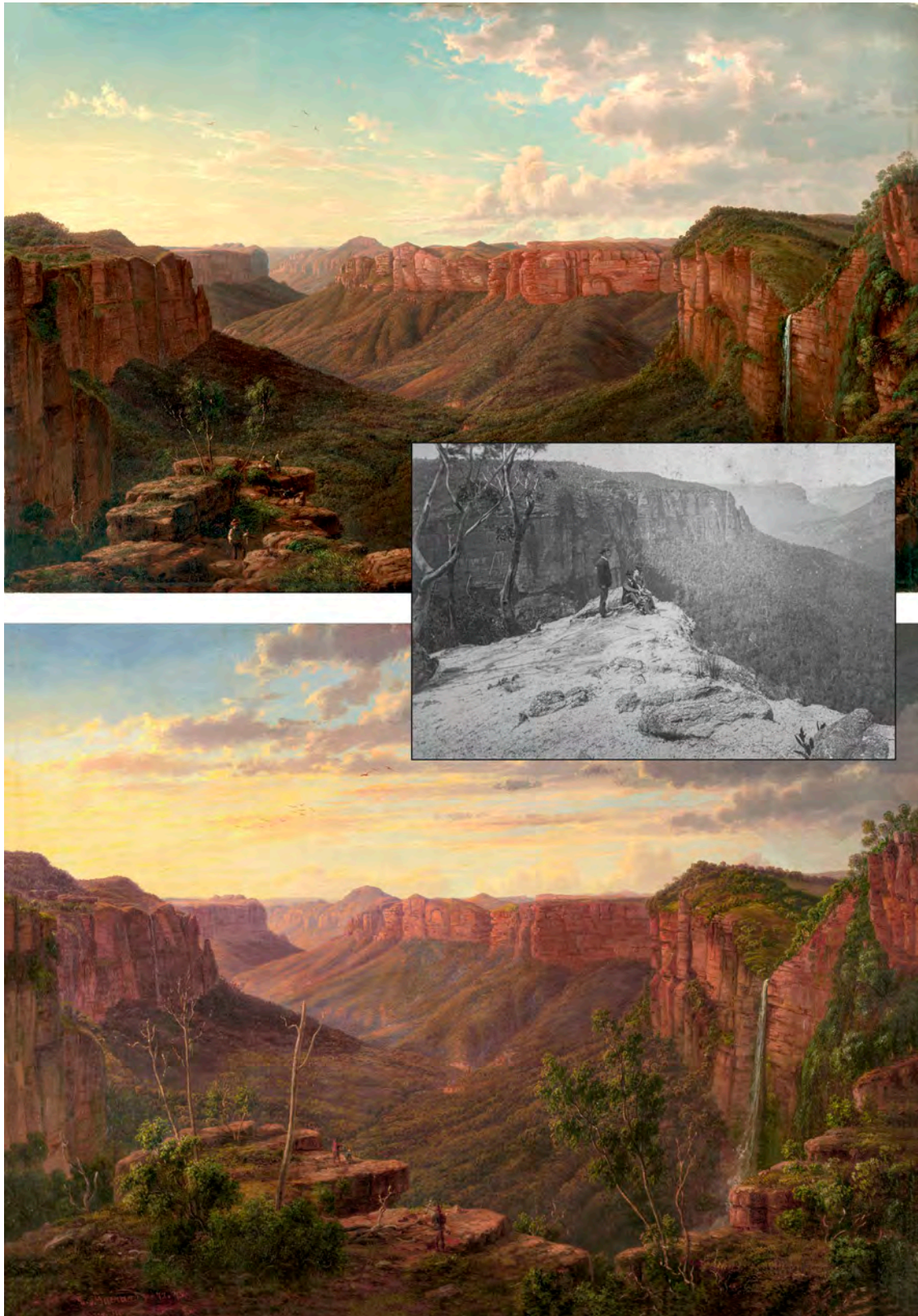


Figure 7.6. **Consistently illustrated features may also be invented**

Top: *Govett's Leap and the Grose River Valley Blue Mountains NSW*, 1873, oil on canvas, 68.5 × 106.4 cm, NGA. Bottom: *Govett's Leap, the Blue Mountains*, c. 1872–1873, oil on canvas, 47.4 × 62.7 cm, NLA. Inset: Charles Bayliss, *Grose Valley* [from *Govett's Leap, Blue Mountains, N.S.W.*], between c. 1876 and 1897, NLA.

Identifying general features that are assessable

As discussed in the introductory chapter, the key focus of this research program is what Guérard's expressed intention to be "true to nature" in his landscape paintings meant in practice. In order to tease out what this fidelity entailed, two issues need to be examined:

- Do his paintings faithfully reproduce the view of natural scenery that he beheld at the site (i.e. pictorial fidelity)?
- Do his works truthfully illustrate the natural history of the general location (i.e. natural history fidelity)?

In order to resolve both of these issues, the third part of the survey is intended to assess the extent to which each of the artist's works faithfully portrays different aspects of the natural scenery visible at the site at the time of his visit and accords with the known natural history of the location. This necessitated assembling a comprehensive list of features that relate to either the view or the natural history. The former needed to be general enough in scope to apply to most paintings and be such that it is possible to make graduated judgements as to the degree of fidelity displayed. A list of potential features was generated by identifying different aspects of a landscape, such as topography, landforms and foreground features, as well as different aspects of the natural history of a location, such as the geology, ecology, flora and fauna. This list was supplemented with additional items derived from the analysis of same-scene works, to give a preliminary set of 21 potentially assessable features.

The wording of the ordinal variables used for this part of the survey instrument was developed and refined over an extended period of time, with further items being added. Early testing occurred using several sets of paintings for which the fieldwork had already been successfully undertaken. Fine-tuning was required to ensure that wording of the stem and the graduated response options for each of the variables was applicable to a wide range of works, as well as being clearly expressed and easy to apply. As noted previously, prior to the survey being applied to the whole sample after all of the fieldwork had been completed, the whole instrument was retested with a diverse set of ten paintings and ten other randomly selected, previously unassessed works. This resulted in the fine-tuning of the wording of the stems and descriptive

scales of some items in the third part of the survey. It was also noticed that double jeopardy could occur when the same feature was rated twice under different items in the survey instrument, for example, if foreground rocks are also part of a major rock exposure or a framing tree is also treated as part of the foreground vegetation. In these instances, instructions were added to ignore a feature when rating one of the relevant items if it was more appropriately rated under the other.

In its final form (Appendix K), the third part of the survey consisted of 24 items in total: 19 items comparing the pictorial fidelity of features of a work to the view of the natural scenery at the site, as recorded in the site photograph, virtual view or field drawing; four items assessing whether the presence of identifiable rock, flora or fauna in a painting accords with the known natural history of the location; and one item relating to whether the cloud type can be readily identified in the painting. The latter five are interspersed among the former items, with all 24 items arranged according to the following feature categories: topographical, compositional, illuminational, geological, geomorphological, ecological, botanical, zoological and meteorological.

Assessing the fidelity of pictorial items

Items relating to the fidelity of features illustrated in a painting to the view of natural features at the site, as recorded in the site photograph, virtual view or field drawing, were initially assessed using a five-point descriptive ordinal scale. However, as was encountered in the second part of the survey, it often proved difficult to consistently distinguish five levels of fidelity. Consequently, the scale ultimately employed was a four-point scale (e.g. Figure 7.7) based on the following ordinal pattern: “highly faithful,” “noticeably different,” “significantly modified” and “highly modified/introduced.” The wording for individual items was adapted to accommodate the particular nature of a feature. As it often proved difficult to decide whether a feature in a painting (e.g. a dominant tree framing the scene) should be categorised as a highly modified representation of a feature recorded in the field drawing or as an introduced feature based on the artist’s imagination, these two options were combined and considered to represent similar degrees of modification.

15. Water bodies (cf. field drawing/photo): rating

very similar (4), noticeably different (3), significantly modified (2), very different/introduced (1), no field drawing

16. Extent of bush (cf. field drawing/photo): rating

very similar (4), noticeably different (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), no field drawing

17. Foreground trees & shrubs (cf. drawing): rating

very similar (4), noticeably different (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), no field drawing

rating menu: 4, 3, 2, 1, 33, 66, 99

Figure 7.7. **Four-point descriptive ordinal scales used for pictorial items**

The examples illustrate the typical format used. The number next to each value label in the list of possible responses is used to select the appropriate numerical option in the drop-down list.

Options were also provided to cater for different situations, such as when no comparison is possible as neither a site photograph nor a virtual view is available, or the field drawing is missing (33); when a particular feature is not relevant for the scene (66); and when the feature is so small or indistinctly painted that it is not possible to assess its fidelity and therefore a rating cannot be determined (99).

Assessing the fidelity of natural history items

Items used to assess whether identifiable rocks, flora or fauna illustrated in a painting accord with the natural history of the location ask a different kind of question from those focused on pictorial fidelity. For example, is an identifiable plant species, such as Austral Grasstree (*Xanthorrhoea australis*), or a rock type, such as granite, found in the general location or not?¹⁷ This approach allows for the possibility that, even if the inclusion of a biological species or geological specimen in a painting might not have been pictorially faithful to the view Guérard sketched, it might still be true to the natural history of the location. These items are more appropriately rated using a three-point descriptive scale adapted to suit each natural history feature (e.g. Figure 7.8).

17. With plant and animal species, the question may need to be rephrased as “were” they found in the general location at the time, as they may have since become extinct in that district.

Figure 7.8. **Three-point descriptive scale used for natural history items**

Examples of items used to assess whether painted features accord with the natural history of the location.

Improving scoring consistency

As the situation in which an assessor rates the fidelity to nature of features of a sample of paintings using ordinal descriptive scales is somewhat analogous to that of an examiner marking scripts by rating different aspects using sets of descriptive criteria, some of the findings from the literature of marking reliability on constructing such items were taken into account.¹⁸ To improve the consistency of scoring, an instruction on what the painted feature should be compared with (e.g. site photograph, field drawing or virtual view) in prioritised order is provided in the stem of each item. Brief guidance on how it should be assessed or what should be recorded, which is included as placeholder text in the longer textboxes (Figure 7.7), is also provided.

Summative measures

As in part two, near the bottom of the third part of the survey (Figure 7.9), the number of scores of 4 and 3 for pictorial fidelity items is recorded, indicating how many of those nineteen features are portrayed with a high degree of fidelity or with only slight modification. Similarly, the number of scores of 2 and 1 is noted, signifying the number of features that the artist has significantly or highly modified, or introduced in the work, as compared to their original appearance or presence at the site. The number of scores of 33, 66 and 99 is also recorded, which gives the number of missing values. Two other fields provide critical information: the first indicates the number of 66s, which gives the number of items that are irrelevant for the painting, while the second specifies the number of items that can be assessed.

18. Jo Tisi et al., *A Review of the Literature on Marking Reliability Research* (Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research, 2013), 22–28.

Ratings for the 19 pictorial fidelity questions (1-11, 14-16, 19-23):

Number of irrelevant items (66s): Number of assessed items:

Number of 4s and 3s: Number of 2s and 1s: Number of 33s, 66s and 99s:

Note: 33 indicates that no site photo, virtual view or field drawing is available; 66 signifies the feature is irrelevant for the scene; and 99 implies that the fidelity level cannot be determined as the subject matter lacks clarity in the painting, site photo or sketch.

Overall fidelity rating (1-20, 0 dp, r.u.):

= (sum of all 1 to 4 scores for questions 1-11, 14-17, 19-23 ÷ maximum possible score ignoring all 33, 66 and 99 responses) x 20

Figure 7.9. Summary of scores and the overall fidelity rating for a painting

The bottom section of the third part of the survey instrument, which is used to record the total number of scores within distinct ranges, and to calculate an overall fidelity measure for the work.

At the very end of the survey instrument, a measure entitled the *overall fidelity rating* is also included.¹⁹ This measure rates the pictorial fidelity of a landscape painting on a scale of 1 to 20, rather than the 1 to 10 used for field drawings. The extended scale was used to spread the distribution of scores for the sample. The score is calculated by summing the scores of 4, 3, 2 and 1 of the pictorial fidelity items, dividing that total by the maximum possible total score for those items only, multiplying the answer by 20, and rounding up to the nearest whole number.²⁰ As with the overall fidelity rating for field drawings, the overall fidelity rating for paintings can be treated as an interval-level variable. The overall fidelity scores for the entire cohort of paintings in the sample can, therefore, be displayed on a histogram, with some additional statistics beyond those applicable to ordinal variables. The utility and validity of such a measure is discussed in findings Chapter 8. Although the fidelity of each pictorial feature is given an equal weighting in the overall fidelity measure, it should be noted that some modifications, such as inserting a waterfall in the foreground of a scene (e.g. Figure 8.13), would result in a much greater transformation of the painted view than the modification of other aspects, such as shifting the time of day to a sunset scene (e.g. Figure 12.6).

For some paintings, there may be an issue with the validity of the overall fidelity rating if the fidelity of only a limited number of features is assessed as the site may not have been visited and/or the field drawing is missing. As was noted with regard to the second part of the survey, it

19. No fidelity to nature measures for landscape paintings have been located in the literature.

20. Items scored as 33, 66 or 99 are treated as “missing values” and therefore ignored in this calculation.

is possible that a painting could be rated high or low for overall fidelity when only a handful of features have been assessed, which would not necessarily provide a valid indication of the overall degree of fidelity that would be apparent if the site was eventually visited or the field drawing finally located. To avoid this situation, the overall fidelity score of a particular painting is included in the frequency distribution of scores and statistics for the sample only if the fidelity of at least 7 of the 19 pictorial items has been assessed. The bar could have been set higher, except that 10 of the 19 pictorial items in the survey are not necessarily relevant to every painted scene – for example, scale of staffage, internal framing, sunset bearing, foreground boulders, major rock outcrop, waterbodies, extent of the bush, deadwood, animals and cloud formations. The nine features that are applicable to nearly every painting in the sample are: height of main summit, horizon topography, midground topography, foreground slopes, perspective, solar illumination, range of landforms, foreground trees and shrubs, and weather.

Conducting the survey

After the survey instrument had been robustly tested and fine-tuned, each of the 121 paintings in the sample was interrogated in turn using the instrument as if it were a questionnaire. An effect that can occur when a large number of subjects is assessed using descriptive rating scales is called drift, where judgements can change imperceptibly over an extended time period or when there are significant breaks between assessing batches of subjects.²¹ Expectations associated with each level of a descriptive rating scale may ease or become more demanding, particularly as they are subjectively based, resulting in inconsistent standards being applied. In order to minimise such drift occurring in the rating of the fidelity of different features of paintings and the field drawings on which they are based, all works were assessed within a single month with minimal disruptions.²² All three parts of the survey instrument were completed in order as each painting was interrogated, as responses to the third part of the instrument are dependent on recalling information recorded in the first part. Furthermore, the individual item scores and overall fidelity

21. See Tisi et al., *A Review of the Literature on Marking Reliability Research*, 31.

22. On average, it took about an hour to interrogate each painting.

rating for enduring features illustrated in the field drawing needed to be available so that a decision could be made as to whether a particular field drawing was faithful enough to be used to assess the fidelity of non-enduring features of the painting.

Rather than processing paintings according to their assigned identity number, which would have meant they were in chronological completion order, they were randomly selected for processing so that any imperceptible drift that might occur would not create a bias according to whether they were late or early artworks. Although the scores of a few specific features in some paintings that were assessed early in the process were sometimes used as benchmarks for judging degrees of fidelity in some later paintings, it would have been impractical to systematically apply a benchmarking approach to each level of the eight field drawing fidelity items, let alone the four levels of each of the 19 painting fidelity items.

In order to confirm the consistency of the subjective judgements of the degree of fidelity with which different natural features are recorded in field drawings and landscape paintings, a subsample to twenty paintings and their associated sketches were reassessed after a period of three months had lapsed. The intention was to reassess the first ten paintings that had been assessed using the finalised version of the survey instrument plus ten other randomly selected ones, but quite a few of those works had only a limited number of items assessed for a variety of reasons. Twenty works that maximised the number of items assessed for each drawing and painting were therefore selected. The test-retest scores for each of the 8 drawing variables and 19 painting variables were compared.²³ The number of times the test and retest scores for works were the same or different was counted. For the field drawings, 118 (91%) of 128 “test-retest” assessments were identical, 11 (9%) had a one-step difference on the four-step scale, and none had a two- or three-step difference. For the paintings, 297 (91%) of 325 “test-retest” assessments were the same, 28 (9%) had a one-step difference on the four-step scale, and none had a two- or three-step difference. This provided confidence that the subjective judgements made during the

23. Initially this was done using the Spearman correlation coefficient test for non-parametric data to check whether they are closely correlated. While some of the coefficients seemed appropriate for the data, others were clearly not correct. That test does not cope well with multiple ties when the scores for each variable are ranked.

month in which all 121 works were assessed had a high degree of consistency. According to social scientist John McDonald, the data provide a “solid reliability result.”²⁴

With regard to items that assess whether identifiable rock types, flora or fauna in the landscape paintings are indigenous to the location, several experts assisted in their identification.²⁵ Where a particular class or type of rock is identified in a painting, it was relatively easy to ascertain whether that rock is indigenous to the general location by consulting the relevant geological map. It was possible to determine the ecological vegetation class (EVC) that would have been present at a specific location early in nineteenth century using biodiversity mapping websites such as NatureKit.²⁶ Where an identifiable plant species is illustrated in a painting, the online benchmark for the EVC lists the species typically present, so it can be determined whether the painted species was indigenous to the location at the time of Guérard’s visit.

Transferring, presenting and analysing the data

The database program FileMaker Pro, which was used to develop the survey instrument and record the data resulting from administering the survey, is limited in its capacity to display frequency distribution tables and graphs in a user-friendly way, and lacks the capacity to calculate statistics such as correlations. Therefore the data were transferred into the statistical package SPSS. The numerical survey data are exported in the form of an Excel spreadsheet, which can then be imported into SPSS. As it is not possible to automatically transfer the value labels associated with the numbers selected from the drop-down boxes of items in the survey instrument, these had to be entered manually on the SPSS data file. The numbers indicating

24. John McDonald, email message to author, September 18, 2020.

25. Geologist Stephen Carey examined each painting to ascertain whether the class and type of any rock visible in the work could be identified on the basis of the visual information alone. His responses were used to moderate the judgements made for certain items in the survey. Botanist Leon Costermans assisted by examining about 30 of the paintings that had reasonably detailed foreground trees and shrubs, in order to identify any recognisable species. His book on the flora of southeastern Australia also proved a useful resource. See Costermans, *Native Trees and Shrubs*. Forest ecologist Michael Ryan assisted in the identification of ecological vegetation classes present in some locations.

26. “Naturekit: Biodiversity Interactive Map,” NatureKit, 2007, accessed July 15, 2020, <http://maps.biodiversity.vic.gov.au/viewer/?viewer=NatureKit>.

“missing values” also had to be specified for each variable,²⁷ so that the application would process missing data appropriately when calculating frequency distributions, descriptive statistics or correlations.²⁸

Once the finalised data were in SPSS in the correct format and with the appropriate specification of value labels and missing values, it was relatively straightforward to generate frequency distributions as well as descriptive statistics for items in the survey depending on whether the variables involved are nominal, ordinal or interval level (e.g. Figure 7.10). The frequency distributions of fidelity-related items indicate whether a particular feature is mostly consistently illustrated with a high degree of fidelity, or frequently significantly modified. It was also possible to generate a table of correlation coefficients for the ordinal variables in the second and third parts of the survey using the Spearman correlation coefficient test (see page 258), in order to identify whether particular pairs of features tend to exhibit similar degrees of fidelity in individual paintings or not. Given the limitations of the ordinal data associated with each of the fidelity items, particularly with the number of ordered categories being limited to four, the use of statistical tools such as linear regression, principal component analysis or factor analysis to further explore relationships among the fidelity variables, would not be appropriate.

27. Although this was time-consuming initially, with subsequent imports of updated data it was possible to open the exported Excel data file, select and copy all data in the spreadsheet, and then paste them into the cells of SPSS previously occupied by the earlier data, thus replacing the preceding set of numbers with the updated results, without losing the value labels or the missing values specification.

28. Excluding missing data *pairwise* was always selected, as this option excludes a subject only when the data were missing for the specific analysis, and includes the item in any other analysis for which the data are available. See Julie Pallant, *SPSS Survival Manual: A Step by Step Guide to Data Analysis Using IBM SPSS*, 5th ed. (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2013), 60–61.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	73	60.3	65.2	65.2
	mostly accurate	24	19.8	21.4	86.6
	significantly different	5	4.1	4.5	91.1
	very different/introduced summit	10	8.3	8.9	100.0
	Total	112	92.6	100.0	
Missing	irrelevant	6	5.0		
	no site photo, field drawing or PeakFinder view	3	2.5		
	Total	9	7.4		
Total		121	100.0		

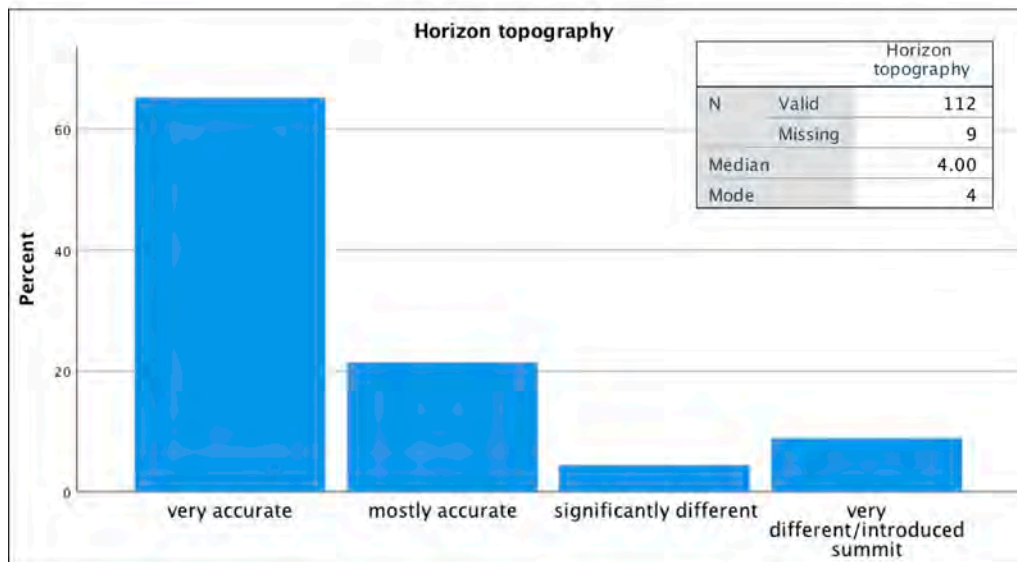


Figure 7.10. **Example of the statistics generated for each fidelity item**

Showing the frequency distribution table and bar graph generated in SPSS for the fidelity of the horizon topography in paintings compared to the actual view at sites as recorded in site photographs or virtual views.

Conclusion

Quantifying the extent to which diverse features of landscape paintings are faithful to the view of natural scenery at the site, as empirically observed, is an innovative approach undocumented in the literature. It is, nevertheless, important to recall that the tables, graphs and descriptive statistics that can be so readily generated are based on subjective judgements positioning the rendition of a particular feature somewhere along an ordinal scale with a limited number of levels. Subjective judgements, as such, are naturally prone to a degree of variability. Although this

approach means that most statistical measures and procedures would not be appropriate, the data are robust enough to identify those features Guérard felt free to modify for aesthetic reasons, as opposed to those that fall within the ambit of the artist's expressed intention to be "true to nature," as will be seen in the following chapter. As for the overall fidelity rating for paintings, this measure is based on averaging the scores of a considerable number of diverse variables that are equally weighted. While the rating does give an indication of the extent to which a painting is faithful to the natural scenery visible at the site, the measure is not intended to imply that those paintings which are more extensively transformed, as evidenced by low ratings, are somehow aesthetically inferior or compromised. Despite this caveat, some transformations in Guérard's landscapes may result in features that are untrue to nature.

Chapter 8 – Survey findings

The focus of this chapter is the analysis of the quantitative data generated by interrogating 121 of Guérard's Antipodean landscape paintings using the survey instrument. The responses for the items used to assess the degree of fidelity with which paintings, and the field drawings on which they are based, portray the natural features visible at the sites the artist visited, and accord with the natural history of the general location, are presented in frequency tables. The discussion of each feature is illustrated by drawings and paintings that exemplify either faithful or transformed approaches. The frequency distribution for each variable is then used to indicate whether that feature is consistently rendered with fidelity, occasionally modified or frequently modified. A comparison of the patterns visible on frequency distribution graphs leads to generalisations about cohorts of features that Guérard painted with differing commitments to fidelity, and enables the identification of any clusters of features (e.g. foreground, enduring or transient feature clusters) that he treated in distinctive ways. Finally, an overall analysis leads to a conclusion about the type of fidelity to nature Guérard practised in his Antipodean landscape paintings.

Methodological issues

As well as identifying distribution patterns for the degree of fidelity with which natural features are illustrated, the question of whether responses for different features, such as the midground contours and foreground slopes, are correlated is also of interest. Although it will be obvious from a visual comparison of the bar graphs that the fidelity ratings of some features exhibit similar distribution patterns, this does not necessarily mean they are strongly correlated in the sense that if one feature of a particular work is highly faithful then another feature of the same work is likely to be so as well. Part of the original intention in applying this innovative approach to landscape paintings was to conduct correlation analyses for all possible pairings of variables used in assessing the fidelity of enduring features recorded in field drawings, and of all possible pairings of enduring and non-enduring features illustrated in paintings. While this would have enabled the identification of cohorts of features that are strongly correlated in terms of degrees of fidelity

exhibited, unfortunately limitations relating to the type of data collected and the scales used ultimately undermined the validity of such statistical testing.

Overall fidelity ratings, each combining all of the individual fidelity scores of field drawings and of paintings, respectively, are treated as interval-level variables as they combine the responses for a significant number of ordinal variables. Accordingly, the distributions of their scores are plotted on histograms, and descriptive statistics calculated and analysed.

The experimental aspect of this part of the methodological approach involved investigating whether each of the two summative ratings could be considered to be a *measure* that reflects an intrinsic quality of field drawings or paintings, namely “fidelity to nature.”¹ If so, then it might have been possible to apply the measures to the oeuvre of other landscape painters. As will be seen, unanticipated limitations relating to the type of data collected, the scales used and the distribution of responses for each feature, meant that the reliability and validity of the proposed measures, and the internal logic involved, came into question.

Descriptive statistics for different parts of the survey

The items included in the first part of the survey facilitated the construction of an extensive database of information about the paintings, the field drawings involved, the sites where Guérard sketched, and the photographic and virtual evidence, all of which are required for a wider publishing agenda beyond the scope of this dissertation. While this data set does provide some useful information for completing sections of the other two parts of the survey, the descriptive statistics for those items are neither displayed nor discussed as they are not relevant for addressing the key focus of the thesis, which is what Guérard’s stated intention to be “true to nature” meant in practice. The descriptive statistics for items in the second part of the survey instrument, which compares field sketches with site photographs and virtual views, are analysed in the section on the fidelity of field drawings, while those for items in the third part of the

1. In this context, a *measure* is a variable designed to assess a quality that cannot be assessed directly by combining the responses to a set of variables relating to particular aspects of a subject that can be assessed.

survey, which compares paintings with site photographs, virtual views and field drawings, are analysed in the section on the fidelity of landscape paintings.

Field drawings

The second part of the survey instrument (Appendix J) focuses on assessing the fidelity to nature of enduring features illustrated in the field drawings on which landscape paintings are based.

However, field drawings were not located for 14 of the 121 paintings in the sample. The range of types of paintings lacking a located field drawing does not suggest that any bias has been introduced into the sample of drawings through their absence.² The remaining 107 paintings are based on just 93 field drawings as there are a significant number of sets of same-scene paintings, with each work in such sets being based on the same source sketch. Furthermore, for 11 of those 93 drawings, neither a site photograph nor a virtual view of the topography could be obtained as the locations of the vantage points were not known. As the reasons why those locations could not be determined include remoteness, forest clearance, urban development and a lack of identifiable geographical features, it is unlikely that any particular bias resulted in the set of drawings whose fidelity could be assessed. The fidelity analysis of enduring features recorded in field drawings was therefore limited to 82 sketches in total.

Quality of resources³

With regard to the clarity and resolution of the scans of those 82 field drawings, 55 were rated as excellent images, 22 as good quality, another four as adequate for the task, but one was of very poor quality, making comparison difficult. Site photographs were obtained for 77 of the 82 drawings, the usefulness of which depends on proximity to the vantage point, alignment of fields of view, resolution of detail and absence of obstructions. Thirty-three site photographs were rated as highly useful, 24 as mostly useful and 13 as quite useful, but seven were of very limited usefulness for comparative purposes. Thirty-seven of the 77 site photographs had the same field of view as the field drawing, 28 had a lesser field of view or a partially obstructed view, ten had a

2. The paintings include eight wilderness, two pastoral, one settlement and three coastal scenes.

3. Appendix M, pages 529–531.

very limited field of view or a mostly obstructed vista, and two were completely obstructed. Fifty-four of the 82 field drawings could be compared with both a site photograph and the PeakFinder virtual view from the artist's vantage point. For twenty others the site photograph alone proved adequate for assessing topographical items; and another eight could only be compared with the virtual view as no site photograph had been obtained.

Fidelity of enduring natural features illustrated in field drawings

The eight principal enduring features assessed for fidelity to nature were: height of main summit, horizon topography, midground topography, foreground slopes, foreground boulders, major rock outcrop, geological attributes of rock outcrop and drainage/shorelines. If they could also be identified in site photographs, the fidelity with which particular trees and buildings were sketched was also assessed. Although some stone buildings were identifiable in site photographs, rather fewer identifiable trees were still surviving when sites were visited. Given forest clearance, and the fire-prone nature of Australian bush, it was not unexpected that individual trees did not often qualify as enduring features of a landscape. The enduring nature of many old stone buildings did, however, mean that it was worth considering the fidelity of such sketched structures in field drawings, particularly as a significant number of early photographs of pastoral buildings are still in existence. Although the fidelity of buildings is outside of the scope of this thesis, if they are faithfully rendered then this provides additional confidence that natural features are also accurately drawn.

Height of main summit⁴

The elevational fidelity of the main summit of a field drawing, which acts as a proxy for the elevation of all summits forming the horizon, is usually judged by comparing its height and the steepness of its slopes with those shown in the PeakFinder view after scaling to ensure that key high points along the virtual horizon align with those of the sketch (e.g. Figure 8.1). The virtual view is made semi-transparent before being overlain on the sketch.

4. Appendix M, page 531.

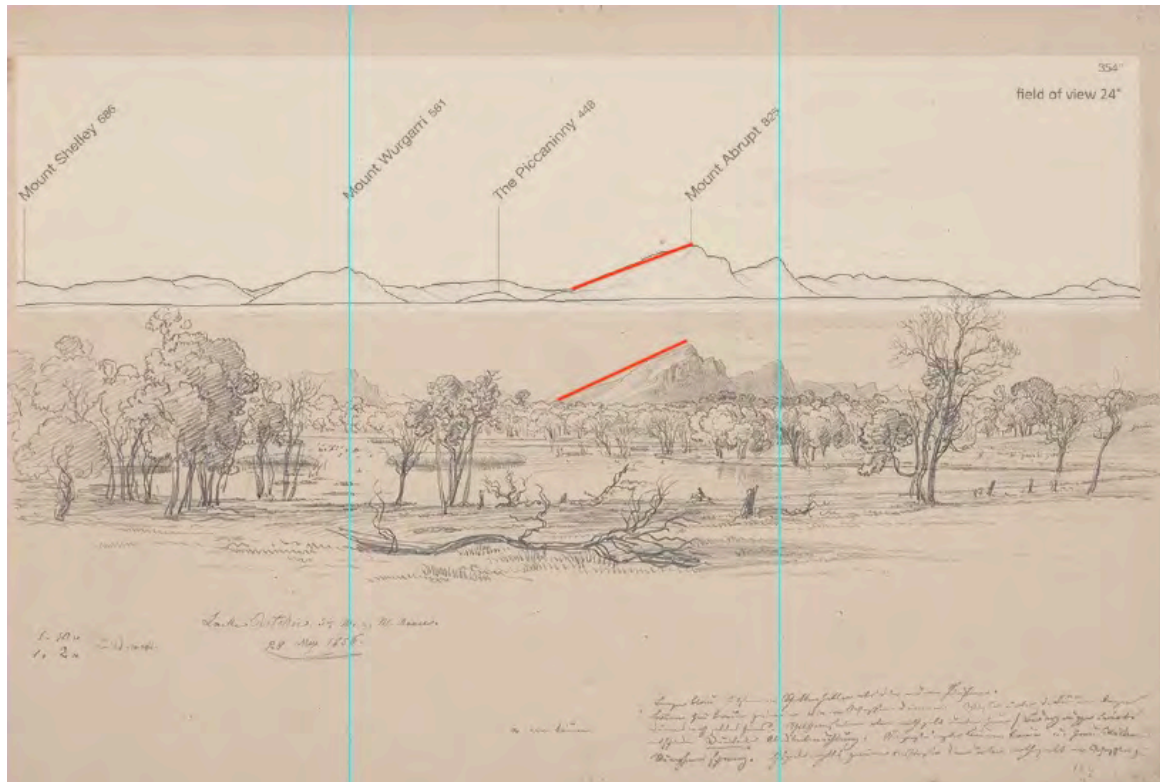


Figure 8.1. **Fidelity of the height of the main summit and horizon topography in a sketch** Lacke Ritchie. 5 1/2 m. zu M. Rouse. 28 May 1856, pencil on paper, in album “Warnambool to Mount Zero, 1856.”⁵ Overlay: PeakFinder virtual view. The blue lines ensure that the main peaks are aligned, and the red ones are used to compare the steepness of slopes. The summit height was rated as “slightly elevated,” while the horizon topography was judged to be “very accurate.”

For 75 of the 82 field drawings, it was possible to make a judgement as to the degree to which the main summit was elevated. Thirty-three of those summits (44%) were rated as “not elevated,” and 14 (19%) as only “slightly elevated.” Twenty-seven (36%) were “significantly elevated,” with one assessed as “strongly elevated.”⁶ It was not possible to make an assessment for the remaining seven drawings as either there was no clearly defined main summit or the field drawing lacked clarity.

5. The painting *The Grampians from the South*, 1856 (private collection), is based on this sketch.

6. In this chapter all percentages sourced from frequency distribution tables in the appendices have been rounded to the nearest whole number, as this is more appropriate for the number of drawings or paintings being assessed, which is usually around a hundred or fewer.

*Horizon topography*⁷

Similarly, for 75 of the 82 field drawings, it was possible to judge the extent to which the contours of the sketched horizon matched those captured in the site photograph or modelled in the virtual view. Sixty-four of those field drawings (85%) had “very accurate” sketched horizons (e.g. Figure 8.1), and nine (12%) had a “mostly accurate” profile. One sketched horizon was rated as “significantly modified,” and another as “highly modified.” The sketch with a highly modified horizon is of Mt William (Figure 5.3), which is arguably a composition study (see page 147) rather than a field drawing made in front of the subject. The drawing with the significantly modified horizon is of the Kosciuszko Massif (Figure 6.13), which has been deliberately altered to emphasise the relative height of the main massif by lowering the adjacent one (see page 203). Horizons were either not sketched in, or totally obscured by trees, in the remaining seven sketches.

*Midground topography*⁸

For the same 75 field drawings it was possible to judge the extent to which the midground topography matched that visible at the site as captured primarily in the site photograph.⁹ Sixty-seven of those field drawings (89%) had “very accurate” midground topography (e.g. the sloping hillside in Figure 8.2), while the other eight (11%) were considered to have “mostly accurate” contours. None was rated as having a “significantly modified” or “highly modified” midground. Of the remaining seven sketches, either the midground was nearly totally obscured by vegetation, or a site photograph had not been obtained and the virtual view alone did not permit a judgement to be made.

7. Appendix M, page 532.

8. Appendix M, page 532.

9. It often proved difficult to compare the sketched topography of the midground with the contours of the virtual view because the sketched details are usually not as well delineated as those of the horizon.



Figure 8.2. **Fidelity of the midground in a field drawing**

Top: *Phillipp [sic] Island, Nobbys [sic] to west, 12 Dec. 69, 1869*, folio 56, “Volume14a: Sketchbook XXXVI, No. 18 Australian, 1865–70, 1872,” reference code 825443, Dixon Library, SLNSW.¹⁰ Bottom: southwest view from Woolshed Bight, Phillip Island, 2017. Photograph: author. The midground topography of the sketch was rated as “mostly accurate” as the cliff face has been slightly steepened.

*Foreground slopes*¹¹

For only 61 of the 82 field drawings was it possible to judge the degree to which the foreground slopes matched those of the site as recorded in a site photograph.¹² Fifty-four of those field drawings (88%) had “very accurate” foreground topography, while the other seven (12%) were considered to have “mostly accurate” contours. Of the remaining 21 sketches, no site photographs had been obtained for ten, and for two it is not possible to photograph the foreground because vegetation obscured the view. Nine other sketches lacked a foreground altogether, which was most likely due to the fact that Guérard recorded those scenes in his sketchbooks, which only

10. The painting *West Coast of Phillip Island, Victoria, 1869* (private collection), is based on this sketch.

11. Appendix M, page 533.

12. The foreground in virtual views generated by PeakFinder is of little use in this comparison as the application does not generate accurate digital elevation models of close landforms.

allowed a limited vertical field of view to be recorded. Consequently, the foreground was often sacrificed so that the back- and midgrounds could be included (e.g. Figure 8.3).



Figure 8.3. **Foreground not included in a field drawing**

Top: *Snowy Bluff 16 Dec. 60*, 1860, folio 31, “Sketchbook XXXII.”¹³ Bottom: view of the Snowy Bluff from Norton Flat, Gippsland. Photograph: Bill Gammage. Fitting the horizontal field of view across a narrow two-page spread of a pocket-sized notebook meant that Guérard was unable to include any foreground features.

*Foreground boulders*¹⁴

For only 18 of the 82 field drawings was it possible to assess the fidelity of foreground boulders by comparing them with those recorded in site photographs taken from close to the artist’s vantage point. Fourteen of those field drawings (78%) had “very accurate” boulders (e.g. Figure 8.4), while the other four (22%) were assessed as “mostly accurate” renditions. Of the remaining 64 sketches, 47 either lacked foreground boulders or those boulders were considered to be part of a major rock outcrop and were, therefore, ignored under this item. Another 15 field drawings

13. Two paintings of the Snowy Bluff, *A View of the Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River*, 1864 (NGV), and *A View of the Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River, Gippsland Alps, Victoria*, 1864 (present location unknown), are based on this field drawing, both of which have extensive imagined foregrounds

14. Appendix M, page 533.

included foreground boulders but the site photograph did not enable a comparison to be made, and in two sketches the boulders lack sufficient detail to allow an assessment to be made.



Figure 8.4. **Fidelity of foreground boulders in a field drawing**

Left: *Wild Dog Creek*, 7 Oct. 59, 1859 (detail), folio 6 in album “Apollo Bay and Cape Otway, 1859–1862.” Right: Leonard Carter, *Wild Dog Creek Ford*, c.1908 (detail), Apollo Bay and District Historical Society. The comparison illustrates the “very accurate” sketching of the large sarcophagus-shaped boulder.¹⁵

*Major rock outcrop*¹⁶

Thirty-nine of the 82 field drawings included an image of a major rock outcrop in the fore- or midground whose fidelity to the general appearance of an outcrop at the site could be assessed. Thirty-two of those field drawings (82%) were judged to be “very accurate” renditions (e.g. Figure 8.5), while another eight (10%) were considered to have a “mostly accurate” sketched outcrop. Three sketched outcrops (8%) were rated as “significantly modified,” but none was “highly modified.”¹⁷ Of the remaining 43 sketches, 41 either lacked an outcrop or such an exposure was irrelevant for the type of scene, and in two instances no comparison was possible as either no site photograph had been obtained or the photograph did not include the outcrop.

15. The painting *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges*, c. 1870 (Figure 1.4, bottom), is based on the sketch.

16. Appendix M, page 534.

17. The three drawings are: *Warrenheip Hills bei Ballarat 5 February*, 1854, accession no. H2376, SLV, on which the painting *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (NGV), is based; *Bunyarrombite, Fall of the Snobs Creek, 29 Jan 1862*, folio 14 in album “Goulburne River [i.e. Goulburn], 1862,” reference code 825493, SLNSW, on which the painting *Steavenson Falls*, 1863 (NGA), is based; and *Clyde Falls near Bothwell, 27 January 75*, 1875, in “*Collections of Views*,” reference code 825457, SLNSW, on which the painting *Waterfall on the Clyde River*, 1877 (AGSA), is based.



Figure 8.5. Fidelity of a major rock outcrop in a field drawing

Left: *Strath or Queen Parrot Creek 14 January 1862*, folio 3 in album “Goulburne [sic] River, 1862.” Right: view from the same vantage point as the artist’s, 2016. Photograph: author. The rock exposure in the sketch was rated as “very accurate.”

*Geological attributes of rock outcrop*¹⁸

Thirty-one of the 82 field drawings illustrated distinctive geological attributes of a particular class or type of rock, such as sedimentary bedding or columnar jointing in volcanic rocks, whose fidelity to the appearance of that aspect of a rock outcrop at the site could be assessed. Twenty-five of those field drawings (81%) were judged to have “very accurate” geological attributes, while another four (13%) were considered to have “mostly accurate” characteristics. Two field drawings (6%) had attributes rated as “highly modified” (Figure 8.6 and Figure 12.5).¹⁹ Thirty-

18. Appendix M, page 534.

19. *Bunyarrombite, Fall of the Snobs Creek, 29 Jan 1862*, folio 14 in album “Goulburne [sic] River, 1862,” reference code 825493, SLNSW. The painting *Steavenson Falls*, 1863 (NGA), is based on it. *Clyde Falls near Bothwell, 27 January 75, 1875*, folio 2 in “Collections of Views, 1855-1875” reference code 825457, SLNSW. The painting *Waterfall on the Clyde River, Tasmania, 1877* (AGSA), is based on it.

nine of the remaining 51 sketches either lacked a rock outcrop or such an exposure was irrelevant for the type of scene (e.g. a marine painting). In five instances no comparison was possible because either no site photograph had been obtained or the image did not include the outcrop. For seven sketches it was not possible to determine the degree of fidelity as the sketch or site photograph lacked sufficient detail.



Figure 8.6. **Fidelity of a major rock formation in a different field drawing**

Left: *Bunyarrombite*, *Fall of the Snobs Creek*, 29 Jan 1862, folio 14 in album “Goulburne [sic] River, 1862.” Right: Steavenson Falls, 2017. Photograph: author. The sketched bedrock illustrates tilted sedimentary bedding, while in reality the face of the waterfall exhibits a complex pattern of volcanic columnar jointing. The sketch was rated as “highly modified” for geological attributes.²⁰

*Drainage lines and shorelines*²¹

Forty-eight of the 82 field drawings include images of a creek, lake or the sea, such that the fidelity of the drainage line (e.g. Figure 8.7) or the shoreline (e.g. Figure 8.8) could be assessed

20. The painting *Steavenson Falls*, 1863 (NGA), is based on the sketch.

21. Appendix M, page 535.

by comparing it with a site photograph. Thirty-eight of those field drawings (79%) were judged to be “very accurate” images, while another ten (21%) were considered to be “mostly accurate.” Of the remaining 34 sketches, 16 either lacked a waterbody or such a feature was irrelevant for the type of scene. For 11 others, no comparison was possible because either no site photograph had been obtained or the photograph did not include the waterbody. In seven instances it was not possible to determine the degree of fidelity as there was insufficient detail in the site photograph, or the feature was too far away from the vantage point.



Figure 8.7. **Fidelity of the drainage lines in a field drawing**

Top: *The head of the Grose River, Monday Dec. 19 1859*, pencil on paper, 32.7 × 80.6 cm, reference code 843989, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Bottom: Grose Valley from Govett's Leap Lookout, 2017. Photograph: author. The drawing shows the drainage line of the Grose River as well as that of Bridal Veil Falls (left) and Govett's Leap Falls (right), which were rated as "very accurate."²²

22. The paintings *Govett's Leap and the Grose River Valley, Blue Mountains, NSW, 1873* (NGA), and *Govett's Leap, the Blue Mountains, c. 1872–1873* (NLA), are based on the field drawing.

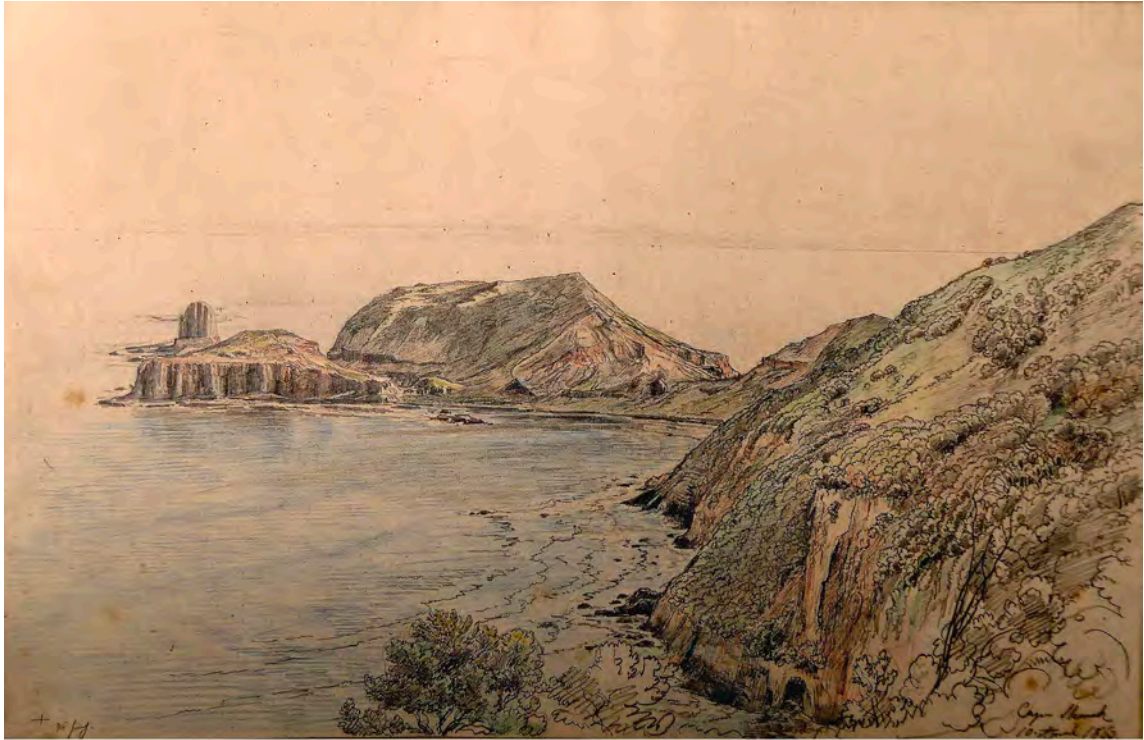


Figure 8.8. Fidelity of the shoreline in a field drawing

Top: *Cape Shanck [sic]*, 10 April 1863, pencil and crayon on paper, folio 5 in album “Cape Shank [sic] and Philip Island [sic], 1863–1869,” reference code 825482, Dixson Library, SLNSW.²³

Bottom: Cape Schanck photographed from very close to the artist’s vantage point, 2017.

Photograph: author. The sketched foreshore was rated as “very accurate.”

23. The painting *Tea Tree near Cape Schanck*, 1865 (NGV), is partially based on this sketch.

*Surviving large trees*²⁴

Only ten of the 82 field drawings included an image of a large, distinctively shaped tree that could be compared with the appearance of an identifiable tree in an early or contemporary site photograph (e.g. Figure 8.9). Seven of those field drawings (70%) were judged to have a “very accurate” rendition of an actual tree, while the other three (30%) were considered to be “mostly accurate” representations of identifiable trees. Of the remaining 72 sketches, 68 either lacked a representation of an identifiable surviving tree, or the presence of trees was irrelevant for the type of scene. In four instances no comparison was possible because no site photograph had been obtained with which to compare a distinctively shaped sketched tree.



Figure 8.9. Fidelity of surviving trees in a field drawing

*Mr James Glass’ station on the Goulburne, 7 Feb 62, 1862, folio 25 in album “Goulburne [sic] River, 1862.” Inset: surviving tree, 2018. Photograph: author. The drawing illustrates a River Red Gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) with a distinctively leaning trunk. The depiction of tree was rated as “very accurate.”²⁵*

24. Appendix M, page 535.

25. The painting *James Glass’s station on the Goulburn River, Victoria, 1862* (NLA), is based on this sketch.

*Surviving buildings*²⁶

Nineteen of the 82 field drawings illustrated buildings, such as a bluestone (basalt) homestead or woolshed, that could be compared with the appearance of the same building in an early or contemporary site photograph (e.g. Figure 8.10). Eighteen of those field drawings (95%) were judged to be “very accurate” renditions, while the other one (5%) was rated as “mostly accurate.” Of the remaining 63 sketches, 57 lacked representations of identifiable surviving structures or the presence of such buildings was irrelevant for the type of scene (e.g. seascapes). In five instances no comparison was possible as no site photograph had been obtained.

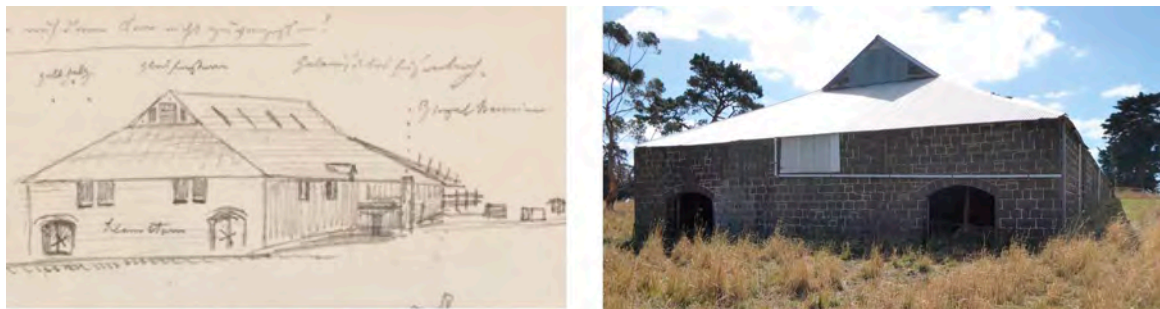


Figure 8.10. Fidelity of a building illustrated in a field drawing

Left: [Bluestone woolshed], folio 73, “Volume 09: Sketchbook XXX, No. 12 Australian,” reference code 824704, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Right: Koort Koort-nong woolshed, 2017. Photograph: author. The woolshed was rated as “very accurate.”

Overall analysis of the fidelity of natural features illustrated in field drawings

Comparing responses for all items

The summarised results (Table 8.1) and the percentage distribution graphs for each fidelity-related item in part two of the survey instrument (Figure 8.11) indicate that a very large majority (over 90%) of assessments of the fidelity of nearly all enduring features illustrated in the field drawings were as either highly or mostly faithful, the exception being the height of the main summit, for which only 63% of the drawings were rated as either highly or mostly faithful. This implies that, on the whole, field sketches are indeed accurate records of the enduring features

26. Appendix M, page 536.

Guérard observed at sites, thus confirming Ryan’s assertion that field drawings are highly useful for “verifying the accuracy” of the artist’s paintings.²⁷

Table 8.1. Fidelity frequency distributions for sketched enduring features

Summary of results for those items used to assess the degree of fidelity with which enduring features are rendered in field drawings. Features are in rank order according to the percentage of works rated as either highly or mostly faithful.

Enduring features of landscapes:	Proportion of field drawings rated as:					Number drawings assessed	Included in fidelity measure
	highly faithful	mostly faithful	highly or mostly	significantly different	very different		
Midground topography	89%	11%	100%	0%	0%	75	yes
Foreground slopes	88%	12%	100%	0%	0%	61	yes
Foreground boulders	78%	22%	100%	0%	0%	18	yes
Drainage/shorelines	79%	21%	100%	0%	0%	48	yes
Surviving large trees	70%	30%	100%	0%	0%	10	no
Surviving structures	95%	5%	100%	0%	0%	19	no
Horizon topography	85%	12%	97%	1%	1%	75	yes
Geological attributes	81%	13%	94%	0%	6%	31	yes
Major rock outcrop	82%	10%	92%	8%	0%	39	yes
Height of main summit	44%	19%	63%	36%	1%	75	yes

Why Guérard recorded the heights of summits with variable fidelity in his otherwise consistently faithful field drawings, bar a few exceptions, is open to debate. Although it has been suggested that the human brain perceives far-distant objects on the horizon as being larger than they are in reality, in a similar way to the moon being perceived as being significantly larger when it is close to the horizon,²⁸ there is no psychological or physiological evidence to support this contention. Indeed, if it were true, then one would expect that distant summits in all drawings would be elevated, which they are not. While such variability could be attributed to careless drafting, more likely the artist considered that in some instances sketching summits at the elevations they appeared to his eyes would have resulted in insignificant horizons, so he chose to elevate them into topographic significance in anticipation of artistic possibilities in the studio.

27. Ryan, “Does Colonial Art Provide an Accurate Guide?” 159.

28. “Moon Illusion,” Wikipedia, accessed August 6, 2021, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moon_illusion.

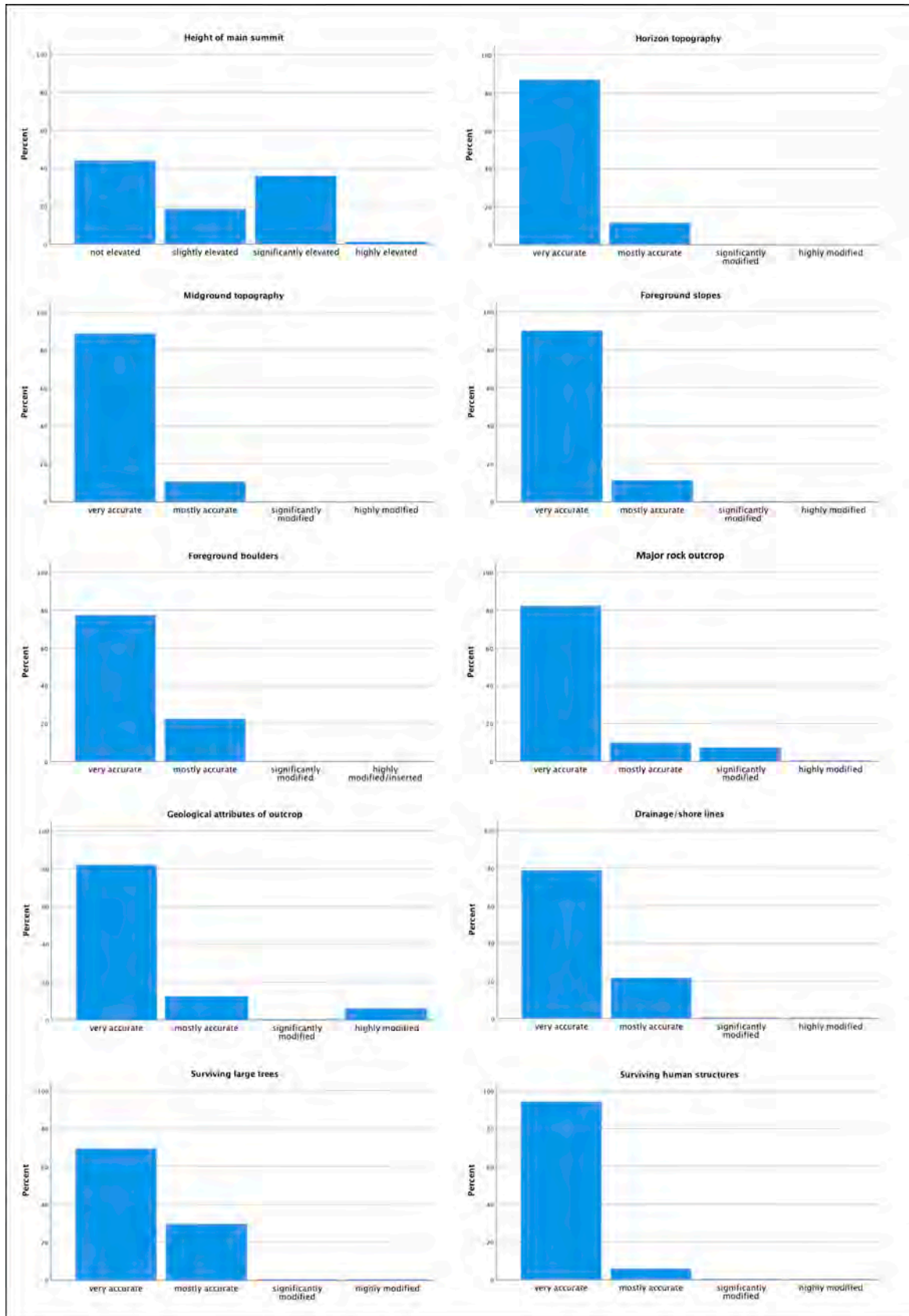


Figure 8.11. **Frequency distribution graphs for the fidelity of sketched features**
 Distribution patterns of the fidelity ratings for enduring features of field drawings. The graphs show the percentages of field drawings rather than the actual numbers.

Inclusion of assessed items and qualifying sketches

As discussed in the previous chapter, the primary purpose of the second part of the survey instrument is to assess whether field drawings are reliable records of enduring *natural* features of the physical landscape at sites. Consequently, the formula for calculating the overall fidelity rating of a field drawing excluded the item relating to buildings. The item relating to surviving large trees was also excluded because of the small number of field drawings (ten) that had a distinctive tree that could be compared with the same tree in a site photograph. The overall fidelity measure, therefore, was calculated from the ratings for the eight remaining enduring features. This involved adding the 4, 3, 2 or 1 scores of those items, dividing the total by the maximum possible score for the rated items, then multiplying the answer by 10 to give a rating out of 10.²⁹ This approach ensured that drawings were given a rating for overall fidelity only on the basis of the fidelity of the natural features they illustrate.

Before plotting the frequency distribution of the overall fidelity ratings, it was first necessary to establish which field drawings had sufficient features assessed to qualify for inclusion. As specified before the analysis was undertaken, the bar was set at a minimum of three assessed features for inclusion.³⁰ Of the 82 field drawings, none had no features assessed, one had only one, and two had just two, leaving 79 sketches that qualified for the determination of the overall fidelity rating.³¹

Distribution of overall fidelity ratings

The data for the overall fidelity rating of those 79 drawings are plotted on the histogram in Figure 8.12. The frequency distribution indicates that all of the drawings score highly for overall fidelity, with 27 (34%) scoring ten out of ten, 39 (49%) scoring nine, 11 (14%) scoring eight, and just two

29. Items scored 33, 66 or 99 are ignored in the calculation as they represent missing values.

30. A higher bar would not have been appropriate, as five of the assessed enduring features were not necessarily relevant for every scene. The three that are relevant to nearly every field drawing, except marine sketches, are summit elevation, horizon contours and midground topography.

31. Appendix M, page 537.

scoring seven (3%). In terms of *measures of central tendency*,³² the median for the overall fidelity ratings is nine, as is the mode. Some statisticians argue that a variable which combines the score of a series of ordinal variables, as the overall fidelity rating does, can be considered to be an interval-level variable,³³ in which case the mean is also a relevant measure of central tendency. In this instance the mean is 9.2, which is reasonably close to the median.

The above descriptive statistics support the contention that Guérard's field drawings are reliable records of the enduring features he observed at sites and, by extension, of non-enduring features as well, as there is no logical reason why he would record such features less faithfully, except perhaps for transient features such as solar illumination, clouds and weather. Such features would have been changing throughout the sketching period, and there is no reliable way of ascertaining the fidelity of those features to conditions on the day.³⁴ Given his technical abilities, artist could just have painted imaginary conditions in the artworks to suit the effect he was after, but in that case why would he have detailed the pattern of illumination, the cloud formations and the weather features in so many of his field drawings? As will be seen in the following section, the fidelity with which such features are rendered in paintings when compared with how they are illustrated in the field sketches suggests that accurately recording those conditions in the field was important to the artist.

With regard to the distribution pattern for the overall fidelity ratings for the field drawings in the sample, the histogram (Figure 8.12) shows that they are heavily clustered towards the top end of the scale, resulting in a skewed distribution.³⁵ This implies that the scores are not *normally distributed*,³⁶ in which case the standard deviation of the scores (0.753) is not a useful

32. A *measure of central tendency* is a summary statistic that denotes the central value of a set of scores, around which the other scores cluster.

33. Frey, *There's a Stat for That*, 4.

34. Sometimes diary entries in the back of Guérard's sketchbooks confirm the weather conditions recorded in field drawings.

35. The distribution has a skewness value of -0.630 , with a standard error of 0.271 .

36. *Normally distributed* implies that scores are symmetrically distributed around the mean value.

measure of variability.³⁷ The quartile values, however, indicate that more than 75% of the drawings are rated nine or higher for overall fidelity, which, when compared with the median value of nine, confirms how skewed the distribution is towards high scores.

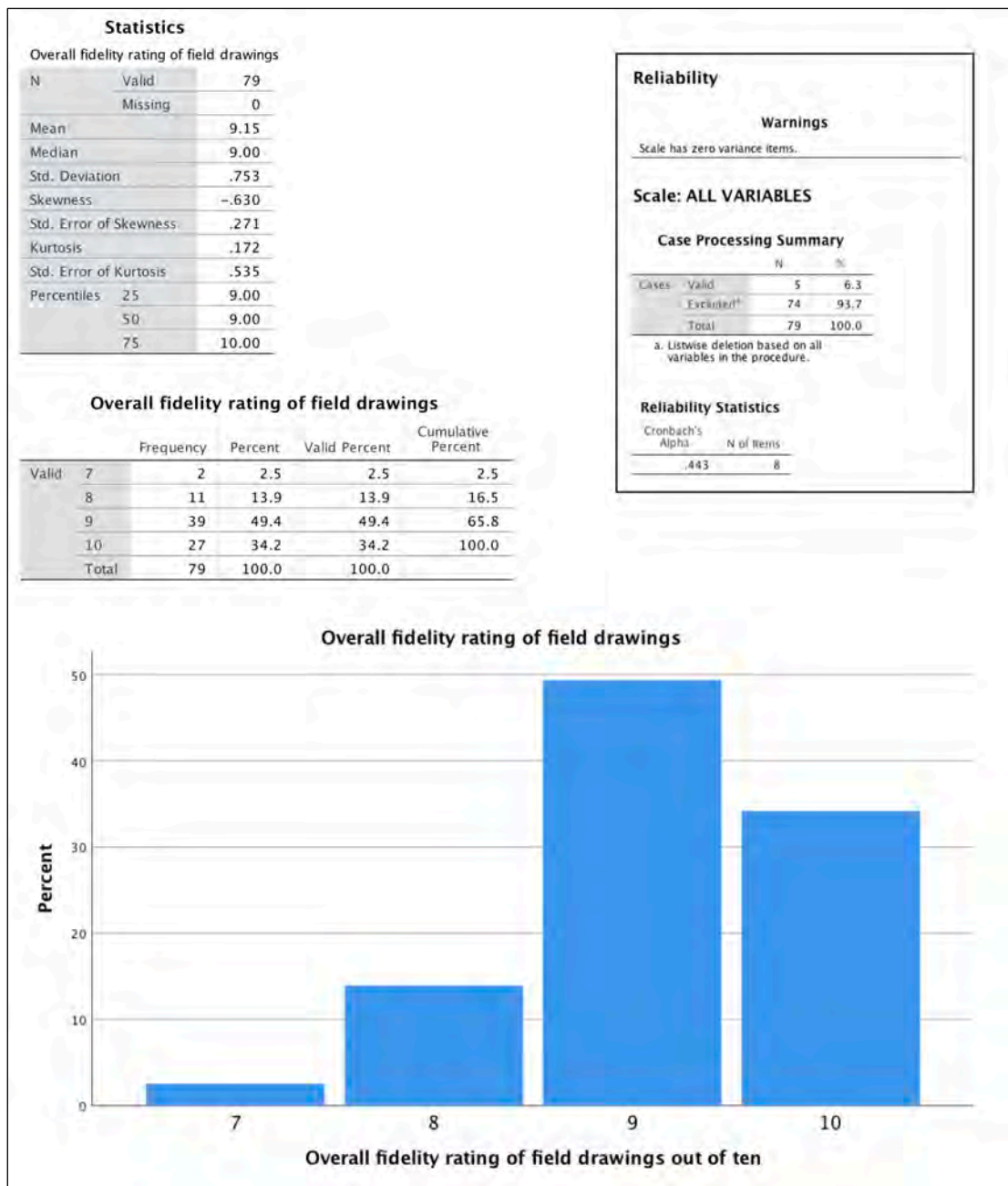


Figure 8.12. Overall fidelity rating statistics for field drawings

Statistics and the percentage distribution of scores for the overall fidelity rating of field drawings. Inset: result for Cronbach's alpha test for the internal consistency (i.e. reliability) of the variables combined to produce the overall fidelity rating of field drawings.

37. A *measure of variability* is a summary statistic that indicates how scores are dispersed around the central value. Such measures include the range, interquartile range, variance and standard deviation.

Of the thirteen field drawings that were rated as less than nine for overall fidelity, two scored a seven. As discussed on page 147, the drawing of Mt William (Figure 5.3), on which the painting *Mount William and part of the Grampians in West Victoria*, 1865), is based, has a strongly elevated summit and a highly modified horizon, which implies it is a composition study rather than a field drawing. The other comparatively low-scoring drawing is the one of Mt Kosciuszko (Figure 6.4), on which the painting *Mount Kosciuszko, seen from the Victorian Border* (Figure 6.1) is based. This sketch has a significantly elevated main summit and a partially inaccurate horizon. This lack of fidelity may have been due to drawing in a hurry on a demanding trek or, more likely, a desire to enhance the elevation of Australia's highest mountain and to emphasise the massif of which it is part.

Of the eleven drawings that scored eight, three had only three features assessed and another three had just four out of eight assessed. This meant that getting just one feature rated as “significantly modified” or two as “mostly accurate” shifted their scores from a nine down to an eight because of the limited number of features assessed. The remaining five drawings are more convincing examples of sketches deserving an overall fidelity rating of eight, two of which had five features assessed, and three had six, seven and eight features assessed, respectively. Predominantly, it is the combination of a significantly heightened summit and one other “mostly accurate” feature that results in a drawing scoring only eight out of ten, the exceptions being three drawings in which a significantly modified rock outcrop combined with inappropriate geological attributes also generated a comparatively low fidelity score.³⁸

Limitations on using field drawings to assess the fidelity of paintings

As specified prior to assessing the fidelity of field drawings, those that have two or more significantly or highly modified enduring features would not be used to assess the fidelity of non-enduring features illustrated in the painting based on that source sketch. Among the sample of 82 field drawings assessed, 45 (55%) had no features that were either significantly or very different,

38. See Footnote 17.

34 (41%) had just one, but two drawings had two and one had three such modified features. The latter three drawings were, therefore, not relied on in the third part of the survey instrument.³⁹

The sites for 13 of the 121 paintings in the overall sample were not located, which meant no assessment of the fidelity of natural features in those paintings could be made by comparing them with either a site photograph or a virtual view. The field drawings on which 12 of those 13 paintings are based are, however, in existence, and therefore could be used to assess the fidelity of some painted features, provided there is sufficient confidence that, on the whole, Guérard's field drawings are accurate records. Early in the research process, the level of confidence required was set at 90% of the field drawings whose fidelity could be assessed (by comparing them with a site photograph and/or virtual view) receiving an overall fidelity rating of eight or more out of ten. As 62 (97%) of the 79 qualifying field drawings scored either an eight, nine or ten out of ten, the field drawings on which paintings with unlocated sites are based were used in the assessment of those paintings, despite the absence of a site photograph or virtual view.

Does the overall fidelity rating function as a measure?

There is a question as to whether the overall fidelity rating can be considered to be a *measure*, in the sense that combining the scores of multiple items results in a rating that is an indirect measure of an underlying quality or property that cannot be assessed directly, which in this instance could be called "fidelity to nature." One test of the reliability of such a measure is the degree to which the individual variables that comprise the measure vary together – a reliable measure should exhibit a high degree of internal consistency.⁴⁰ As the eight variables whose values are combined in the rating are ordinal in nature, the appropriate non-parametric test is Cronbach's alpha. When this test was run with the scores for the eight variables assessed for the 79 qualifying field drawings, an alpha of 0.443 (Figure 8.12, inset) lacked validity as the SPSS software excluded all

39. The drawings with two significantly or highly modified features are: *Bunyarrombite, Fall of the Snobs Creek, 29 Jan 1862* (Figure 8.6, left); and *(Mt Tauwell) Nativi. Lagune nahe d. Mt William Station 2r Juny 56. Grampians, 1856* (Figure 5.3, top). The sketch with three such features is *Warrenheip Hills bei Ballarat 5 February 1854*, see Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity," 1045.

40. Price et al., *Research Methods in Psychology*, 68–69.

subjects that had any missing values.⁴¹ This resulted in only five of the 79 field drawings being included in the test. While it is not possible to present any statistical evidence proving that the overall fidelity rating is internally consistent or inconsistent in some way, Table 8.1 clearly demonstrated that the degree of fidelity of summit height does not vary in a similar way to the fidelity of each of the other seven enduring features, as only 63% of the summit elevations were rated as highly or mostly faithful, while for all other variables, the enduring feature involved was rated as such in over 90% of the cases. To function as a reliable measure of the “fidelity to nature” of field drawings, the item “height of main summit,” which acts as a proxy for the height of all peaks forming the horizon, would have to be excluded. Such a significant exclusion would defeat the purpose of having such a measure in the first place. Although Guérard sketched most of the enduring natural features of a landscape with great fidelity, he often chose to elevate summits. This means the overall fidelity rating as defined cannot be considered to be a measure of fidelity to nature per se. However, the frequency distribution of that rating can be used to decide whether field drawings are, on the whole, reliable records of enduring features, and therefore, by inference, also faithful records of non-enduring features.

Correlation between pairs of fidelity variables

Despite the inability of the Cronbach’s alpha test to provide a valid indication of the extent to which the degree of fidelity of each enduring feature co-varies with each of the other seven enduring features, it ought to be possible to determine the extent to which different pairs of variables are correlated using an appropriate correlational analysis for ordinal data, in this case the Spearman correlation coefficient.⁴² For this calculation the score for each enduring feature is given a ranking, then the rankings for a particular pair of features are compared for each sketch.

41. The Cronbach’s alpha test in SPSS excludes cases on a list-wise basis, with no option provided for pair-wise deletion. According to statistician Chris Turville (Federation University), the statistical package “R” has an option for pair-wise deletion with Cronbach’s alpha, but use of that software requires programming skills (email message to author, July 21, 2020).

42. The Spearman correlation coefficient is applicable to ordinal data as it compares ranked scores rather than interval-level data. Results close to 1 or –1 indicate that two variables are strongly correlated, positively or negatively, respectively, while values close to 0 are considered to be the result of two variables being unrelated.

However, the results (Appendix M, page 537) were problematic, as in a number of instances pairs of variables that are obviously highly correlated generated low correlation coefficients. For example, 64 of the 82 field drawings scored “highly accurate” for both horizon and midground topography (Table 8.2), but the correlation coefficient was so low that it implied the two variables are hardly correlated at all.⁴³ This was puzzling until it was realised that the Spearman calculation is unreliable when each of the variables has a large number of tied scores.⁴⁴ This is particularly a problem for ordinal scales with a small number of steps. However, according to statistician Chris Turville, the main issue was that most of the variables lacked sufficient variability. It is difficult to establish the degree of agreement between two variables when there is a lack of information as to when the variables disagree.⁴⁵

Table 8.2. Correlation between horizon and midground fidelity

Distribution table for the paired scores of horizon and midground topography for the 82 drawings.

Horizon topography:	Midground topography:			
	very accurate	mostly accurate	significantly modified	highly modified
very accurate	63	7		0
mostly accurate	10	0	0	0
significantly modified	1	0	0	0
highly modified	1	0	0	0

Although it is possible to generate distribution tables such as Table 8.2, it would be a very time-consuming task to do it manually for each of 28 possible correlations between eight different variables, nor would it provide a numerical measure of how strongly each pair of survey items is correlated. Nevertheless, despite the lack of statistical evidence, it can be concluded that the ratings of all of the enduring feature items, with the exception of the height of the main summit, tend to agree with each other based on the very high percentages (over 90%) of sketches that are scored as highly or mostly faithful for each of those seven enduring features (Table 8.1).

43. The correlation coefficient was -0.130 , which is insignificant at the 0.05 level, two-tailed.

44. Chris Turville, email message to author, July 23, 2020. Turville recommended using Kendall’s Tau as an alternative but the results were no better.

45. Chris Turville, email message to author, September 24, 2020.

Fidelity of natural features illustrated in landscape paintings

The main function of the third part of the survey instrument is to assess the fidelity to nature of a wide range of natural features illustrated in Guérard's Antipodean landscape paintings, including both enduring and non-enduring aspects. As with the assessment of the fidelity of the field drawings, representations of enduring features in paintings are primarily compared with site photographs and/or virtual views. Non-enduring features are, however, compared with field drawings and occasionally early site photographs, if available.

In the case of composite works, which merge two sketched landscape views, the fidelity of topographical and geomorphological features is assessed against the landscape of the principal field drawing on which the painting is based, while the fidelity of other components is judged against the respective view on which they are based. If a painting is equally based on two field drawings, then the geographical information in the title given to the work by the artist determines which is the principal field drawing.

The 24 features assessed for fidelity are arranged in the following categories: topographical, compositional, illuminational, geological, geomorphological, ecological, botanical, zoological and meteorological.

*Topographical features*⁴⁶

Four items focus on the topographical fidelity of the fore-, mid- and back rounds of a painting to the topography of the landscape that Guérard observed at the site (Table 8.3). The two items relating to the background distinguish between the relative elevation of the main summit and the accuracy with which the contours of the mountains, hills or craters forming the horizon are rendered.⁴⁷ This distinction was made as preliminary observations indicated that while the artist often vertically stretched the peaks comprising the horizon, he rarely stretched them horizontally relative to midground features. Any increase in elevation is ignored when assessing the

46. Appendix N, pages 539–542.

47. The elevation of the main summit is used as a proxy for the elevation of all peaks forming the horizon, as this makes it more straightforward to compare heights.

topographic fidelity of the horizon in order to avoid scoring the same feature twice. For that feature, the prime concern is the general contours of the landforms making up the horizon.

Summit elevation and horizon topography were compared with the digital elevation model generated by PeakFinder at the GPS coordinates of the vantage point, supplemented with the site photograph.⁴⁸ When assessing the elevation of a summit, both its relative height and the steepness of its slopes were compared to that recorded in the site photograph and the virtual view. As midground contours are often difficult to make out when the virtual view overlies the painted view, this feature was usually compared with the site photograph. Foregrounds were compared exclusively with site photographs, as PeakFinder does not effectively model the contours of close landforms. For paintings whose vantage points had not been determined, and therefore no site photograph or virtual view was available, the topography of the back-, mid- and foregrounds was compared with the field drawing, if available, as those features were consistently rated as being highly or mostly accurate in the second part of the survey. However, as over a third of the field drawings had significantly elevated summits, that feature of a painting was not rated when only the field drawing was available.

Table 8.3. Topographical fidelity data for paintings

Summary of results for items assessing the fidelity of topographical features of paintings to the physical landscape as modelled in virtual views and recorded in site photographs.

Topographical features:	Proportion of paintings rated as:				Number paintings assessed	Included in overall fidelity rating
	same height	slightly higher	significantly higher	much higher		
Height of main summit	22%	15%	46%	17%	103	yes
	very accurate	mostly accurate	significantly different	very different/introduced		
Horizon topography	65%	21%	5%	9%	112	yes
Midground topography	90%	6%	1%	3%	109	yes
Foreground slopes	72%	8%	5%	14%	111	yes

Excluding the height of the main summit, the large majority of paintings that could be assessed for other topographical items were rated as very accurate or mostly accurate: 86% for

48. The virtual view proved easiest to use as it could be made transparent and, when scaled to align with the profile of the horizon, overlain on the scan of the painting.

horizon topography, 96% for midground contours, and 80% for foreground slopes. The sites, and indeed the vantage points of many paintings, were readily identifiable because of this high degree of topographic fidelity. Out of the ten paintings rated as having very different or introduced horizon features, four were composite images, four had an imaginary peak introduced, one had a horizontally stretched mountain and another had highly inaccurate coastal features.⁴⁹ Only three paintings were judged to have a highly modified midground.⁵⁰ Sixteen paintings were assessed as having very different or introduced foreground slopes when compared with the field drawing. In some instances, drawings lacked a foreground because of space constraints (e.g. Figure 6.4), but in other large sketches the foreground had been ignored altogether despite space being available, or only very roughly outlined (e.g. Figure 9.2). Even when a field drawing included a detailed foreground, the artist was not averse to replacing it with an imagined one, such as in his painting from near the summit of Mt Lofty (e.g. Figure 8.13), in which a hillside was replaced with a waterfall transferred from its actual location 1 km to the west.

49. The four composite works are: *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges*, c. 1864 (AGWA); *Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865 (SLNSW); *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1845 (NGV); and *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (AGSA). See also Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity." The works with introduced peaks are: *Cabbage Tree Forest, American Creek, New South Wales*, 1860 (WAG); *A fig tree on American Creek, near Wollongong, N.S.W.*, 1861 (AGNSW); *Forest scene near Kiama*, 1863 (NGA); and *Cabbage Tree Forest, American Creek, New South Wales*, 1860 (SLNSW). The landscape with a horizontally stretched mountain is *Mount William and part of the Grampians in West Victoria*, 1865 (NGV), and the work with a very inaccurate coastline is *Sailing ship rounding the south end of Tasman's Island*, c. 1857 (AGSA).

50. The three paintings are: *Scenery in the Mt Lofty Ranges, near Adelaide, and a view of the Gulf of St Vincent*, c. 1860 (AGSA); *Tea Trees near Cape Schanck, Victoria*, 1865 (NGV); and *Mount Earnslaw vom Wakatipu See Neu Seeland*, 1887 (present location unknown).

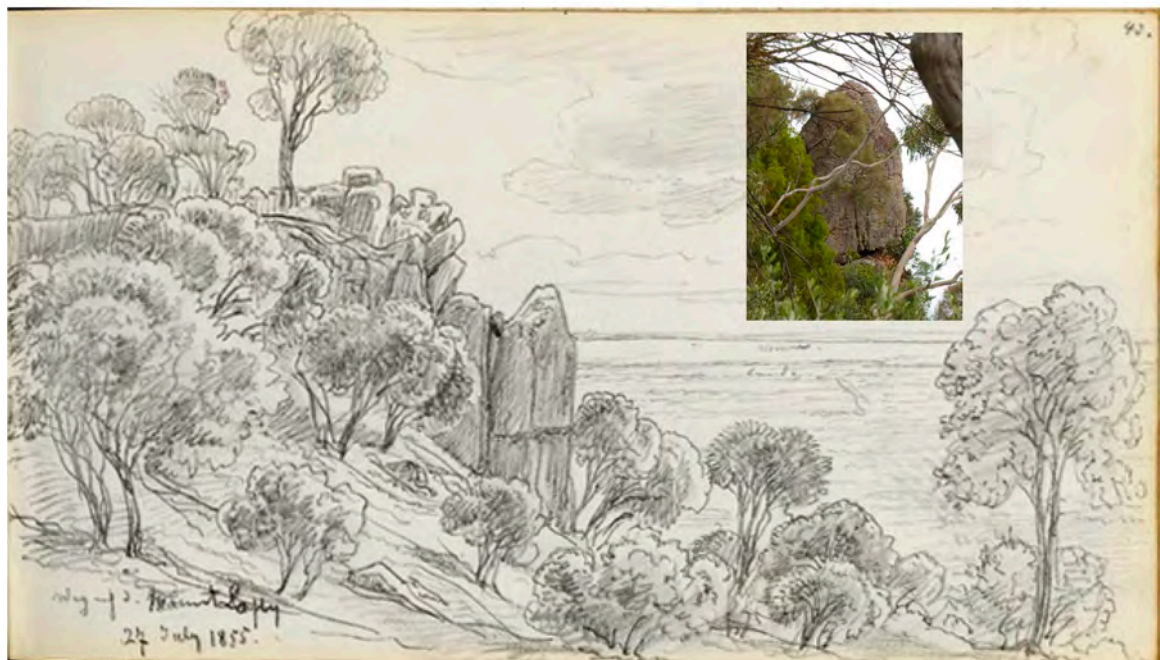
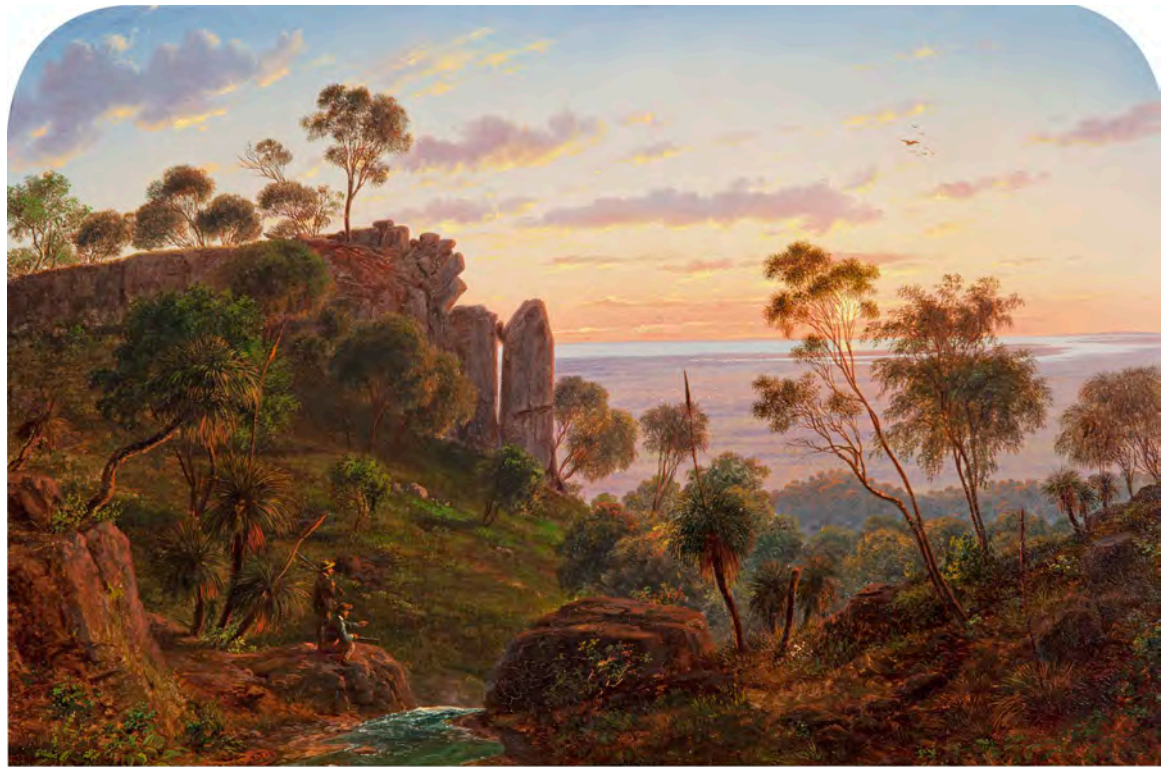


Figure 8.13. Fidelity of the foreground and of a major rock outcrop in a painting

Top: *Scenery in the Mt Lofty Ranges, near Adelaide, and a view of the Gulf of St Vincent*, c. 1860, oil on board, 29.2 × 45.1 cm, AGSA. Bottom: *Mount Lofty*, 27 July 1855, folio 43, “Volume 03: Sketchbook XXIV, No. 6 Australian, 3 Jul. - Aug., Dec. 1855,” reference code 824694, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Inset: rock column near the summit of Zig Zag Hill, Clevedon Conservation Park, 2017. Photograph: author. The painting was rated as having “introduced” foreground topography and a “very similar” major rock outcrop.

Unsurprisingly, given the degree of summit elevation identified in a significant proportion of the field drawings, more than 63% of the paintings that could be assessed for this feature had a significantly or much higher main summit than that shown in the virtual view or recorded in the site photograph. The limited elevations of most of the Antipodean hills, craters and mountains that Guérard chose to illustrate in his landscapes proved problematic for the artist. Heightening summits (e.g. Figure 8.14) enabled him to create scenes that were more dramatic than otherwise would have been possible. As geologist Bill Birch noted, Guérard “tended to subtly make his landscapes a little more dramatic than they actually are, mainly by sharpening the peaks of ranges.”⁵¹ As his vertically stretched summits are not horizontally enlarged at the same time, it is clear that the artist did not consider that foreshortening the midground to bring summits closer, and therefore larger, was an acceptable solution to his dilemma.

51 Bill Birch, email message to author, April 27, 2018.



Figure 8.14. **Fidelity of the summit elevation and horizon topography in a painting** *Mount William as seen from Mount Dryden in The Grampians, Victoria, 1892*, oil on board, 26.0 × 33.5 cm, present location unknown. Overlay: virtual view of PeakFinder from Guérard’s vantage point. The comparison illustrates how the peaks have been vertically stretched. The painting was rated as “much higher” for summit elevation and “very accurate” for horizon topography.

*Compositional features*⁵²

Three items in the survey relate to compositional techniques used by Guérard (Table 8.4). These included: the size of the staffage used to indicate the scale of features in the fore or mid ground;⁵³ the perspective mode, whether singular or multiple;⁵⁴ and the use of a tree or rock outcrop to

52. Appendix N, pages 543–545.

53. Typically, the staffage in Guérard’s paintings are human figures or buildings, although sometimes animals replace humans.

54. Some paintings combined views from several vantage points so the perspective cannot be true to the view at any one vantage point.

internally frame part of a scene in order to direct the viewer’s eyes toward a specific part of the composition.⁵⁵

The fidelity of the internal framing used in paintings was assessed by comparing it with the field drawing, particularly as most of the motifs used by Guérard are trees that were unlikely to have survived at the site. The perspectival fidelity of a painting to the view from a particular vantage point was assessed by identifying whether the work is wholly based on the view recorded in the principal field drawing or site photograph, or is a composite based on merging views recorded in two or more drawings made from distinct vantage points in similar or disparate environments. The scaling fidelity of the staffage in a painting was more difficult to judge, unless the figures or buildings are based on sketched ones located in the same place in the foreground. Occasionally, it was possible to make a visual comparison or to take a photograph from Guérard’s vantage point with a person standing at the same spot as the staffage (e.g. Figure 9.15).

Table 8.4. Compositional fidelity data for paintings

Summary of results for items used to assess the fidelity of compositional features in paintings.

Compositional features:	Proportion of paintings rated as:				Number paintings assessed	Included in overall fidelity rating
	normal size	slightly smaller	significantly smaller	much smaller		
Scale of staffage	51%	32%	3%	14%	65	yes
	single view	close views combined	distant similar views combined	distant disparate views combined		
Perspective	82%	13%	3%	2%	114	yes
	very similar	slightly different	significantly modified	very different/ introduced		
Internal framing	62%	12%	7%	20%	76	yes

The staffage used in 54 (83%) of the 65 paintings that could be assessed for this feature was either approximately normal size or slightly smaller when compared with how the person or object appeared in the field drawing relative to other features. However, the staffage in nine

55. This technique is also called *repoussoir*, which is French for “push back,” implying that the function is to direct the viewer’s eyes into the scene. The use of a repoussoir is a time-honoured technique in landscape painting, used most famously by the French artist Claude Lorrain.

works was rated as much smaller,⁵⁶ with human figures about half normal size in a few works (e.g. Figure 8.15 and Figure 9.15). The effect of such miniaturised staffing is to make landforms appear much larger than they are in reality, giving the scene greater dramatic impact.



Figure 8.15. Fidelity of the scale of the staffage in a painting

Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat, 1854, oil on canvas, 46.0 × 75.5 cm, NGV. The modified painting has two appropriately sized figures inserted. Photoshop imaging: Andrew Thomas. The inset shows their actual size in the painting. The staffage of the painting was rated as “much smaller.”

The survey results indicated that 93 (82%) of the 114 paintings that could be assessed for perspectival fidelity were based on the view from a single vantage point, 15 (13%) combined views from very close vantage points, four combined views from distant vantage points in similar environments, and two were based on views in distant but disparate locations.⁵⁷

56. The nine paintings are: *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (NGV); *Tower Hill*, 1855 (Warrnambool Art Gallery); *Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson’s Valley, New South Wales*, 1862 (NGV); *The Weatherboard Falls*, 1863 (GAG); *Stoneleigh, Beaufort near Ararat, Victoria*, 1866 (SLNSW); *View of Mt Sturgeon and Mt Abrupt from the Crater of Bald Hill*, 1869 (private collection); *View in the Grampians*, 1870 (private collection); *Mt William as seen from Mt Dryden in the Grampians, Victoria*, 1892 (present location unknown); and *Milford Sound, Mitre Peak and Bowen*, 1892 (private collection).

57. The four paintings based on views in distant locations but similar environments are: *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges*, c. 1864 (AGWA); *Scenery in the Mt Lofty Ranges, near Adelaide*, and a view

Fifty-eight (74%) of the 76 paintings for which the fidelity of internal framing could be assessed were rated as either very similar to or slightly different from that illustrated in the field drawing. Five paintings (7%) had significantly modified framing devices, while framing elements were introduced in 15 works (20%), specifically trees (e.g. Figure 8.16). While Guérard often situated himself so that an existing tree or even a rock outcrop acted as a natural framing element as he sketched the scene, where no such element existed in the right spot at a site, his willingness to significantly modify an existing tree or introduce an imagined one is indicative of the importance of the repoussoir convention in his compositions.

*of the Gulf of St Vincent, c. 1860 (AGSA); Tea Trees near Cape Schanck, Victoria, 1865 (NGV); and Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat, 1854 (NGV). The two based on views in distant locations and disparate environments are *Sunset, New South Wales, 1865 (SLNSW), and Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite, 1857 (AGSA).**

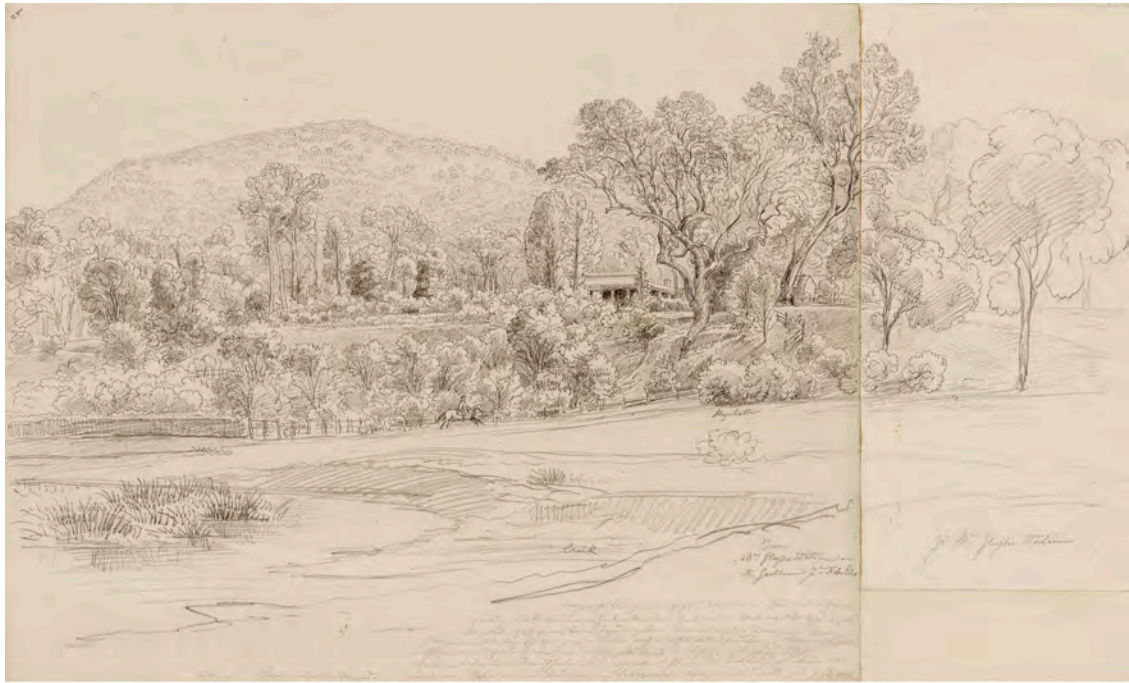


Figure 8.16. **Fidelity of internal framing in a painting**

Top: *Mr James Glasses [sic] station on the Goulburne, 7th Feb. 62, 1862*, folio 25 in album “Goulburne [sic] River, 1862.” Bottom: *James Glass’s station on the Goulburne River, Victoria, 1862*, oil on board, 35.7 × 45.8 cm, NLA. An imagined eucalypt tree has been inserted in the painting, which acts as a framing device for the whole scene. The internal framing of the painting was rated as “introduced.”

*Illuminational features*⁵⁸

Two items in the survey relate to the illumination of the landscape paintings (Table 8.5). The first assesses whether the position of the sun relative to the view accords with that recorded in the field drawing. As the sun is located outside the bounds of the canvas in 110 of his 118 daytime Antipodean landscapes, the fidelity of solar illumination is assessed by comparing the pattern of illumination and shadowing visible in the painting with that recorded in the sketch.

The second item relates to the setting of the sun. Guérard had a clear preference for portraying scenes at or near sunset, given that when the sun is low in the sky the contours of peaks, hills and valleys are more clearly delineated, and the sky takes on a range of hues. Although no assessment was made of fidelity of his colour palette to the scene he observed at the time, his placement of a setting sun, whether within or outside of the canvas, ought to accord with the principal bearing of the scene. For example, in a north-facing scene the setting sun should be located within or without the left side of the canvas, given that Australia and New Zealand are both in the southern hemisphere. To assess the fidelity of the bearing of a setting sun, the vantage point needed to have been determined and the *principal bearing* of the scene established.⁵⁹

Table 8.5. Illuminational fidelity data for paintings

Summary of results for items used to assess the fidelity of illuminational features to that recorded in the field drawing or to the compass bearing of the view.

Illuminational features:	Proportion of paintings rated as:				Number paintings assessed	Included in overall fidelity rating
	very similar	slightly different	significantly different	opposite direction		
Solar illumination	89%	0%	6%	5%	98	yes
	appropriate	distinctly shifted	significantly shifted	setting in east		
Sunset bearing	89%	6%	3%	3%	35	yes

The pattern of solar illumination in 87 (89%) of the 98 paintings that could be assessed for this feature was rated as being very similar to that recorded in the field drawing. Six works (6%) were rated as having significantly different illumination, and five (5%) were found to have a

58. Appendix N, pages 546–547.

59. The *principal bearing* of a scene is the compass direction pointing to the midpoint of the horizon (see Figure 6.8).

reversed pattern of illumination, with the sun located on the opposite side of its position in the sketched scene, as indicated by shadowing (e.g. Figure 8.17).⁶⁰ Given that many of the more detailed sketches were completed over a significant period of time at a site, sometimes over several days, the artist would have had to choose a particular time of the day for fixing the pattern of illumination. This was usually done by shading in the left or right side of trees and slopes.



Figure 8.17. Fidelity of solar illumination in a painting

Top: *Basin Bank Lake f. MacNickels [i.e. MacNichol's] Station (Bullen Merri), 14 Marz 57, 1857*, folio 9, "Volume 05: Sketchbook XXVI, No. 8 Australian, Mar-Apr, 1857, Sep-Oct 1859," reference code 824697, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Bottom: *Lake Bullen Merri, 1858*, oil on canvas on board, 51.3 × 85.6 cm, private collection. The right sides of trees are shaded in the drawing but in the painting they are shaded on the left. The painting was rated as having "opposite illumination."

60. The five paintings are: *Mount Abrupt, the Grampians*, 1856 (AGNSW); *Tanunda Creek South Australia*, 1857 (present location unknown); *Lake Bullen Merri*, 1858 (private collection); *View of the Gippsland Alps, from Bushy Park on the River Avon*, 1861 (NGA & NLA); and *View of Mt Sturgeon and Mt Abrupt from the Crater of Bald Hill*, 1869 (private collection).

Thirty five of the 121 paintings in the sample illustrate a scene close to sunset, which is mostly indicated by the directional colour gradient of the sky rather than the presence of the sun visible low in the sky on the canvas. Thirty-three of these paintings (95%) had the sun setting on an appropriate or slightly shifted bearing, while one painting had the bearing significantly shifted beyond the range of bearings within which the sun might set over the course of a year. In one painting only is an unquestionably setting sun depicted in the eastern sky. Although *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite* is a composite work,⁶¹ its background is based on a sketch of an eastward-facing view from the top of Mt Leura, near Camperdown in Victoria. Given that Guérard did not note the direction of the views he recorded in field sketches and rarely noted the time of day, it is impressive that nearly all of his other sunset scenes, for which the principal bearing had been established, have the sun setting in the west.

*Geological features*⁶²

Two of the four geological items (Table 8.6) involve assessing the fidelity of foreground boulders and major rock outcrops against those recorded in the site photograph or field drawing. As foreground boulders may sometimes have been modified or removed by human actions, or natural forces and processes, comparing painted boulders with sketched ones was preferred over comparing them with contemporary site photographs. Major rock formations are much less likely to have been modified over the intervening years, and therefore site photographs were preferred for the comparison. The other two items involve assessing whether an identified rock class or type accords with the geology of the site and the general location, as reported in geological maps.

61. Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity," 1041.

62. Appendix N, pages 548–551.

Table 8.6. Geological fidelity data for paintings

Summary of results for items assessing the fidelity of geological features in paintings to that observed in site photographs, recorded in field drawings or identified on geological maps.

Geological features:	Proportion of paintings rated as:				Number paintings assessed	Included in overall fidelity rating
	very accurate	mostly accurate	significantly different	introduced		
Foreground boulders	24%	19%	16%	40%	62	yes
Major rock outcrop	53%	10%	12%	24%	58	yes
	exists at site	exists in location	non-existent in location			
Identified rock class	88%	0%	12%		51	no
Identified rock type	100%	0%	0%		9	no

The appearance, size and locations of the foreground boulders illustrated in 27 (43%) of the 62 paintings that could be assessed for this feature were rated as very or mostly accurate renditions of the boulders visible in the field drawing or site photograph (e.g. Figure 8.18).⁶³ Ten (16%) were rated as significantly different and 25 (40%) as very different or introduced. In 19 of the paintings belonging to the latter group, Guérard introduced boulders as none is visible in the field sketch. Such rocks are products of his artistic imagination rather than being based on details in other sketches made at the site or in other locations.

63. If foreground boulders are the loose part of an exposed major rock formation, then only the latter item is assessed to avoid scoring the same feature twice.

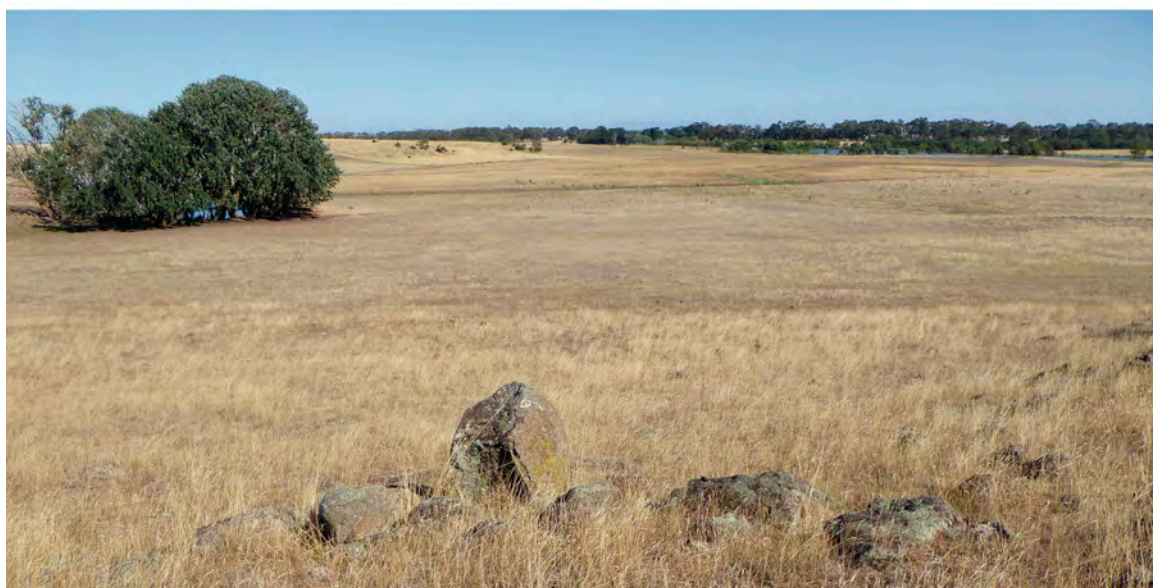


Figure 8.18. **Fidelity of boulders in a painting**

Top: *Stoneleigh, Beaufort near Ararat, Victoria, 1886*, oil on canvas, 70.7 × 121.5 cm, Dixon Library, SLNSW. Bottom: Boulders in a field on Stoneleigh Station, 2017. Photograph: author. The boulders in the painting were rated as “very accurate.”

Fifty-eight of the 121 paintings in the sample included a representation of a major rock outcrop, such as a cliff face, sea stack, lava flow, spatter rampart, tor, rock column or exposed bedding. For 37 (63%) of those works, the rendition of the rock exposure was rated as a very or mostly accurate illustration of that visible in the site photograph (e.g. the rock column illustrated in Figure 8.13 or the face of the waterfall in Figure 8.19), or field drawing if a photograph had not

been obtained. Seven paintings (12%) were assessed as having significantly modified rock outcrops, while 14 (24%) were considered to have introduced outcrops.



Figure 8.19. **Fidelity of a major rock outcrop in a painting**

Left: *Waterfall, Strath Creek*, 1862, oil on canvas, 83.2 × 65.6 cm, AGNSW. Right: Strath Falls, 2016. Photograph: author. The fidelity of the major rock outcrop forming the face of the waterfall was rated as “very accurate.”

The rock exposure in two of those paintings with introduced outcrops is based on an outcrop detailed in a sketch other than the field drawing on which the painting is based, made from near the vantage point (e.g. Figure 8.20). The outcrop in a third work is based on an exposure still visible near the site but the sketchbook that would have contained the sketch has been lost.⁶⁴ However, introduced outcrops in the other 11 paintings appear to be the products of Guérard’s artistic imagination.

64. See Hook, “Tasmanian Arcadia,” fig. 5, 52.

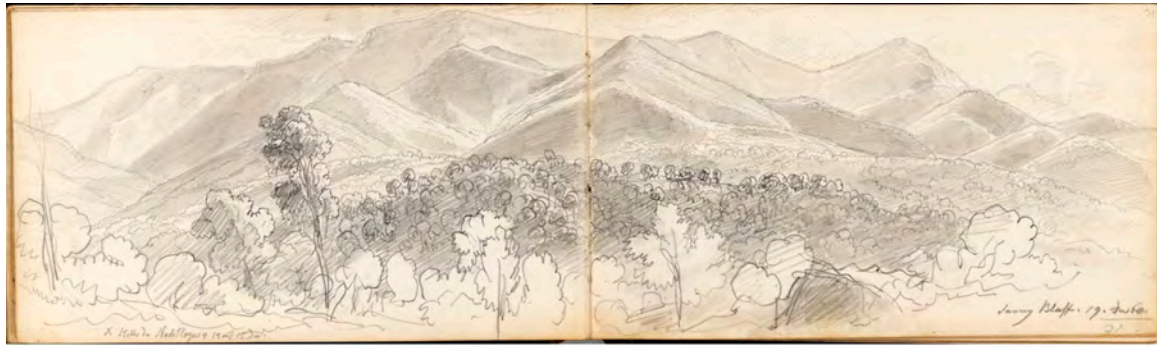


Figure 8.20. Fidelity of a major rock outcrop in another painting

Top: *Snowy Bluff*, 19 Dec. 60, 1860, folio 31, “Sketchbook XXXII.” Bottom: *View of the Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River*, 1864, oil on canvas, 95.2 × 152.4 cm, NGV. Inset: *Near camp XXVI*, 21 Dec. 60, 1860 (detail), folio 33, “Sketchbook XXXII.” The rock outcrop in the painting is based on the sketched rock in the inset. The painting was rated as having an “introduced” rock outcrop.

The other two geological items assessed whether an identifiable rock class (sedimentary, igneous or metamorphic) or type (e.g. sandstone, basalt, granite) illustrated in a landscape painting is present at the site or in the general location. Of the 51 paintings displaying an identifiable rock class, 45 (88%) had a type that is known from that site, for example the sedimentary rock illustrated in the *Snowy Bluff* painting (Figure 8.20). Six other paintings (12%),

however, illustrated a rock type that is not present at the site or in the general location.⁶⁵ Nine paintings illustrated an identifiable rock type, each of which is present at the site. However, the particular form of basalt rock illustrated in the painting *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (Figure 14.2, top, lower left corner), known as tessellated pavement, is not found at that site.⁶⁶ Irregular columnar basalt is, however, present there (Figure 14.2, bottom).

*Geomorphological features*⁶⁷

Two geomorphological features were assessed: the range of landforms visible in paintings; and the fidelity with which waterbodies, such as a creek, lake or the sea, are represented in the painted landscapes (Table 8.7). The former feature was assessed by comparing the different landforms illustrated in a work with those visible at the site, as recorded in the site photograph or, if unavailable, the field drawing. The preferred comparison for assessing the fidelity of representations of waterbodies was the field drawing, particularly for creeks and lakes where the volume of water can vary enormously over the course of a year as well as over decades and centuries. This was not an issue, however, with coastal scenes, where comparing the shoreline with a site photograph proved acceptable given that coastal shorelines are more enduring on the timescale involved. However, obtaining a site photograph at a similar phase of the daily tidal cycle was not always possible (e.g. Figure 8.22).

65. The six paintings are: *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand*, 1879 (AAG); *Steavenson Falls*, 1863 (NGA); *View in Rose's Gap, Northern Grampians, West Victoria*, 1870 (present location unknown); *Waterfall on the Clyde River, Tasmania*, 1877 (AGSA); *Mt William as seen from Mt Dryden in the Grampians, Victoria*, 1892 (present location unknown); and *Mt Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border (Mt Hope Ranges)*, 1866 (NGV).

66. Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity," 1049–1050.

67. Appendix N, pages 552–553.

Table 8.7. Geomorphological fidelity data for paintings

Summary of results for items used to assess the fidelity of geomorphological features as compared to those visible in site photographs and/or field drawings.

Geomorphological features:	Proportion of paintings rated as:				Number paintings assessed	Included in overall fidelity rating
	same range	reduced range	introduced local landform	introduced distant landform		
	81%	2%	14%	3%	114	yes
	very similar	slightly different	significantly different	very different/ introduced		
Waterbodies	87%	3%	3%	7%	93	yes

Ninety-two of the 114 landscape paintings (81%) that could be assessed for this feature illustrated the same range of landforms visible in the site photograph, or field drawing if the site was unvisited. Two (2%) same-scene works had a reduced range, with distinctive river terraces omitted.⁶⁸ Sixteen paintings (14%) had an introduced landform judged to be appropriate for the general location, even though not based on any other sketch made at the site. These imagined additional landforms included a creek bed, gully, valley, hill, cliff, promontory and *sea stacks* (e.g. Figure 8.21).⁶⁹ In three landscapes (3%) the artist inserted a landform sketched in a distant location.⁷⁰

68. The three paintings are: *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, New Zealand, c. 1877* (present location unknown); *Wakatipu with Mt Earnslaw, 1878* (private collection); and *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand, 1879* (AAG).

69. A *sea stack* is a massive pillar-shaped rock structure that has become detached from a coastal cliff by wave action and is now surrounded by sea.

70. The three paintings are: *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges, c. 1864* (AGWA); *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat, 1854* (NGV); and *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite, 1857* (AGSA).



Figure 8.21. **Fidelity of landforms in a painting**

Top: *Sailing ship rounding the south end of Tasman's Island*, c. 1857, oil on canvas, 35.2 × 56.4 cm, AGSA. Bottom: Tasman Island view from southeast. Photographer: Chris Howarth (Alamy photos). Although there are rock pillars attached to the island above the high-tide level, there are no detached sea stacks. The painting was rated as having an “introduced local landform.”

The fidelity of the waterbodies illustrated in 84 (90%) of the 93 works that could be assessed for this feature was rated as either “very similar” (for example, the shoreline at Cape Schanck [Figure 8.22]) or “slightly different.” Three had aquatic features rated as “significantly modified,” and six were assessed as having “introduced” waterbody features, such as a creek, lake or waterfall (e.g. Figure 8.13).⁷¹

71. The three works with introduced creeks are: *Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865 (SLNSW); *Forest Scene near Kiama*, 1863 (NGA); and *Mount Kent on the Wonnangatta River, Gipps Land*, 1873 (present location unknown). The one with an introduced waterfall is *Scenery in the Mt Lofty Ranges, near Adelaide*,

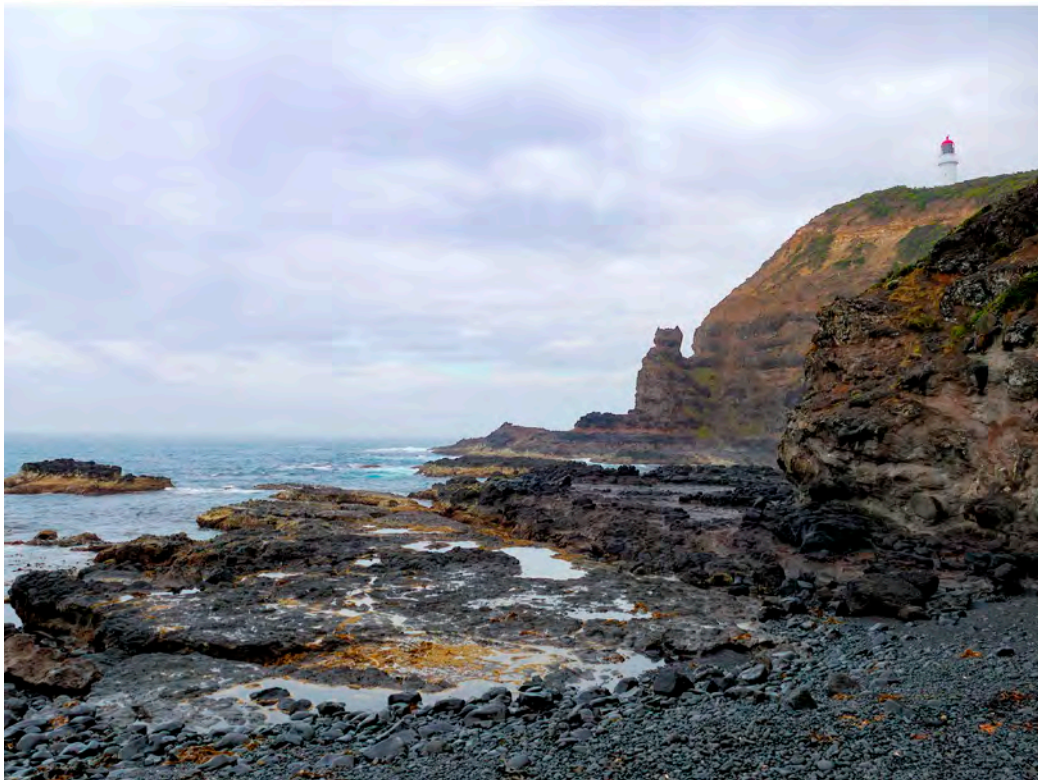


Figure 8.22. Fidelity of the shoreline in a painting

Top: *Castle Rock, Cape Schanck*, 1865, oil on canvas, 61.0 × 91.3 cm, AGSA. Bottom: similar view photographed from a spot slightly lower than Guérard’s vantage point, 2018. Photograph: author. The painting was rated as having a “very similar” shoreline.

and a view of the Gulf of St Vincent, c. 1860 (AGSA), and the other with introduced lakes is *Mt William as seen from Mt Dryden in the Grampians, Victoria*, 1892 (present location unknown).

*Ecological features*⁷²

Three items in the survey relate to ecological features of artworks (Table 8.8). The first assesses the accuracy with which the extent of the *bush* is illustrated as compared with that recorded primarily in the field drawing and occasionally in an early photograph.⁷³ Contemporary site photographs are of little use given the extensive bush clearance that has occurred over the intervening years. The other two items assess whether features of a painting are true to the natural history of the location, namely, whether identifiable flora and fauna were originally found in the general location or not. To confirm whether a particular type of native plant was present in a location, species lists were consulted once the original ecological vegetation class of the location was established. Distribution maps for native animals, both online and in guidebooks, were used to check whether an identified species could have been present in a location.

Table 8.8. Ecological fidelity data for paintings

Summary of results for items used to assess the fidelity of ecological features illustrated in paintings to those recorded in field drawings or species distribution maps.

Ecological features:	Proportion of paintings rated as:				Number paintings assessed	Included in overall fidelity rating
	very similar	slightly different	significantly different	very different/introduced		
Extent of the bush	90%	7%	0%	2%	93	yes
	indigenous to location	not all indigenous	none indigenous			
Identified flora	84%	7%	9%		58	no
Identified fauna	95%	0%	5%		21	no

Ninety (97%) out of 93 paintings for which it was possible to compare the extent to which bush covered the painted landscape with that illustrated in the field drawing, were rated as “very similar” or “slightly different” (e.g. Figure 10.23). Three works were assessed as having

72. Appendix N, pages 554–556.

73. In both Australia and New Zealand, the word *bush* refers to a forested area.

very different distributions, attributable to an introduced landform, a background landscape inserted into a composite work, or the removal of bush from an originally forest-clad peak.⁷⁴

With regard to the flora illustrated in Guérard's Antipodean landscapes, it proved more difficult to identify particular native species than expected. Even though one of Australia's leading botanists, Leon Costermans, looked at nearly thirty of the works in the sample, few species could be unequivocally identified, particularly if they belonged to the enormous genus *Eucalyptus*. While species such as Austral Grasstree (*Xanthorrhoea australis*), Soft Tree Fern (*Dicksonia antarctica*, e.g. Figure 8.23), Drooping Sheoak (*Allocasuarina verticillata*), Coastal Tea Tree (*Leptospermum laevigatum*) and Cherry Ballart (*Exocarpus cupressiformis*), as well as various palm species, could be readily distinguished, the scale at which most trees and shrubs were reproduced means that it is impossible to view the floral characteristics necessary to identify many other species.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, all of the identified plant species in 49 of the 58 works (84%) that could be assessed for this feature were found to be indigenous to the location, while nine paintings (16%) had identifiable species that were not endemic to the location. In three such works, the artist inserted grasstrees in landscapes with soils derived from volcanic bedrock,⁷⁶ but taxonomic records at the National Herbarium of Victoria confirm that the Austral Grasstree does not grow in such soils.⁷⁷

74. The first work is *Mount Earnslaw vom Wakatipu See Neu Seeland*, 1887 (present location unknown), the second is *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (AGSA) and the third is *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (NGV).

75. Leon Costermans, email message to author, November 1, 2018.

76. The three paintings are: *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (NGV); *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (AGSA); and *Tower Hill*, 1855 (Warrnambool Art Gallery).

77. Dr Neville Walsh, email message to author, March 24, 2014.



Figure 8.23. Fidelity of the flora and fauna in a painting

Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges, 1857, oil on canvas, 92.0 × 138.0 cm, NGA. Left inset: magnified view of the lyrebird. Right inset: [Lyre birds], folio 87, “Volume 05: Sketchbook XXVI, No. 8 Australian, Mar-Apr, 1857, Sep-Oct 1859,” reference code 824697, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Photographer: unknown. The fern trees are identifiable as the Soft Tree Fern (*Dicksonia antarctica*). The identifiable flora and fauna were both rated as “indigenous to location.”

It proved somewhat easier to identify the native birds and mammals illustrated in Guérard’s paintings, providing the birds were large enough or had distinctive colouring or shapes. The bird species include Australian Pelican (*Pelecanus conspicillatus*), Emu (*Dromaius novaehollandiae*), Brolga (*Grus rubicunda*), Wedge-tailed Eagle (*Aquila audax*), Black Swan (*Cygnus atratus*), Superb Lyrebird (*Menura novaehollandiae*, e.g. Figure 8.23), and various species of the parrot family. Identified animal species include Eastern Grey Kangaroo (*Macropus giganteus*), Swamp Wallaby (*Wallabia bicolor*) and Dingo (*Canis lupus dingo*). Twenty of the 21 paintings that could be assessed for this feature include identifiable avian or mammalian species that are indigenous to the location, although not necessarily still present.

*Botanical features*⁷⁸

The two botanical features (Table 8.9) whose fidelity could be assessed by comparing them with field drawings or early site photographs (e.g. Figure 8.24) are the foreground trees and shrubs, and deadwood.⁷⁹ The former item relates to the appearance and location of trees and shrubs in the foreground, excluding any tree that functions as a coulisse to avoid scoring it twice. The latter item focuses on the appearance and location of dead or dying standing trees, as well as of fallen trees and branches, collectively called deadwood.

Table 8.9. Botanical fidelity data for paintings

Summary of results for items used to assess the fidelity of botanical features when compared with those illustrated in field drawings or early site photographs.

Arboreal features:	Proportion of paintings rated as:				Number paintings assessed	Included in overall fidelity rating
	very similar	slightly different	significantly different	very different/introduced		
Foreground trees and shrubs	51%	22%	11%	16%	99	yes
	51%	11%	1%	37%	73	yes

Representations of the foreground trees and shrubs in 72 (73%) of the 99 paintings that could be assessed for this feature were rated as “very similar” or only “slightly different.” In 11 works (11 %), that vegetation was considered to be significantly different. However, in 16 other paintings (16%), the foreground trees and shrubs were all imagined as they are not present in the field drawing or any other sketch.

78. Appendix N, pages 557–558.

79. The item relating to the flora illustrated in paintings was included in the previous section as essentially it concerns the ecological distribution of the identified species.



Figure 8.24. Fidelity of deadwood in a painting

Left: *Ravine near Glenlyon, Upper Loddon*, 1870, oil on canvas, 31.0 × 26.5 cm, present location unknown. Right: Richard Daintree, *Falls at Glen Lyon, Upper Loddon River, Victoria*, c. 1859–1863, accession number H92.101/94, SLV. The highlighted area in each shows the same tall stump of a dead tree. The deadwood in the painting was rated as “very similar.”

In 45 of the 73 paintings (62%) that could be assessed for this feature, the fidelity of the deadwood illustrated in those works is rated as very similar or slightly different (e.g. Figure 8.24) when compared with that illustrated in the field drawing. The deadwood in 27 other works (37%) was not based on any dead standing tree, fallen tree or branch sketched at the site; rather, the deadwood illustrated is imaginary dead trees or fallen branches.

It is intriguing that the artist included deadwood in so many of his landscape paintings, regardless of whether he recorded woody debris in the field drawing or not. Such a high frequency of inclusion suggests that deadwood played a significant role in his compositions. It may be that the dead trunks and branches were included as they made for more interesting, if somewhat untidy, foregrounds. More likely, though, they were incorporated because of the unusual abundance of fallen branches in Australian eucalypt forests, as is apparent to many overseas visitors familiar with non-eucalypt forests in their home country. Indeed, for this reason

alone, it would be difficult to mistake one of Guérard’s Australian wilderness or pastoral paintings for a European scene.⁸⁰

*Zoological features*⁸¹

Guérard often included stock, such as sheep and cattle, or wild animals, including birds, in his landscape paintings. A single item was used to assess the fidelity of illustrated animals to those observed at the site and recorded in the field drawing (Table 8.10). While domesticated animals cannot be considered to be natural features, they were included in this item as otherwise there would have been very few paintings in the sample that could be assessed. Where those animals act as staffage, giving a sense of scale to the fore- or midgrounds, they were ignored under this item to avoid scoring the same feature twice. As neither wild nor domesticated animals were necessarily inclined to pose for long in desirable locations in a landscape that the artist intended to paint, he often made incidental sketches of them for later reference.

Table 8.10. Zoological fidelity data for paintings

Summary of results for the item used to assess the fidelity of animals illustrated in a painting to those recorded in the field drawing.

Animals present:	Proportion of paintings rated as:				Number paintings assessed	Included in overall fidelity rating
	very similar	slightly different	significantly different	very different/introduced		
Animals present	28%	13%	2%	57%	61	no

Despite the above limitation, the appearance, numbers and locations of animals present in 25 (41%) of the 60 paintings that could be assessed for this feature, were rated as “very similar” to or only “slightly different” from those recorded in field drawings. Whether those sketched birds and mammals actually put in an appearance in the observed landscape, as opposed to being introduced into the drawing, cannot be known. Regardless, in 35 other landscape paintings (57%) the artist introduced birds and animals not recorded in the field drawing (e.g. the dingo stalking

80. Guérard claimed it would be doubtful that his paintings would be “taken equally well for a misty English or Australian landscape,” although that comment was made in relation to his illustrations of living Australian trees. See Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

81. Appendix N, page 559.

the kangaroos in Figure 4.1, top cf. bottom), some of which are recorded in other sketched observations made near the site (e.g. oxen in Figure 8.25).



Figure 8.25. **Fidelity of animals in a painting**

View of Geelong, 1856, oil on canvas, 89.0 × 152.5 cm, GG. Inset: [Four oxen] 18 Jan. 56, 1856, folio 71, “Volume 01: Sketchbook XXII. No. 4 Australian. Apr. 1854 - Dec.1857, 1858,” reference code 824690, Dixson Library, SLNSW.⁸² The oxen in the painting were rated as “slightly different” from those recorded in the supplementary sketch.

*Meteorological features*⁸³

Three meteorological aspects of Guérard’s Antipodean landscape paintings were assessed: weather conditions, cloud formations and the identifiability of cloud types (Table 8.11). The first two features were rated by items comparing the painted representations with the sketched ones in the field drawing, if extant. It should be borne in mind, though, that many of his field drawings are very detailed and would have taken an extended period to complete at the vantage point. The sketch would have captured the weather conditions and cloud formations present during only a

82. The team of oxen was not recorded in the large sketch (*Highett’s Farm 1855*, folios 6 & 16 in album “Station Peak, Geelong 1855,” reference code 448817, SLNSW) on which the painting is based.

83. Appendix N, pages 560–562.

small proportion of the time spent sketching. The third item assessed whether his portrayal of clouds could be identified as a particular type of cloud formation. The clouds were compared with cloud charts downloaded from the Australian Bureau of Meteorology.

Table 8.11. Meteorological fidelity data for paintings

Summary of results for items used to assess the fidelity of meteorological features when compared with field drawings and cloud charts.

Meteorological features:	Proportion of paintings rated as:				Number paintings assessed	Included in overall rating
	very similar	slightly different	significantly different	very different/introduced		
Weather	90%	6%	1%	3%	98	yes
Cloud formations	36%	28%	10%	27%	90	yes
	readily identifiable	possibly identifiable	not identifiable			
Cloud identifiability	84%	7%	9%		87	no

The weather conditions illustrated in 94 (96%) of the 98 paintings that could be assessed for this feature were rated as “very similar” to or “slightly different” from those recorded in the field drawing. Typically, Guérard’s paintings illustrate sunny days with some clouds, which he must have frequently encountered. In just four instances did he portray weather conditions that were significantly or very different from those recorded in the field.⁸⁴ The painting *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863 (Figure 3.4, middle), illustrates an intense storm driving in from the northwest, but the principal field drawing on which it is based (Figure 3.4, top) shows a sky clear of clouds. The painting was rated as “very different” for both weather and cloud formations when compared with the principal field sketch. However, an intense storm arrived shortly after he had finished making that sketch, so it was painted from memory and on that basis ought to have been rated as very faithful to nature.⁸⁵

With regard to the fidelity of representations of cloud formations in paintings to those recorded in field drawings, 57 of the 90 works (64%) that could be assessed for this feature were

84. The four paintings are: *Evening after a Gale, Wilson’s Promontory*, 1870 (present location unknown); *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863 (NGA); *The Weatherboard Falls*, 1863 (GAG); and *Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson’s Valley, New South Wales*, 1862 (NGV).

85. von Neumayer, *Magnetic Survey*, 77.

rated as being either “very similar” or “slightly different” (e.g. Figure 8.26). Nine paintings (10%) had formations that were significantly different, but 24 (27%) were assessed as being “very different/introduced.” Eighteen of those 24 works had introduced cloud formations, as none was recorded in the field sketch.



Figure 8.26. Fidelity of cloud formations in a painting

Top: *The Mitre Rock and Lake from Mount Arapiles*, 1874, oil on canvas, 61.2 × 106.8 cm, present location unknown. Bottom: *View from the Arapiles 16 October 1868*, folio 8 in album “Winmera [*sic*], Lake Hindmarsh etc. 1868.” The painting was rated as having a “very similar” cloud formation to that recorded in the field drawing.

As for the artist's skill in portraying recognisable cloud types, the formations present in 73 (84%) of 87 paintings with clouds were rated as "readily identifiable," e.g. stratocumulus castellanus in his painting *View in the Grampians*, 1870 (Figure 9.1),⁸⁶ with another six rated as possibly identifiable. The cloud type illustrated in the eight other paintings could not be identified.

Overall analysis of the fidelity of natural features illustrated in landscape paintings

Comparative scoring for the fidelity of features of landscape paintings

The distribution of fidelity scores for each of the pictorial features assessed is summarised in Table 8.12. The "highly faithful" and "mostly faithful" scores have been summed in the middle column to indicate the proportion of works in which a feature has been accurately illustrated. The mostly faithful scores were included with the highly faithful ones to make allowance for the difficulties the artist may have encountered in accurately recording all details when sketching in the field, often under difficult conditions and sometimes on a very small scale in his small sketchbooks. The landscape features are ranked according to the proportion of works rated as highly or mostly faithful.

86. The formation was identified by meteorologist Hilary Wilson, email message to Stephen Carey and author, November 8, 2019.

Table 8.12. Summary of fidelity data for all features of paintings

Summary of results for the 19 pictorial items used to assess the degree of fidelity to nature with which both enduring and non-enduring features of paintings are illustrated. Features are ranked according to the percentage of works rated as either highly or mostly faithful.

Landscape features:	Proportion of paintings rated as:					Number of paintings assessed
	highly faithful	mostly faithful	highly or mostly	significantly modified	highly modified/introduced	
Extent of the bush	90%	7%	97%	0%	2%	
Midground topography	90%	6%	96%	1%	3%	
Weather	90%	6%	96%	1%	3%	
Perspective	82%	13%	95%	3%	2%	
Sunset bearing	89%	6%	95%	3%	3%	
Waterbodies	87%	3%	90%	3%	7%	
Solar illumination	89%	0%	89%	6%	5%	
Horizon topography	65%	21%	86%	5%	9%	
Range of landforms	82%	2%	84%	14%	3%	
Scale of staffage		32%	83%	3%	14%	
Foreground slopes	72%	8%		5%	14%	
Internal framing	62%	12%	74%	7%		
Foreground trees & shrubs	51%	22%	73%	11%	16%	
Cloud formations	36%	28%	64%	10%	27%	
Major rock outcrop	53%	10%	63%	12%	24%	
Deadwood present	51%	11%	62%	1%	37%	
Foreground boulders	24%	19%	43%	16%	40%	
Animals present	28%	13%	41%	2%	57%	
Height of main summit	22%	15%	37%	46%	17%	

Correlations between fidelity ratings for different features

An obvious question of interest was whether the degrees of fidelity of the pictorial features detailed above tend to vary together or not. If a painting scores highly for a particular variable, e.g. midground topography, is it likely to score highly for another variable, e.g. foreground slopes? As all 19 variables are ordinal in nature, the appropriate test to use is the Spearman correlation coefficient. Unfortunately, as with the testing of correlations among sketched features assessed for fidelity, the statistical results for correlations between pairs of painted features would also be invalid because of the large number of times when the scores for each variable are ranked. Although it was not possible to determine whether particular pairs of features were statistically

correlated using the standard test, it was possible to visually investigate whether scores for different features were distributed in similar ways by comparing their bar graphs (see below).⁸⁷

*Number of items assessed*⁸⁸

As was specified prior to conducting the survey, in order for a painting to qualify for inclusion in the frequency distribution of the overall fidelity ratings, at least seven items needed to be assessed. This was because a painting could be rated high, or low, when only a small number of features is assessed, typically because the site had not been visited and/or no field drawing located. Nine of the 121 landscapes (7%) in the sample fell into this category. No field drawing, site photograph or virtual view was available for six of those works. The other three lacked a field drawing but either a site photograph or a virtual view had been obtained. Out of 121 works in the sample, 112 (93%) qualified for inclusion.

Distribution of overall fidelity ratings

The overall fidelity rating for a painting is based on the responses to the 19 items intended to assess the fidelity of pictorial features to the view at the site as recorded in the field drawing, captured in the site photograph or generated in the virtual view. The five items that assess the fidelity of natural history features of the location (rock class and type, flora, fauna and cloud type) are not included in the rating. The rating is calculated by summing the 4, 3, 2 or 1 scores of the 19 items, dividing the total by the maximum possible score for the rated items only, then multiplying by 20 to spread the scores.⁸⁹ The calculation generates an overall fidelity rating on a scale of 0 to 20, with the minimum possible score being five.⁹⁰ The data for the overall fidelity rating scores of the qualifying paintings are plotted on the histogram in Figure 8.27.

87. An alternative approach would have been to compare the distributions of scores for a pair of variables using Cramér's V coefficient, but 171 separate routines would need to be run in SPSS to assess the correlations among 19 variables. In comparison, only one routine is required for the Spearman correlation coefficient to analyse the multiple pairings.

88. Appendix N, page 564.

89. Items scored 33, 66 or 99 are ignored in the calculation as they represent missing values.

90. To qualify, a minimum of seven items would have to be assessed, in which case even if all scored just one, the overall fidelity rating would be $(7/28) \times 20 = 5$.

Although scores ranged from 10 to 19 out of 20, 93 out of the 112 qualifying works (83%) score highly (15 and over) for overall fidelity. In terms of measures of central tendency, both the median and the mode are 17. As noted previously, a variable that combines the score of a series of ordinal variables can be considered to be an interval-level variable, in which case the mean is also a relevant measure of central tendency. In this instance the mean is 16.4, which is appreciably offset from the median value of 17. As can be seen, the scores are not distributed symmetrically around the mean of 16.4; rather, they are skewed toward the upper end of the distribution, which implies the scores are not normally distributed.⁹¹ The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for normality has a significance value less than 0.05, confirming that the data are not normally distributed.⁹²

91. The skewness value is -0.948 with a standard error of 0.228 .

92. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov statistic has a value of 0.161 with 112 degrees of freedom and a significance of 0.000 .

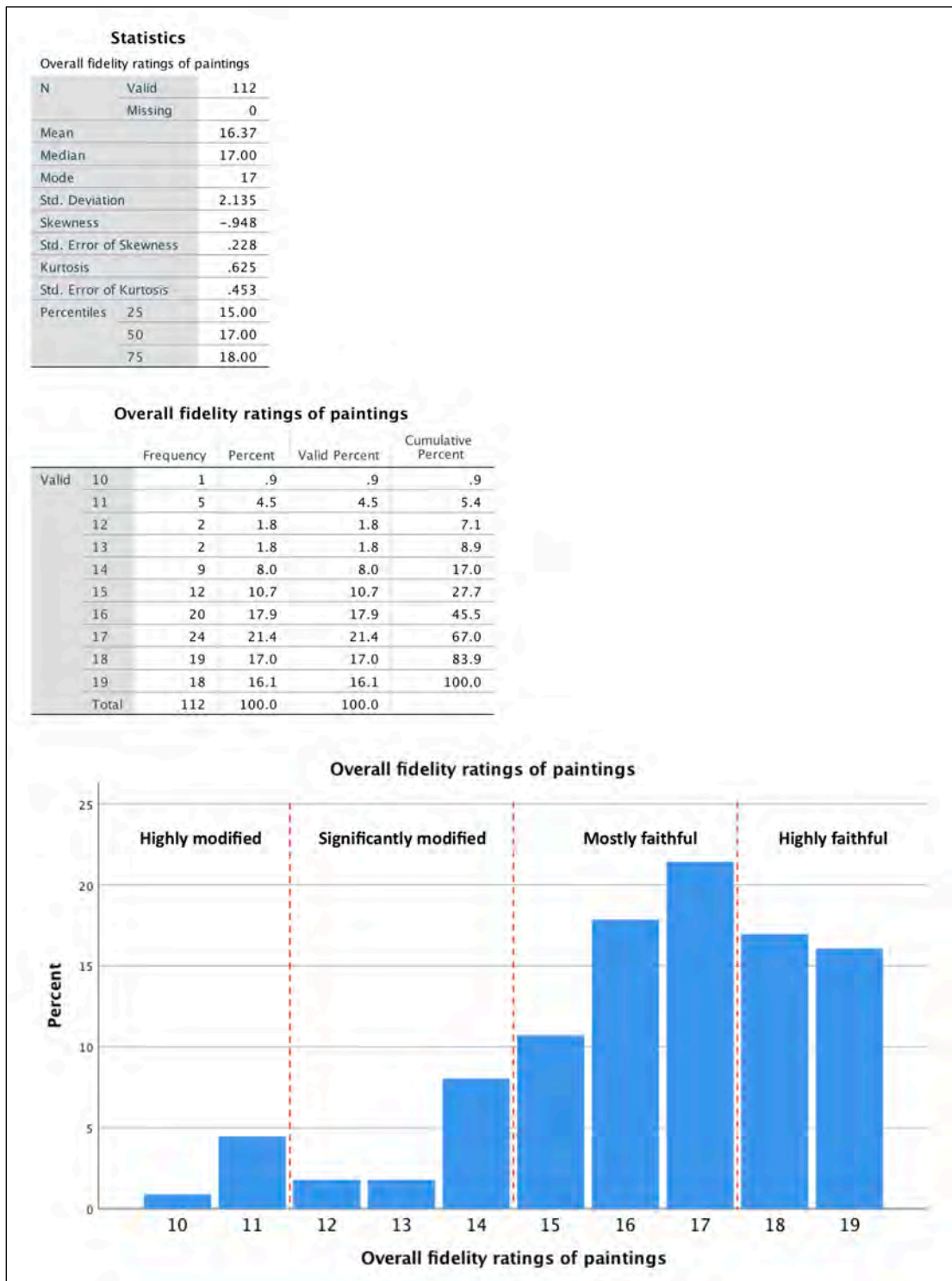


Figure 8.27. **Fidelity categories for paintings**

Statistics and the percentage distribution of scores for the overall fidelity ratings of the 112 qualifying paintings.

Based on the distribution of scores, four categories of overall fidelity were established.

Thirty-seven works scoring 19 or 18 were classed as “highly faithful”; 56 works scoring 17, 16 or 15 as “mostly faithful”; 13 works scoring 14, 13 or 12 as “significantly modified”; and six works

scoring 11 or 10 as “highly modified.” Detailed case studies included in this thesis and/or discussed in published articles based on the research undertaken for the doctorate illustrate examples from each of the above categories.⁹³

As can be seen by visually comparing the distribution pattern for the overall fidelity ratings of paintings (Figure 8.27) with that of the field drawings (Figure 8.12), the artworks exhibit a greater range of degrees of fidelity than the sketches, whose features are nearly always faithful to nature. This accords with Lunt’s assertion that “the tension between ... his quest for accuracy and the need for balance and composition” becomes apparent when Guérard’s paintings are compared with his field drawings.⁹⁴

The painted distribution also has two peaks, a major peak at 17 and a minor one at 11. Of the eight paintings that form or surround the secondary peak, five have completely or largely imagined foregrounds, which inevitably results in lower overall fidelity scores, given the number of items that assess the fidelity of foreground features, such as foreground slopes, scale of staffage, internal framing, boulders, drainage/shorelines, vegetation, deadwood and animals present.⁹⁵ The other three are composite works that combine two actual views from distant and sometimes quite disparate locations.⁹⁶ It is not unexpected, therefore, that those works scored comparatively low for fidelity to the view of the natural world at the principal site.⁹⁷ The eight

93. *Yalla-y-Poora*, 1864 (18) is the “highly faithful” case study. *View in the Grampians*, 1870 (16), *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand*, 1879 (15), and *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges*, c. 1870 (15), are the “mostly faithful” case studies. *Thal um Mt. Wellington bei Hobart “Insel Tasmania, Australien,”* 1886 (14), *Mt Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border*, 1866 (12), and *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (12), are the “significantly modified” case studies. *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (10), is the “highly modified” case study. The numbers in parentheses are their overall fidelity ratings.

94. Lunt, “Art vs. Science: von Guérard’s Pot Plants.”

95. The five works are: *American Creek near Wollongong*, c. 1860 (11); *Forest Scene near Kiama*, 1863 (11); *Tea Trees near Cape Schanck, Victoria*, 1865 (11); *Mount Earnslaw vom Wakatipu See Neu Seeland*, 1887 (11); and *Mt Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border*, 1866 (12).

96. The three works are: *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (10); *Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865 (11); and *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (12).

97. Although *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Range*, c. 1870, also combines scenes recorded at two distant locations, it scored 15. This occurred because the introduced peak formed only a very localised section of the work, while the rest of the canvas is very faithful to the field drawing.

works forming this cluster are therefore considered to be outliers when evaluating the fidelity to nature of Guérard's Antipodean landscape oeuvre.⁹⁸

Does the overall fidelity rating function as a measure?

As noted previously, a significant number of the pictorial fidelity items exhibits a similar distribution pattern, with the large majority of works rated as highly faithful, a lesser number as mostly faithful, and only a very small number assessed as significantly or highly modified or introduced. If all such variables exhibited the same pattern, then there would be some validity in claiming that the overall fidelity rating is indeed a measure, in the sense that it indirectly measures an underlying quality of landscape paintings, namely their fidelity to nature. An expected attribute of a measure is that the variables comprising it tend to vary together, but there are other variables that have lesser proportions of "highly faithful" and "mostly faithful" scores, and a greater proportion of "significantly modified" and "highly modified/introduced" scores. The internal consistency of items whose scores are combined in a measure is checked using Cronbach's alpha test, but it was not possible to use the test as there were too few cases for analysis ($n = 1$). As mentioned previously, this is because SPSS excludes all cases that have any missing values, and only one painting, *View in the Grampians*, could be assessed for all nineteen pictorial features.

A measure that included only variables exhibiting a similar distribution to the first pattern described above could be considered to indirectly assess a quality of landscape paintings, but as it would be limited to certain features it could not be used to judge the overall fidelity to nature of such works. The overall fidelity rating, as defined in this study, is therefore not a viable measure. While there are some features that Guérard consistently illustrated faithfully, there are others he was prepared to modify or even introduce if a scene lacked certain aesthetic qualities that he considered important in the composition of an effective landscape painting.

Generalisations relating to response patterns

The purpose of this part of the survey instrument is to ascertain what being "true to nature" in his Antipodean landscape paintings meant to Guérard by identifying what he actually did in practice.

98. See Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity," 1052.

As will be seen, this amounted to a *selective fidelity to nature*, dependent on the sacrosanctity of particular natural features in the artist's aesthetic and whether accurate portrayal was compatible with the overall effect he was seeking to achieve in a composition. Having determined what this meant for the individual features assessed in the survey, the question of what combination of features is consistently reproduced with great fidelity, as compared to other groups of features for which he exercised varying degrees of freedom in portraying, is of interest.

There are several aspects of Guérard's landscapes that, with few exceptions,⁹⁹ are consistently faithful to the view of natural scenery the artist observed at sites, as recorded in field drawings, captured in site photographs or modelled in virtual views. The frequency distribution graphs for that set of features all exhibit an extended L-shaped pattern (Figure 8.28). These "high fidelity" features include horizon topography, midground contours, perspective, solar illumination, sunset bearing, landforms, waterbodies, bush cover and weather.

99. The exceptions for these features usually occur in composite works, in which the landscape features of field drawings made at locations some distance apart or in disparate environments are merged.

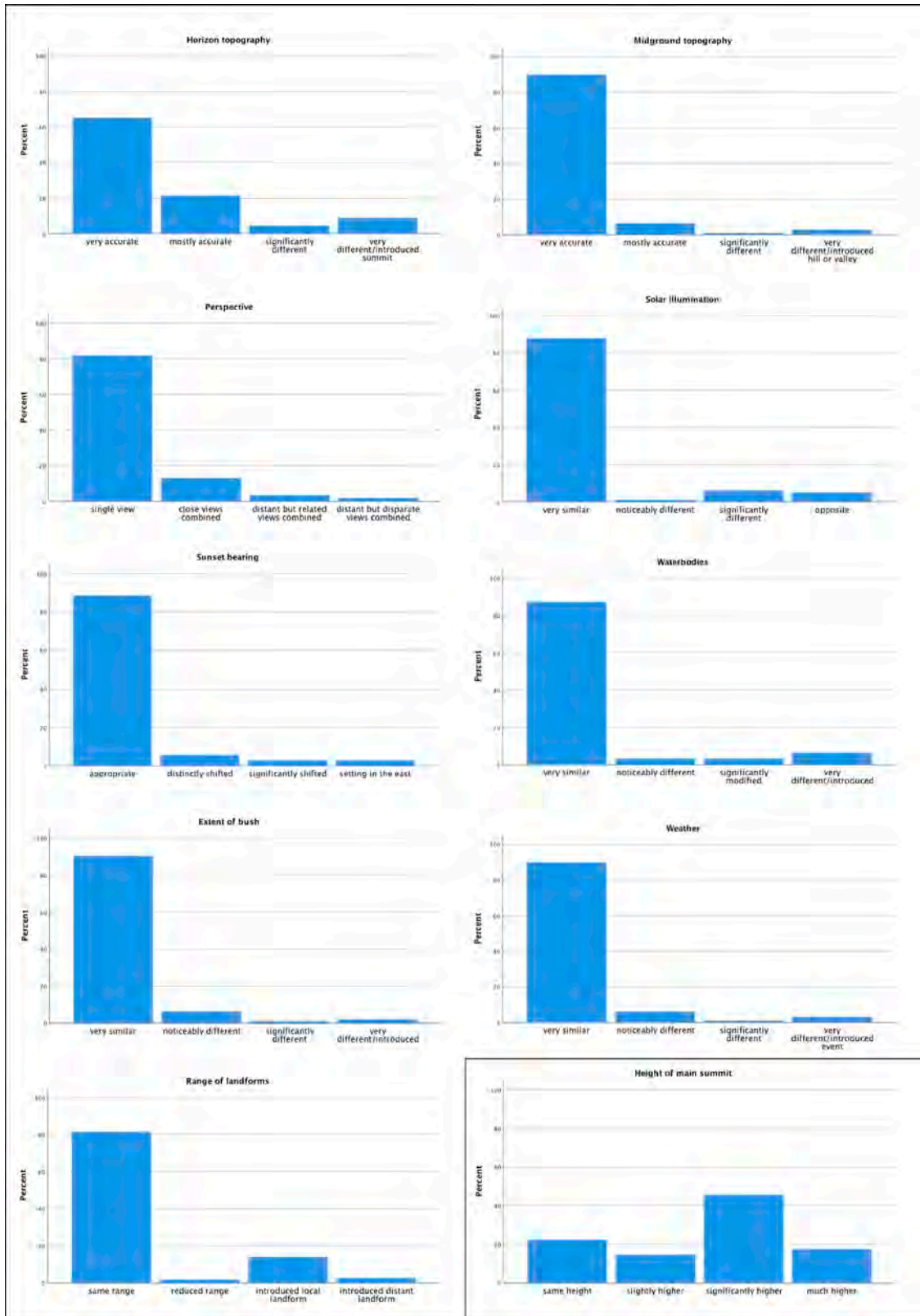


Figure 8.28. Distribution patterns of “high fidelity” and “predominantly modified” items
 Percentage distribution graphs of the nine features that are consistently faithful to the view at the site with few exceptions. These are identified as “high fidelity” features of paintings. Inset – in contrast, the relative height of the main summit is the only feature that could be described as “predominantly modified.”

There is a second set of features that the artist usually illustrated faithfully, provided those features were present at the site and played the compositional role he desired for them; otherwise he freely modified or introduced such features. Typically, the frequency distribution graphs for this set of features also exhibit an extended L-shaped pattern (Figure 8.29), but with more middle ratings and a pronounced tail of “very different or introduced” features. These “faithful unless missing or inadequate” features include foreground slopes, major rock outcrops, internal framing, size of staffage, and foreground trees and shrubs.

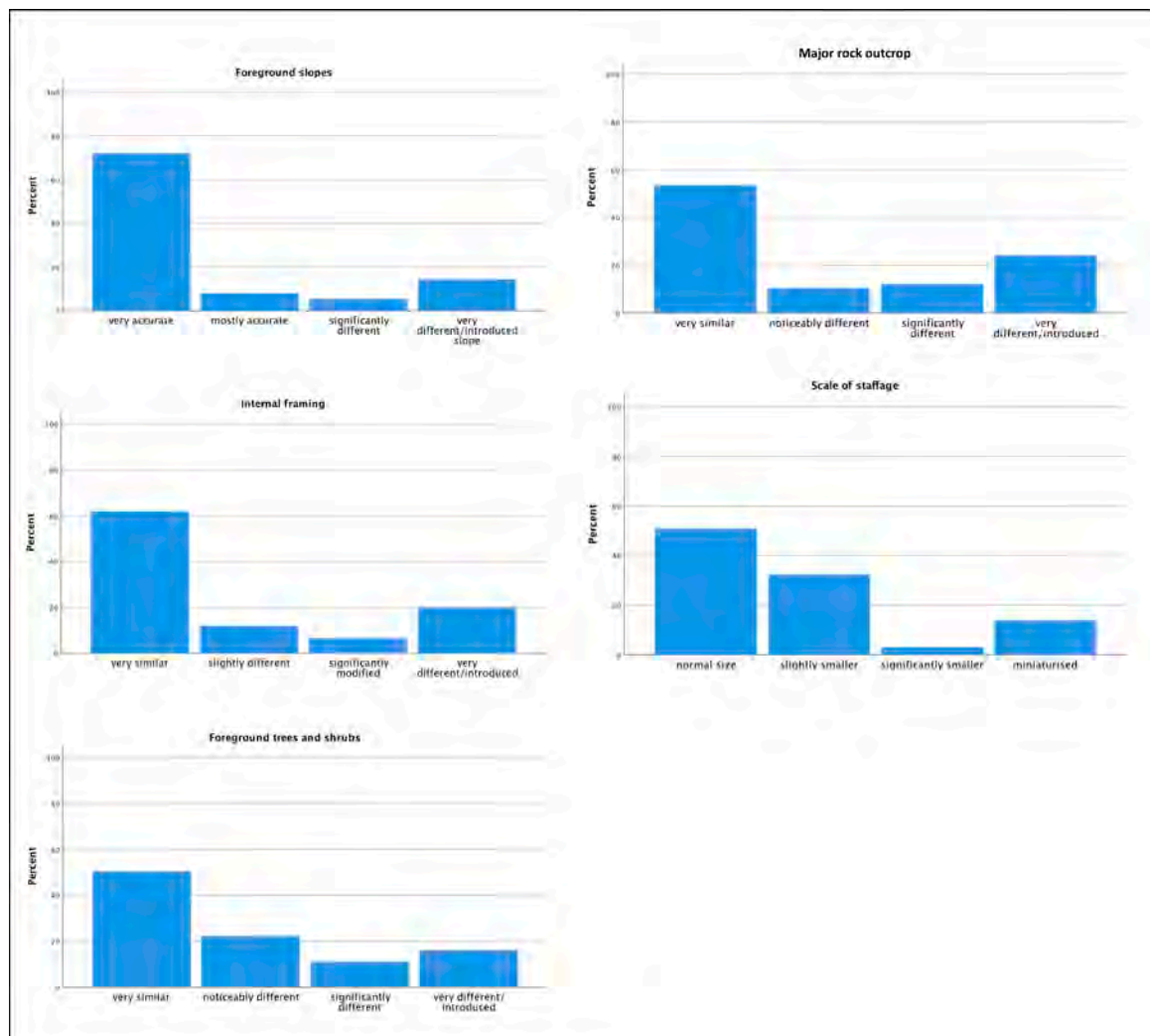


Figure 8.29. **Distribution patterns of “faithful unless missing or inadequate” items**
 Percentage distribution graphs of features the artist usually reproduced faithfully unless the feature was missing or the sketched detail was inadequate for its intended compositional role.

Guérard freely modified or introduced a third set of features, regardless of whether the feature was present at the site or recorded in field drawing. The bar graphs for these features are broadly U-shaped (Figure 8.30). These “often freely modified or introduced” features include foreground boulders, deadwood, cloud formations and animal life.

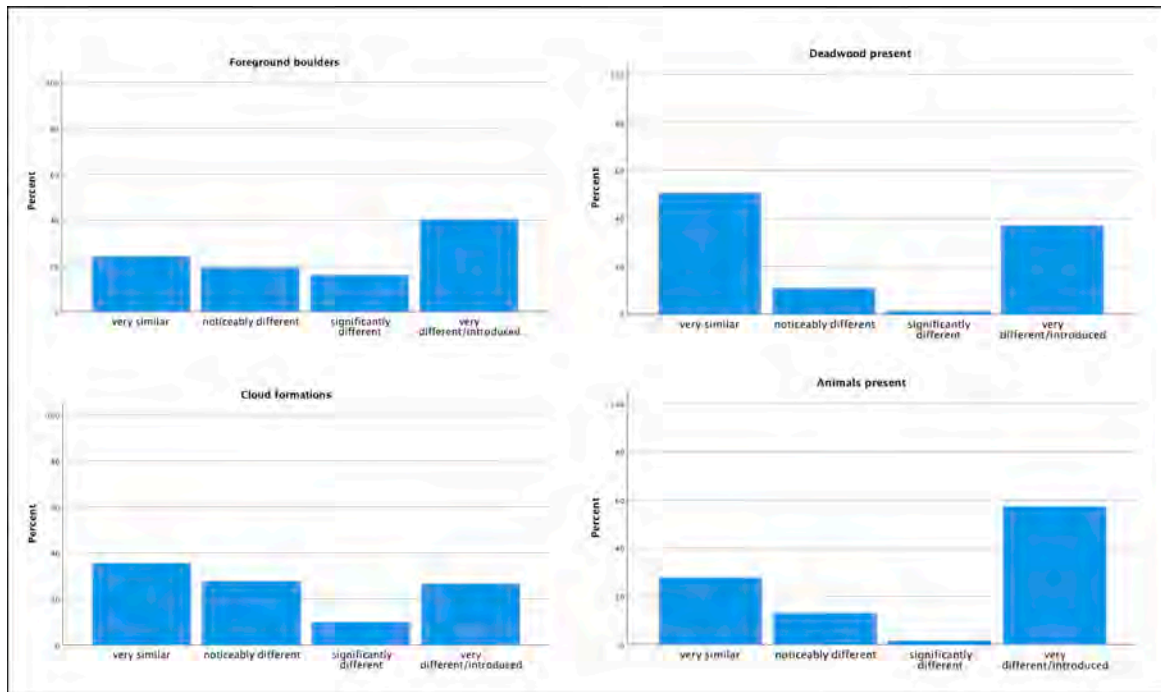


Figure 8.30. Distribution patterns of “often freely modified or introduced” items
 Percentage distribution graphs of features the artist felt at liberty to modify or introduce regardless of whether they were present at the site or recorded in the field drawing.

The one feature that Guérard “predominantly modified” is the height of the main summit (Figure 8.28, inset), which acts as a proxy for the elevation of all peaks and hills forming the horizon. The relatively low relief of most Australian hills, craters and mountains was an aspect of nature he was not prepared to portray faithfully as it would have compromised the aesthetic appeal and visual drama of his landscapes. As art historian Mark Stocker commented, “it’s a totally understandable and human trait to want to make mountains or hills higher than they are. Total realism looks boringly flat in a painting!”¹⁰⁰

100. Mark Stocker, email message to author, October 12, 2020.

Generalisations relating to clusters of types of features

There is a cluster of *foreground features*, which implies that Guérard did not consider that pictorial fidelity to the empirically observed foreground at a site was necessary in order to be “true to nature.” These include: foreground slopes and drainage lines; the boulders dispersed, and deadwood strewn, across the foreground; the trees and shrubs populating the foreground; and the larger foreground tree that often frames the scene. The artist often modified or introduced such foreground features, sometimes inserting an entirely new foreground in order to realise a more effective composition that would meet his aesthetic expectations (e.g. Figure 8.31). That foreground fidelity was not critical for the artist is also evidenced by the significant number of field drawings whose foregrounds are only roughly sketched in (26%) or omitted altogether (22%), in contrast to the detailed mid- and background features of most drawings.

Another cluster, relating to *enduring features* of the landscape, consists of aspects that are mostly faithfully illustrated. This implies that accurate representation of enduring features was an implicit part of his stated commitment to “imitate nature” as “far as it is compatible with the effect of a picture,” which he wished to realise in his landscapes. These features include the contours of the peaks forming the horizon, the topography of the hills and valleys forming the midground, the range of landforms included, the waterbodies occupying the landscape, and major rock outcrops and their geological attributes.¹⁰¹ The overall fidelity with which these enduring features were reproduced indicates that Guérard was committed to reproducing scenes whose geographical locations are identifiable, rather than painting generalised, non-specific Australian scenery. For example, despite the elaborately constructed foreground of the painting *View of the Grampians with Mount Abrupt and Mount Sturgeon in the distance*, 1875 (Figure 8.31, middle), the faithfully illustrated midground contours and horizon topography enabled the artist’s vantage point near Mt Chalicum to be determined by comparing the topography with the virtual view (Figure 8.31, bottom). His commitment to painting geographically identifiable scenes is also demonstrated by the fact that he invariably used specific place names in the titles of works.

101. The exceptions being the height of summits and foreground contours.

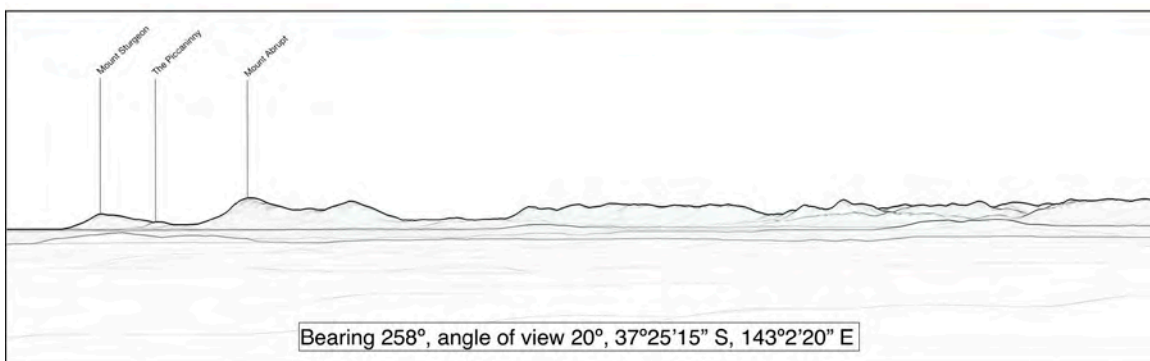


Figure 8.31. **Cluster of modified foreground features in a painting**

Top: *Serra Ranges. Grampians f. the Black Ranges, Yalla y Poora, 10 Mai 64, 1864, folio 29, "Sketchbook XXXV."* Middle: *View of the Grampians with Mount Abrupt and Mount Sturgeon in the distance, 1875, oil on canvas, 76.5 × 128.0 cm, private collection.* Bottom: matching PeakFinder virtual view from a rise near Mt Challicum.

In contrast to the enduring nature of some natural features, other features of the physical landscape are either transient or highly mobile. These include shifting patterns of solar

illumination, clouds drifting across the sky, changing weather, wild animals and birds resting or passing through the landscape, and stock wandering in fields. While it might be expected that an artist would freely modify such features given their changing states during the sketching period, representations of these transient features on canvas often faithfully reflect observations made at the site and recorded in field drawings, for example, the clouds recorded in the field drawing and then reproduced as the lower cloud formation in the *View of the Grampians* painting (Figure 8.31, middle). Needless to say, when such features were not recorded, Guérard used his imagination and knowledge of natural history to illustrate or incorporate them in his landscapes.

Conclusion

Given the large size of the sample of 121 paintings relative to the estimated total population of approximately 160 landscapes that Guérard completed of Australian and New Zealand scenes, the generalisations established in this chapter imply that what Guérard practised in his Antipodean landscape oeuvre is *selective fidelity to nature* rather than a comprehensive or an unqualified faithfulness to the view of natural scenery he observed at sites. Furthermore, Guérard's selectively fidelity to nature was not the same as the *semi-realism* practised by the Düsseldorf School, which involved including realistic details of nature in often rearranged views, as he had a commitment to topographical and geographical fidelity as well as accurate detail.

For Guérard, being true to nature was not an end in itself. What is or is not faithfully illustrated in a landscape painting depended on the significance of the natural feature for the artist and his compositional imperatives, thus confirming his claim that he sought to imitate nature both in the masses and the details, but only to the extent to which it was “compatible with the effect of a picture.”¹⁰² Being “true to nature” as he painted in his studio was a complex, nuanced activity for the artist, an endeavour that is explored in greater depth in the three case studies that follow.

102. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

Chapter 9 – First painting case study: *View in the Grampians, 1870*

The painting *View in the Grampians*, 1870 (Figure 9.1), was selected as a case study for three reasons. Firstly, it presents a view from an isolated and difficult-to-reach wilderness site, which it was hoped would have been little modified over the intervening years between the artist's visit and standing at his vantage point in 2017. Secondly, it is one of the few paintings for which the artist stated his artistic intentions regarding the issue of fidelity to nature. Thirdly, a number of writers have since made various claims that relate to the question of the painting's fidelity to the view at the site and the natural history of the location.



Figure 9.1. *View in the Grampians* painting

View in the Grampians, 1870, oil on canvas, 68.6 × 91.5 cm, private collection.

The origin of the work and its early reception

During September and October of 1868, Guérard undertook his last major sketching expedition in western Victoria. Travelling mostly unaccompanied, he visited a number of large stations to the

east, north and west of the northern end of the Grampians mountain range, as well as one station within the confines of the Grampians,¹ or Gariwerd as the range is known to the traditional owners of the land. During the trip he made 37 small sketches in one of his pocket-sized sketchbooks and 17 large loose drawings, which were eventually assembled in a single album.² The artistic output based on those field drawings included several large commissioned homestead view works, a painting of gold mining near Stawell, two smaller images of Roses Gap in the Grampians, and a dramatic large oil painting of a view high up in the Grampians, which is the subject of this chapter. When that painting was first exhibited in 1870, it was put forward as an example of the “leading ... defects” of Guérard’s artistic practice in a scathing review by Melbourne’s leading art critic, James Smith.³ Guérard’s unpublished response to Smith’s critique provides some significant insights into the artist’s intentions with regard to the issue of fidelity to nature in his wilderness paintings,⁴ making this work particularly valuable as a case study.

Description of the work

The painting, which Humphrey Clegg regarded as “one of the most spectacular” in Guérard’s oeuvre,⁵ is of a vast landscape viewed from high up on the escarpment of a mountain range. Two Indigenous figures in minimal traditional attire look out from the edge of a cliff toward the upward-sloping strata of a massive escarpment that stretches far into the middle distance. Below the precipitous edge of the escarpment, shadowed bush-clad slopes curve steeply downward towards a valley bisected by a narrow trail. The land on the other side of the valley rises to form hills, then another escarpment on the far left of the horizon. The view extends out beyond those ridges to a hazy plain in the far distance, which appears on closer inspection to have two small lakes. The bright blue sky is lit by a low sun, positioned out to the right of the frame.

1. Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 251–258, map Western Victoria.

2. “Volume 14a: Sketchbook XXXVI, No. 18 Australian, 1865–70, 1872,” reference code 825443, and the album *Wimmera [sic], Lake Hindmarsh etc. 1868*, reference code 825487, SLNSW.

3. Smith, “Mr. von Guerard’s New Picture.”

4. Guérard, Reply on the Critic

5. Humphrey Clegg, [essay on *View in the Grampians from the top of the Serra Ranges*, 1870], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 134.

Stratocumulus clouds fill much of the sky, while three large birds glide high above the escarpment in the centre of the sky. The foreground of the painting consists of a precariously balanced rock formation on either side, forming a wide U-shaped sweep that contrasts strongly with the inverted V-shaped outlines of different sections of the escarpment. The large, well-weathered foreground rocks are clothed in colourful lichens and mosses, with grasses and small shrubs established between them. A few larger shrubs or dwarf trees, some skeletal, fill out the middle and right sections of the foreground.

The supposed location of the site

In his 1870 criticisms of the work, Smith stated that “the view represents the northern part of the [Grampian] ranges, including Mt Zero and Rose’s Gap,” presumably information he gleaned from the artist while they were still on speaking terms. However, over a century later, the descendants of Thomas Shaw, the first owner of the painting, came to believe that the view in their painting was from an escarpment of the Serra Range in the southern Grampians looking southwest across the plains toward their Wooriwyrite Station. After several fruitless excursions into the Grampians looking for the site of the painting, the owner of the work during the 1970s came to believe that the work must be “a compilation of several views.”⁶ That conjecture was accepted at face value by art historian Candice Bruce in the catalogue for the first exhibition devoted to Guérard’s works in 1980, in which the work was entitled *View in the Grampians from the top of the Serra Range*.⁷ The entry in the catalogue raisonné published a few years later confusingly renamed the work *View of the Serra Ranges in the Grampians from Mount Rouse* on the basis of a misidentification of the field drawing on which it is based.⁸ Despite having successfully located many of the sites of Guérard paintings of Victorian scenery in the early 1980s, Dacre Smyth failed to find a site at which the landscape matched the view in the painting. Eventually, after several frustrating hikes high in the Grampians, seeking sites based on the putative titles, he came to believe that the

6. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 115.

7. Bruce, 81.

8. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 252.

painting was “indeed untrue.”⁹ Regardless, when the painting came on the market in 1997, it was entitled *View in the Grampians from the top of the Serra Range*, an appellation the current owner assumed to be true at the time. When the work was exhibited in the *Nature Revealed* retrospective in 2011 it was given the same title.¹⁰ However, the appropriate title should be *View in the Grampians*, which is the title that Smith placed within quotation marks when he reviewed the work after its first showing in July 1870, although the artist merely stated in his response that it was a “painting of the north Grampians.”¹¹

The field drawing

Despite the misleading caption, the subject of the painting and the general location of the site are readily resolved once attention is paid to the field drawing on which the work is based. That large sketch (Figure 9.2) is the first drawing in a leather-bound album of pencil drawings.



Figure 9.2. **Field drawing on which the painting is based**

Grampians. Road through Roses Gap. Mt Zero in direction of Taylors Lake. 26 Oct 68, 1868, pencil on paper, folio 2 in album “Winmera [sic], Lake Hindmarsh etc. 1868,” Dixson Library, SLNSW.

9. Smyth, *Views in Victoria*, 20.

10. Humphrey Clegg, [essay on *View in the Grampians from the top of the Serra Ranges*, 1870], 134.

11. Smith, “Mr. von Guerard’s New Picture”; Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

Although the album was bequeathed to the State Library of New South Wales in 1952, it is not surprising that Shaw's descendants should have been unaware of the drawing given that the art auction house that eventually sold the work was also unaware of it.¹² Regardless, the digitisation of most of Guérard's albums and sketchbooks held in public institutions means that the drawing can now be readily viewed. Although moderately *foxed*,¹³ the drawing is undoubtedly the field sketch on which the artist based his dramatic landscape, providing one excludes the large rock structure framing the left foreground of the painting.¹⁴

The caption of the drawing confirms the scene is a view from within the Grampians, with the track lightly sketched in the valley below the main escarpment being the road through Roses Gap, which acts as the northern entrance of the Grampians. As Mt Zero and Lake Taylor are also mentioned in the title, the view must be to the north (Figure 9.3). The sketch is demonstrably not a view to the southeast from the Serra Range in the southern Grampians.

The details of the rock strata and vegetation visible on the face of the escarpment in the midground of the sketch are carefully pencilled in, as is the overall shape of the more distant part of the escarpment in the middle of the sketch. In contrast, the foreground rocks are only roughly outlined and shaded on the right, and even less detailed on the left, suggesting that either the sketcher was in a hurry to complete the drawing, which is unlikely (see page 311), or the left foreground details were not of interest to Guérard because of the compositional technique he intended to use. However, he did take more care with recording the branching of the foreground vegetation. The "Road through Roses Gap" running through the valley below is difficult to make out in the drawing but is present. Visible on the highest point of the nearest bluff is a pole, the significance of which will become apparent. There are several tiny annotations on the drawing, but the only legible one is between the two hilltops on the far left horizon, which reads "Lake."

12. Communication with the owner of the painting during 2018.

13. *Foxing* refers to the browning and spotting of paper caused by oxidation over time.

14. Researcher Karin Neumann Murphy had located the field drawing during 2014 or earlier. Ruth Pullin also identified the sketch on which the painting is based in Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 295, endnote 61.

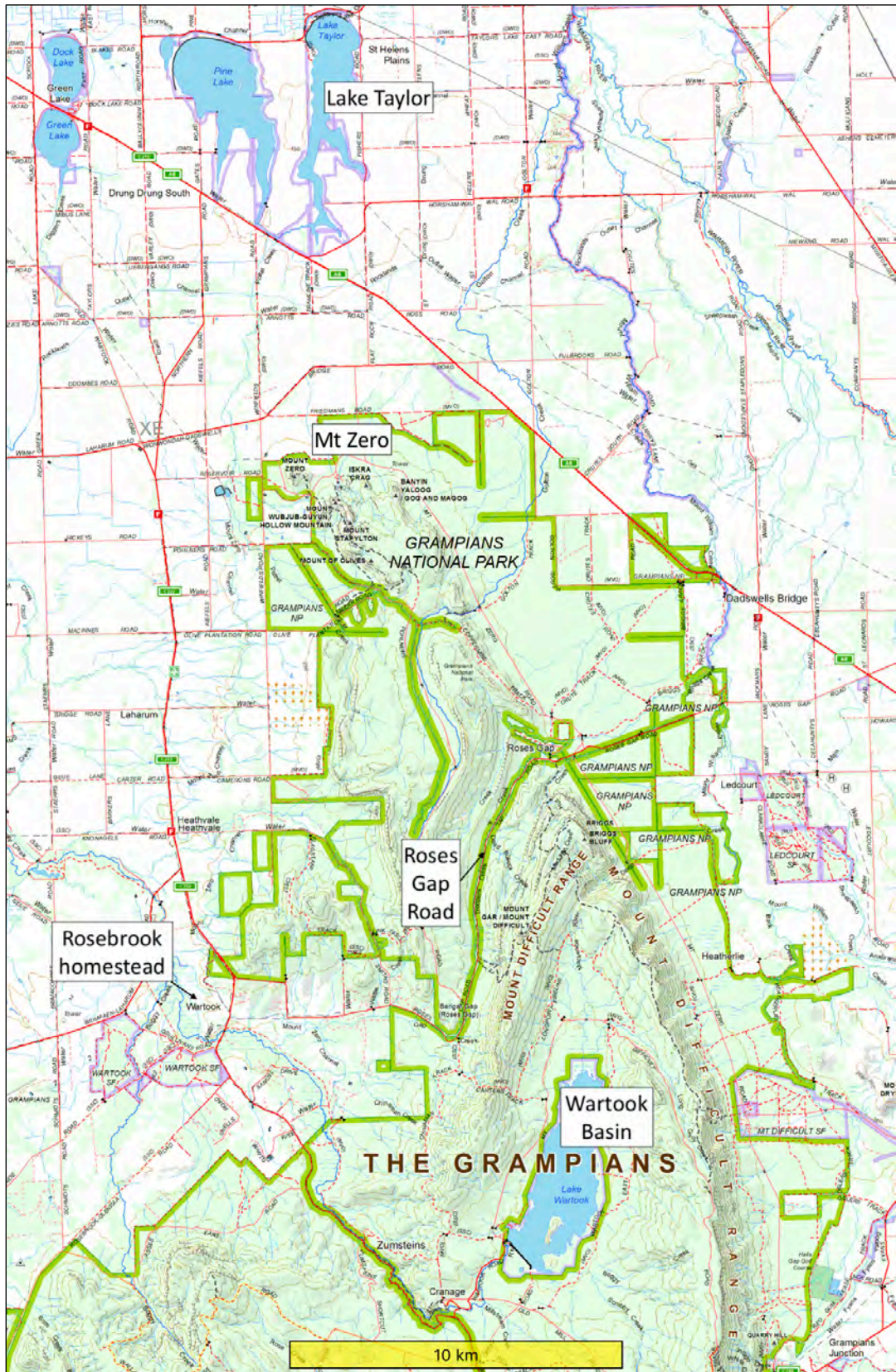


Figure 9.3. Map of the locations visible in the field drawing

Section of digital topographic map *VicMap 25k West*, Memory-Map. The annotations indicate the location of features mentioned in the title of the field drawing (Figure 9.2) or in Guérard's notes in the back of the small sketchbook that he took with him on this expedition.

Finding and visiting the site

Locational clues

Finding the location of the view in a field sketch by Guérard sometimes depends on establishing his route on the day, which can often be inferred from the sequence of sketches made on that day, or from the daily “diary” notes he made in the back of his small sketchbooks. He pencilled his daily notes in nineteenth-century German using a very small, cursive script that is often difficult to read. On the night of 24 October 1868, the artist stayed at the Rosebrook homestead on the western side of the northern Grampians (Figure 9.3), which was owned by William Carter. The pastoralist helped the artist plan a two-day excursion into the northern Grampians.¹⁵ The next day, accompanied by some of Carter’s men and a Mr Green, he followed the path of the Mackenzie River upstream into the Grampians, sketching Mackenzie Falls (Mikunung wira) along the way (Figure 9.4), before camping overnight.



Figure 9.4. **Field drawing of Mackenzie Falls (Mikunung wira)**
Mackenzie [i.e. Mackenzie] River Falls, 25 Oct. 68, 1868, folio 13 in album “Winmera [*sic*], Lake Hindmarsh etc. 1868.”

The following day, after an early start, the party rode north into the Wartook Basin of the Mt Difficult Range (Figure 9.3). The party skirted the western side of Wartook Swamp before

15. Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 256.

ascending the western slopes of the basin up to the edge of the escarpment, passing a small “lake or mountain swamp” on the way. According to Guérard’s notes, they then trekked further north to ascend the rocky peak marked with the “trigonometrical pole” in the field drawing, before heading southward to the spot where the artist spent the rest of the morning sketching the large drawing on which the painting is based. At noon, the party returned to the small lake, where they lunched before Guérard spent over four hours sketching the lake (Figure 9.5).¹⁶ Locating that mountain lake eventually proved to be a key step in determining the vantage point of the painting.



Figure 9.5. **Small lake passed on the way to the vantage point**

Top: *Lake in the Grampians 26 Oct. 68*, folio 12 in album “Winmera [i.e. Wimmera], Lake Hindmarsh etc. 1868.” Bottom: small lake near the edge of the western escarpment of the Mt Difficult Range, 2017. Photograph: author.

16. Diary notes in the back of “Volume 14a: Sketchbook XXXVI, No. 18 Australian, 1865–70, 1872,” reference code 825443, SLNSW

Locating the vantage point

Before visiting the site, an attempt was made to determine Guérard's vantage point by moving the location of the virtual observer in PeakFinder along the edge of the western escarpment of the Wartook Basin above Roses Gap Road (Figure 9.3), a distance of about 10 km. Although it was possible to generate digital elevation models that bore some resemblance to the midground and horizon of the field drawing, it was difficult to get a close match because of the rapidly changing heights, the intervening cliff faces of the escarpment, and the distance to be covered. This effort was also hampered by a mistaken assumption that the escarpment peak with the topographic pole in the sketch must be Mt Gar (Mt Difficult), the highest summit in the range.

An effort was then made to virtually locate the small mountain lake that Guérard had sketched after lunch, which would set a southern limit for the search, as the vantage point of the escarpment sketch must be north of that location. No small lake near the edge of the western escarpment is marked on the 1:25,000 digital topographic map covering the northern Grampians,¹⁷ so Google Earth satellite imagery of the western escarpment from different years was scanned until what appeared to be a dried-out small lake or swamp (Figure 9.6) was located about 1,200 m southwest of where Carters Track cuts through the escarpment. There is about 1.5 km of escarpment running in a southeast to northwest direction from near the little lake to the pass on Carters Track. As only an hour had lapsed between his sketching at each site and the terrain between is obviously rugged, it seemed reasonable to conjecture that the artist's vantage point was likely to be somewhere along that stretch of escarpment. Despite this narrowing the range of possible locations, the artist's vantage point could not be pinpointed using PeakFinder.

17. *VicMap 25k West*, Memory-Map.

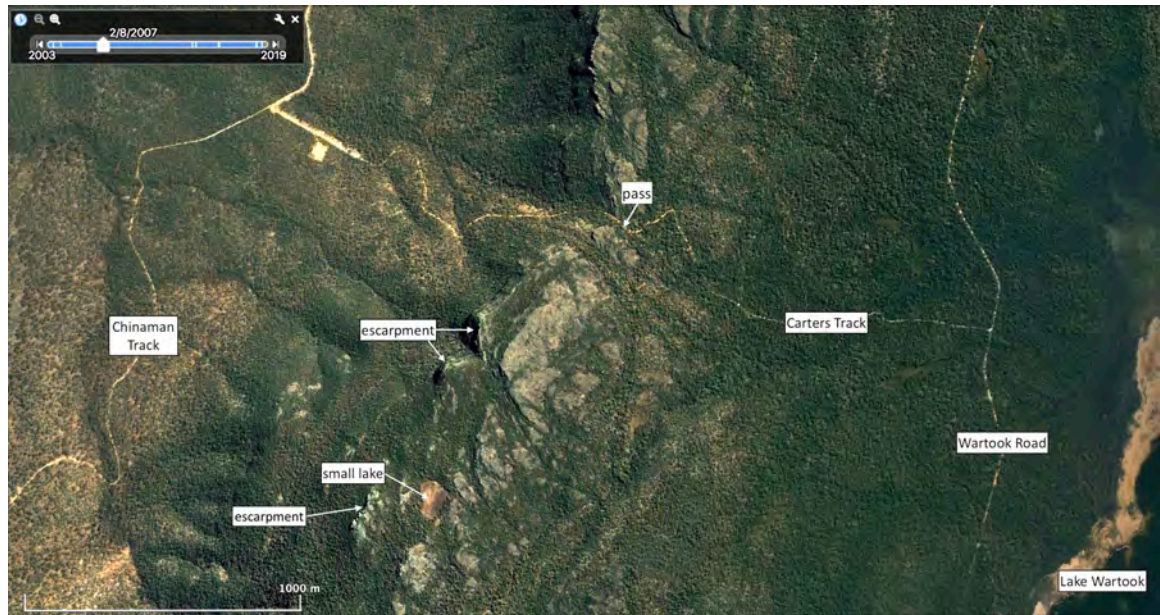


Figure 9.6. **Satellite view of general location**

Google Earth view of part of the western escarpment of the Mt Difficult Range, 2007.

Visiting the site

An excursion to the Mt Difficult Range was planned for March 2017, with the objective of visually locating the vantage point of the field drawing by trekking southward along the edge of the western escarpment from Carters Track pass.¹⁸ However, a fortnight before the scheduled field trip a document was received from geologist Phil Kinghorn, which had been sent to him by the Wimmera Bushwalking Club. The document reported how some members of the walking club had assisted art history researcher Karin Neumann Murphy to locate the site of the painting two-and-a-half years earlier. According to the report, the vantage point was about 300 m north of the small lake that the walkers had named the Lost Lake, which confirmed the above conjecture.

The field trip proceeded as planned, along a different route from that taken by the Wimmera walkers. Wartook Road alongside Lake Wartook was followed until the eastern end of Carters Track was reached. From there, the track was ascended on foot to the pass, from where a steep southward climb between large angular sandstone blocks enabled the party to reach the edge of the escarpment, which was then followed in a southwest direction for about 800 m as the crow flies. The terrain was indeed rugged and some of the dead vegetation was blackened from the

18. The party included geologists Stephen Carey and Philip Kinghorn, photographer Andrew Thomas and author Barry Golding.

massive fire that had swept through the northern Grampians in 2014 (Figure 9.20). By midday, the cliff edge that afforded the same north-facing view that Guérard had sketched was reached. The topographic accuracy of the mid- and backgrounds of his sketch was immediately apparent (Figure 9.7), as was the fidelity of his sketch of the small lake, which was visited and photographed later that afternoon (Figure 9.5).

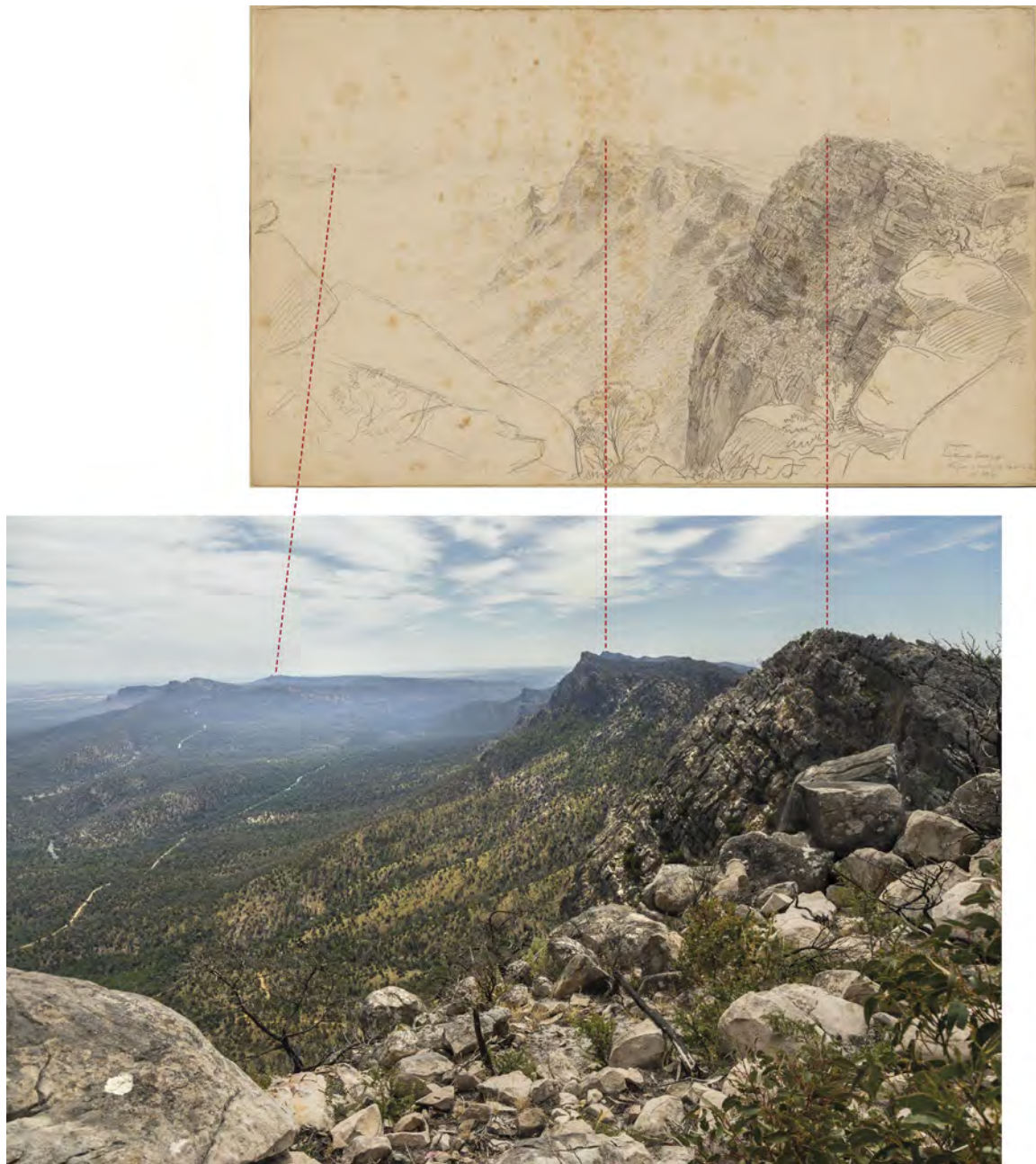


Figure 9.7. **Comparing the field drawing with the site photograph**

Top: *Grampians. Road through Roses Gap*. Bottom: view of the landscape from Guérard's vantage point, 2017. Photograph: Andrew Thomas.

Identifying the peaks

Later, back in the office, the geographical coordinates of the site (37°3'23"S, 142°25'35"E) were entered into PeakFinder order to identify the peaks in the sketch. When the field sketch was compared with the PeakFinder view (Figure 9.9), it was obvious that Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) is not the peak with the trigonometrical pole as had been assumed; rather, it is the more distant peak in centre of the sketch's horizon. The bluff with the pole turned out to be part of the escarpment just south of Carters Track pass (Figure 9.8, blue flag). Although the PeakFinder view established that the principal sight line of the sketch (Figure 9.9, blue line) is approximately N16°E, it is clear that Guérard sketched Mt Stapylton and Mt Zero further to the west than they are in reality.

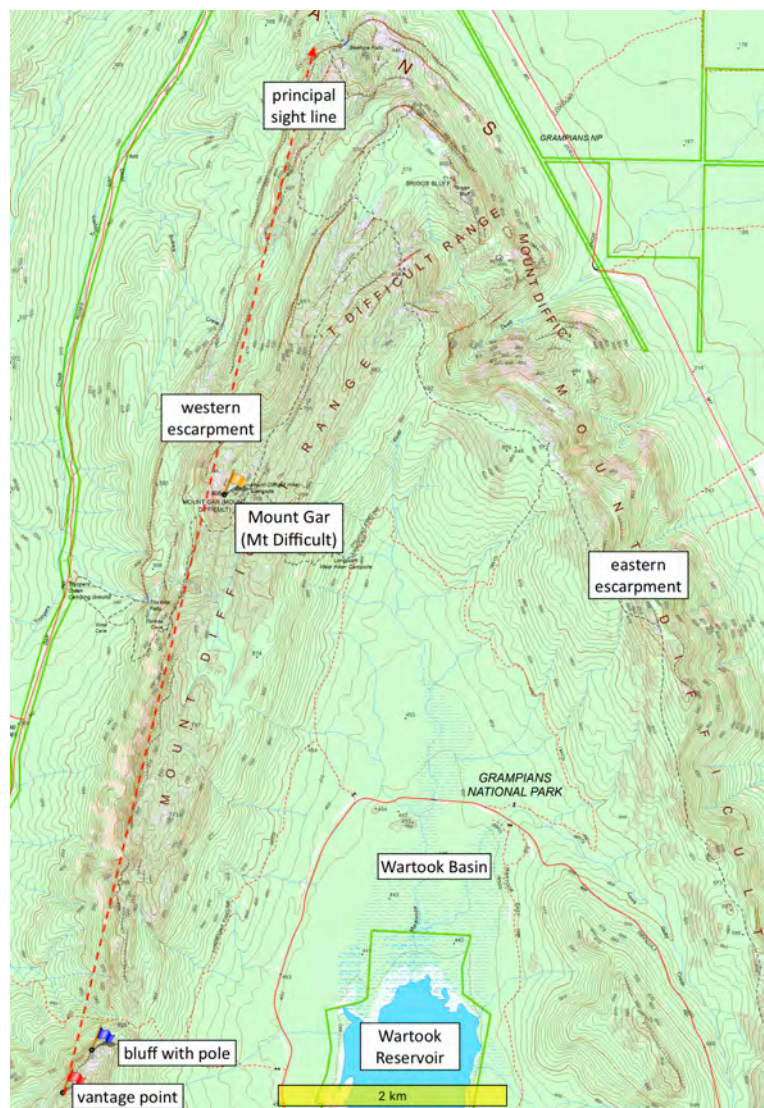


Figure 9.8. Features of the Wartook Basin that relate to the painting
Section of digital topographic map *VicMap 25k West*, Memory-Map.

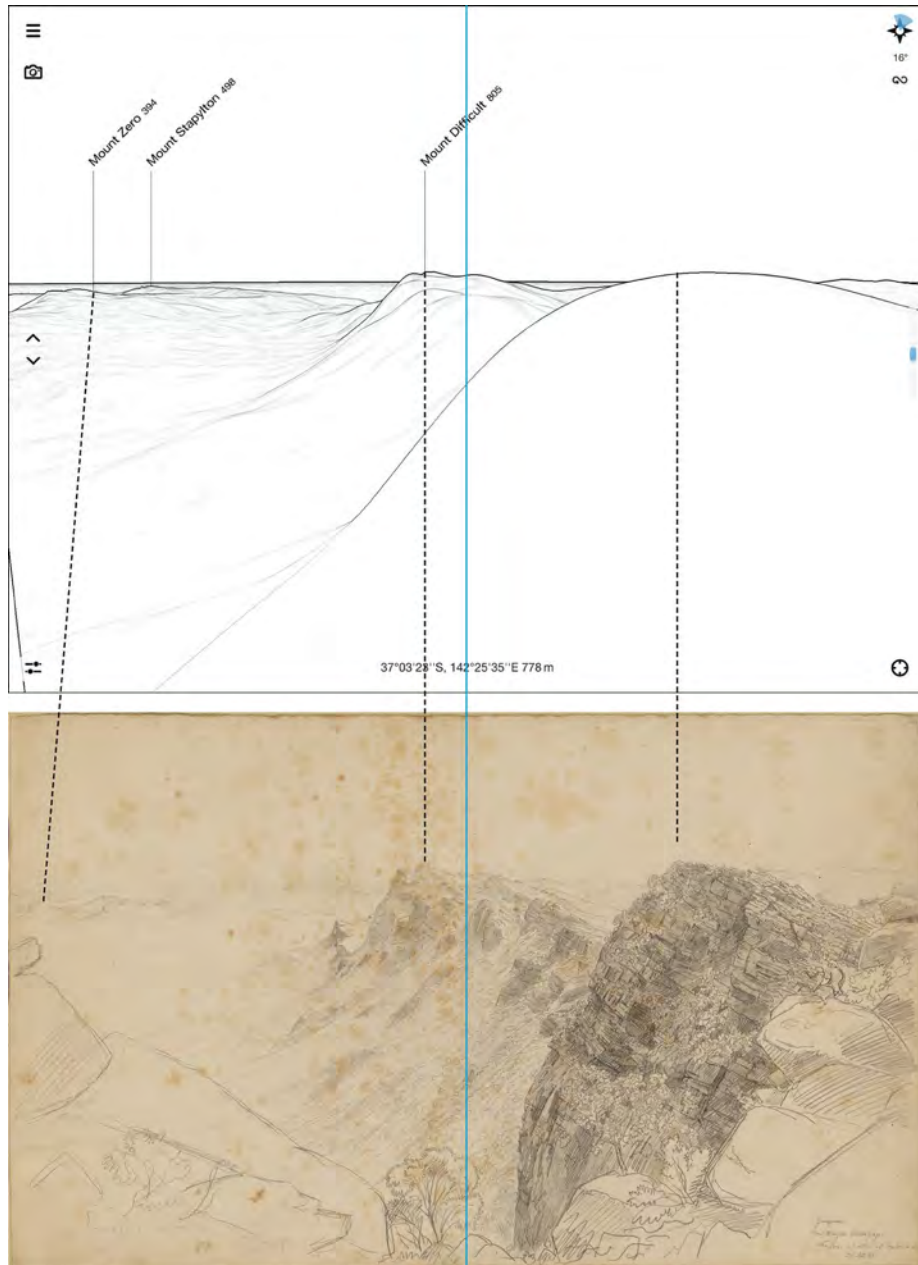


Figure 9.9. **Comparing the field drawing with the virtual view**

Top: PeakFinder virtual view from the same vantage point as the field drawing, encompassing the same field of view. Bottom: *Grampians. Road through Roses Gap*. The principal bearing of the PeakFinder view is $\sim N16E^\circ$. The blue line represents the principal sight line of the sketch.

The critic's opinion and the artist's intentions

The criticism levelled by James Smith in his review of the painting in the *Argus* newspaper and Guérard's unpublished defence have previously been discussed extensively (see pages 55–58), but before the fidelity to nature of this painting is evaluated it is worth briefly restating the claims that relate to the work. After dismissing the artist's attention to detail as but the "meaner part of pre-Raphaelitism," Smith went on to confidently assert that the "perspective is correct, the

topographical description of the spot is no doubt most faithful, the elaboration of details merits all the praise due to finished execution,”¹⁹ claims made without ever having visited the location. In his unpublished response to the criticism, Guérard stated that “an artist should so far as it is compatible with the effect of a picture, imitate nature not only in the masses but also in the details,” and that he “executes [his paintings] with the greatest desire to imitate nature so well as in his power ... in an elaborate copy of her details.”²⁰ What this meant in relation to *View in the Grampians* in particular is revealed by the comprehensive evaluation of the fidelity of the painting to the view at the site and the natural history of the location that follows.

Fidelity analysis of the painting

With the vantage point of the field sketch on which Guérard based the *View in the Grampians* painting established, the extent to which the painting “imitate[d] nature not only in the masses but also in the details,” can be evaluated by comparing different aspects of the work with the natural features visible from the vantage point and the natural history of the location.

Topographical fidelity: horizon and midground

At first glance, the horizon and midground appear to be a “most faithful” topographical description when the painting is compared with the site photograph (Figure 9.10). The profiles of the western escarpment of the Mt Difficult Range forming the midground and of the more distant range associated with Mt Stapylton on the left horizon are accurately rendered. In particular, the topographic details of Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) are carefully reproduced. Closer inspection, however, reveals some significant differences. Mt Stapylton has been moved slightly to the right (eastward), so that it sits directly above the monument-like upright rock in the foreground, and the slope of the escarpment immediately in front of the viewer has been steepened dramatically (dashed blue line). The latter compositional technique has the effect of making the drop before the Indigenous figures in the painting look even more precipitous, which contributes to that sense of awe or fear that a viewer might experience.

19. Smith, “Mr. von Guerard’s New Picture.”

20. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.



Figure 9.10. **Comparing the painting with the site photograph**

Top: *View in the Grampians*. Bottom: view from the same vantage point, 2017. Photograph: author. The image is scaled so that the location of the summits of Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) and the escarpment just south of Carters Track pass align with the equivalent features in the sketch.

When the far-right part of the painting is compared with what is detailed in the field drawing (Figure 9.11, middle and top), it is apparent that this section of the painting (Figure 9.11,

dashed black rectangle) is not based on the field sketch. The section is, however, part of the view from the vantage point, as is obvious when the painting is compared with the site photograph (Figure 9.11, middle and bottom). The painted saw-toothed ridge represents part of the northwest sector of the Grampians. The question then arises, how was it that Guérard was able to accurately reproduce that part of the field of view visible from his vantage point? It is high unlikely that he would have been able to recall the shape of that ridge line two years later. Most likely there was once an additional narrow panel that extended the left side of the large field drawing, as the general note of the State Library of New South Wales catalogue entry suggests, but there was no sign of it when each page of the album that contained the drawing was photographed in 2016.



Figure 9.11. **Comparing the painting with the field drawing and site photograph**
 Top: *Grampians. Road through Roses Gap* (detail). Middle: *View in the Grampians* (detail).
 Bottom: photograph taken from the same vantage point (detail), 2017. Photograph: author. The dashed black rectangle encloses that part of the painted view that is not visible in the sketch.

Foreground and framing fidelity

A cursory comparison of the foreground of the painting with that documented in the site photograph and recorded in the field drawing (Figure 9.12) reveals that the artist significantly modified part of the foreground. The somewhat formless rock structure dominating the left section of the sketched and photographed foregrounds has been replaced by a much more distinctive formation consisting of a number of large rock blocks balanced on top of one another.²¹

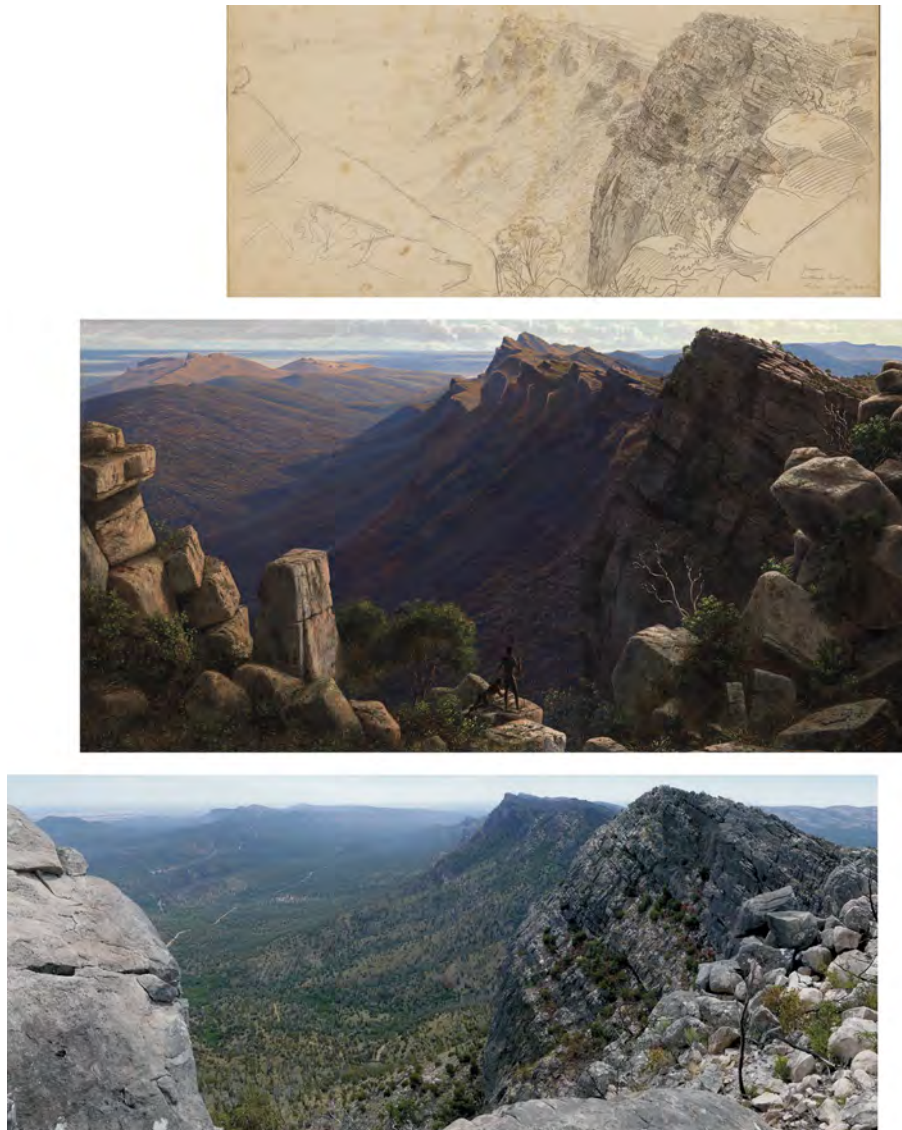


Figure 9.12. **Comparing sketched and painted foregrounds with the site photograph**
Top: *Grampians. Road through Roses Gap* (detail). Middle: *View in the Grampians* (detail).
Bottom: site photograph taken from the same vantage point, 2017. Photograph: author.

21. The introduction of a formation of large rocks stacked one on top of the other to replace a relatively formless rock is strongly reminiscent of what Guérard did in his painting *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863 (NGA). See Figure 3.4.

The introduced rock structure is not based on any extant large or small drawing. While it may be that such a drawing has been lost, there are reasons why it should not be considered a geologically authentic rock formation (see page 327), and therefore it would not have been based on a missing field drawing. The imagined rock formation has been inserted in the left foreground to balance the aesthetically pleasing authentic formation on the right, resulting in a more effective composition.

As to why Guérard modified the foreground of this painting to such a dramatic extent, art historian Candice Bruce argued that this was in order “to create a more satisfactory composition and more romantic vision,” although she believed the painting was a compilation of two different views of the scenery.²² Regardless, the introduction of the imagined rock formation on the left balances the faithfully reproduced rock formation on the right, resulting in a double repoussoir that frames the mid- and backgrounds in a wide U-shaped arc, leading the viewer’s eyes deeper into the composition.

Despite his groundbreaking work in tracking down the sites of many of Guérard’s paintings of scenes in Victoria, Dacre Smyth admitted to frustration after several attempts to locate a view that matched that of *View in the Grampians*. Eventually he claimed that the painting was “indeed untrue, because both the middle distance and foreground were different to what I had found.”²³ However, in a 1984 newspaper review of Smyth’s book, art historian Bernard Smith responded to Smyth’s judgement with a defence that is worth quoting. Smith argued that while the topographical tradition within which he claimed Guérard worked required “a more exact and minute description of botanical character and rock structure,” it also “permitted considerable freedom in the manipulation of foregrounds (while remaining true in general to the nature of the terrain) in order to achieve an effective pictorial composition.”²⁴ Whether the artist’s detailed

22. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 81.

23. Smyth, *Views in Victoria*, 20. Inaccurate titles attributed to the painting contributed to frustrating his efforts.

24. Smith, “Painting Victoria’s Changes.” The art historian also briefly developed an assertion that Guérard painted in a highly detailed topographical style in Smith, *Australian Painting 1788–2000*, 58–59.

illustration of the inserted rock structure is appropriate for the site and true to the general nature of the escarpment terrain are, however, debatable points.

In contrast to this departure from foreground fidelity, the right foreground faithfully reproduces the rock formation Guérard recorded in his field drawing (Figure 9.13, left and middle), particularly the shape, size and *attitude* of those rocks.²⁵ In the 150 years that have elapsed since he sat to sketch the scene, the natural forces that act to modify the edge of the escarpment, such as the splitting of rocks when water expands as it freezes in cracks and when heated during intense bush fires, as well as the action of gravity on unstable rocks, may have considerably modified the shape, location, attitude and appearance of those rocks. Intriguingly, the intense heat generated during the major 2014 fire that swept through the northern Grampians had the effect of exfoliating some of the rocks, so that they appear to be freshly exposed sandstone in the site photograph.²⁶ These processes make it difficult to identify most of the individual rocks that Guérard recorded, although one or two do bear more than a passing resemblance (Figure 9.13, middle and right).

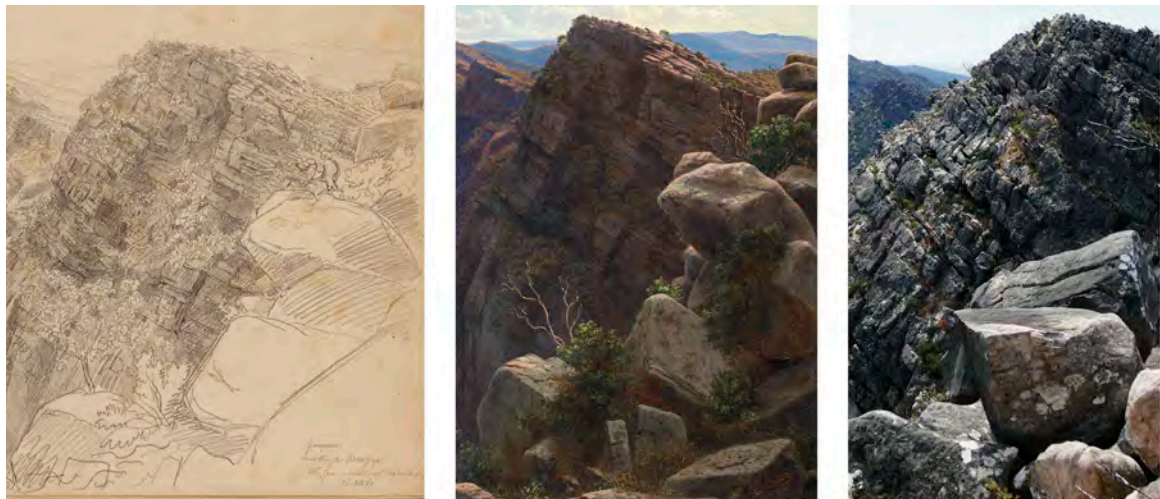


Figure 9.13. Comparing sketched and painted rock formations with the site photograph
Left: *Grampians. Road through Roses Gap* (detail). Middle: *View in the Grampians* (detail).
Right: photograph taken from the same vantage point, 2017. Photograph: Andrew Thomas.

25. In geology *attitude* refers to the orientation of bedded rock, measured by the strike and dip.

26. Philip Kinghorn, email message to author, August 30, 2019.

Elevational fidelity

As the artist effectively illustrated the sheer drop from his vantage point down into Roses Gap valley in the painting by steepening the nearby bluff, that may have been sufficient to convince him that there was no need to elevate the more distant peaks, as was typical of his practice. As can be seen when the field of view of the site photograph has been scaled to match that of the painting (Figure 9.14), neither the bluff nor the more distant Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) has been stretched vertically to create a more dramatic landscape.



Figure 9.14. **Comparing the relative heights of Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) and the nearby bluff**
Left: *View in the Grampians* (detail). Right: photograph taken from the same vantage point, 2017.
Photograph: author.

Scaling fidelity

Although it can be argued that Guérard included the Indigenous figures in the foreground of the painting primarily to signal the pre-contact historical period that he wished to illustrate, he also used those figures peering over the edge of the precipice as staffage to enable viewers to make a judgement about the height of the bluff and the depth of the valley floor below. When a section of the painting with the staffage is compared with a section of a photograph (Figure 9.15, left and

middle) that has been scaled to match the perspective of the painting,²⁷ it is clear that the staffage is less than half the size of the photographer in the photograph.

This degree of miniaturisation has the effect of monumentalising the scene by altering the viewer's perception of the scale involved. The standing man and the kneeling figure beside him look out towards the huge bluff looming in front of them, but if those figures are scaled up to a realistic size (Figure 9.15, right), the valley floor no longer seems so deep and the bluff appears to shrink in size. Even though Roses Gap Road is over 400 m below the artist's vantage point and the bluff itself is nearly 150 m in height, it is difficult to illustrate the vertiginous nature of the vista, so perhaps Guérard realised that he would have to alter the sense of scale in order to provide viewers with a vivid sense of the verticality of the view.

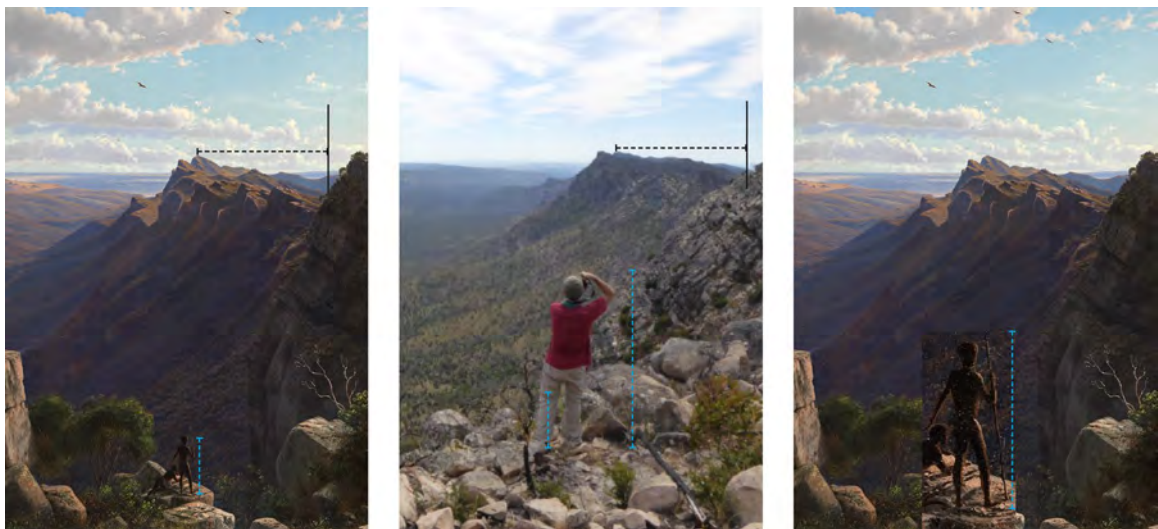


Figure 9.15. **Comparing the scale of staffage with that in a site photograph**

Left: View in *the Grampians* (detail). Middle: photograph taken from the same vantage point of a photographer standing at the same spot as the staffage in the painting, 2017. Photograph: author. Right: the figures scaled to the same size as the photographer.

Perspectival fidelity

The painting accurately reproduces most of the mid- and backgrounds recorded in the field drawing, the vantage point of which has been identified and the equivalent field of view photographed (Figure 9.12, middle and bottom). The comparison of the painted view with the

27. As judged by the horizontal distance between the summit of Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) and the point where the closest bluff obscures the view of the eastern slopes of that mountain.

photographed vista indicates that distant peaks have not been elevated nor has the midground been foreshortened, which implies that the mid- and backgrounds of the painting are faithful to the perspective at Guérard's vantage point. As noted earlier, the inserted left foreground is not based on any extant field drawing, and therefore Candice Bruce's claim that in this work the artist "combined several views of the scenery" is not supported by any graphic evidence.²⁸ Given that the left foreground is in fact an imagined rock formation, this painting is not an example of a multiple-viewpoint-perspective work.

Geomorphological fidelity

The dominant geomorphological feature of the Mt Difficult Range is the Wartook Basin (Figure 9.8). The western edge of this extensive landform is the escarpment that extends from the nearby bluff on the right of the painting, across to Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) and beyond. Such steep escarpments are found along most of the western, northern and eastern edges of the basin. As can be seen in Figure 9.16, Guérard accurately rendered the relatively gentle leftward (westward) rise of the basin out to the edge of the escarpment where Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) is located, and also the steep drop to the outwash from the weathered rock face, which forms the less steeply inclined slopes above the valley floor.

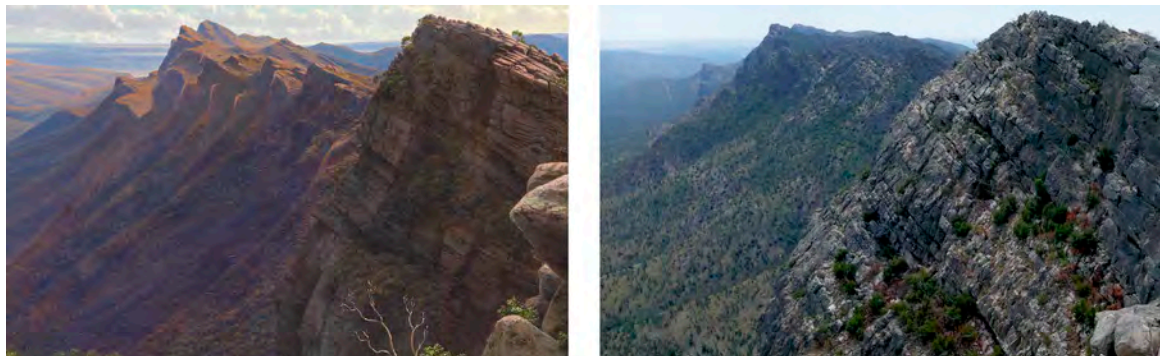


Figure 9.16. **Comparing the painted Wartook Basin slopes with that of site photograph**
Left: *View in the Grampians* (detail). Right: photograph taken from the same vantage point, 2017.
Photograph: author.

28. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 81.

Geological fidelity

In response to Smith's critique, Guérard replied that if he "could succeed to paint Australian scenes to make them delightful illustrations for treaties [*sic*] of botanical or geological features of the Colony then he would be convinced that for the future his paintings would have a greater value."²⁹ Although his painting of the Cathedral Range near the Acheron River in east Victoria adorns the cover of a major tome on the geology of Victoria,³⁰ his painting of the Mt Difficult Range has yet to be used to illustrate a geological treatise. The dominant geological features visible in the painting are the exposed sedimentary strata of the bluff (Figure 9.17, left) and the rock formations of the foreground. The exposed strata are part of the limb of the Wartook *syncline*, which underlies the Wartook Basin.³¹ According to the geological map and survey report of the region, the sedimentary rock belongs to a relatively recently recognised formation called Wartook Sandstone, which forms "the bulk of the Mount Difficult Range as a series of thrust sheets, folded around the Wartook syncline." Wartook Sandstone consists mostly of *thick beds* up to 3 m in depth.³² Although the artist steepened the bluff, the exposed strata are finely illustrated and, when compared with the site photograph, accurately rendered (Figure 9.17). Specific thick sandstone beds with near-vertical jointing in the photograph can be readily seen.

29. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

30. The painting is *Cathedral Mount, Valley of the Acheron River, Victoria*, 1863 (private collection), and the book is Birch, *Geology of Victoria*.

31. A *syncline* is a fold of sedimentary rock in which the strata slope upwards away from its axis.

32. R. A. Cayley and D. H. Taylor, *Grampians Special Map Area Geological Report* (Melbourne: Geological Survey of Victoria, 1995), 49.



Figure 9.17. **Comparing the painted bedding with that visible in the site photograph**
 Left: *View in the Grampians* (detail). Right: bluff just south of Carters Track pass, 2017.
 Photograph: author.

The right foreground rock formation (Figure 9.13, centre), which is based on Guérard’s field sketch (Figure 9.13, left), is a convincing assemblage of large blocks of rock, which, being on the edge of the precipice, are loosely connected and subject to toppling under the force of gravity. Being more exposed at the top of the cliff, their angular edges have weathered to rounded forms, as expected. Given the scale of the painted rocks, it is not possible to unequivocally identify those rocks as sandstone, although Smith did claim them to be “ferruginous sandstone.”

As noted previously, the left foreground rock formation (Figure 9.12, middle) was not recorded in the field sketch nor in any other extant drawing by the artist. Guérard created an imagined rock formation roughly based on the shapes and arrangement of the rocks in the right foreground in order to complete a double repoussoir, which he used to frame and draw the eye towards the more distant view. However, according to geologist Stephen Carey, the rocks of the left formation are shown “to be either horizontal or dipping gently to the west, whereas the exposures on the right and to the north are clearly dipping roughly easterly,” as they do in reality. Furthermore, there “is no obvious tectonic explanation for their attitude. An alternative possibility

of mass movement is unlikely. Some of the stacking is too neat for that.”³³ Guérard’s invented rock formation lacks fidelity “to the general nature of the terrain” that Bernard Smith expected of the artist. Almost certainly the artist showed them dipping westward in order to visually balance the right formation that dips eastward.

Botanical fidelity

The critic James Smith noted the “peculiar character of the trees and shrubs” in the painting (Figure 9.18), and claimed the artist had portrayed them so accurately that “a botanist would be almost able to discover amongst them the banksia, the casuarina, the xanthorrhoea or some of the other hardy inhabitants of these lofty regions.”³⁴ Surprisingly, he omitted to mention eucalypts. Whether Smith thought he could identify such genera in the painting or he suggested them on the basis of his reading of Major Mitchell’s description of Grampians flora is not clear from the review. Plants belonging to those three plant groups are at least readily identifiable: the *Banksia* by their flowering cones; the “Casuarina” or sheoaks by their needle-like leaves; and the *Xanthorrhoea* or grasstrees by their rough grass-like leaves sprouting from the top of a thickened trunk.³⁵ Given that sheoaks and grasstrees often appear in Guérard’s foregrounds, the latter sometimes inappropriately,³⁶ it is surprising that Smith did not notice that there was none in this painting. In response, however, Guérard doubted that the critic could distinguish “all the different kinds of Australian plants, of whose names he is so cleverly acquainted” in the painting because that level of botanical illustration was beyond his own artistic competency.³⁷

33. Stephen Carey, email message to author, August 26, 2019.

34. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 133.

35. There are more than 170 *Banksia* species, 50 or more “Casuarina” species, and about 30 *Xanthorrhoea* species that are native to Australia.

36. Hook, “Brushes with Infidelity,” 1042, 1050.

37. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 135.

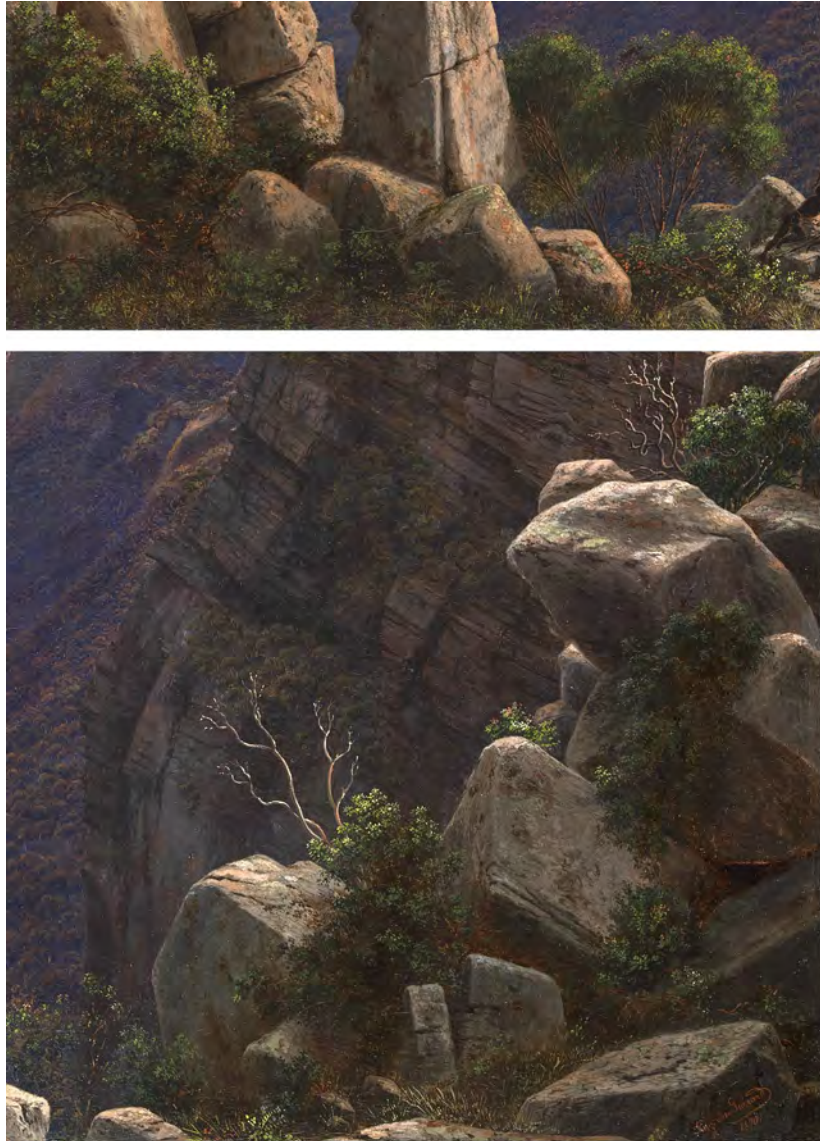


Figure 9.18. **Botanical details illustrated in the foreground**

Top and bottom: *View in the Grampians* (details).

After enlarging a high-resolution scan of the painting and brightening the shadows, Leon Costermans, a leading botanical expert on southeastern Australian native trees and shrubs, stated that “while some of his other paintings do have representation of the genera the art critic mentioned, this [work] has nothing other than non-specific eucalypts and sedgy understorey with non-specific shrubs.”³⁸ However, he went on to comment on the fidelity of certain shrubs (Figure 9.18, top, right side) that showed “the characteristic mallee-habit of the hardy eucalypts, but there is no way anyone could identify the species or group” from the visual information in the painting.

38. Leon Costermans, email message to author, February 26, 2017.

Mallee is a growth habit of some hardy eucalypt species that involves multiple stems or trunks arising from a underground *lignotuber*.³⁹

Costermans was intrigued to notice “the intricate detail in the weathered rock surface, including the lichens and mosses,” which he thought the artist observed closely, although he questioned whether they were accurately positioned. With regard to the lichens, lichenologist Simone Louwhoff was prepared to identify some of the species illustrated on the foreground rocks (Figure 9.19). She recognised yellowish-green lichens of the genus *Xanthoparmelia*, orange lichens of the genus *Caloplaca* and speckled Yellow Map lichen (*Rhizocarpum geographicum*), which grow on many exposed rock types at high elevation. There were some darker green bands that Louwhoff thought were meant to represent mosses, although she could not identify those. Contrary to Costerman’s view, in her opinion the “mosses were placed pretty accurately in the crevices of rocks.” Although the lichenologist thought that the colours of the lichens were realistic, she wondered whether Guérard had intensified them to make them more noticeable.⁴⁰

39. A *lignotuber* is a woody, mostly underground swelling at the base of the stem, which contains stored food and shoots that can assist the plant to survive when its above-ground parts have been destroyed in a fire.

40. Simone Louwhoff, email message to author, September 9, 2019.

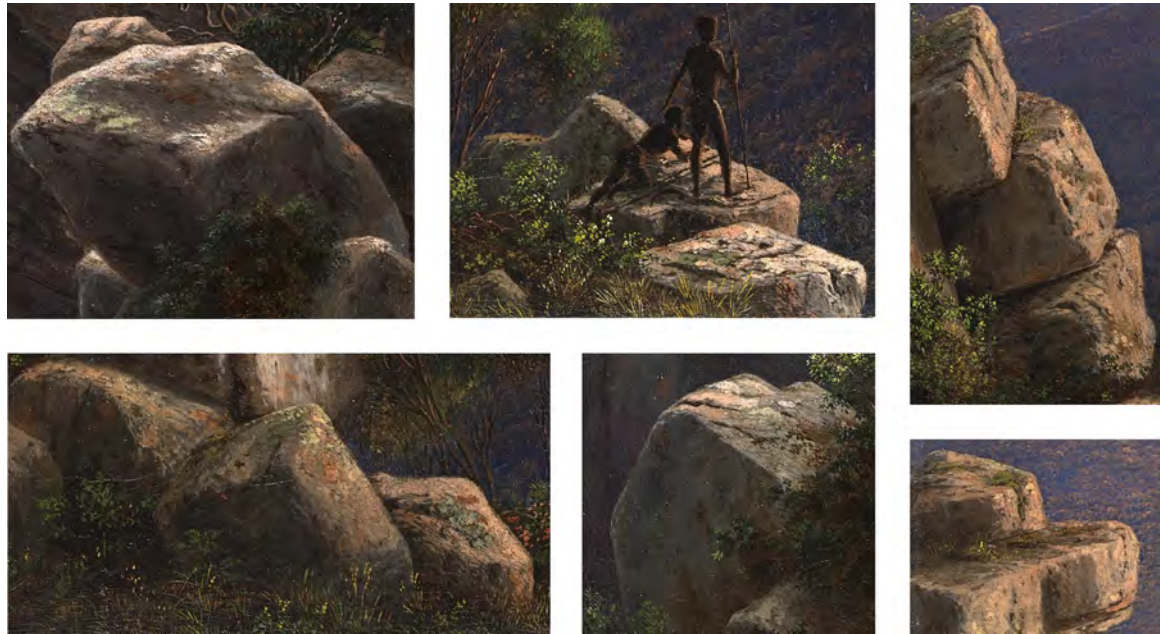


Figure 9.19. **Details of lichens and mosses in the painting**

All: *View in the Grampians* (details).

The artist's attention to botanical detail and interest in illustrating lichens is apparent in other works, such as on the granitic rock formation inserted into the foreground of the painting *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (AGSA). What is puzzling, however, is how he might have recalled the forms and colours of such a range of lichens atop the Mt Difficult Range with such a high degree of observational accuracy. No indication of the forms, locations or colours of lichens is recorded on the large field drawing nor in the small sketchbook he used during this expedition. Clearly his visual memory served him well in this instance. Guérard had truly imitated nature "not only in the masses but also in the details."

Ecological fidelity

Despite an initial assumption, that the type of vegetation along the edge of the escarpment and on the face of the bluff would be little changed in composition from when Guérard had visited the site 150 years earlier, it was obvious from the blackened stumps of dead trees encountered that the current botanical community was in the process of regenerating after a major fire had swept through that part of the Mt Difficult Range. An intense fire had occurred in January 2014, which burnt through nearly all of the northern Grampians (Figure 9.20). Given that a number of intense fires have occurred in the Grampians since colonial times, the current plant community might

well be significantly different from the one Guérard encountered. A decision was therefore made to compare the plant community illustrated in the painting with the ecological vegetation class that would be expected to occur in that location.



Figure 9.20. **Burnt areas after the 2014 fire**

NASA Earth Observatory image of the northern Grampians showing the extent of January 2014 fire. The yellow star indicates Guérard's approximate vantage point.

Although the 780 m above sea level altitude of Guérard's vantage point on the edge of the western escarpment of the Mount Difficult Range is about 400 m lower than that of Mt William (Duwil), the highest summit in the Grampians, the environment is similar, being moist, except in summer, rocky, very exposed, and with severe frosts in winter. In this environment, the predominant vegetation class is the *low open-woodlands/shrublands* community, with stunted eucalypts less than 2 m in height growing among heath species. This community can be very

dense, occurring among exposed sandstone outcrops similar to those shown in the artwork. It is often associated with the *rocky outcrop woodland* community, which occurs on rocky slopes dominated by mallee-type eucalypts less than 4 m in height. As the two communities “frequently intergrade,” it can be difficult to decide which community dominates in a particular location, although the *rocky outcrop woodland* community tends to occur at lower altitudes.⁴¹ The height and mallee growth habit of the eucalypts growing on the edge of the precipice in the painting (Figure 9.21, left), as well as those clinging to the face of the bluff (Figure 9.21, right), suggest that the vegetation type that the artist observed and illustrated with fidelity is most likely the *rocky outcrop woodland* community.

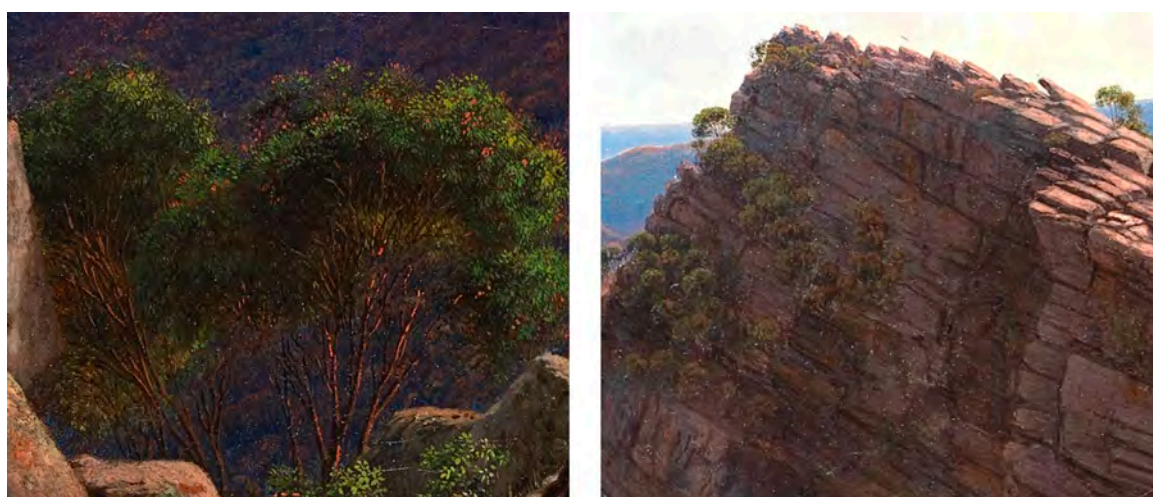


Figure 9.21. **Mallee growth habit**
Left and right: *View on the Grampians* (details).

Beneath the figures in the painting, vegetation also covers the slopes of the valley through which Roses Gap Road passes. This vegetative cover, which the artist sketched in some detail, extends up the slopes to the base of the sandstone exposures on the face of the bluff. The artist stated in his defence that “he had the good fortune to look from the highest summits of the Grampians into the depths of the forest” below,⁴² which accords with Charles Hall’s account of the forested nature of the northern Grampians in his 1853 letter to Governor La Trobe. The

41. “Flora of Victoria: Grampians,” Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria, accessed October 9, 2019, <https://vicflora.rbg.vic.gov.au/flora/bioregions/grampians>.

42. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

squatter described the northern ranges as being heavily wooded when he first arrived, with sparser coverage near the tops of the ranges. Hall was the one of the first Europeans to travel “through a wild and beautiful pass, now called Rose’s Gap.”⁴³ That pass, known to the Jadawadjali people as Barigar, is located near the southernmost part of Roses Gap Road, which is just below the artist’s vantage point.⁴⁴ Two days after completing the field drawing, Guérard rode through that pass as he exited the Grampians. Along the way he made a sketch of the open wooded vegetation alongside the stream that flowed through the gap, which he later used as the basis of an oil sketch (Figure 9.22). The hill in the midground and the outwash slopes beneath the western escarpment of the Mt Difficult Range appear to be thickly forested, as they are in *View in the Grampians*.



Figure 9.22. Sketched and painted views of Roses Gap

Left: *Roses Gap*, 28 Oct. 68, 1868, folio 49, “Sketchbook XXXVI,” Dixson Library, SLNSW.

Right: *View in Rose’s Gap, Northern Grampians, West Victoria*, 1870, oil on board, 14.6 × 21.6 cm, present location unknown.

The identifiable plant communities in *View in the Grampians* imply that Guérard sought to faithfully portray the vegetation. The particular care with which he sketched and painted the vegetation found on the bluff attest that the artist “wished to paint so closely as he saw the details and effects of nature.”⁴⁵

43. Thomas Francis Bride, ed., *Letters from Victorian Pioneers* (Melbourne: Trustees of the Public Library, 1898), 210–222.

44. “Gariwerd/Grampians,” Budja Budja Aboriginal Co-operative, accessed September 5, 2021, <https://budjabudjacoop.org.au/about/gariwerdgrampians>.

45. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

Hydrological fidelity

The caption on Guérard’s large field drawing (Figure 9.2) specifically notes that the view is “in direction of Taylors Lake,” an entity that is rather difficult to spot in the sketch and painting, but is located in the gap between Mt Zero and Mt Stapylton, designated by the word “Lake” and two crosses on the sketch (Figure 9.23, top), and by two light blue splashes running horizontally in the painting (Figure 9.23, middle). A single blue blur can just be made out in the same location in the site photograph (Figure 9.23, bottom), which was taken on a slightly hazy day, confirming the hydrological accuracy of Guérard’s brushwork. The shape of the lake on the topographic map indicates why it would appear to be in two parts. The artist’s observation of such fine detail in the distance suggest that at times he may well have resorted to using a telescope.⁴⁶

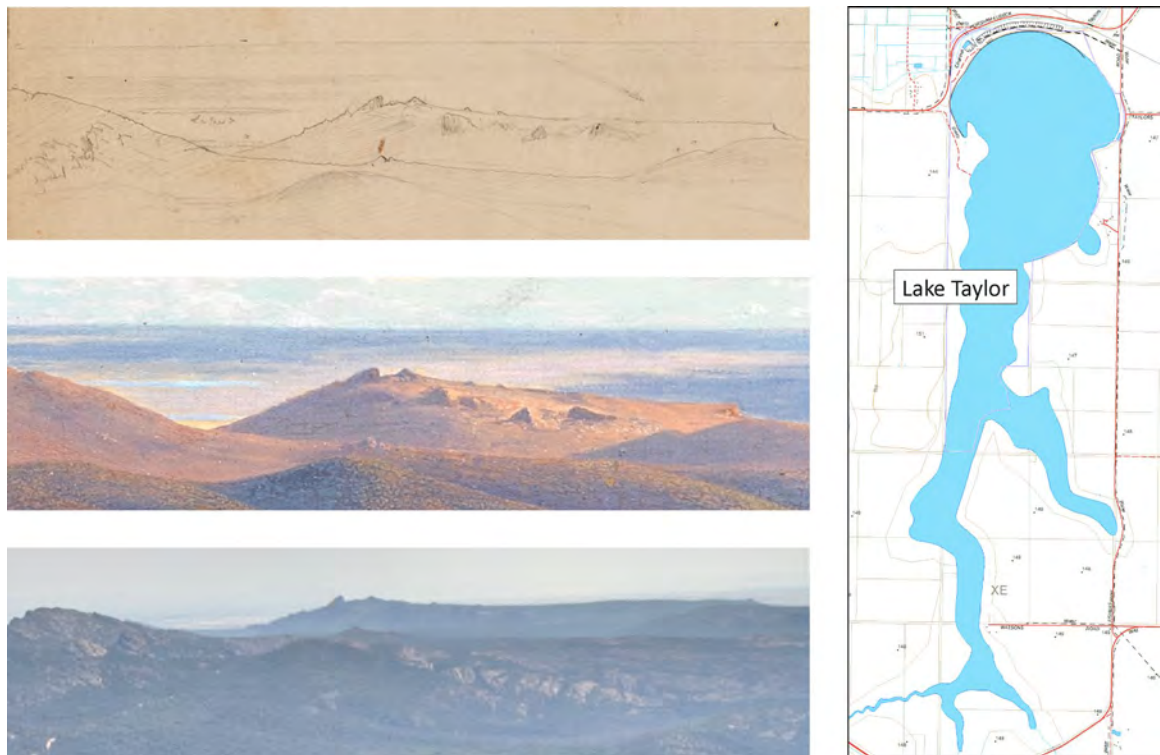


Figure 9.23. **Sketched and painted lake details compared with site photograph and map**
Top left: *Grampians. Road through Roses Gap* (detail). Middle left: *View in the Grampians* (detail). Bottom left: photograph taken from the same vantage point (detail), 2017. Photograph: Andrew Thomas. Right: section of the digital topographic map *VicMap 25k West*, Memory-Map.

46. See also Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 172.

Illuminational fidelity

The field drawing was completed by noon on 26 October 1868 and Guérard's view was almost directly to the north. The artist may have spent up to three hours sketching it, given that he later spent most of the afternoon on his detailed drawing of the small lake near the edge of the escarpment. On the sketch (Figure 9.24, left), the shadows caused by the saw-toothed profile of Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) on the outwash below indicate that the sun had yet to reach its zenith, with the approximately 50° angle of elevation of the sun suggesting that he fixed the time of day a couple of hours before noon. In the painting, however, the shadows cast by the escarpment reach much further to the west, across to the other side of the trail in the floor of the valley (Figure 9.24, right). The edge of the sunlit area in the valley implies that the elevation angle of the sun was about 30° . This would turn back the clock in the painting, implying an early-morning scene – a conjecture supported by the yellow-tinted sky low in the east (Figure 9.1, far right).

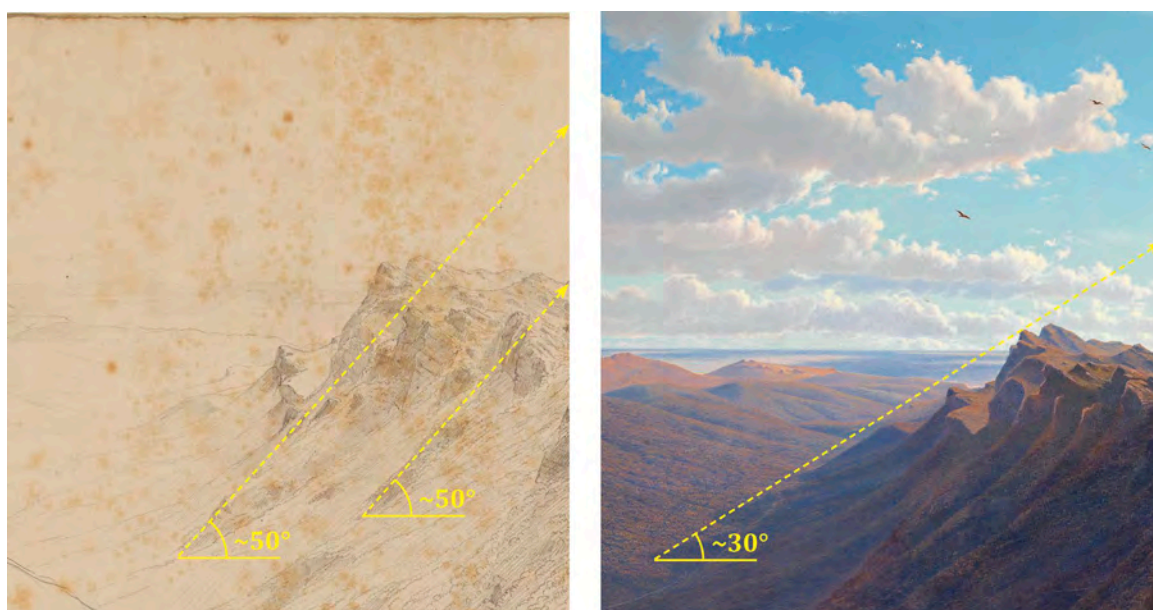


Figure 9.24. **Comparing the sketched and painted angle of illumination of the sun**
Left: *Grampians. Road through Roses Gap* (detail). Right: *View in the Grampians* (detail).

While altering the shadows and colouration of the sky to create an early-morning scene, Guérard appropriately located the sun outside of the right frame of the picture, thus maintaining the northern compass orientation of his field of view. As for the rock formations in the

foreground, the artist carefully illuminated them to correspond with the low position of the sun in the northeast, a skill in which he was highly competent.

Meteorological fidelity

There are no discernible cloud shapes in the sky of the field drawing (Figure 9.2), but the sharply delineated shadows of the foreground rock formation, the bluff and the slopes of Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) suggest a clear sky on a sunny day, rather than an overcast sky with high continuous cloud. No information about the weather on 26 October was included in his diary entry (Appendix O), other than fog early in the morning. Guérard did sweat profusely on the ascent to the escarpment, which suggests it was a hot day. The artist portrayed a bright, sunny day in the painting (Figure 9.25, top), but he inserted long lines of *stratocumulus castellanus* clouds moving in from the left (west).⁴⁷ The inserted cloud formation is partially based on a formation that the artist sketched (Figure 9.25, middle) ten days prior to his ascent of the Mt Difficult Range, made from the top of Mt Arapiles, which is about 70 km northwest of the Grampians site. The artist later painted that cloud formation at the appropriate location at which it was observed in *The Mitre Rock and Lake from Mount Arapiles* (Figure 9.25, bottom), which he completed four years later, in 1874.

47. *Stratocumulus castellanus* clouds consist of cloud elements that have a common horizontal base and cumuliform turrets, giving them the appearance of the battlements of a castle. See “Stratocumulus Castellanus,” International Cloud Atlas, accessed January 20, 2020, <https://cloudatlas.wmo.int/species-stratocumulus-castellanus-sc-cas.html>.



Figure 9.25. **Source of the cloud formation**

Top: *View in the Grampians* (detail). Middle: *N.W. View from the Arapiles, 16. Oct. 68, 1868* (detail), pencil and crayon on paper, 35.8 × 58.3 cm, folio 8 in album “Winmera [sic], Lake Hindmarsh etc. 1868.” Bottom: *The Mitre Rock and Lake from Mount Arapiles, 1874* (detail), oil on board, 61.2 × 106.8 cm, present location unknown.

Zoological fidelity

In the sky above the nearby bluff in the sketch three birds in flight can just be made out (Figure 9.26, top left). They are roughly sketched in the flattened m-shape that Guérard typically used to indicate birds high in the sky. In the painting (Figure 9.26, top right), the three birds now have the

more recognisable form of the Wedge-tailed Eagle (*Aquila audax*), identifiable by their distinctive shape in another drawing the artist made twelve days earlier from Mt Arapiles (Figure 9.26, bottom).



Figure 9.26. **Comparing sketched and painted birds in flight**

Top left: *Grampians. Road through Roses Gap* (detail). Top right: *View in the Grampians* (detail). Bottom: [Arapiles 14 Oct 68], 1868, folio 36, “Volume 14a: Sketchbook XXXVI, No. 18 Australian, 1865–70, 1872,” reference code 825443, Dixson Library, SLNSW.

Summary

The horizon and midground of the painting *View in the Grampians* are topographically faithful to the empirical view from the vantage point, beyond even the extent of the detail recorded in the field drawing. The distant peaks of Mt Zero and Mt Stapylton, as well as the much closer summit of Mt Gar (Mt Difficult), are all readily identifiable, resulting in the work being geographically faithful. While the elevation of Mt Gar (Mt Difficult) relative to other landforms is atypically accurate, the face of the escarpment in the midground is significantly steepened, achieving the dramatic effect the artist usually accomplished through elevating summits. The rugged topography of the foreground of the work consists of a pair of rocky coulisses, one accurately rendered and the other completely imagined, which act together to frame the distant scene below.

However, the miniaturised staffage the artist uses gives a false impression of the relative size of the two rock formations on either side of the foreground. Regardless, the perspective of the painting is true to the view visible from a single vantage point if the rocky invention is ignored. The artist accurately portrays geomorphological features of the Wartook Basin, particularly the eastward-dipping inner slopes of the basin and the outer features, including the face of the escarpment plunging down to the less steeply inclined outwash. While the dip, strike and bedding of the escarpment are rendered with great geological fidelity, the invented rock formation is not geologically authentic for the location. Even though particular species of native plants cannot be identified, the mallee growth habit of the diminutive trees clinging to the edges and faces of the escarpment is ecologically appropriate for the habitat, as is the lichen community colonising the foreground rocks. The few hydrological features visible in the work, such as the drainage line of the valley below and the shoreline of the distant lake, are accurately reproduced. Although the time of day is not true to that illustrated in the sketch, the illumination and shadowing of the scene is consistent with set-back in time. While weather conditions in the painting are similar to those experienced by the artist at the site, his illustration of a dramatic cloud formation could not be true to what he observed on the day as it was sketched elsewhere. Despite this artistic liberty, the formation is an authentic example of a particular type of cloud and therefore true to nature.

Conclusion

As noted earlier, Guérard declared that an artist should “imitate nature not only in the masses but also in the details.” He qualified this by stating that this should occur only as “far as it is compatible with the effect of a picture.” As the fidelity analysis of this chapter has documented, *View in the Grampians* faithfully imitates nature in the masses (e.g. the topography and geomorphology of the northern Grampians and the Wimmera Plains beyond) as well as in the details (e.g. the geological, botanical and ecological aspects of the escarpment). Those features that do diverge from nature (e.g. the left foreground rock formation and the steepness of the escarpment) have been deliberately introduced or modified by the artist in order to produce an

effectively composed, dramatic landscape,⁴⁸ which may evoke an emotional response in viewers, such as the “divine poetical feelings” that Guérard hoped for.⁴⁹

The way in which Guérard practised fidelity to nature in this and other works is highly reminiscent of the approach of the nineteenth-century Norwegian artist Johann Christian Dahl (1788–1857),⁵⁰ which is aptly summarised in the following quotation by Torsten Gunnarsson. The art historian uses a meteorological example that can be generalised for other features of nature.

In a [field] study he found it perfectly natural to render the sky as it actually appeared to him, while it was sufficient that the sky in a studio work should represent meteorological possibility. *Fidelity to nature was not an end in itself*: the ultimate determinant was the mood and overall impression, and this in turn meant that the real sky belonging to the subject could be replaced or modified if artistic requirements demanded it [emphasis added].⁵¹

Based on the above fidelity analysis of *View in the Grampians*, the quotation could equally well be applied to Guérard. His introduced cloud formation represents a real meteorological possibility even if his invented rock formation fails to illustrate a convincing geological possibility for the site, despite it functioning as part of an effective coulisse contributing to determining the overall effect the artist wished to achieve in the work. Fidelity to nature was undoubtedly important for

48. Contrary to James Smith’s opinion that the artist “finds nothing more to note in these magnificent ranges, which [Major] Mitchell describes as ‘truly sublime,’ than the ferruginous sandstone of which they consist, or the peculiar character of the trees and shrubs with which they are partially covered.” Smith, “Mr. von Guerard’s New Picture.”

49. Guérard, Reply on the Critic. Guérard’s response to Smith’s criticism is very similar to that of the Hudson River school artist Thomas Moran, “who felt himself to be unjustly accused of literalism and a lack of sentiment” by critics. According to art historian Rebecca Bedell, Moran “saw himself as an interpreter of nature, not an imitator. Literal fidelity, he continually asserted, was not his aim. He did not set out to transcribe particular views, but to convey to the observer through his complex, carefully crafted studio compositions “the impression produced by nature on himself”” (Rebecca Bedell, *The Anatomy of Nature: Geology and American Landscape Painting, 1825-1875* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 145).

50. While Guérard may have seen some of Dahl’s works, as the Norwegian artist was resident in Dresden while Guérard was training in Düsseldorf in the 1840s, the convergence in approach would have had more to do with Guérard developing similar aesthetic intentions and convictions than any possible influence of the older artist upon the younger one.

51. Gunnarsson, *Nordic Landscape Painting*, 97.

the artist, but only to the extent to which it was compatible with his artistic intention, which in this case was to produce a dramatic work of art.

Chapter 10 – Second painting case study: *Lake Wakatipu, 1877–79*

In 1879 Guérard completed two major paintings of New Zealand scenery, which some commentators consider to be “outstanding works” and the “zenith” of his artistic output.¹ The iconic paintings are of Milford Sound/Piopiotahi in Fiordland and Lake Wakatipu in Central Otago. These two large, identically sized works were intended to be companion pieces and were completed over a period of three years. They were the “most widely exhibited New Zealand paintings of the nineteenth century,” being highly praised in Melbourne, Sydney, London and Paris.² Despite this, they remained unsold until 1881, when the merchant Frederick Dalgety (1817–1894) purchased both for his growing collection of Guérard paintings.³

Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand, 1877–79 (Figure 10.1), which is held in the collection of the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, was selected as a case study because it is one of the few paintings for which the artist specifically declared his artistic intentions that relate to being true to nature. Furthermore, numerous early photographs of the Lake Wakatipu district taken by Alfred Burton (c. 1834–1914), in the same decade as the artist’s visit or the following decade, exist in the collection of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.⁴ Some of the images taken on Burton’s pioneering photographic expeditions, using both a mobile darkroom van and a tent,⁵ permit an assessment of the fidelity to nature of features illustrated in the Lake Wakatipu painting by comparing them with the early photographs, a situation that is true for only a handful of other paintings from Guérard’s studio.

1. Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, 81; Mary Eagle and John Jones, *A Story of Australian Painting* (Sydney: Macmillan, 1994), 56.

2. Roger Blackley et al., *The Guide* (Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2001), 41; James N. Bade, *The German Connection: New Zealand and German-Speaking Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993), 106.

3. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 90; Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 115.

4. Six months prior to Guérard’s 1876 visit, Burton spent seven weeks photographing the Lake Wakatipu region, accumulating about 125 images, many of the lake itself. See Christine Whybrew, “The Burton Brothers Studio: Commerce in Photography and the Marketing of New Zealand, 1866–1898” (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2010), 124, 341.

5. Whybrew, “The Burton Brothers Studio,” 44–46.

Description of the work

The painting illustrates the dramatic mountain scenery surrounding an alpine lake. The steep flanks of mountains on both sides frame a distant view of a series of snow-capped mountains and ranges in a mostly cloudless glowing sky. The rippling, turquoise-coloured lake occupying much of the midground shimmers in the sunshine, and reflections further out lift the viewer's eyes to the sources of those images. The foreground is dominated by the foreshore, which extends around a number of promontories to connect with the more distant parts of the lake. The exposed rock in the foreground headland appears to dip to the left. That headland is colonised by some unusual plants whose forms are highlighted by the bright lake water behind. In the midground, a large, partially bush-clad promontory stretches out towards what appear to be two islands. Immediately behind those islands is a rugged peak whose geometry balances the steeply sloping mountain flanks on either side of the work. To the left of that peak, a dramatic glacier flows in waves of ice towards the viewer. The only sign of human activity is two Māori canoes being paddled towards a common destination. The absence of any sign of pastoral activity or forest clearance suggests this work represents the 'untouched nature' of a pre-contact world.



Figure 10.1. The iconic *Lake Wakatipu* painting

Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand, 1877–79, oil on canvas, 99.1 × 176.5 cm, MacKelvie Trust Collection, AAG.

The artist's intention

Referring specifically to these two New Zealand paintings, in December 1879 the artist wrote to his friend the geologist Julius von Haast (1822–1887), then director of Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, New Zealand, that his aim was “to be as true to nature as far as possible.”⁶ Furthermore, he was “convinced that a thoroughly executed artwork requires a deeper understanding of nature.”⁷ Despite his intention, the artist was anxious to know whether the geologist considered the paintings to be as faithful to nature as was feasible, a question revisited in the postscript of this chapter. The leading Melbourne art critic James Smith was, however, in no doubt about the Wakatipu painting when he wrote in 1877, that those “who have visited the lake will recognise the conscientious fidelity [to nature]” of the work.⁸

The visit to New Zealand

Guérard visited New Zealand once, late in his Antipodean sojourn. On 20 January 1876, he departed from Melbourne on the barque-rigged steamship the SS *Otago*, with his wife Louise and their 19-year-old daughter Victoria, for a tour around the South (Middle) Island, which included a brief stopover in Wellington at the southern tip of the North Island. The tour included visits to Milford Sound/Piopirotahi, Invercargill, Lake Wakatipu, Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington, Nelson, Greymouth and finally Hokitika, where at last they saw Aoraki/Mt Cook. By 20 February, the family was back in Melbourne.⁹

Arriving at Milford Sound/Piopirotahi early in the morning of 24 January, after being rowed to the shore of Freshwater Basin, Guérard established the best vantage point and spent most of the day making a large, detailed drawing of the scene. The panoramic field drawing comprises three sheets, which together measure 30.5 × 95.6 cm and encompass a field of view of

6. Letter from Guérard to Haast, December 29, 1879, Haast Family Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library. Transcribed and translated by Susanne Haring.

7. Letter from Guérard to Haast, April 27, 1881, in Darragh and Pullin, *Lieber Freund!*, 48.

8. James Smith, “The Academy of Fine Arts Exhibition,” *The Australasian*, March 24, 1877.

9. Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, [316].

about 145° (Figure 10.2, top). That sketch formed the basis of his major painting of the fiord (Figure 10.2, bottom).



Figure 10.2. Milford Sound field drawing and painting

Top: [Milford Sound, Monday 24 January 1876]. Panorama assembled from three sketches (left, 30.5 × 25.4 cm, E-342-f-004; middle, 30.5 × 51.0 cm, E-342-f-003; right, 30.4 × 25.5 cm, E-342-f-005). All in album “Views in New Zealand, 1876,” reference E-342-f, ATL. Bottom: *Milford Sound, with Pembroke Peak and Bowen Falls*, 1877–7189, oil on canvas, 99.2 × 176 cm, AGNSW.

The SS *Otago* then sailed around the coast of Fiordland to Invercargill, where the Guérards disembarked and travelled by train and coach to the southern end of Lake Wakatipu at Kingston (Figure 10.3). On 28 January the family was transported by a paddle steamer to Queenstown, where they stayed for several nights at Eichardt’s “Family” Hotel and enjoyed the views around the lake during the daytime.



Figure 10.3. **Satellite image of Lake Wakatipu and surroundings**
Google Earth view of Lake Wakatipu.

Wakatipu is a very deep, 80 km-long, dogleg-shaped lake. It fills a large valley, U-shaped in cross section, which was originally sculpted by “glacial advances over the last two million years” in a southerly direction before terminating south of Kingston about 18,000 years ago.¹⁰ The glacier has since retreated to the upper slopes of peaks such as Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi, north of the head of the lake (Figure 10.3), leaving behind *moraines* at various locations as far as the furthest reach of the glacier at the southern end of the current lake.¹¹

The field drawing

On 29 January, the family went on a one-day excursion aboard a paddle steamer to the head of the lake, disembarking briefly at Kinloch. On the way the artist sketched the view on which the *Lake Wakatipu* painting is primarily based. In contrast to the very large and detailed Milford Sound/Piopiotahi field drawing, this time he completed the sketch on two facing pages in one of his small, pocket-sized sketchbooks (Figure 10.4). The sketch, measuring approximately 10 × 30 cm, has a few annotations, which are mostly colour notes, and some code numbers along the bottom that refer to more detailed sketches of particular features, found on preceding and following pages.



Figure 10.4. Field drawing on which the *Lake Wakatipu* painting is based [Head of the lake, 29 January 1876], folio 111, “Volume 16: Sketchbook XXXVIII, No. 21, Australia and New Zealand, 1877–1882,” reference code 825445, Dixson Library, SLNSW.

10. Neill Simpson and Benjamin Teele, *Growing Native Plants in the Wakatipu* (Queenstown: Wakatipu Reforestation Trust, 2017), 7, <https://www.scribd.com/document/385473587/growing-plants-in-the-wakatipu-2>.

11. A *moraine* is a landform consisting of a large mass of rock and sediment, eroded and deposited by the action of a glacier.

Finding the vantage point

Before the fidelity to the view of the *Lake Wakatipu* painting could be evaluated, it was first necessary to establish where the artist had been located when he made the double-page sketch. The family travelled on the *SS Antrim* (Figure 10.5) to Kinloch at the head of the lake on a one-day tourist excursion. As the sketch includes no land in the foreground, it is reasonable to conclude that it was made from the deck of the moving vessel. The *Antrim* travelled at a cruising speed of about 6 knots, which meant that the artist's vantage point would have shifted by nearly a kilometre in just under six minutes, if the ship was moving at cruising speed.¹² It can be assumed that Guérard outlined the scene quickly in his sketchbook and then filled in the details as the ship moved forwards. The changing perspective from his mobile vantage point would have resulted in closer features shifting relative to more distant ones during the sketching period.



Figure 10.5. **The SS Antrim**

Left: [Paddle steamer on Lake Wakatipu, 28 Jan. 1876], folio 93, "Sketchbook XXXVIII." Right: Alfred Burton, *Pigeon Island, Lake Wakatipu*, 1886, registration C.016728, TP. The ship is the *SS Antrim* and the peaks of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi can be seen on the left.

Reaching the vantage point

As it was not possible to take a cruise to the head of the lake during a 2017 visit, the sealed road running alongside the eastern shore of the lake toward Kinloch was traversed. At Bennetts Bluff Lookout, a view resembling that of the sketch came into sight (Figure 10.6, bottom). Although the skyline is close to that recorded in the sketch, the promontory in the right midground, which will be referred to as 25 Mile Point, reaches much further into the lake relative to the position of the

12. Travelling Reporter, "A Country Tour," *Otago Witness*, June 15, 1878. The *SS Antrim* took three hours to travel 35 km from Kingston to Queenstown, which gives a cruising speed of about 6 knots.

background mountains than in the drawing (Figure 10.6, top), which implies that Guérard sketched from out on the lake.¹³

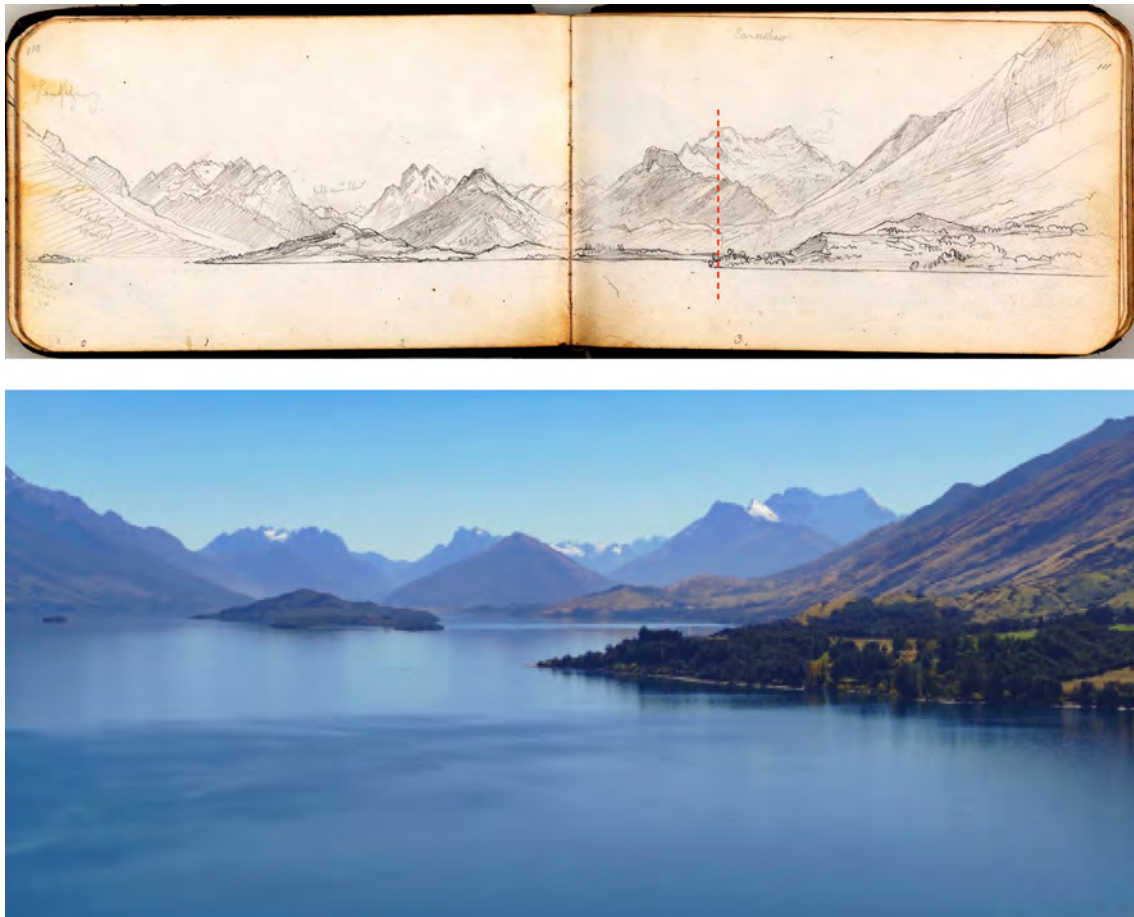


Figure 10.6. **Comparing the field drawing with the view from Bennetts Bluff**

Top: [Head of the lake]. Bottom: View from Bennetts Bluff Lookout, 28 April 2017, 11.23 am. Photograph: author. The vertical dashed line represents a “plumb bob” sight line.

According to the *plumb bob* method,¹⁴ as the left peak of the mountain named “Earnslaw” on the sketch sits directly in line behind the tip of 25 Mile Point, it establishes a sight line (Figure 10.6, top, vertical dashed red line), which can be projected onto a topographic map (Figure 10.7). According to the digital topographic map used, the left (west) peak of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi is located at the geographical coordinates 44°37'31.8"S, 168°23'40.9"E, while the tip of 25 Mile Point is located at 44°59'30.9"S, 168°25'49.8"E.

13. The promontory has no official geographic name but it was previously known as 25 Mile Point.

14. The *plumb bob* method is described in Bill Keir, “The Location of the Pink and White Terraces of Lake Rotomahana New Zealand,” *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 49, no. 1 (2017): 18, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03036758.2017.1404479>.

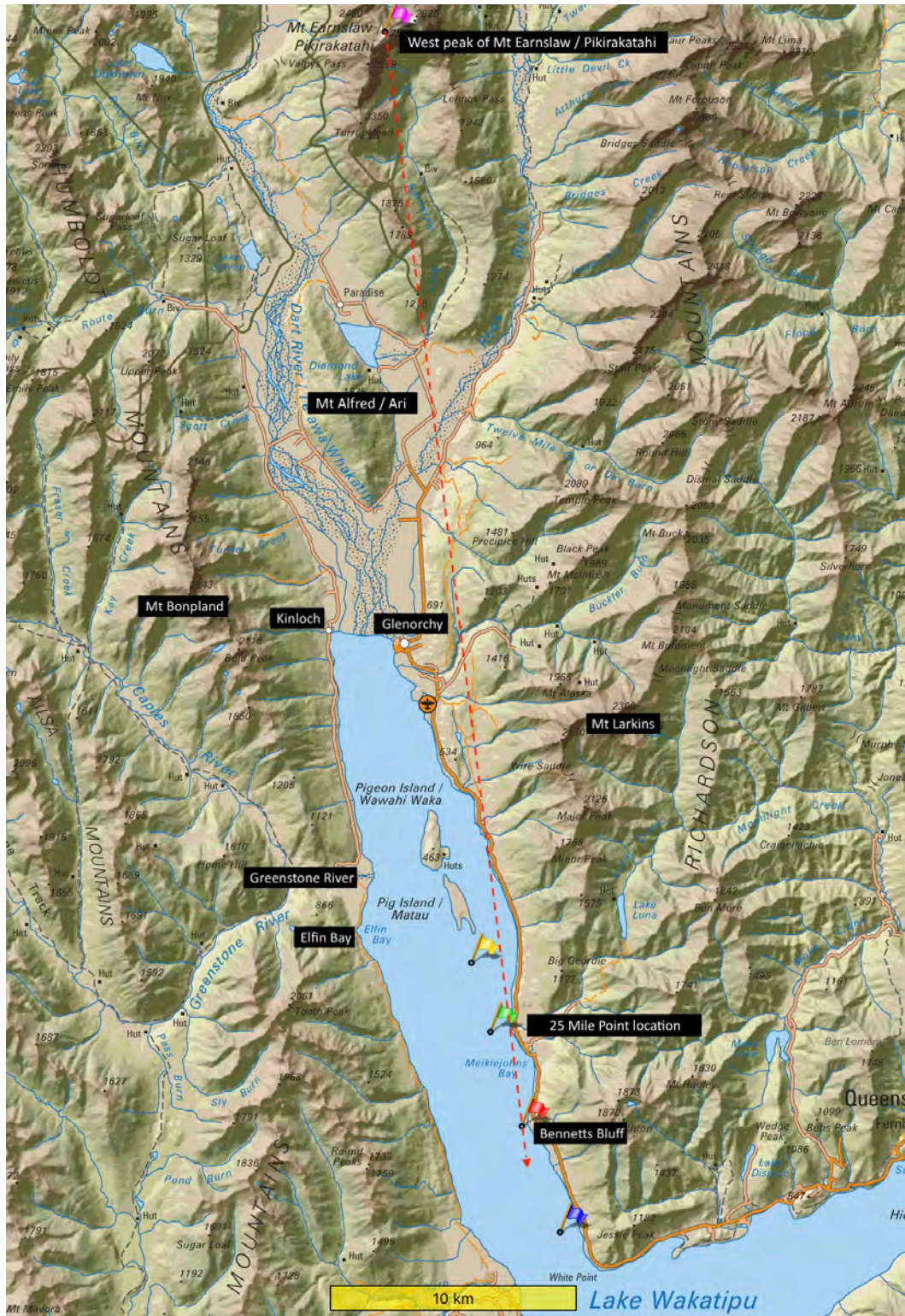


Figure 10.7. Identifying the vantage points of various sketches

Section of *NZ Topo Plus 50k SI* digital, Memory-Map. Black labels added. The dashed red line is the plumb bob sight line derived from Guérard's panoramic sketch (Figure 10.6, top) projected onto the topographic map of the district. The red flag indicates the approximate vantage point of that sketch; the blue flag, that of the Humboldt Mountains sketch (Figure 10.14, middle); the green flag, that of the sketched details of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi (Figure 10.12, top right); and the yellow flag, that of the Pig Island/Mātau sketch (see page 355).

Establishing the vantage point

The virtual observer of the PeakFinder application was then moved along this sight line,¹⁵ within the confines of the lake, until all of the peaks visible in the virtual view (Figure 10.8, top) aligned with those in the field drawing (Figure 10.8, bottom), with the closer virtual peaks having the same height relative to the higher peaks lying behind them as in the sketch. The closest match occurred at the geographical coordinates 45°01'38"S and 168°26'04"E. The virtual view in Figure 10.8 is scaled so that summits of Mt Alfred/Ari (1,375 m asl) and Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi (2,830 m asl) align exactly with those features in the sketch, with the whole of the sketched scene being captured in the virtual field of view.

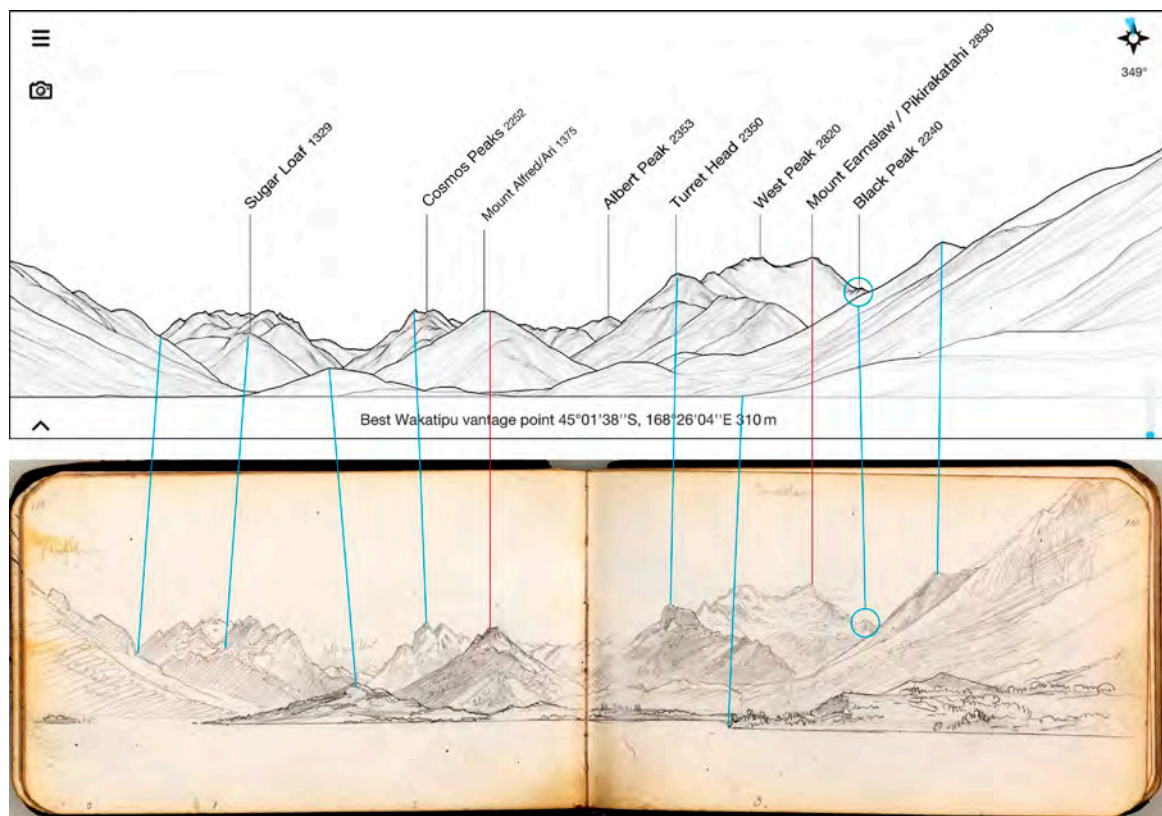


Figure 10.8. **Alignment of the virtual view with the field drawing**

Top: Virtual view generated at GPS coordinates very close to vantage point of the field drawing. Bottom: [Head of the lake]. The vertical red lines through the most prominent landscape features are used to scale the virtual view so that it aligns with the sketched view. The blue lines indicate the alignment of other significant features.

15. GPS coordinates of points lying along that sight line were systematically entered into PeakFinder, which was a time-consuming process. The use of this technique to locate the vantage point of landscape paintings is discussed in greater depth in Hook, "Using Spatial Technology."

In Figure 10.8, features in the right half of the sketch are only slightly out of alignment with the same features in the virtual view, while those on the left are significantly out of alignment, but inconsistently so. The fact that Black Peak (circled in blue) just appears in the gap between the right flank of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi and left flank of Mt Larkins is a strong indicator that the virtual vantage point is very close to Guérard's on-board vantage point. The misalignments on the left half of the sketch, however, suggest that either that part of the skyline was drawn shortly after the counterpart on the right, when the ship's position had changed, or more likely, the artist found it difficult to get placements right from his mobile vantage point.

Identifying the peaks

When the PeakFinder view was in alignment with the field sketch it was then possible to identify the main peaks forming the horizon of the painting by comparing it with the virtual view (Figure 10.9, top and bottom).

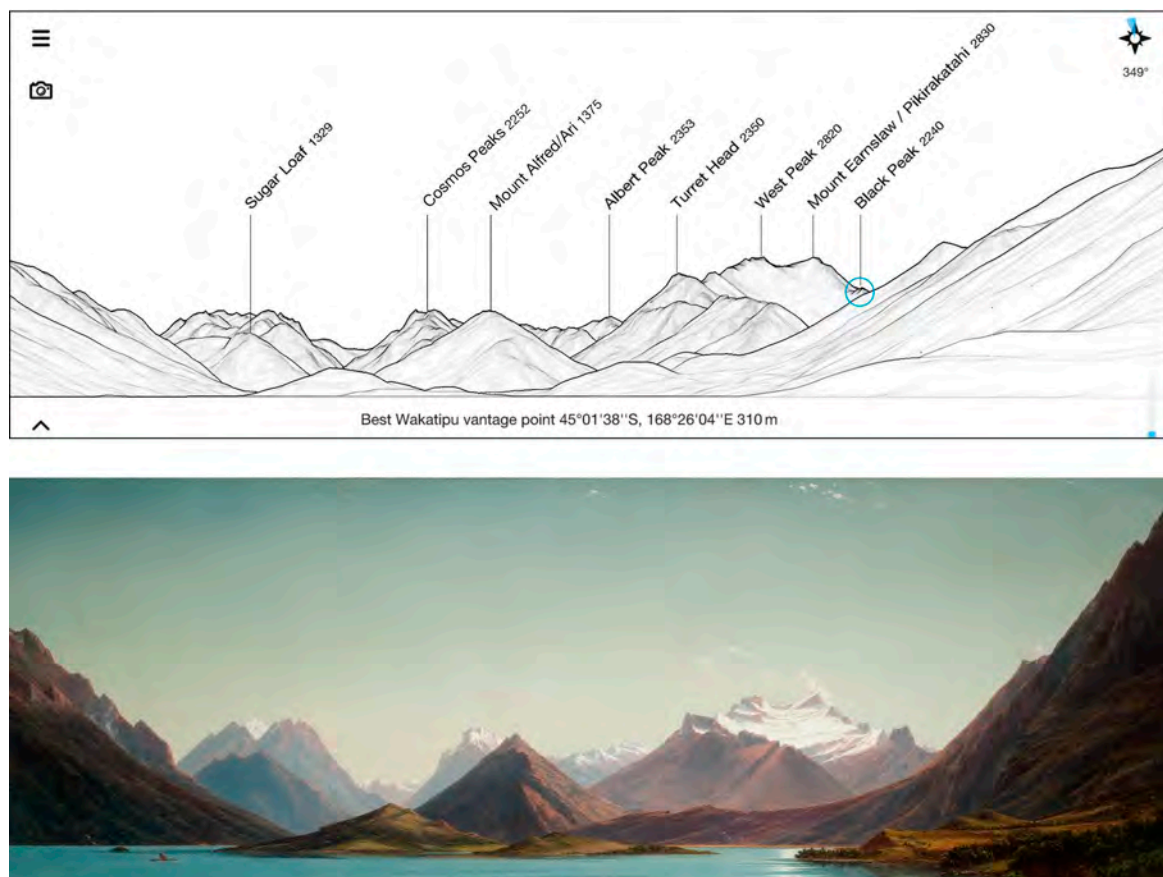


Figure 10.9. **Identifying the main summits**

Top: Virtual view from the vantage point of the field sketch. Bottom: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail).

Fidelity analysis of the painting

With the vantage point of the principal field sketch on which Guérard based the *Lake Wakatipu* painting established, the extent to which the painting is “true to nature as far as is possible” can be evaluated by comparing different aspects of the work with the natural features visible from that vantage point and the natural history of the location.

Topographical fidelity

When the painted landscape is compared with the virtual view at a locus close to the vantage point of the panoramic sketch, and a photograph taken from Bennetts Bluff Lookout, which is about 650 m away in a northeast direction from the vantage point, it is clear that Guérard accurately rendered the general topography of major features of the landscape (Figure 10.10), and remarkably so given his moving vantage point. The overall shape and positioning of peaks and background features are accurately rendered and well located relative to one another, which indicates that Guérard was indeed concerned with topographic accuracy in this scene, as art historian Ruth Pullin asserted.¹⁶

16. Pullin, “Geognostic Landscape of New Zealand,” 12.

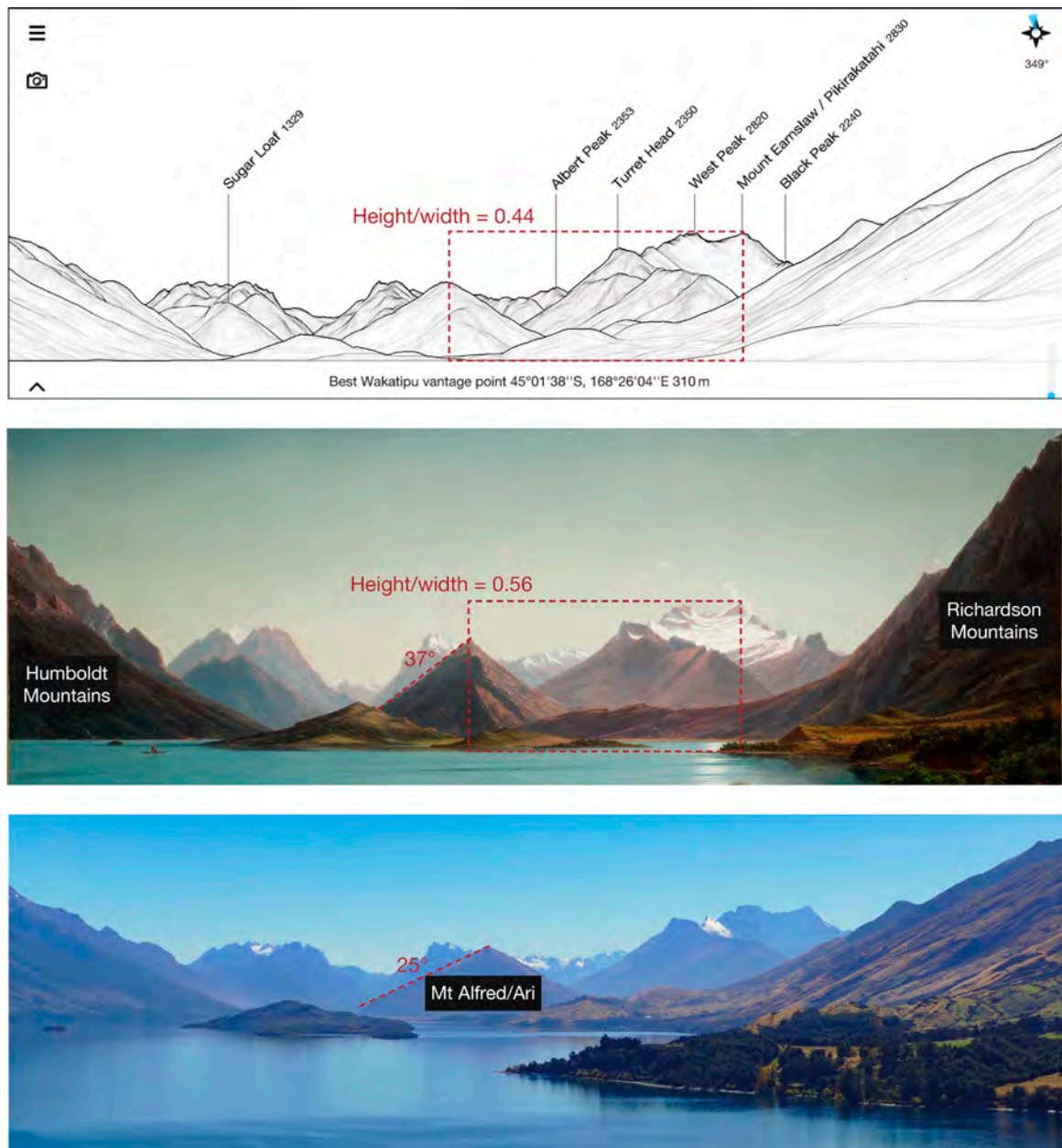


Figure 10.10. **Comparing the painted topography with the sketched and photographed** Top: virtual view from close to the vantage point of the field drawing. Middle: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). Bottom: view from Bennetts Bluff Lookout, 2017. Photograph: author. The dashed red rectangle is used to compare the height of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi in different views, and the dashed red line to compare the slope angle of Mt Alfred/Ari.

Despite the general topographic accuracy of the background landscape, there is a puzzling discrepancy in the midground of the artwork relating to the two islands. Although the larger and higher Pigeon Island/Wāwāhi Waka is correctly positioned relative to the background peaks when compared with the virtual view from close to the vantage of the field sketch (Figure 10.11), the much lower Pig Island/Mātau has migrated a significant distance to the right (east). As Guérard

faithfully reproduced the position of Pig Island/Mātau relative to Pigeon Island/Wāwāhi Waka and Mt Alfred/Ari when compared with the sketch, it must be concluded that the location of Pig Island/Mātau was incorrectly sketched in on the panoramic drawing. This was because the features of the two islands looked to be part of a single island from his vantage point off Bennetts Bluff, but as the steamer headed further north it become apparent to the travelling artist that there were actually two islands. He would then have sketched in a clearer outline of the smaller island, but by that time the perspective had shifted significantly as the ship had moved on in a northwest direction towards Kinloch, thus giving a view of Pig Island/Mātau from further to the west, which would have shifted the island to the right (east) in the sketch.¹⁷

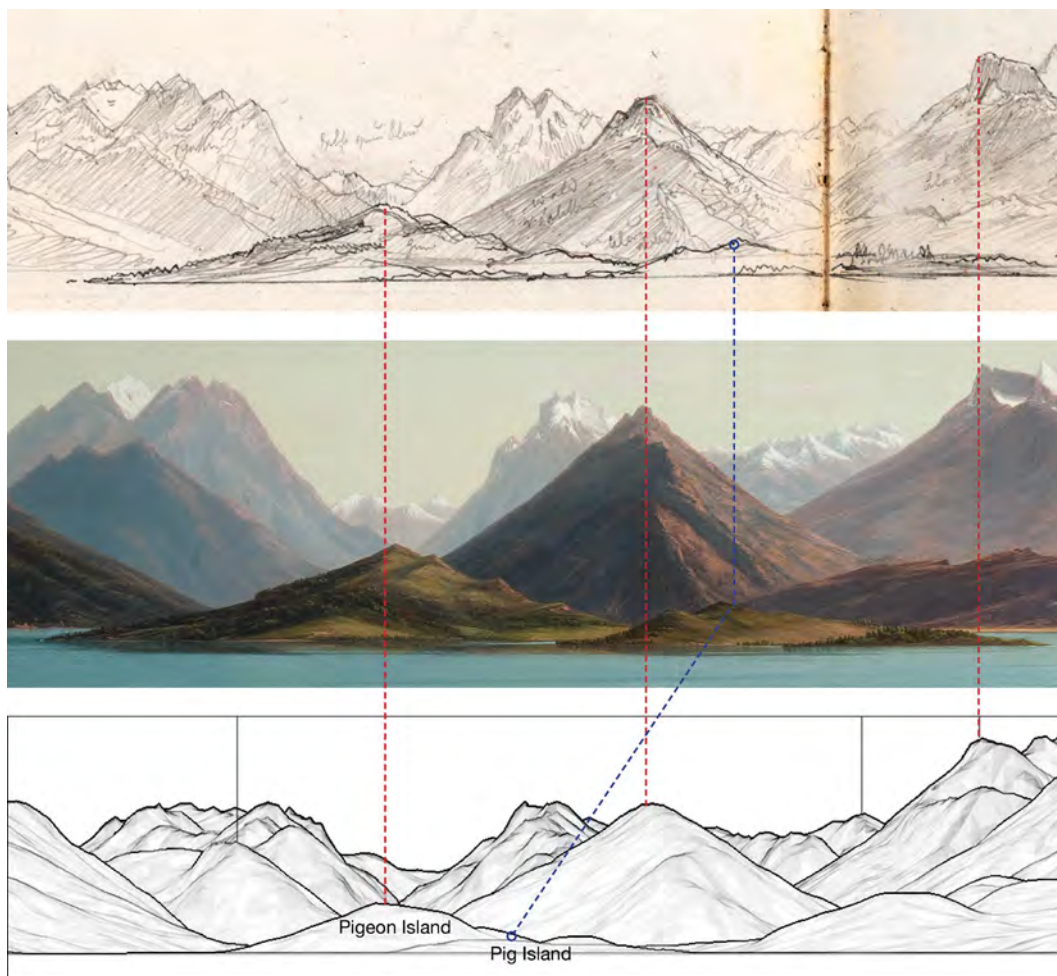


Figure 10.11. **Comparing the midground topography with the sketched and virtual views**
 Top: [Head of the lake] (detail). Middle: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). Bottom: virtual view (detail).

17. The original outlines of Pigeon Island/Wāwāhi Waka and Pig Island/Mātau have been modified with darker pencil lines on the field drawing

Elevational fidelity

Guérard typically exaggerates the heights of peaks and hills in his Australian landscapes for dramatic effect (see page 264). Despite the much higher elevation of the mountains he encountered in the New Zealand landscape, as compared with those he encountered in Australia, he still resorted to amplifying the heights of peaks in this painting and in *Milford Sound*. When the height/width measure of a clearly defined rectangular section of the painting and that of the equivalent area of the PeakFinder view are compared (Figure 10.10, top and middle, dashed red rectangles), it is apparent that Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi been increased in height by a factor of ~ 1.3 ($= 0.56/0.44$).¹⁸ The vertical exaggeration is particularly apparent in the much increased steepness of the pyramid shaped Mt Alfred/Ari, whose slope angle has been increased by a factor of 1.48 ($= 37^\circ/25^\circ$), when the painting is compared with the photographed view from Bennetts Bluff Lookout (Figure 10.10, middle and bottom, dashed red line).¹⁹

Framing fidelity

Guérard often introduced a framing element or coulisse into his landscapes in order to create a more visually unified scene by linking the foreground to background, or to lead the viewer's eyes toward a specific motif in a painting. Usually, the coulisse is in the form of a tall tree or sometimes a substantial rock formation. In the *Lake Wakatipu* painting, however, he adopted a significantly different approach to framing the scene. The more distant mountain ranges and peaks are framed within the steep mountain slopes on either side of the midground, which contributes to the creation of pictorial depth in the work, thus making the far peaks appear further away. The flanks of Mt Bonpland in the Humboldt Mountains on the far left,²⁰ and Mt Larkins on

18. The height of the rectangle is from the base of Pig Island/Mātau to the highest peak of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi, and the width is from a vertical line through the summit of Mt Alfred/Ari to a vertical line drawn through the highest summit of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi.

19. The conical shape of Mt Alfred/Ari was the result of a glacier grinding its way past either side of the schist peak during the Ōtira Glaciation 75,000 to 14,000 years ago.

20. The mountain was named after Aimé Bonpland, the French botanist who accompanied Alexander von Humboldt on his expedition in South America, by James McKerrow, the Chief Surveyor of Otago. See Garry Tee, "Science on the Map: Places in New Zealand Named after Scientists," *Rutherford Journal* 2, 2006–2007, <http://www.rutherfordjournal.org/article020102.html>.

the far right, have been dramatically steepened and the uppermost reaches of each have been heightened, as is clearly evident when the painting is compared with either the photographed or virtual view (Figure 10.10). These modifications have created a wide U-shaped curve, with steeply sloping sides, that frames the far-distant view in the upper half of the painting beyond the head of the lake. The artist may have deliberately sought to evoke a visual reference to the typical U-shaped cross section of an unflooded glacial valley, thus communicating to more knowledgeable viewers the geological history of the Wakatipu Basin, and confirming the “deeper understanding of nature” that this “thoroughly executed artwork” required.²¹ Pullin made a similar argument when she asserted that it is “abstract rhythmic geometry of the composition,” based on Guérard’s “topographically accurate portrayal of the peaks,” which implies the “geological history of the landscape while simultaneously recording its present form.”²² However, the contribution of slope steepening and summit heightening to reinforcing the abstract geometry of the design had not been recognised.

Scaling fidelity

Guérard often included human figures in a painting to provide a sense of the scale of physical features in a natural landscape. Although there are human figures in this iconic New Zealand landscape, it is the waka (wooden Māori canoe) on the lake that could provide some sense of the scale of other features. The waka is not based on anything the artist observed on the lake.²³ The canoe appears to be painted at an appropriate size relative to the height of foreground features, such as the cabbage trees. However, given that its distance from the foreshore is difficult to gauge, the waka does not have much impact on the viewer’s sense of the scale of other features in the artwork. It is the steepening and elevating of Mt Bonland and Mt Larkins on either side of the top half of the painting that act to monumentalise the landscape.

21. Letter from Guérard to Haast, April 27, 1881, in Darragh and Pullin, *Lieber Freund!*, 48.

22. See Pullin, “Geognostic Landscape of New Zealand,” 12.

23. The Māori population in western Otago was nearly non-existent by the time settlers entered the territory in the 1850s, perhaps due to the impact of war parties from the North Island drastically reducing the Ngāi Tahu population. G. Cunningham, *Illustrated History of Central Otago and the Queenstown Lakes District* (Auckland: Reed Books, 2005), 17.

Geomorphological fidelity

The details of some of the peaks and slopes in the paintings are not based on those sketched in the double-page panorama. Rather, they are based on four other small sketches, whose existence is indicated by the code numbers 0, 1, 2 and 3 found along the bottom of the sketch (Figure 10.4). Sketch 0 is a small section of a double-page panorama of the Humboldt Mountains (Figure 10.14, bottom) on the western side of the head of the lake (Figure 10.7), and sketches 1, 2 and 3 are three small sketches all on the same page of the sketchbook (Figure 10.12, top right). Number 1 is of Minos and Poseidon Peaks and Mt Nox, 2 is of Cosmos Peaks, and 3 is of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi.

When Guérard's two sketched and one painted views of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi are compared with a historical photograph of the peak (Figure 10.12), the artist's intention of accurately portraying important landforms is immediately obvious. He would have been particularly concerned with faithfully portraying the Earnslaw Glacier, given his interest in glaciers in general²⁴ and his friend Haast's expertise in glaciology and extensive knowledge of the South Island glaciers.²⁵ Although the features of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi have been heightened in the painting, the extent of the glacier is accurately illustrated when compared with the early monochrome photograph by Alfred Burton (Figure 10.12, bottom left), taken only ten years after Guérard's visit.²⁶ Some aspects of the Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi sketch, particularly the details of the snow-free, flat-topped rocky peak on the right (eastern) flank of the mountain (Figure 10.12, bottom right, dashed red rectangle), are not viewable from the location at which the artist sketched the head of the lake panorama (Figure 10.7, red flag). Indeed, as noted earlier, he would not have had the time to make a detailed sketch at that location. The PeakFinder application was used to establish that the detailed sketch of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi would have been made as

24. Pullin argues that Guérard's interest in glaciers was influenced by the dictum of Carl Gustav Carus, that artists ought to paint geognostic landscapes that convey Earth's geological history. See Pullin, "Geognostic Landscape of New Zealand," 5.

25. Colin J Burrows, *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2005), 44–73.

26. As Burton's vantage point was closer to the glacier, less of the lower part of the glacier is visible than in the detailed sketch.

the paddle steamer passed by 25 Mile Point (Figure 10.7, green flag), where the rocky peak would have come into view.



Figure 10.12. **Comparing painted glacial features with field drawings and a site photograph**
Top left: [Head of the lake] (detail). Top right: [Sketches of features 1, 2 and 3], folio 113, “Sketchbook XXXVIII.” Bottom right: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). Bottom left: Alfred Burton, *Mount Earnslaw, from Pigeon Island, Lake Wakatipu*, 1886 (detail), registration C.018199, TP.

It is possible to make a more detailed comparison of another landform featured in the painting with an historic photograph of the same feature, albeit from a different vantage point. Queenstown photographer William Hart took the early double-plate, panoramic photograph of 25 Mile Point (Figure 10.13, top) sometime between 1876 and 1885 from a hill just south of where Twenty Five Mile Creek enters Lake Wakatipu. At first glance it appears that the flat surfaces at different heights are artificial structures, but in fact they are lakeshore terraces formed over geological time when the surface of the lake was at significantly different elevations.²⁷ While the angularity and flatness of the multiple terraces would have been readily visible from the

27. Florian Kober, “The Late Quaternary Geology of the Glenorchy District, Upper Lake Wakatipu” (Postgraduate Diploma of Science dissertation, University of Otago, 1999). See also, Florian Kober, email message to author, August 6, 2019, in which he stated that they were most likely formed by lake-level changes rather than local glacial effects.

paddle steamer as it passed by, Guérard either chose to ignore those details or failed to notice them, as the same feature in the painting has been softened and rounded to show a broad hollow with a gentle slope leading to the small hills behind. If he had reproduced those geometrical terrace structures, they might have detracted from his intended view of an “untouched,”²⁸ or even “primordial” New Zealand landscape.²⁹ However, as the field sketch (Figure 10.4) also lacks any detail of the terracing, it is more likely that the artist was distracted by the scenery ahead as the *SS Antrim* steamed past, and failed to notice the terraces.



Figure 10.13. **Comparing painted landforms with photographed river terraces**
Top: William Hart, *Head of Lake Wakatipu, N.Z., from 25 Mile [Point]*, c. 1876–1885 (detail), registration PA.000178, TP. Bottom: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail showing 25 Mile Point).

28. Bade, *The German Connection*, 106.

29. Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 116.

Perspectival fidelity

When a section of the far left of the painting (Figure 10.14, top right, dashed red rectangle) is compared with the far left of the field drawing of the head of the lake (Figure 10.14, top left), it is clear that not all painted features are based on details recorded in Guérard's panoramic sketch, particularly the two pyramidal lower peaks. These features are based on details illustrated in a sketch of the Humboldt Mountains (Figure 10.14, middle) made earlier on the same day. This is confirmed by the "0" code found at the bottom of the far left section of the panorama and of the far right section of the earlier sketch. In this instance, the PeakFinder application confirmed that the Humboldt Mountains sketch was made from a point further south of where Guérard made the panoramic sketch of the head of the lake (Figure 10.7, blue flag). The heavily shaded far-right promontory in the earlier sketch (Figure 10.14, middle) is actually Bennetts Bluff, as the modern photograph confirms (Figure 10.14, bottom). The slope on the far left of the painting has been extended upwards to better frame the more distant peaks between the flanks of Mt Bonpland in the Humboldt Mountains on the left and those of Mt Larkins in the Richardson Mountains on the right (Figure 10.10, middle).



Figure 10.14. **Comparing the painted view of the Humboldt Mountains with field drawings**
 Top left: [Head of the lake] (detail). Top right: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). Middle: [View of the Humboldt Mountains with Bennetts Bluff on the far right] (detail), folio 109, “Sketchbook XXXVIII.” Bottom: View of the Humboldt Mountains with Bennetts Bluff in the foreground (detail). Photograph: Tudor ApMadoc.

The Lake Wakatipu painting is, therefore, not strictly faithful to the view from any single location. In reality, it is a *multiple viewpoint perspective* work, constructed out of views from four different vantage points (Figure 10.7, blue, red, green and yellow flags).³⁰ As such, Guérard was

30. The term *multiple viewpoint perspective* comes from Joanna Barbara Rapp, “A Geometrical Analysis of Multiple Viewpoint Perspective in the Work of Giovanni Battista Piranesi: An Application of Geometric Restitution of Perspective,” *Journal of Architecture* 13, no. 6 (2008), <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602360802573868>.

not breaking new artistic ground; rather, his painting was the inevitable consequence of his changing vantage point as the ship steamed north, and the constraint that he could observe the detail of certain features of the scene only from certain spots.

Foreground fidelity

Given that the main field sketch on which the painting is based was made from out on the lake, the entire foreground sweep of land in the painting up to the middle of the right side of the painting is invented (Figure 10.15, middle). The general topography of that foreground is not based on any other sketch that Guérard made in his two sketchbooks with New Zealand images.³¹ Even though the foreground topography and shoreline are invented, some of the botanical and geological details are based on sketches he made in the district, as will be seen. Alternatively, he may have relied to some extent on his visual memory of views of the eastern shoreline from the deck of the *SS Antrim*, given that he first displayed the painting just over a year after his visit and details of the shore might still have been fresh in his mind when he painted it.



Figure 10.15. **Comparing the painted foreground with the field drawing**

Top: [Head of the lake]. Bottom: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). The land-based features within the trapezium (red-dashed line) represent the invented foreground.

31. "Sketchbook XXXVIII" and "Volume 16: Sketchbook XXXIX, No. 21, Australia and New Zealand, 1877–1882," reference code 825445, SLNSW.

Geological fidelity

The bedrock of the Wakatipu Basin is schist, a metamorphic rock produced in this case when sandstone (greywacke) and mudstone were subjected to high pressure and temperature over millions of years deep in Earth's crust, before being uplifted during the last 25 million years in a "crustal mountain-building phase" called the Kaikoura Orogeny.³² This phase resulted from the ongoing collision of the Australian and Pacific crustal plates along the Alpine Fault. The schist that has been forced to the surface has a foliated structure that makes it possible to discern the degree to which it has been tilted (Figure 10.16, right). The schist around Lake Wakatipu is often quarried and used as a building stone (Figure 10.16, left). Fresh schist is shiny and mostly grey in colour, although there are also orange-brown and yellow-creamy schists found in Central Otago.³³ Schist around Lake Wakatipu is frequently exposed in rock outcrops, and given Guérard's interest in geology, it is reasonable to assume he observed and most likely handled this rock.

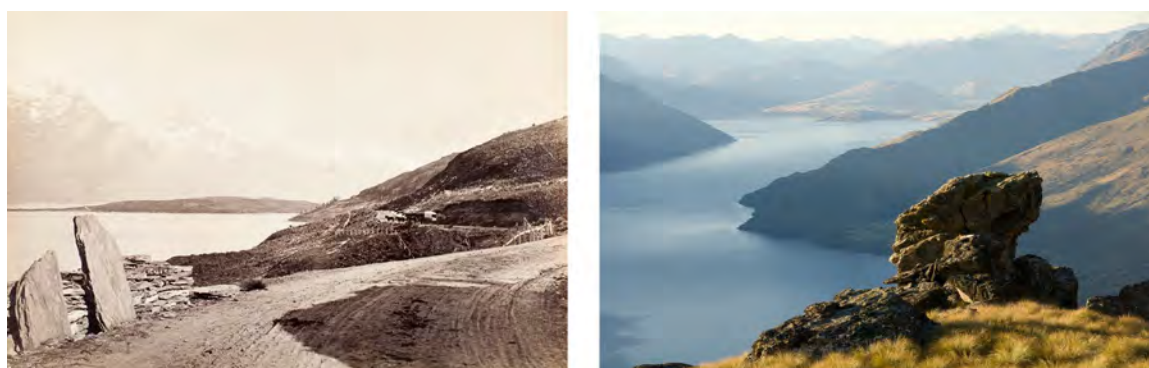


Figure 10.16. **Schist rock around Lake Wakatipu**

Left: William Hart, *Lake Wakatipu NZ, from Princes Point, c. 1878–1880*, registration C.016661, TP. The foliated (layered) structure of the roadside schist slabs can be clearly seen. The $\sim 20^\circ$ dip of the foliated schist is evident. Right: Wakatipu schist outcrop near Kingston. Photograph: Geoff Marshall (Alamy stock photos).

Small grey schistose rocks are identifiable in a photograph (Figure 10.17) taken along the foreshore not far from where the artist made the principal field sketch aboard the *SS Antrim*. However, the section of the painting that portrays the pebbles and cobblestones at the water's

32. Royden Thomson, "Geology: Geological Rock and Roll at Glenorchy," Glenorchy, accessed March 5, 2021, <http://www.glenorchycommunity.nz/glenorchy/geology>.

33. Stephen Carey, email message to author, May 5, 2017.

edge (Figure 10.17, top left inset) is not distinct enough to make any identification of rock type possible. In fairness to Guérard, it should be mentioned that the steamer would not have come close enough to the eastern shore for him to have observed the details of the pebbles and cobbles.

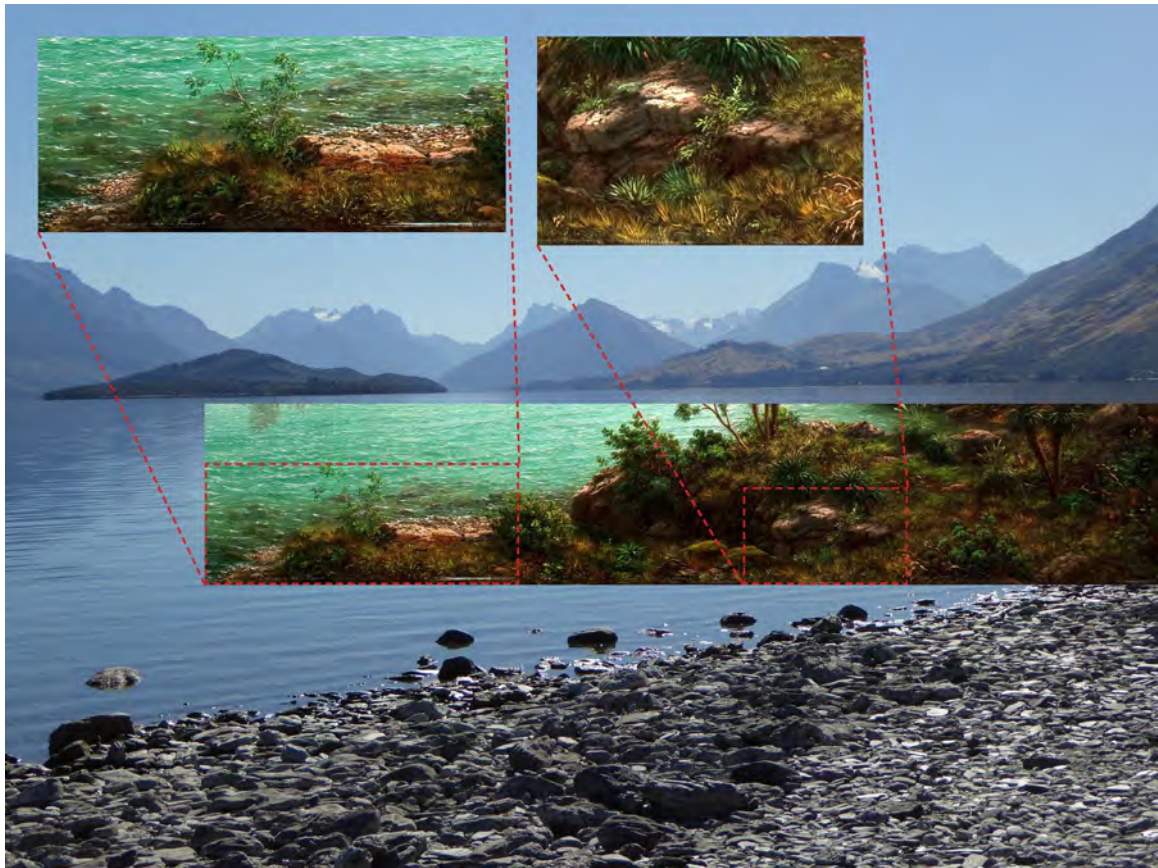


Figure 10.17. **Comparing painted foreground rocks with pebbles in the site photograph**
View of the head of Lake Wakatipu from a beach just north of 25 Mile Point, 2017. Photograph: author. Top left inset: pebbles along shoreline. Top right inset: rock exposure that resembles dipping sedimentary bedding. Bottom inset: foreground of painting. All insets *Lake Wakatipu*.

The rock exposures illustrated in the foreground of the painting (Figure 10.17, top right inset) have been identified as exhibiting sedimentary bedding, dipping shallowly westward at about 20° ,³⁴ rather than the schist exposures that are found near Bennetts Bluff. If Guérard intended to illustrate some schist blocks that he had seen near Bennetts Bluff, then the foliation should be distinctly dipping at about 30° (Figure 10.16, right).³⁵ More likely, either deliberately or

34. Stephen Carey, email message to author, August 7 and March 4, 2021.

35. I. M. Turnbull (compiler), *Geology of the Wakatipu Area, Wakatipu, 1:250 000 Geological Map* (Lower Hutt: Institute of Geological and Nuclear Sciences Limited, 2000).

inadvertently, Guérard illustrated sedimentary bedding, but there is none along the shoreline of the northern arm of Lake Wakatipu.³⁶ There is one sedimentary outcrop with exposed sandstone along the Lake Wakatipu shoreline, but it is an exposure that dips at 53° near Bobs Cove on the northern shore of the transverse leg of the lake, which Guérard may possibly have noticed on the trip. The artist would, however, have committed a geological error if he had intended to illustrate sedimentary bedding on an imagined shoreline along the northern arm of the lake.

Botanical fidelity

In the foreground of the painting, Guérard took particular care to illustrate some of the unusual botanical species found around the lake (Figure 10.18), which revealed his commitment to “botanical specificity and diversity” in his paintings.³⁷ These included cabbage trees, flax bushes and the tall tussock grass plants known as toetoe.

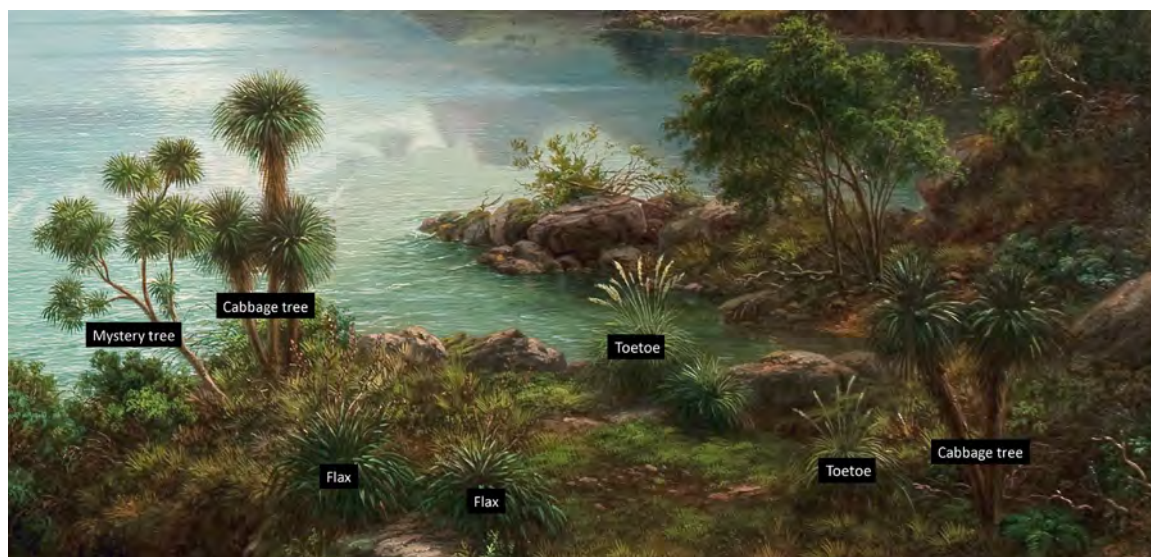


Figure 10.18. **Unusual plant species in the foreground of the painting** *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). Note the mystery tree on the far left.

Flax

The artist made two drawings in his pocket-sized sketchbook of flax bushes that he observed around the shores of Lake Wakatipu. One shows the impressive size that Swamp Flax or Harakeke (*Phormium tenax*) grows to (Figure 10.19, bottom right) – the tips of the inflorescences

36. Stephen Carey, email message to author, August 7, 2019.

37. Pullin, “Geognostic Landscape of New Zealand,” 12.

can reach a height of 5 m. The other sketch (Figure 10.19, top left) shows a couple of specimens of the much smaller Mountain Flax or Wharariki (*Phormium colensoi*). Both species grow naturally around the shores of Lake Wakatipu.³⁸ Given their diminutive size, the flax plants with inflorescences illustrated in the painting (Figure 10.19, top left) would be Mountain Flax.



Figure 10.19. **Comparing painted flax bushes with sketched and photographed plants**
 Top left: *Kingston Lake Wakatipu*, 28 January 1876, folio 15, “Sketchbook XXXVIII.” Top right: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). Bottom right: *N.Z. Flax, Wakatipu*, 1876, folio 88, “Sketchbook XXXVIII.” Bottom left: Alfred Burton, *Head of Lake Wakatipu from Glenorchy* (detail), 1888, registration O.026400, TP.

Toetoe

There are five tall tussock grass species called toetoe found in New Zealand, all belonging to the genus *Austroderia*. Guérard was quite taken with this native plant, as he included examples with their creamy-yellow inflorescences in both of his major New Zealand works, but there is no sketch of toetoe in his extant sketchbooks. Botanist Peter de Lange had no hesitation in

38. Simpson and Teele, *Growing Native Plants in the Wakatipu*, 32.

identifying the tussock plants in the Wakatipu painting (Figure 10.20, left) as belonging to the species *Austroderia richardii*,³⁹ which is a South Island species found along the edges of wet places, such as lakes, up to the sub-alpine zone (Figure 10.20, right). The identification was made partly on the basis of the appearance of the plants, particularly of the flowering stalks, and partly on the basis of the known distribution of different toetoe species.

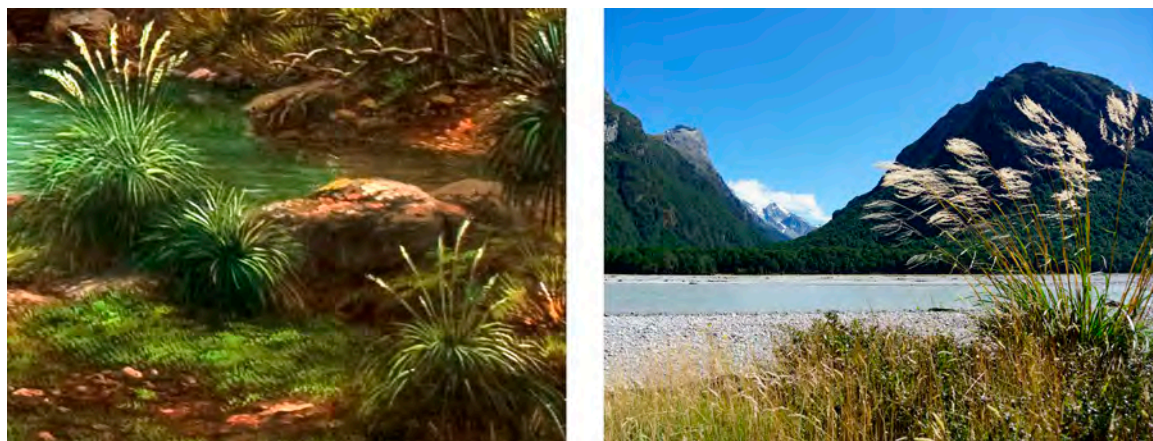


Figure 10.20. **Painted and photographed toetoe plants at Lake Wakatipu**

Left: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). Right: *Toetoe alongside the Dart River* (detail), Alamy stock photos. Photograph: Bryan Scantlebury.

Cabbage trees

Cabbage trees or tī kōuka grow throughout New Zealand. The main species is *Cordyline australis*, which has a juvenile and an adult form. The juvenile form consists of a solitary trunk with a bunch of long, spiky leaves at the top. Guérard sketched a couple of juveniles when he first reached the lake at Kingston (Figure 10.19, top left), but in the painting they appear to grow in clumps or exist as multi-trunked trees (Figure 10.21, left and right). An 1870s monochrome photograph taken at Halfway Bay by Alfred Burton (Figure 10.21, centre) confirms that multi-trunk cabbage trees did exist along the shoreline of Lake Wakatipu, which Guérard would have seen on the steamer trip from Kingston to Queenstown, as he mentions Halfway Bay in his notes

39. Peter de Lange, email message to Neville Walsh, May 5, 2017.

in the back of Sketchbook XXXVIII. According to Philip Simpson, the expert on the New Zealand cabbage trees, multi-trunk trees can be induced by cutting, drought, cold or fire.⁴⁰



Figure 10.21. **Comparing painted juvenile cabbage trees with photographed ones**
Left and right: *Lake Wakatipu* (details). Centre: Alfred Burton, *Cabbage Tree Grove, Halfway Bay, Lake Wakatipu*, registration O.000871, TP.

Mystery tree

There is one rather elegant tree in the foreground of the painting (Figure 10.22, middle) that has a puzzling growth form. The spiky tufts of leaves look like those of a cabbage tree, but the pattern of branching does not resemble its equal-forking growth habit (e.g. Figure 10.22, right). Simpson commented that Guérard “does portray a mature cabbage tree of the same species [as the juveniles]. He reduced its size to fit it in, and made it more accessible to the viewer by slanting it, and giving it a branching pattern to create a form that looks like a ‘normal,’ i.e. dicotyledonous, tree.”⁴¹ This botanical inaccuracy occurred despite the artist having made a detailed drawing of a mature cabbage tree later in the trip, near Upper Hutt (Figure 10.22, left). While Simpson’s latter claim may be true, more likely Guérard was concerned to ensure the form of the tree contributed to the picturesqueness of the scene.

40. Philip Simpson, *Dancing Leaves: The Story of New Zealand’s Cabbage Tree, Ti Kouka* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000), 74, 93; Philip Simpson, email message to author, May 9, 2017.

41. Philip Simpson, email message to author, May 9, 2017.



Figure 10.22. **Comparing the painted cabbage tree with sketched and photographed ones**
 Left: *Near Upper Hutt*, 1876, folio 177, “Sketchbook XXXVIII,” Middle: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail).
 Right: Alfred Burton, *Half-way Bay Lake Wakatipu*, c. 1870s (detail), registration C.016732, TP.

Ecological fidelity

The slopes of Mt Bonpland in the Humboldt Mountains on the western side of the lake (Figure 10.23, top right) could have provided an ideal opportunity to assess the ecological fidelity of one of Guérard’s works, given that *community zonation* is apparent in an 1888 photograph from the Burton Brothers studio (Figure 10.23, top left).⁴² The changing environmental conditions with increasing altitude result in a progression from the lighter-coloured beech forest, dominated by Silver Beech (*Lophozonia menziesii*) near the shoreline, eventually giving way to the darker vegetation of Mountain Beech (*Fuscospora cliffortioides*). At the upper end of the tolerance range of mountain beech, stunted dwarf trees form the bushline, which gives way to snow tussock (*Chionochloa* spp.), interspersed with bare rock.⁴³ The artist largely based his image of the flanks of the Humboldt Mountains on part of the sketch (Figure 10.23, bottom) that he completed before the SS *Antrim* reached the location where he made the panoramic sketch on which most of the

42. *Community zonation* refers to the distribution of different species into zones across a landscape, often in response to an environmental gradient such as increasing altitude.

43. Peter de Lange, email message to author, August 1, 2019. He also noted that “much of the same vegetation occurs in the general area still.” See also Simpson and Teele, *Growing Native Plants in the Wakatipu*, 7.

painting is based. Although Guérard clearly delineated the forested area and the bushline, he did not use pencil shading to record the tonal transition from Silver Beech to Mountain Beech within the forested area. On the far right of the painting (Figure 10.23, top right) he clearly shows the forest commencing on the shoreline and advancing up the slope to what might be a distinct bushline just beneath the pair of bare, triangular rock faces. However, he does not distinguish between the different types of beech forest.



Figure 10.23. Comparing painted zonation with sketched and photographed zonation
 Top right: Alfred Burton, *Humboldt Range, Head of Lake Wakatipu*, 1888, registration C.016742, TP. Top left: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). Bottom: [View of the Humboldt Mountains with Bennetts Bluff in the foreground], 1876, folio 109, “Sketchbook XXXVIII.”

Another element of the painting that shows the distribution of vegetation in a distinctive way is the image of Pigeon Island/Wāwāhi Waka, whose details are based entirely on the principal field sketch. No early photographs of the island from the south could be located, although a double-plate panorama by Alfred Burton, made from near the top of Pigeon Island/Wāwāhi Waka (Figure 10.24, bottom) was located. This view of the island shows a similar

distribution of non-forest vegetation as in the painting, with what appear to be Bracken Fern (*Pteridium esculentum*) and tussock grasses covering the summits. The presence of that vegetation may have been due to fire clearance of bush by Māori in pre-contact times or possibly by the run-holder who farmed the islands as part of his station.

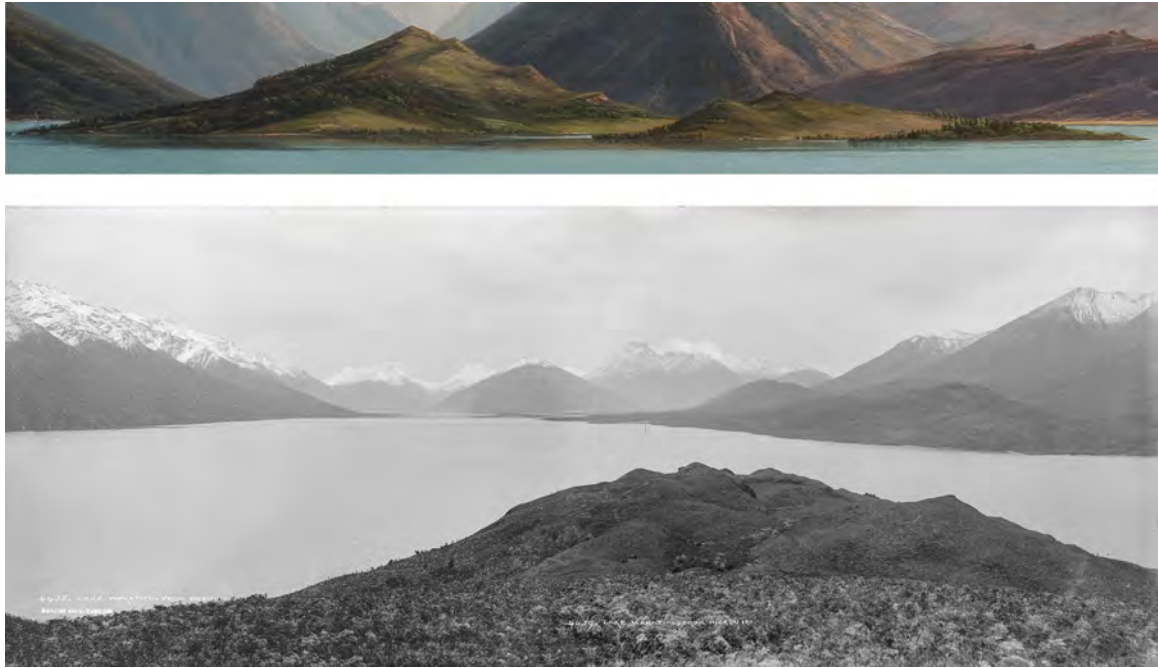


Figure 10.24. **Comparing painted bush cover with photographed cover**

Top: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). Bottom: Alfred Burton, *Lake Wakatipu from Pigeon Island*, 1886, panorama, registration C.016693 and C.016691, TP. The panorama was created by merging the images of the two photographs in Photoshop.

Orientation and illumination fidelity

The on-the-water distance between Queenstown and Kinloch is about 45 km. When the SS *Antrim* took tourists to the head of the lake, it cruised at around 6 knots, traversing about 11 km each hour.⁴⁴ The journey would therefore have taken about four hours, and allowing for an hour's stopover at Kinloch for lunch, the round trip would have taken about nine hours in total. The paddle steamer must have departed from the Queenstown wharf early on the morning of 29 January, which meant that it would have been around mid-morning when Guérard sketched the head of the lake panorama just off Bennetts Bluff (Figure 10.7, red flag). As the bearing of principal sight line of his sketched field of view (Figure 10.8, top) is ~ N10°W (350°), he was

44. Travelling Reporter, "A Country Tour," *Otago Witness*, June 15, 1878. See also Footnote 12.

therefore looking in a north-northwest direction. The mid-morning sun would have been shining from high in the northeast sky. The sunlit and shadowed areas of the sketch (Figure 10.8, bottom), particularly on Mt Alfred/Ari, indicating that the sun was high on the right side (i.e. in the northeast), accord with the expected illumination at the time he made the sketch. The northern orientation and mid-morning timing of the scene is more clearly affirmed in the painting itself (Figure 10.1), particularly in the illuminated and shadowed areas on the islands, Mt Alfred/Ari and 25 Mile Point. The intense illumination of the southward-facing Earnslaw Glacier is another indicator that Guérard has virtually positioned the sun relatively high in the summer sky, as it would have been when he sketched the view of the head of the lake from the SS *Antrim*.

Meteorological fidelity

The panoramic field sketch (Figure 10.4) on which the painting is primarily based shows a near cloudless sky, except for a small wispy cloud just to the right of the highest summit of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi (Figure 10.25, left, red circle), which was identified as being *fractostratus*.⁴⁵ The sunny weather is reproduced in the painting (Figure 10.25, right), with the Earnslaw cloud having drifted in a westerly direction, along with a few other very small, slightly pinkish clouds above and beyond the western summit of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi, as well as high in the sky and just above a rocky outcrop on the flank of Mt Larkins.

45. *Fractostratus* clouds are ones that have sheared off a stratus cloud formation. The clouds were identified by Australian meteorologist Rowland Beardsell in an email message to author, November 2, 2020.



Figure 10.25. **Comparing painted clouds and birds with sketched ones**

Left: [Head of the lake] (detail). Right: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail). The red circle indicates the original position of the cloud and a possible bird in flight.

Zoological fidelity

On his panoramic field sketch Guérard added a squiggle that typically suggested the flight of a bird, just above the small cloud to the right of the highest peak of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi (Figure 10.25, left), but no distinctive birds are shown in the painting (Figure 10.1),⁴⁶ which is atypical of his practice. Lacking familiarity with the flight shape and colours of any large, identifiable New Zealand native bird, he omitted them altogether.

Despite depicting a pre-contact scene, Guérard was not tempted to include any of the giant moa that inhabited Central Otago, and which became extinct only in the fifteenth century, about two centuries after the arrival of Māori.⁴⁷ Haast had acquired a large collection of the moa skeletons, some of which were on display in the Mountfort Gallery at Canterbury Museum (Figure 10.28) when Guérard visited in 1876. In a letter to the geologist, the artist described his amazement on seeing the “formidable regiment of moa skeletons.”⁴⁸ Archaeological excavations

46. There are a few small white birds moving across the lake towards the more distant waka, but they are quite difficult to spot.

47. J. Darby et al., eds., *The Natural History of Southern New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2003), 119–121.

48. Darragh and Pullin, *Lieber Freund!*, 33.

in the Wakatipu Basin have revealed the presence of a seasonal Māori settlement on the Dart River/Te Awa Whakatipu near the head of the lake, where moa cooking occurred.⁴⁹

Hydrological fidelity

The level of water in the lake in the painting (Figure 10.1) is similar to that shown in early photographs, exemplified in particular by the shoreline of 25 Mile Point (Figure 10.26). Although the beach at the tip of the promontory appears to be more extensive in the photograph, Guérard was much further away when he sketched his panorama, so the beach would have been significantly foreshortened.



Figure 10.26. **Comparing the painted foreshore with the photographed one**

Left: *Lake Wakatipu* (detail showing 25 Mile Point). Right: Alfred Burton, *Humboldt Range, from 25 Mile Point* (detail), c. 1870–1880, registration C.016713, TP.

Colour of the lake

The colour of the lake in the painting appears to be significantly different from the plain “blue” noted by the famous nineteenth-century author Anthony Trollope,⁵⁰ and recorded in many modern colour photographs taken on sunny days. Guérard’s foreground lake water is turquoise,⁵¹ while in the site photograph it is shades of azure (Figure 10.27). The artist confessed to Haast that during

49. A. Anderson and N. Ritchie, “Excavations at the Dart Bridge Site, Upper Wakatipu Region: A Preliminary Report,” *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 24 (1981): 9.

50. Anthony Trollope, *New Zealand* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1875), 48.

51. The varnish applied to oil paintings yellows with age, which can result in an originally blue sky looking a kind of green. Although the sky in *Lake Wakatipu* has a yellowish tinge just above the horizon and a greenish tinge near the frame due to aged varnish, it is unlikely that the bright turquoise colour of the lake water is due to ageing rather than a deliberate colour choice.

his New Zealand excursion he “hardly had enough time to design the bare minimum in quick drawings with the lead thread and could not even think of colour sketches and therefore your praise is all the more pleasing to me, because I could only put my trust in my memory as regards colour.”⁵² Either the artist’s visual memory failed him on this occasion, or the lake took on a slight turquoise tint as the steamer headed northwards – as choppy bodies of water do when the sun is in a certain position. It must be acknowledged, though, that the foreground of the painting is rather an intense turquoise colour. Disconcertingly, the artist coloured the lake pale blue in one of two smaller versions of the painting (Figure 10.27, bottom).

There are two permanently turquoise lakes in New Zealand, Tekapo and Pukaki – on sunny days at least. The colour is due to the presence of a suspension of very fine particles called rock or glacial flour, which is formed by the grinding action of a glacier on the bedrock beneath or beside the river of ice. The very small particles become suspended in the meltwater coming from beneath the glacier, giving the water a milky appearance. When the meltwater flows into a glacial lake, the suspension reflects light in a particular way, which can make the lake water appear turquoise on a bright, sunny day. Lake Wakatipu is a very large lake with a huge volume of water, and normally there is insufficient rock flour entering the lake from the glacier-fed Rees River and Dart River/Te Awa Whakatipu (Figure 10.7) to maintain a concentration of suspended particles that would permanently change the colour of the lake to turquoise on sunny days. However, it is possible for a massive landslip, such as the one that occurred on the eastward slopes of the mountain named Cosmos Peaks in the headwaters of the Dart River/Te Awa Whakatipu in 2014, to release enough extra rock flour to temporarily change the lake’s colour.⁵³ Perhaps Guérard was at Lake Wakatipu shortly after such an event occurred, but corroborating evidence has not been found.

52. Darragh and Pullin, *Lieber Freund!*, 33.

53. “Phenomenal Colour Change for Famous NZ Lake,” Tourism New Zealand, 2014, accessed August 7, 2019, <https://media.newzealand.com/en/news/phenomenal-colour-change-for-famous-nz-lake>.



Figure 10.27. **Comparing painted lake colours with the photographed colour**
Top: *Lake Wakatipu*. Middle: Panorama of the head of the lake, 2017. Photograph: author.
Bottom: *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, New Zealand, 1877*, oil on canvas, 37 × 65 cm, private collection.

Optical fidelity

There is another anomaly relating to the lake in the painting. The reflection of distant peaks in the middle of the lake is relatively sharp (Figure 10.27, top) but, as the lake has small ripples, the image should be much more diffuse, as in the modern photograph (Figure 10.27, middle), despite the relative stillness of the lake's surface on the day the photograph was taken. According to the laws of reflection, a sharp image will be formed only by a flat – or in this case, still – reflecting surface, and rippling water does not qualify as such. Guérard resorted to artistic invention, as rippled water is more aesthetically pleasing than a large area of uniform colour representing the still water required for well-defined reflections.

Summary

This case study has identified the extent to which different aspects of Guérard's painting are true to nature in terms of fidelity to the view that the artist observed from the deck of the *SS Antrim* as it steamed northward past Bennetts Bluff on the morning of 29 January 1876, and to the natural history of the Wakatipu Basin. Some features are faithfully reproduced, a few have been modified to some extent, while others have been introduced or even invented.

With regard to the geography of the surrounding landscape, the painting accurately reproduces the topography of the more distant mountain peaks and ranges, rendering them readily identifiable, although summits are elevated, resulting in steeper slopes. The topography of Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi is based on a drawing Guérard sketched from a closer vantage point, which brings into the picture surrounding features that would not have been visible from the principal vantage point. While the topography of closer landmarks, such as the two islands, is accurately rendered, Pig Island/Mātau was drawn from an even closer vantage point, which resulted in its location relative to the peaks behind it being shifted eastward. While the latter issues are a consequence of Guérard's shifting viewpoint, it would not have been his intention to create a multiple-perspective or composite work, as in some of his other paintings;⁵⁴ rather, they were the inevitable result of sketching from a moving vantage point.

54. See the three examples discussed in Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity."

As the waka, which could perform the role of staffage, is rather distant from the shore, it does not act as an effective scale by which the relative size of other features could be judged. While no inserted or invented coulisse is used in the painting, the internal framing of the head of the lake by the two adjacent ranges has been emphasised by extending and steepening slopes.

The shapes of most landforms at the location have been faithfully reproduced, particularly the U-shaped glacial basin apparent beyond the head of the lake, the Earnslaw Glacier and the glacially sculpted Mt Alfred/Ari. However, the naturally formed river terraces of 25 Mile Point are absent. The distinctive, tilted schistose rock of the Wakatipu Basin is not illustrated at all, while the rock exposure depicted in the foreground resembles shallowly dipping sedimentary rock, which is not present in this location.

While the foreground is invented rather than based on any sketch, the rocky promontory itself is not atypical of the location. Many of the foreground plants are identifiable species endemic to the location, despite the inappropriate branching of the mature cabbage tree. The ecological accuracy of the lake-edge forestation of the Humboldt Mountains and the distribution of bush on Pigeon Island/Wāwāhi Waka are confirmed by early photographic sources.

In the case of the more transient aspects of the scene, the illumination of the painting accords with what Guérard observed and sketched mid-morning on 29 January. While the lake level around 25 Mile Point in the painting is consistent with that visible in an early photograph, the relative sharpness of the reflections in the lake is inconsistent with the choppiness of the water, although there is no way of knowing how still the lake was on the day. The veracity of the unusual turquoise colour of the normally azure lake has neither been confirmed nor disproved, but that colouration is possible. Finally, the rather sparse clouds around Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi resemble that recorded in the field drawing and are an identifiable cloud type.⁵⁵

Conclusion

The above summary is mostly consistent with the approach of *selective fidelity to nature* (see pages 297–300) that Guérard practised in his Antipodean landscapes. Features such as the

55. An article based on this chapter is published as Hook, “How True to Nature Is *Lake Wakatipu*?”

topography in the middle ground and background, and the geomorphology, geology, ecology and botany of the site, are largely faithfully reproduced, as are the pattern of illumination and cloud formations observed on the day. However, there are other features that the artist freely modified or invented for compositional reasons, such as the promontory, rocks and plants in the foreground, in addition to which he heightened summits and steepened slopes. The departures in this painting from the selective fidelity Guérard typically practised can mostly be accounted for by the problems caused by his mobile vantage point, and by his lack of familiarity with the schistose bedrock and the growth forms of cabbage trees, which is understandable given the short time he was at the location. Taking these circumstances into account, it is reasonable to conclude that *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand* is very largely faithful to the views from the artist's vantage points and to the natural history of the Wakatipu Basin. Indeed, Guérard achieved his aim of being "as true to nature as far as possible," allowing for the limitations of his visit, which may have prevented him from fully acquiring that "deeper understanding of nature" he sought.⁵⁶

Postscript: Haast's opinion

Guérard was eager to know whether Haast (Figure 10.28) believed the Milford and Wakatipu paintings were true to nature, particularly since he believed that the geologist knew "nature there in the smallest detail."⁵⁷ Given that glaciology was Haast's foremost area of expertise, it is highly likely the artist was seeking Haast's opinion on how well he had portrayed the geology and geomorphology of the mountains, glaciers, fiord and glacial lake. Although there is no record of

56. Letter from Guérard to Haast, April 27, 1881, in Darragh and Pullin, *Lieber Freund!*, 48.

57. Letter from Guérard to Haast, December 29, 1879, Haast Family Papers, Alexander Turnbull Library. Transcribed and translated by Susanne Haring. Guérard's request is remarkably similar to that made by the Hudson River school painter Thomas Moran when he wrote to the geologist Ferdinand Hayden in March 1872 concerning his painting *The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone*, 1872 (U.S. Department of the Interior Museum, Washington). The artist wrote "your knowledge of nature and her workings would make your judgement on the truths of the picture of far greater value to me than that of any other man in the country," (quoted in Bedell, *The Anatomy of Nature*, 135).

Haast ever having visited either Milford Sound/Piopiotahi or Lake Wakatipu,⁵⁸ he was very familiar with the large glacial lakes of South Canterbury (e.g. Lakes Tekapo, Pukaki and Ōhau), and had spent time at Lake Wānaka in North Otago, which exists in a similar geomorphological and geological environment.⁵⁹ While Haast's letter commenting on the two artworks has not survived, the geologist's assessment must have been in the affirmative as the artist wrote that "your kind opinion was a real ray of sunshine for me." Guérard went on to declare that "your satisfaction is worth more to me than all the praise I previously received."⁶⁰ This must have been very affirming for Guérard given that the painting had already been very positively reviewed in Australia and New Zealand, as well as in Europe.⁶¹

58. H. F. von Haast, *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast, Explorer, Geologist, Museum Builder* (Wellington: H. F. Haast, 1948).

59. Burrows, *Julius Haast in the Southern Alps*, 58–60.

60. Letter from Guérard to Haast, December 29, 1879, in Darragh and Pullin, *Lieber Freund!*, 33.

61. Haast would have seen the two paintings when he visited the International Exhibition in Sydney in October 1879. See Footnote 57 and Darragh and Pullin, *Lieber Freund!*, 33.

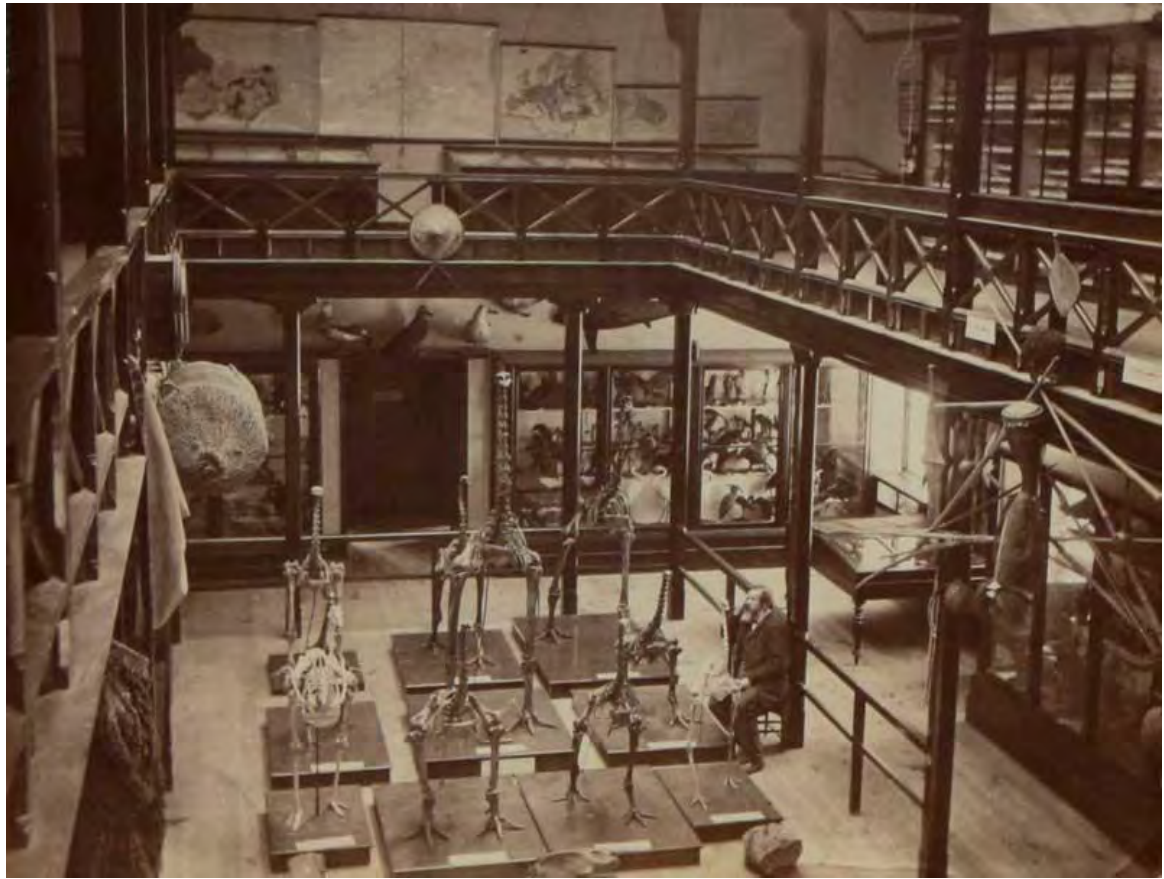


Figure 10.28. **Haast contemplating assembled moa skeletons in the Mountfort Gallery**
Alfred Barker, *Johann Franz Julius von Haast at the Canterbury Museum, c. 1876*, Barker
Collection, accession number 2016.15.23. Canterbury Museum.

Chapter 11 – Third painting case study: *Yalla-y-Poora*, 1864

Unusually for Guérard, his wife Louise and his six-year-old daughter Victoria accompanied him on an expedition into western Victoria during the months of April and May 1864. At the invitation of John Ware of Yalla-y-Poora station, located about 26 km southeast of the city of Ararat, they enjoyed the hospitality of the Ware family for more than seven weeks.¹ The primary purpose of the visit was to complete preparatory sketches for a large commissioned painting of the Wares' homestead and their run, which straddled Fiery Creek.² The resulting painting, *Yalla-y-Poora* (Figure 11.1), is the focus of the fidelity analysis of this chapter. It was selected as a case study because of the opportunity it provided to examine the extent to which the artist might have been prepared to transform aspects of a pastoral view in order to produce an aesthetically pleasing and well-composed scene.



Figure 11.1. **The *Yalla-y-Poora* painting**

Yalla-y-Poora, 1864, oil on canvas, 71.6 × 122.4 cm, NGV.

1. Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 243.

2. The creek gained that name in 1841 because it was so dry that it was “smoking as if on fire.” See Philip Brown, *The Challicum Sketch Book, 1842–53* (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1987), 9, http://www.nla.gov.au/pub/ebooks/pdf/The_Challicum_Sketch_Book.pdf.

According to the provenance in the catalogue raisonné, the work remained the property of the descendants of Martha and John Ware up until 1968, when it was purchased by the Melbourne art collector Joseph Brown,³ who later bequeathed the major part of his collection to the National Gallery of Victoria in 2004.⁴ The work was described by Comstock as “indeed a splendid one,”⁵ by Bruce as a painting that exhibits “both grandeur and simplicity,”⁶ by Lane as “one of his grandest”⁷ and by Lock-Weir as the “most ambitious ... homestead painting.”⁸ Furthermore, Hoorn also claimed that in Guérard’s twenty or so large homestead views, “a marriage of verisimilitude with the romantic concern for the depiction of vast space more usually associated with wild spaces, takes place.”⁹

Description of the work

On first encounter, the vastness of a pastoral landscape apparently stretching out endlessly to the left and right and into the far distance towards a mountain range impresses itself upon the viewer, before the eye is drawn to the foremost part of a small ornamental lake reflecting the sky-blue tones. The viewer then traces the lake’s serpentine shape out to the right and then back to a homestead surrounded by trees, gardens and an orchard, as well as pastoral structures, nestled in small section of a shallow river valley. From there, the viewer’s eyes are pulled up to the impressive woolshed that sits directly in front of a distant mauve and grey peak, which dominates a low range of hills beneath stratocumulus clouds.

The central focus of the painting is the working centre of a highly organised farming enterprise occupying the creek valley. The stone weir on the creek in the lower left of the picture creates an ornamental lake that is edged by a number of large trees, which evokes the meaning of

3. Bruce, Comstock, and McDonald, *A German Romantic in the Antipodes*, 230.

4. *The Joseph Brown Collection at NGV Australia*, National Gallery of Victoria, 2004, accessed November 22, 2019, <https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/custom/screens/josephbrown>.

5. Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 96.

6. Bruce, *Eugen von Guérard*, 62.

7. Terence Lane, *The Joseph Brown Collection at NGV Australia*.

8. Tracey Lock-Weir, [essay on *Yalla-y-Poora*, 1864], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 192.

9. Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral*, 129.

Yalla-y-Poora in the language of Djab Wurrung, the local Indigenous tribe – “trees by water.”¹⁰ A wooden bridge crosses the lake, providing access to the homestead and farm buildings. Aptly, Comstock summarised the scene thus: “the station nestles in an oasis of greenery ... the grazing flocks, the unruffled water and the calm luminous sky set a bucolic mood.”¹¹

The strength of the composition is based on the “rigorous geometry that underpins the picture,”¹² including an axis of symmetry (Figure 11.2). The canvas is effectively divided along a horizontal axis into two almost equal halves, with the agricultural and domestic landscape dominating the lower half, while the upper half is given over to the forest-covered distant range beneath a sunlit cloudy sky. There is also a strong underlying symmetry based on a vertical line running from the mid-point of the summit ridge of the mountain through the woolshed and across the lake, before bisecting the two dominant, oddly shaped rock exposures in the foreground. That symmetry includes the slopes descending to the river on each side of the homestead area.



Figure 11.2 **Axes of symmetry**

Yalla-y-Poora. The blue line is the horizontal axis of symmetry, the yellow line is the vertical axis of symmetry, and the orange lines are the mirrored angles of the river valley slopes.

10. “A Bluestone Benchmark: Yalla,” *Australian Country Magazine* 21.6, accessed August 7, 2021, <https://www.australiancountry.com.au/updates/bluestone-benchmark>.

11. Comstock, “An Australian Romantic,” 96.

12. Lane, “The Joseph Brown Collection.”

Sourcing and comparing the field sketch

A large pencil drawing entitled *Yalla y Poora, May 1864* (Figure 11.3) was located among a set of 48 mounted field drawings by the artist in the State Library of New South Wales, known as the “Collection of Views, 1855–1875.”



Figure 11.3. Field drawing on which the painting is based

Yalla y Poora, May 1864, pencil on paper, 33.4 × 58.5 cm, folio 11, “Collection of Views, 1855–1875,” reference code 825457, Dixson Library, SLNSW

As can be seen when the painting is compared with the drawing (Figure 11.4), the artist has faithfully reproduced the view recorded in the sketch, with the exception of an additional vertical strip of landscape on the left containing two trees near the stream and a cottage further up the slope behind them (dashed cyan rectangle), as well as the insertion of a *swagman* taking in the view of this pastoral arcadia while leaning on a fencepost in the foreground.¹³ Although it is tempting to assume that the sketch is an accurately rendered field drawing, there is one feature that implies the image is a composite sketch (see below). Regardless of the high degree of congruence between the painted and pencilled views, any evaluation of the artist’s fidelity to the view of the natural features visible at the time of his visit requires that the painting be compared

13. A *swagman* is an Australian term for a transient farm labourer who carried his possessions in his swag (bedroll). The red roll looped over the man’s shoulder in the painting is his swag.

with the actual view at the site, which first necessitated locating his vantage point for the sketch and determining the field of view.

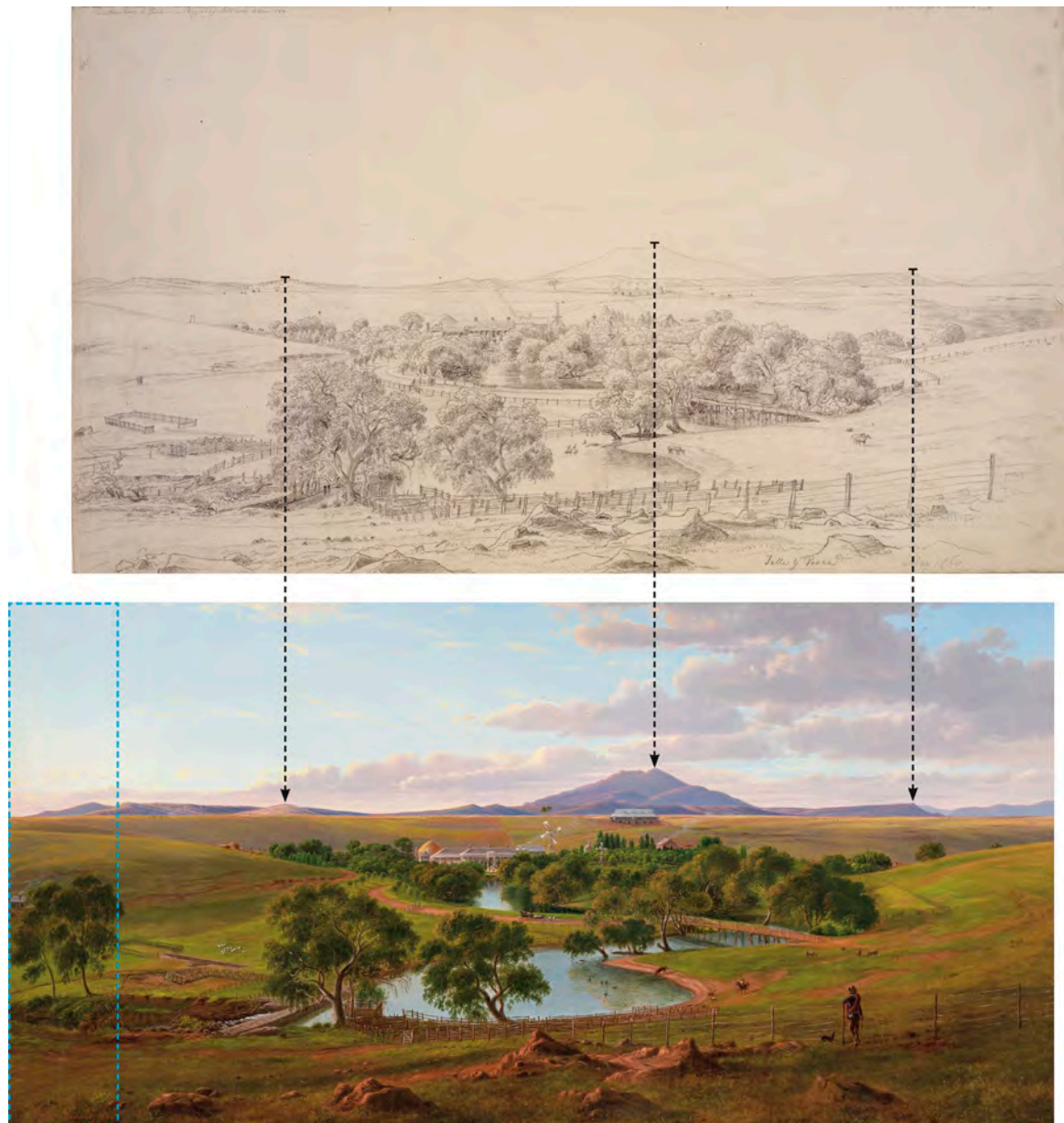


Figure 11.4. **Comparing the painted and sketched fields of view**

Top: *Yalla y Poora, May 1864*. Bottom: *Yalla-y-Poora*. The dashed cyan rectangle indicates the section of the painting that is missing from the sketch.

The details illustrated in the painting are not based solely on the large drawing. Guérard devoted three double-page spreads (Figure 11.5) in one of his pocket-sized sketchbooks to recording the details of a number of features that he later painted, including the homestead, portico, woolshed, bridge, windmills, cottages, sheds and weir, as well as the sheep dip, including

a bird's-eye view of the latter.¹⁴ The contents of the far left section of the painting (Figure 11.1) with two eucalypt trees and a small cottage emitting smoke, which are missing from the large drawing, are recorded on two different pages of the sketchbook (Figure 10.5, middle left and bottom left). It is puzzling, though, as to why the artist might have added the additional strip of landscape – it isn't required to give symmetry to the composition. Perhaps the cottage had some significance for the Ware family, such as being the original building in which they first resided.

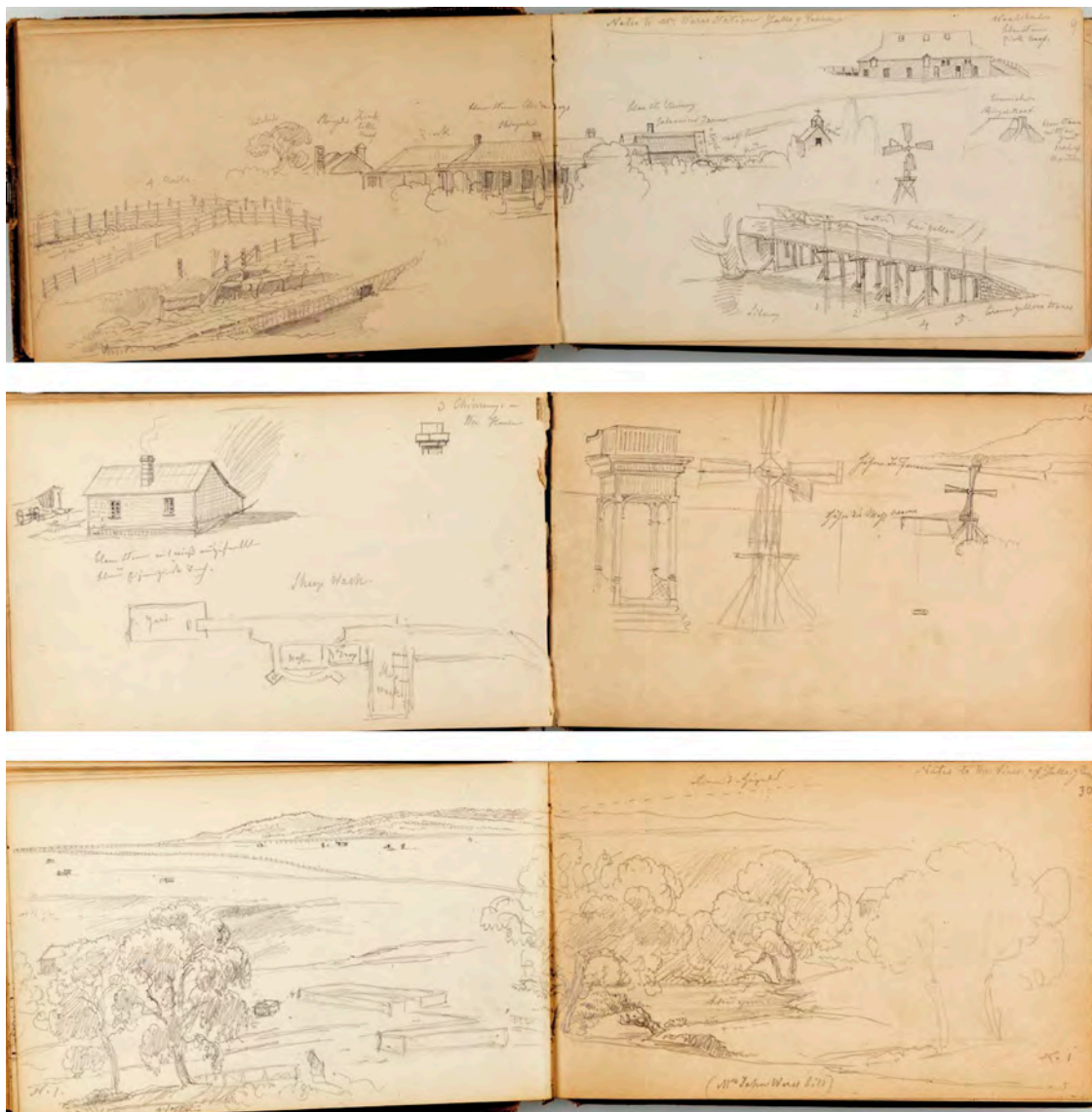


Figure 11.5. **Small sketches of features of Yalla-y-Poora station and homestead**
 Folios 9, 10 and 30, “Volume 14: Sketchbook XXXV, No. 17 Australian, 1864–1865,” reference code 825434, Dixson Library, SLNSW.

14. The artist also made some descriptive notes for the painting in the back of the sketchbook. See Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 248.

Dacre Smyth's visit to the site

The only mention in the literature of anyone seeking out the vantage point of the painting is Dacre Smyth's account of his visit to Yalla-y-Poorra Station in the early 1980s, by which time the farm had passed into the hands of the Fraser family. The new owners led Smyth to the general location of the vantage point of the drawing, where he was then able to find "the very rocks before which [Guérard] must have stood, covered now in mosses and lichens but unmistakable in shape." These are the rock exposures that form the dominant foreground motif of both the drawing and painting.¹⁵ Furthermore, Smyth claimed that he could just see Mt Chalicum still visible through the much higher trees.

Visiting the site

When the station was visited as part of this research program in March 2017, the current owner indicated the general position of the artist's vantage point. At the location it proved relatively easy to confirm that the oddly shaped rocks in the painting's foreground were still in existence as part of a gently sloping exposure of rock, but it proved more difficult to identify a spot where a photographed perspective would match the overall perspective of the drawing.

Locating the vantage point

It was possible to take a wide-angle photograph (Figure 11.6, bottom) from a spot where: the two dominant, oddly shaped rocks appeared to be a similar distance apart as in the sketch (Figure 11.6, top); the ornamental lake occupied a similar area as in the sketch; and the entrances to the bridge aligned (dashed yellow line). However, the height of the trees in the middle ground obscured most features on the other side of the creek as well as the topography of the horizon. Consequently, it was not possible to be fully confident that the ~60° horizontal field of view of the site photograph, taken facing due north from GPS coordinates 37°29'39.37"S, 143°3'59.37"E at an elevation of ~308 m asl, encompassed the same view as that of the sketch. Regardless, in another photograph (Figure 11.6, inset), taken about 20 m west of the oddly shaped rocks, it is

15. Smyth, *Views in Victoria*, 32.

just possible to see the summit of a distant mountain on approximately the same bearing as that of the peak in the sketch (Figure 11.6, blue dashed line).

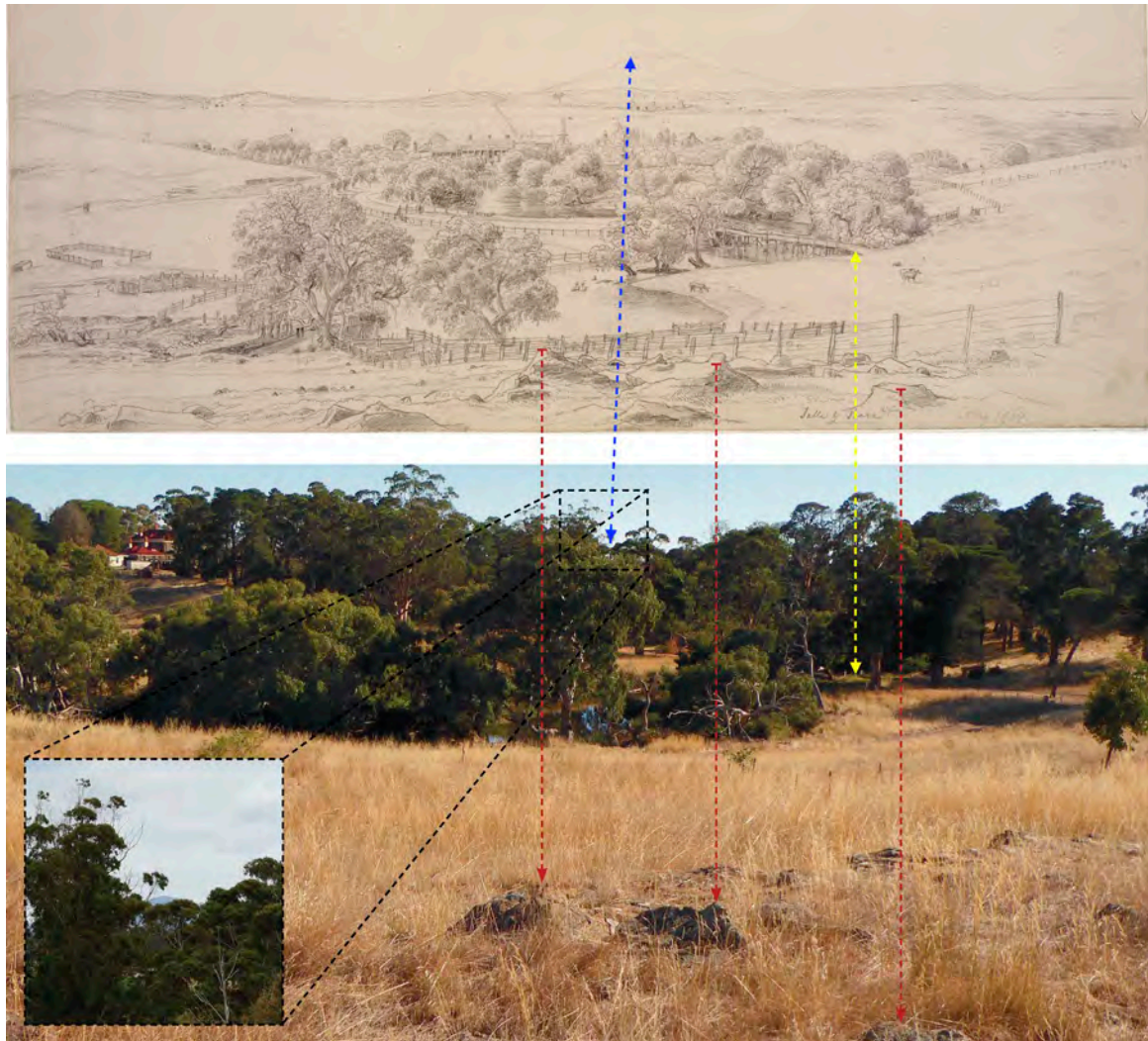


Figure 11.6. **Photograph of the view from the same vantage point as the sketch**

Top: *Yalla y Poora, May 1864* (detail). Bottom: site photograph at Yalla Y Poora, 2017.

Photograph: author. The photograph was taken a few metres south of the oddly shaped rocks in the drawing. The building visible on the far left is the mansion that replaced the homestead in the painting, but in a position to the west at a higher elevation. Inset: view of the summit of a distant peak taken from ~20 m west of the oddly shaped rocks, 2019. Photograph: Stephen Carey.

When the site photograph is compared with the drawing, the slope from the oddly shaped rocks to the edge of the lake appears to be less steep in the photograph. This could be because the vantage point of the photograph was closer to the rocks than that of the sketch, or because the photograph was taken at head height from a standing position while the detailed sketch was made from a sitting position. The latter option would have meant a difference in eye altitude of nearly a

metre. Photographed from a little further back (Figure 11.7), the extent of the slope down to the lake resembled that illustrated in the drawing (Figure 11.6, top).



Figure 11.7. **Observing the foreground slope**

View towards the ornamental lake, 2019. Photograph: Stephen Carey. The slope from the oddly shaped rocks down to the water is of a similar gradient to that of the large drawing.

As the trees growing on the other side of the ornamental lake and further along Fiery Creek valley now totally obscure the topographical horizon, the sketched horizon (Figure 11.8, second to top) had to be compared solely with the virtual profile generated by PeakFinder (Figure 11.8, top) at the GPS location of the site photograph, in order to confirm whether the vantage point from where Guérard sketched the horizon had been determined. When the GPS coordinates were rounded to the nearest arc-second and entered in PeakFinder,¹⁶ it became apparent that even if all the trees in the middle ground were removed, it would not be possible to see a profile of the low hills beyond the rise on the other side of Fiery Creek that fully matched that of the sketch (dashed blue rectangle). The tops of those hills are barely visible in the virtual view from the vantage point of the site photograph, which PeakFinder indicated was at an altitude of ~308 m asl.

16. PeakFinder only accepts GPS coordinates specified in whole arc-seconds.

Similarly, the Google Earth virtual view from the same coordinates (Figure 11.8, second to bottom) did not provide a full view of those low hills, even though the application indicated an elevation of ~310 m asl.¹⁷ When 2 m were added in order to give a more realistic eye altitude of 312 m (Figure 11.8, bottom), more of the lower slopes of those hills is visible in the Google Earth view, although still not as much as in the sketch. Another more significant issue is that the skyline to the right (east) of Ben Nevis in both the PeakFinder and Google Earth virtual views do not resemble the profile of that section of Guérard's sketch.

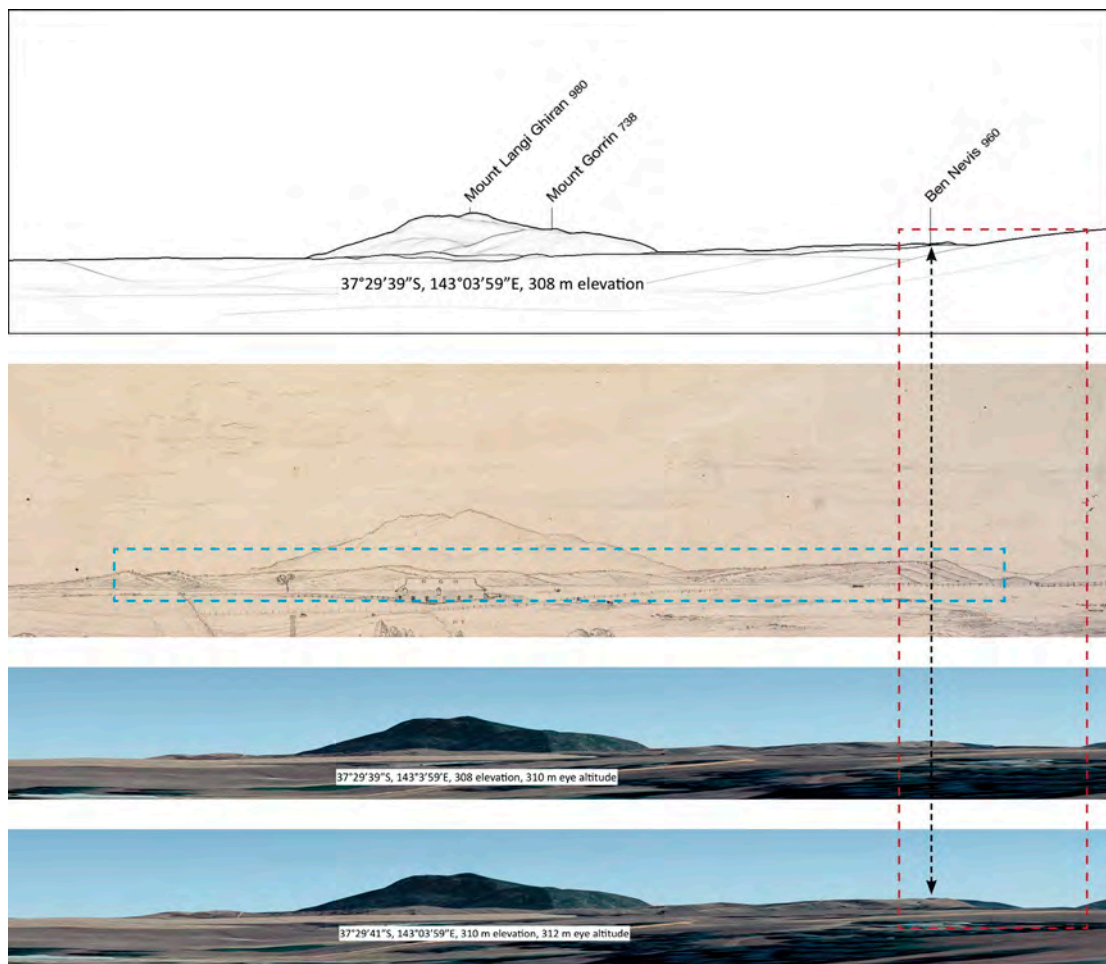


Figure 11.8. **Comparing the sketched low hills with those in virtual views**

Top: PeakFinder virtual view from the vantage point of the site photograph. Second to top: *Yalla y Poora, May 1864* (detail). The dashed cyan rectangle encompasses the low hills. Second to bottom: Google Earth virtual view from the vantage point of the site photograph. Bottom: Google Earth virtual view with 2 m added to the eye altitude. The dashed black line indicates the location of Ben Nevis, and the dashed red rectangle, the skyline to the right of Ben Nevis.

17. The estimates of elevation at specific GPS locations generated by PeakFinder and Google Earth are based on the data produced by the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission carried out in November 2000.

To check whether Guérard might have sketched the horizon from a higher spot south of the vantage point of the site photograph, the virtual observer in PeakFinder was moved one arc-second further south five times (~155 m in total).¹⁸ A maximum ground elevation of ~310 m asl was encountered about 2 arc-seconds south (Figure 11.9, green pin) of the location of the site photograph (yellow pin). The view generated by Google Earth at this high spot (Figure 11.8, bottom), even with 2 m added to give an eye altitude of ~312 m asl, was little different from the Google Earth view from the spot where the site photograph was taken. It was therefore concluded that Guérard must have sketched the horizon of his drawing from a yet higher vantage point that did not lie on the sight line running from the summit of the distant mountain through the middle of the pair of oddly shaped rocks dominating the foreground. Regardless, given that significant features of the fore- and midgrounds of the site photograph – such as the spacing of the oddly shaped rocks, the size of the ornamental lake, and the location of the bridge entrance – align closely with the same features in the sketch (Figure 11.6), confidence remained that the site photograph had been taken from the vantage point where Guérard had sketched the fore- and midground details.

Finding the higher vantage point

Assuming the artist would have headed for a nearby higher point that would afford him a better view of the horizon he wished to illustrate in the painting, the computer cursor was moved over the satellite image of the site in the Google Earth application until it registered a high spot of ~317 m asl at 37°29'40.48"S, 143°4'8.18"E (Figure 11.9, orange pin),¹⁹ which is about 240 m away from the oddly shaped rocks on a bearing of E15°S.²⁰

18. An arc-second is ~30.97 m in a north–south direction at any latitude.

19. Entering the same coordinates in PeakFinder gave an elevation of 318 m asl.

20. As the trees north of that spot would also have obscured the view of the horizon, there would have been no point in revisiting the site to photograph the northern field of view from that location.



Figure 11.9. Locations of the principal and the higher vantage points

Google Earth satellite photograph of the area just south of the bridge over the ornamental lake. The dark blue polygon is the location of the oddly shaped rocks; the yellow pin is the spot (~308 m asl) where the site photograph was taken; the green pin is the highest elevation (~310 m asl) directly south of the rock formation; and the orange pin marks the location of the nearest point high enough to generate a virtual view closely resembling that of the field drawing.

The digital elevation models generated for this location in PeakFinder (Figure 11.10, top) and Google Earth (Figure 11.10, bottom) are very similar to that of the large drawing (Figure 11.10, middle), particularly in the profile of the low hills in front of the highest peak, although that peak appears elevated in the sketch when compared with the models. More critically, though, both of the virtual skylines to the right (east) of Ben Nevis resemble the horizon sketched by Guérard. Although this location may not have been the exact spot where the artist positioned himself to sketch the skyline, the much closer match of the virtual profiles with the sketched horizon support the conjecture that Guérard drew the horizon from a higher position east of the

vantage point where he had earlier sketched the fore- and midgrounds. The strong resemblance of the sketched horizon to the virtual horizon visible at the higher vantage point confirms that the drawing is in fact a composite sketch, merging views from two different locations.

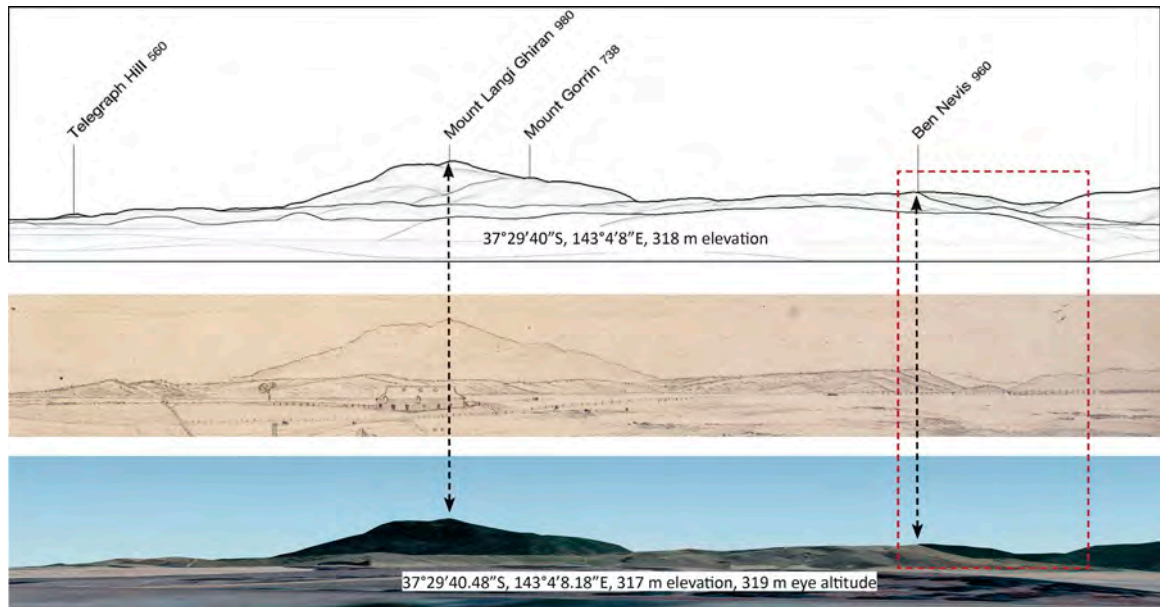


Figure 11.10. **Comparing the sketched view with virtual view from the higher vantage point**

Top: PeakFinder virtual view northward from the higher location to the east (Figure 11.9, orange pin). Middle: *Yalla y Poora, May 1864*, (detail showing part of the horizon). Bottom: Google Earth northward-facing virtual view from the same GPS coordinates as the PeakFinder view. The dashed red rectangle indicates the skyline to the right (east) of Ben Nevis.

Although that higher spot would be beyond the right side of the large drawing (Figure 11.3), further up the midground slope, the conjecture that it is the vantage point from which Guérard sketched the horizon is supported by some inconspicuous details on the drawing. Along the top right margin (Figure 11.11, red rectangle), the artist wrote “A. höher v[on] [...] d. Perspective des Creeks,” which translates as “A. higher of [...] the perspective of the creek.”²¹ Although it has not proved possible to transcribe a critical word, the suggestion that a higher perspective is somehow involved is intriguing. On the sketch itself, there is a spot marked with an “A” on either side of the creek (Figure 11.11, red square). If Guérard had indeed sketched the horizon from the higher vantage point approximately 240 m east of the vantage point where he sketched the fore- and midgrounds, then that spot would lie on a sight plane from Mt Langi

21. Transcribed and translated by Susanne Haring.

Ghiran that crosses Fiery Creek approximately where it is marked with the As on the drawing (Figure 11.11, transparent blue plane).



Figure 11.11. **Sight plane from Mt Langi Ghiran through to the higher vantage point** *Yalla y Poora, May 1864*. The transparent blue plane represents a sight plane from Mt Langi Ghiran, crossing Fiery Creek at the location marked “A/A,” in the red square, then extending up the slope through the area where the higher vantage point is located.

Identifying features on the painting’s horizon

The fidelity analysis that follows relates to the painting rather than the drawing, so the PeakFinder field of view from the higher vantage point at 318 m asl (Figure 11.12, top), which provided the best match with the horizon of the painting (Figure 11.12, bottom), was used to identify features of the painted skyline. The virtual horizontal field of view equivalent to that of the painting encompasses an angle of $\sim 56^\circ$, with the bearing of the principal sight line being $N3^\circ E$. When compared with the virtual view, the highest peak in the painting on a bearing of $\sim N10^\circ E$ is undoubtedly Mt Langi Ghiran, which is ~ 22 km away at 980 m asl, and the lower peak on the far left (west) along a bearing of $\sim N20^\circ W$ is Mt Challicum, which is 10 km away at 481 m asl.

Puzzlingly, Smyth, Lane and Lock-Weir all claim that the peak dominating the painted landscape is Mt Challicum.²² As Smyth’s reference is the earliest one, it is likely that his error was perpetuated by the other two authors after referring to the earlier publication. It is surprising, though, that Smyth mistook Mt Langi Ghiran for Mt Challicum given that he, at least, had visited the site and discussed the view with the station owners, who would not have been confused about the names of the two peaks. Although Guérard sometimes used the wrong name for a peak in an annotation on a sketch, in this case he definitely knew which peak was which, as on another drawing of the view across Fiery Creek (Figure 11.16, bottom) made from a vantage point even further to the east, the readily recognisable summit is annotated as “Lang y girian.”

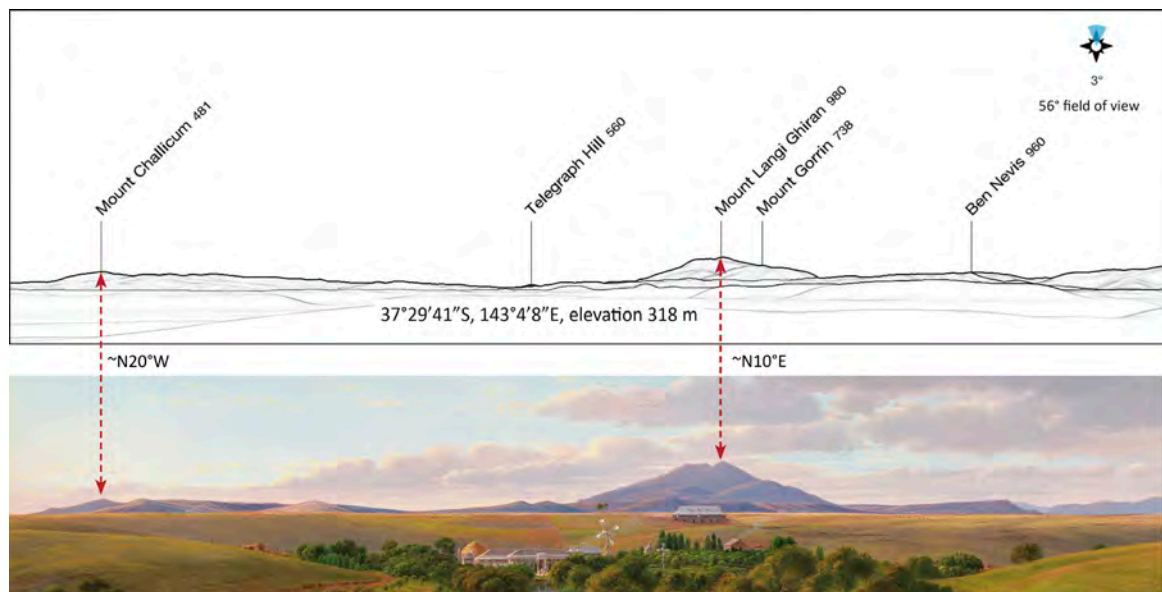


Figure 11.12. **Identifying the summit in the painting**

Top: PeakFinder virtual view from the higher vantage point of 318 m asl. Bottom: *Yalla-y-Poora* (detail).

Projecting the painted view onto the topographic map

Before considering the fidelity of the painting to the view of natural features at the site at the time of the artist’s visit and to the natural history of the location, it is helpful to plot the vantage point, principal sight line and field of view of the painting on a topographic map (Figure 11.13) for referencing in the commentary that follows.

22. Smyth, *Views in Victoria*, 32; Lane, “The Joseph Brown Collection”; Lock-Weir, [essay on *Yalla-y-Poora*, 1864], 192.

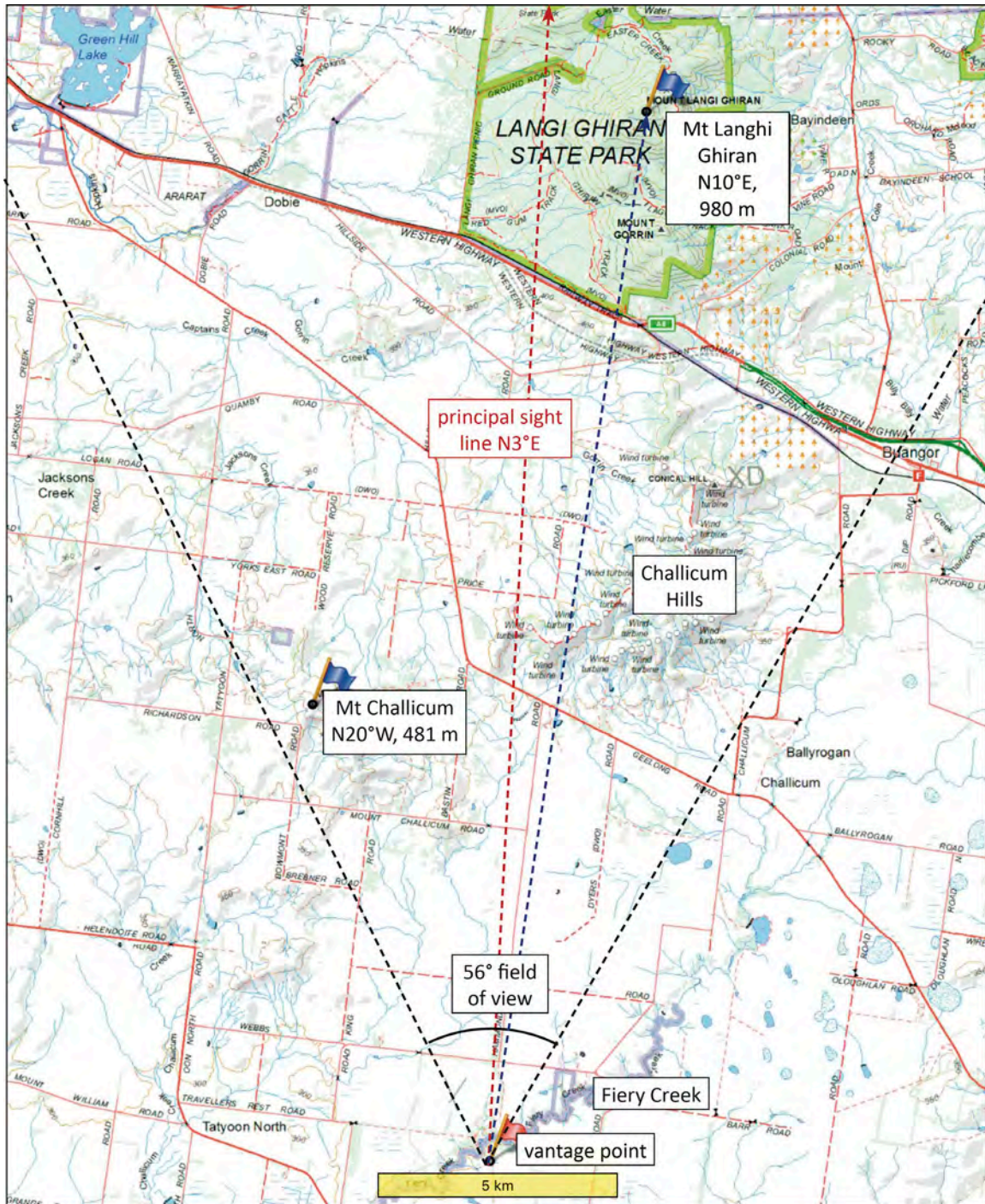


Figure 11.13. **Geographical features of the painting identified on a topographic map**
 Section of digital map *VicMap Topo 100k 2019, Memory-Map*, showing features pertinent to the painting.

Fidelity of a homestead-view painting

In a wilderness painting Guérard could freely exercise a significant degree of artistic invention in how he portrayed a landscape, particularly in the foreground, as no prospective purchaser would ever have visited the wilderness location to ascertain the fidelity of the work. The Wares, who

commissioned the *Yalla-y-Poora* painting, were, however, intimately familiar with the landscape, which they had occupied and developed into a highly successful Merino sheep station with a substantial squatter homestead surrounded by gardens, orchards and exotic trees.²³ The family may have been expecting that Guérard would accurately reproduce a specific view of their homestead and run, which the painting could then be compared with. Regardless, he may still have permitted himself a degree of artistic freedom in how he illustrated the view as well as the natural and man-made features of the homestead and run.²⁴ The following analysis of the fidelity with which aspects of the landscape are illustrated in the work addresses this issue.

Fidelity analysis of the painting

With the vantage points of the field sketches on which Guérard based the *Yalla-y-Poora* painting established, the extent to which the painting is faithful to nature can be evaluated by comparing different aspects of the work with the natural features visible from those vantage points and to the natural history of the location.

Topographical fidelity

When the site photograph (Figure 11.14, bottom), taken from close to the vantage point where Guérard sat for a number of hours making the large drawing on which the painting is based, is scaled so that the placement of the foreground rocks and the entrance to the bridge align with equivalent features in the painting (Figure 11.14, top), it is apparent that the general topography of the fore- and midgrounds of the painting accords with that recorded in the photograph. The midground slopes on either side of the homestead area in the painting descend to the creek bed at similar angles to the same slopes in the site photograph. The front edge of the rock exposure in the foreground of the work is at a similar angle to that of the equivalent feature in the photograph. The foreground of the painting appears to slope more steeply down to the lake than that of the site photograph, but the painted slope compares closely with that captured in a photograph taken from slightly further back (Figure 11.7).

23. "Victorian Country Homes," *The Australasian*, January 23, 1892, 41–42.

24. Eagle, "Homestead Views," 33.



Figure 11.14. **Comparing the painted topography with that shown in the site photograph**
 Top: *Yalla-y-Poora*. Bottom: site photograph, 2017. Photograph: author. Dashed black lines indicate the alignment of foreground rocks; the dashed red line, the alignment of the bridge entrance; the dashed yellow lines, midground slopes; and the dashed cyan lines, the front edge of the rock exposure.

The height of the trees in the valley in the site photograph makes it impossible to visually assess whether the artist faithfully reproduced the topography of the rise up to the plateau on the other side of the creek, or of the more distant skyline. Regardless, the topography of the hills and mountains beyond the top of the rise on the far side of Fiery Creek in the painting does resemble the profile generated by PeakFinder from the higher vantage point (Figure 11.12), although some of the details of the foothills in front of Mt Langi Ghiran appear to have been simplified.

Elevational fidelity

In Figure 11.15, the PeakFinder virtual view from the artist's higher vantage point is scaled so that the field of view matches that illustrated in the cropped painting.²⁵ When the elevation of Mt Langi Ghiran above the plain on the far side of Fiery Creek in the painting is compared to the equivalent elevation in the virtual view, it is clear that Guérard exaggerated the height of the peak in order to create a more dramatic image. Although the elevation of Mt Langi Ghiran above the plain has been increased by a factor of only 1.2, the painted version of the mountain appears to be much larger than the virtual one. The artist has also significantly increased the overall size of the mountain by expanding it horizontally rather than just stretching it vertically, which was his typical practice. The larger mountain occupies more of the horizon, particularly to the left (west), than it would in reality when viewed from close to the homestead.

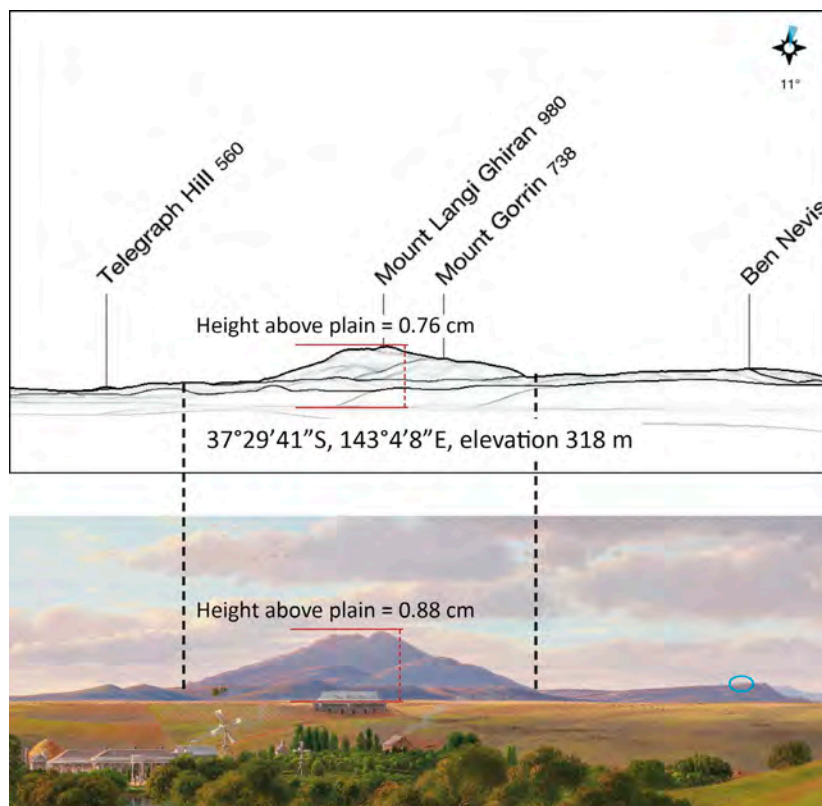


Figure 11.15. **Comparing the painted elevation of Mt Langi Ghiran with the virtual view**

Top: PeakFinder virtual view from the higher vantage point where the artist sketched the horizon. Bottom: *Yalla-y-Poora* (detail). The tip of Ben Nevis can just be seen above the Chalicum Hills in the cyan oval.

25. The positions of the highest peak of Mt Langi Ghiran and Ben Nevis are used to do the scaling.

The inclusion of a significantly enlarged Mt Langi Ghiran may have been inspired by the large sketch the artist made from a vantage point even further to the east (Figure 11.16, bottom), in which the mount occupies much more of the horizon. This drawing, entitled *Yalla y Poora, Fiery Creek May 1864*, provides significantly more detail of the slopes and ridges of the mountain and the foothills in front of it. However, it is not the source of the inserted horizon in the field drawing and the painting, as the distinctive foothill just behind the woolshed in the painting is significantly further to the left (west) in the sketch (cyan dashed line), nor is the woolshed anywhere in sight.



Figure 11.16. **Comparing the painted view of Mt Langi Ghiran with another field drawing**
 Top: *Yalla-y-Poora* (detail). Bottom: *Yalla y Poora, Fiery Creek May 1864*, pencil and crayon on paper, 33.4 × 58.5 cm, folio 12, “Collection of Views.” The dashed cyan line indicates the relative position of the same hill in the painting and drawing.

Perspectival fidelity

As argued previously, the artist sketched the horizon from a higher spot ~240 m east of the vantage point from which he sketched the fore- and midgrounds, in order to record details of Mt

Langi Ghiran and the foothills, which he wished to include in the painting. The painting, therefore, is a dual-vantage-point composite work that cannot be perceptually fully faithful to the view at either spot. However, given the close proximity of the two vantage points, a modern observer would not be aware of the perspectival dissonance because of the obscured view. It is also unlikely that the Wares would have been aware that the painting is based on two different vantage points unless the artist had informed them, and given the size and weight of the framed painting it is doubtful they would have carried it out to the oddly shaped rock formation in order to compare the painted view with the physical one.

Scaling fidelity

Although the swagman leaning on the fence in the foreground of the painting (Figure 11.17, left) could be considered to be staffage introduced to give a sense of the scale of the landscape, the homestead, farm buildings and structures, as well as the domestic animals in the middle ground, all act to give the viewer a sense of the scale of the shallow river valley. However, the swagman does appear to be diminished in size compared to the actual size of the foreground rock formation. When a same-scale image of the swagman is pasted in at the same location on a photograph (Figure 11.17, right), then it is obvious that the man is rather small compared to the approximately 1 m-high metal stales surrounding the young eucalypt tree. Although this monumentalises the foreground rocks, it does not monumentalise more distant landscape features. More likely, Guérard's intention in introducing the swagman was to enable viewers to imagine themselves located within the landscape admiring the industry of the squatting family who had tamed Fiery Creek and transformed the landscape into a highly productive pastoral enterprise.²⁶

26. Comstock, "An Australian Romantic," 96.

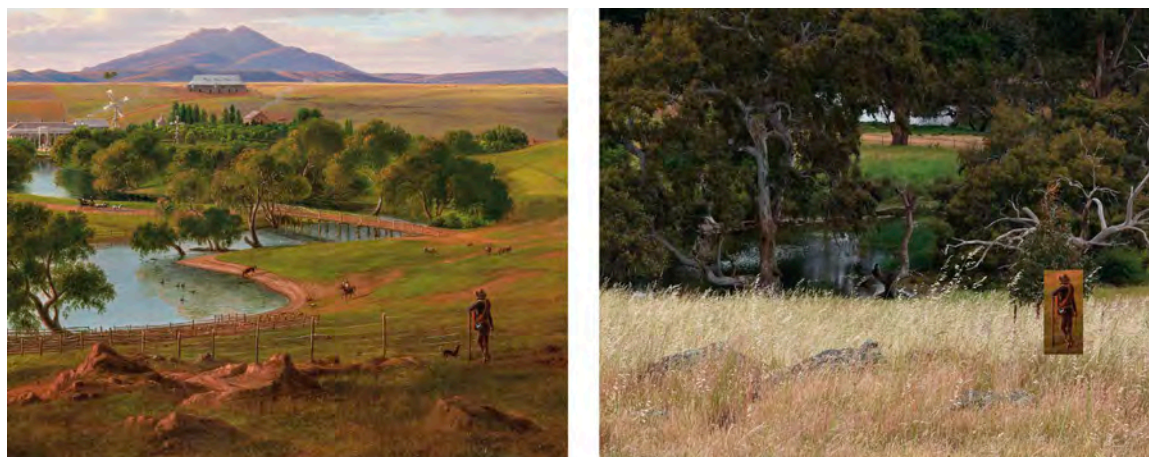


Figure 11.17. **Comparing the size of the staffage with features of the site photograph**

Left: *Yalla-y-Poora* (detail). Right: View of the oddly shaped foreground rock formation from a similar vantage point to that of the painting, 2019. Photograph: Stephen Carey. The image of the swagman has been inserted at the same spot as in the painting.

Foreground fidelity

For this commission, the artist did not need to resort to inventing visually engaging foreground features, as he positioned himself so that an intriguing natural feature existed immediately in front of his vantage point – the rock outcrop. The foreground of his field of view included trees edging the watercourse as well as the stone weir damming it. The continuing existence of the exposed rock formation means that his painted foreground (Figure 11.18, top) can be compared directly with that visible in the site photograph taken from his vantage point (Figure 11.18, bottom) once the features of the outcrop have been aligned, although it is difficult to make out details of the trees and weir in the site photograph because of the height of the grass and the shadows. The general shapes of the exposed rock are accurately portrayed, although some projections seem higher than in reality.²⁷ That Guérard's portrayal of the weir and those trees is faithful to the view is confirmed below (see pages 411 and 414). The painted fidelity of the foreground is accounted for by the accurate details recorded in the field drawing.

27. According to Stephen Carey, the weathering over the intervening 152 years would not have worn down the columnar basalt rock from the size the artist illustrated to the extent shown in the photograph (email message to author, February 7, 2020).



Figure 11.18. **Comparing the painted foreground features with the site photograph**
 Top: *Yalla-y-Poora* (detail). Bottom: site photograph (detail). Photograph: author. The dashed yellow lines align features of the rock outcrop.

Internal framing fidelity

The painting is unusual in Guérard's oeuvre in that he did not include a coulisse, such as an overhanging tree or rock formation, to frame the view internally. However, the slopes of the midground (Figure 11.14, dashed yellow lines) do act to frame the homestead on the river flat. Nevertheless, the level top of the yellow grassy rise on the far side of the creek, which is part of the plateau on which the woolshed sits, effectively cuts the landscape into two halves (best seen in the full picture, Figure 11.1). In this situation, the artist relied on non-framing pictorial techniques to visually link the two halves, such as the reflection of the sky in the lake, the shadowing of the fields by the clouds in the sky, and the combined shape of the two dominant projections of the foreground rock exposure echoing the shape of the distant Mt Langi Ghiran, as well as the roof line of the woolshed emulating the flat-topped hill immediately behind it, and the overall shape of the woolshed resembling the profile of the mount behind (Figure 11.19).

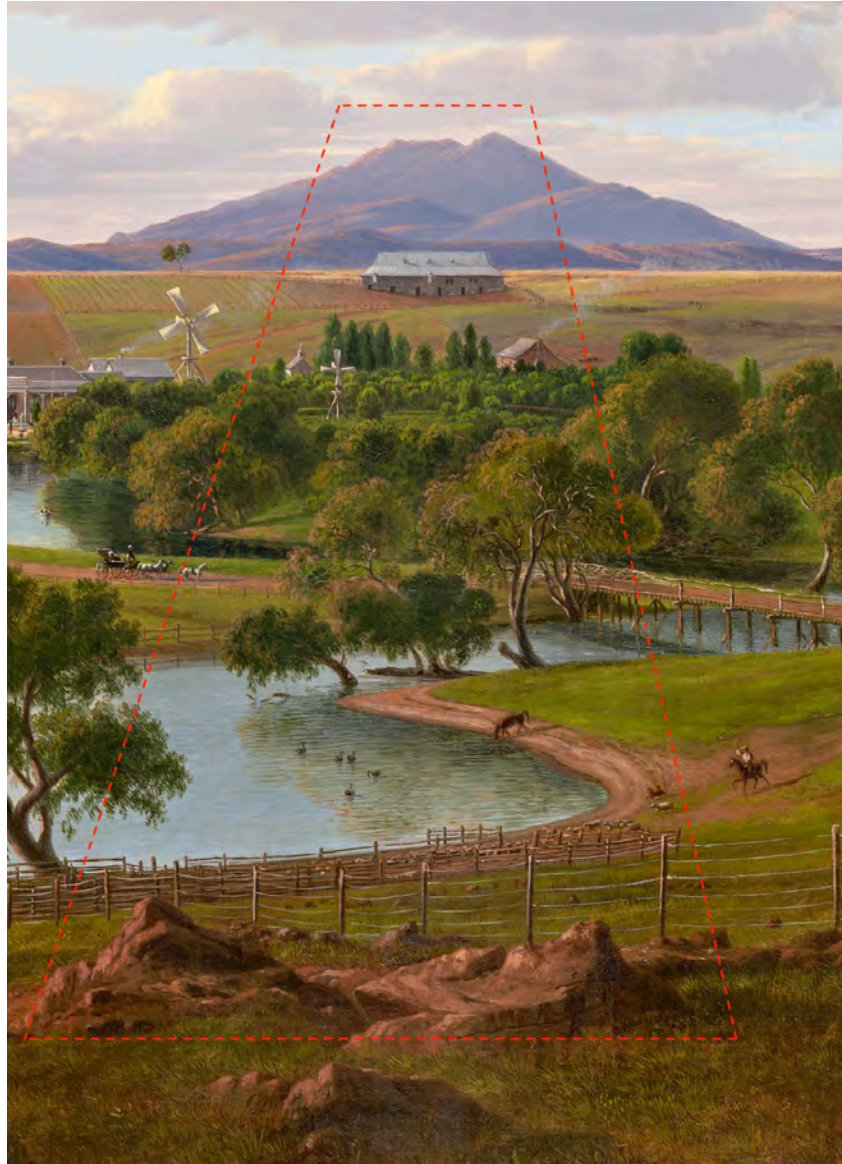


Figure 11.19. **Similar-shaped foreground, midground and background structures** *Yalla-y-Poora* (detail).

Geological fidelity

The area in which Yalla-y-Poora Station is located is part of the Victorian Volcanic Plains, with large *basalt* flow fields forming the catchment of Fiery Creek.²⁸ Huge outpourings of low-viscosity basalt in-filled many earlier valleys, resulting in the very gently sloping plateau that surrounds the creek (Figure 11.20, basalt flow fields).²⁹ As the basalt lava cooled, extensive

28. *Basalt* rock results from the rapid cooling of extruded magma that is rich in magnesium and iron, and low in silica.

29. R. A. Cayley and P. A. McDonald, *Beaufort 1:100 000 Geological Report* (Melbourne, Geological Survey of Victoria, 1995). Often the gradient of the lava flows is ~1:100.

columnar jointing developed.³⁰ Over geological time the exposed tops of the columns at the site weathered into the oddly shaped projections of the rock outcrop visible at the site (Figure 11.21, bottom left) and illustrated in the painting (Figure 11.21, top). The tops of basalt columns (Figure 11.21, bottom right) were readily identifiable when Carey inspected the site in December 2019.³¹ The pattern of columnar jointing appears to be rectangular in cross section rather than the more typical hexagonal form, although this is not apparent in the painting.

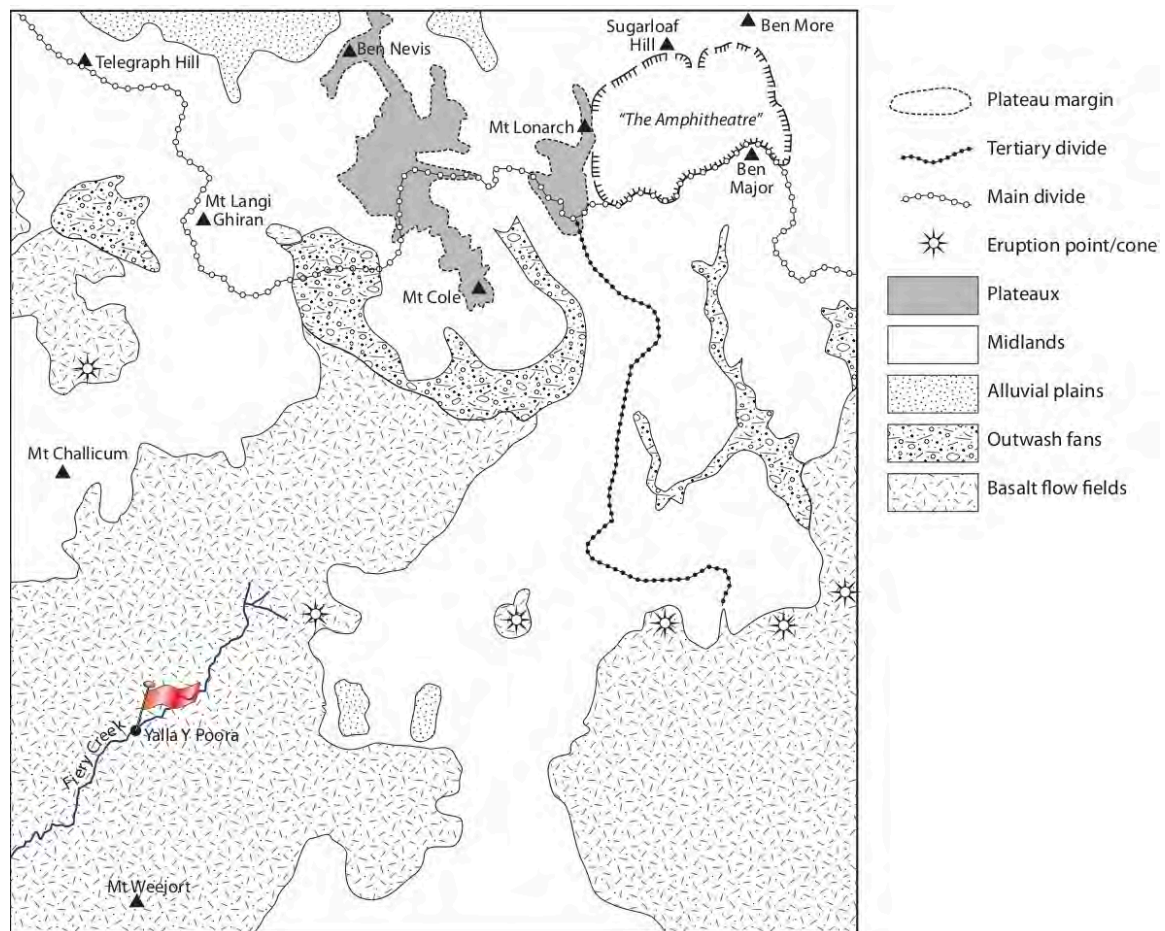


Figure 11.20. **Simplified map of the district showing landscape types**

Landscape types in the Beaufort-Skipton area. Reproduced by Tony Mander after a map in the report on the Beaufort geological map.³² The red flag indicates the approximate location of Yalla-y-Poora Station relative to Mt Challicum and Mt Langi Ghiran.

30. *Columnar jointing* occurs when a thick lava flow cools, contracting and dividing into regular polygonal columns.

31. Stephen Carey, email messages to author, November 8, 2019 and January 22, 2020.

32. Cayley and Taylor, *Grampians Special Map Area Geological Report*.

When the painted foreground rocks are compared with the physical ones at the site, it is obvious the artist carefully observed and recorded the shapes of the exposed basalt columns, although as mentioned previously he did exaggerate the height of the two oddly shaped rock projections somewhat. The surface of the painted basalt is rust-coloured, which is as expected after the surface of the dark grey basalt rock oxidised in the soil before being exposed to the atmosphere. Compared with the lichen-encrusted rocks at the site (Figure 11.25, right), Guérard's rock outcrop appears to have very few colour marks that might represent lichens. This relative absence could suggest that the rock had only recently been exposed at the time of Guérard's visit, but it is unlikely that agricultural activities would have caused exposure to the extent shown. More likely, given Guérard's interest in geology, he wanted to draw attention to the basaltic nature of the bedrock underlying the volcanic plateau on which the station was located, by highlighting the recognisable colour.



Figure 11.21. **Comparing the painted rock exposure with that in the site photograph**
Top: *Yalla-y-Poora* (detail). Bottom left: view of the tops of the columnar-basalt rocks at the site where Guérard made his sketch, 2017. Photograph: author. Bottom right: view of rectangular shapes of the top surfaces of the basalt columns, 2019. Photograph: Stephen Carey.

Geomorphological fidelity

The topographical map indicates the land on either side of Fiery Creek at this location is relatively flat forming an extensive plateau with an elevation between 310 m and 320 m asl.³³ Fiery Creek transects the plateau, sometimes in narrow steep-sided gorges, but at Yalla-y-Poora the valley has much gentler slopes. Guérard accurately portrayed the general geomorphology of the valley, as can be seen when the painted valley is compared with the photographed one (Figure 11.14). Even though the existence of the plateau is not apparent on the near side of the creek in the painting because the artist's vantage point is just below the edge of the plateau, the artist effectively suggests the presence of a plateau behind the woolshed through the level horizon that the slopes on the far side of the river valley rise to meet. The hills behind the woolshed are painted in tones of dark blue and mauve, suggesting that they are much more distant, reinforcing the illusion that there must be a broad plateau in front of them. However, the intimacy and immediacy with which the homestead is presented within a green oasis set in a vast empty landscape means that the painting exemplifies Hoorn's assertion that "von Guérard's triumph was that he was able to overcome the problems of vast space ... and present a new and different kind of pastoral landscape that transcends the genre."³⁴

Hydrological fidelity

Fiery Creek, which drains the plateau through which it passes, is prone to flash floods.³⁵ This may have been the reason why, in 1905, John Ware's son dismantled the original homestead visible in the painting and used the materials to construct an Edwardian Freestyle mansion higher up on the slopes of the creek to the west (Figure 11.6, bottom, top left corner).³⁶ Although the level of water in the creek was modified by the bluestone (basalt) weir that was built to create the ornamental lake and to facilitate sheep dipping, there is a section of the creek visible in the bottom left of the

33. *Skipton 7522-N, 1:50 000 Topographic Map* (Melbourne: Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning, 1987).

34. Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral*, 129.

35. Brown, *The Challicum Sketch Book*, 153.

36. "A Bluestone Benchmark: Yalla."

painting beyond the weir that shows something of the original creek bed, with boulders along the near side and an eroding soil bank on the far side (Figure 11.22, top). It was not possible to photograph that section of the creek because of the thick vegetation, but the painted view of that section of the creek compares closely with that recorded in the sketched view, which can be assumed to be faithful to the natural features of the site, given that so many other details of the site are accurately rendered in the large drawing – for example, the structure and size of the stone weir (Figure 11.22, bottom left and right).

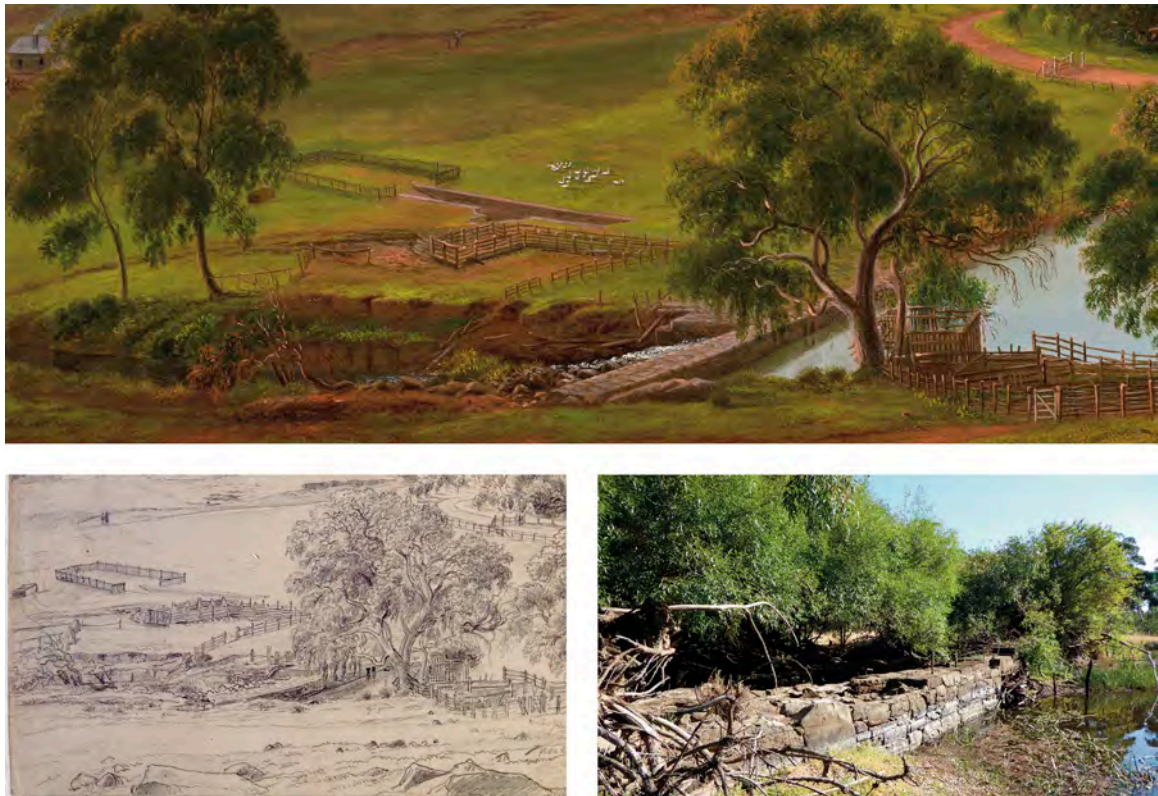


Figure 11.22. **Comparing painted creek features with sketched and photographed ones**
 Top: *Yalla-y-Poora* (detail). The sheep dip is below the flock of geese. Bottom left: *Yalla y Poora, May 1864* (detail). Bottom right: view of the bluestone weir, 2017. Photograph: author.

Orientation and illumination fidelity

Judging by the colours of the clouds and the length of the shadows on the gentle slopes on the other side of the river to the west (left) of the homestead (Figure 11.1), Guérard has painted a late-afternoon scene with the sun relatively low in the sky just beyond of the left side of the canvas. This is consistent with the northward-facing orientation of the scene. The shadows associated with the foreground rocks in the painting are consistent with those in the sketch (Figure 11.4),

suggesting that the artist had already determined the time of day he wished to illustrate in the painting while he was completing the large drawing.

Meteorological fidelity

The cloud formation in the painting is a convincing example of stratocumulus castellanus. At first glance it seemed that Guérard had not recorded any cloud formations in the large field drawing (Figure 11.3) during the hours spent sitting next to the oddly shaped projections of rock exposure, sketching the view across to the homestead and run, but when a high-resolution scan of the drawing was dehazed in Photoshop, clouds could be made out (Figure 11.23, bottom). There must have been a point of time during the sketching period when Guérard recorded an image of a passing cloud formation. Although modified to some extent, the painted clouds (Figure 11.23, top) are clearly based on the sketched ones, and the shadowing caused by the sketched clouds is also reproduced in the large drawing.

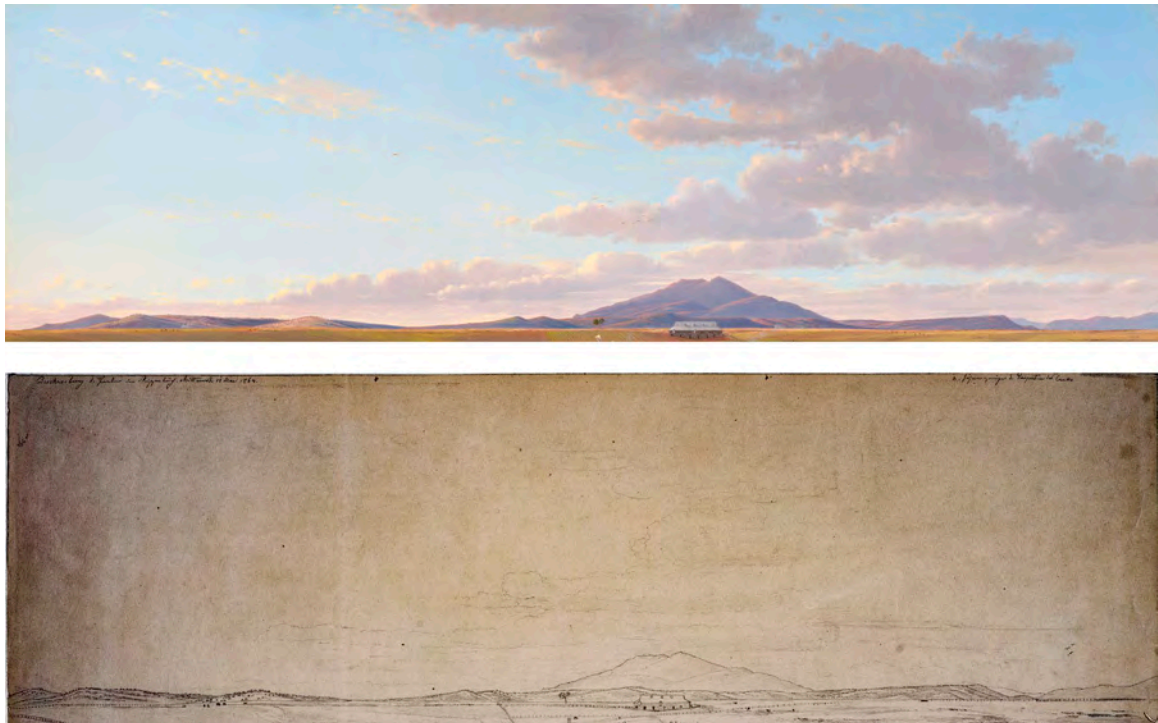


Figure 11.23. **Comparing the painted cloud formation with the sketched image**
Top: *Yalla-y-Poora* (detail). Bottom: *Yalla y Poora, May 1864* (detail).

Ecological and botanical fidelity

The land surrounding Yalla-y-Poorra Station was taken up in 1841 by the squatters Stevens and Thompson, who had overlanded sheep from the New South Wales Tablelands.³⁷ After thirteen years, the lease was sold to James Austin, who sold it to the Wares two years later in 1856. Prior to settlement by European pastoralists, the vegetation on most of the Victorian Volcanic Plains was natural temperate grassland (plains grassland), consisting of kangaroo, wallaby, spear and tussock grasses.³⁸ By the time Guérard visited in 1864, that plant community would have been modified by the grazing and trampling of sheep and cattle, and possibly replaced by European grasses after burning or ploughing. Consistent with the generally treeless nature of natural temperate grassland, there are no trees visible on the slopes of the river valley and only one on the plateau behind the woolshed (Figure 11.1).

Along the river banks of the Victorian Volcanic Plains, the original dominant vegetation was creek-line grassy woodland, which “includes species such as River Red Gums and Swamp Gums with understorey species including wattles, grasses, sedges and lilies.”³⁹ In the painting, large, mature eucalypts can be seen growing next to the ornamental lake in the foreground. A comparison of the forms of the painted and photographed trees alongside the lake (Figure 11.24) confirmed that several of those trees still survive, although in a somewhat decrepit state. Botanist Leon Costermans identified the painted eucalypt species as River Red Gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*), purely on the basis of the visual information in the painting, such as “the short, heavy, leaning trunk with smooth, patchy peeling bark, large rounded crown and thick twisting

37. Bride, *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, 214; “A Bluestone Benchmark: Yalla.”

38. *Nationally Threatened Ecological Communities of the Victorian Volcanic Plain: Natural Temperate Grassland and Grassy Eucalypt Woodland* (Canberra: Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities, 2011), 8, accessed September 13, 2021, <http://www.environment.gov.au/system/files/resources/e97c2d51-08f2-45e0-9d2f-f0d277c836fa/files/grasslands-victoria.pdf>.

39. *Biodiversity Blueprint*, n.p.: Beyond Bolac Catchment Action Group, n.d., 17, accessed June 18, 2018, <http://www.beyondbolac.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/BBCAG-Blueprint-Profile-of-Catchment-page-10-29.pdf>.

branches.”⁴⁰ The fact that it is also possible to recognise some of the individual trees in the painting at the site indicates that Guérard recorded the growth forms of the trees with a high degree of botanical accuracy.



Figure 11.24. **Comparing painted trees with photographed ones**

Left top and bottom: *Yalla-y-Poora* (details). Right top and bottom: ancient River Red Gums (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) beside the ornamental lake, 2017. Photographs: author.

Intriguingly, at the site there are several other large Red River Gums beside the ornamental lake of a similar size and age to the two trees that Guérard painted next to the lake. This implies that he chose to illustrate only some of the Red River Gums and excised others from the field drawing, in order to provide a clearer view of the lake and its serpentine course.⁴¹

40. Leon Costermans, email message to author, January 23, 2020.

41. This course of action did not have the environmental consequences of taking an axe to obstructive trees, which Bonyhady suggested Guérard might have done in order to open up a view of the landscape in the Dandenongs. See Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth*, 205–206. The painting *Fern Free Gully in the Dandenong Ranges*, 1857 (NGA), is based on a sketch Guérard made at the site.

Guérard often took pains to accurately illustrate lichens growing on large boulders in the foreground of his paintings – for example, in *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite* (Figure 1.6) and *View in The Grampians* (Figure 9.19) – but in this painting he appears to have ignored most of the numerous lichens that would have been growing on the exposed tops of the basalt columns (Figure 11.25). However, as discussed previously, there may have been a good reason as to why he chose not to illustrate the lichens.



Figure 11.25. **Comparing lichens on painted rock surfaces with photographed ones**
Left: *Yalla-y-Poora* (detail). Right: view of exposed tops of the columnar basalt rock at the location where Guérard made the large drawing, 2019. Photograph: Stephen Carey.

Zoological fidelity

Domesticated European animals, including sheep, cattle, horses and geese, can be seen in the painting, but are outside of the scope of an evaluation of the painting's fidelity to the natural world. However five native Black Swans (*Cygnus atratus*) are sketched floating on the lake in the large drawing and replicated at the same location in the painting. A small flock of difficult-to-identify large birds fly across the painted sky but were not recorded in the sketch. Judging from the size, flight shape and colouring, it is likely that they are intended to be Pelicans (*Pelecanus conspicillatus*), which are found throughout Victoria.

Summary

As the fidelity analysis in this chapter has documented, most of the features illustrated on the paintings *Yalla-y-Poora* are highly faithful to the view of natural scenery at the site, as empirically observed, and to the natural history of the location. Enduring topographical features that are true to nature include the profiles of the peaks and hills forming the horizon, the contours

of the shallow river valley forming the midground and the descending slope of the foreground. Other faithfully portrayed enduring features include the geological attributes of the foreground rocks, the appearance of the dominant landforms, and the drainage lines of the creek. Less enduring aspects, such as botanical and ecological features, were also confirmed as being true to the vegetation that would have been present at the general location early in the period of European settlement. Furthermore, individual painted River Red Gum trees can still be identified bedside the lake. Transient natural features that are true to the conditions the artists experienced at the site on the day include the pattern of solar illumination late in the afternoon, the weather conditions and the passing cloud formation. While the height of the main summit, Mt Langi Ghiran, is definitely elevated, as the peaks in most of Guérard's Antipodean paintings typically are, the whole mountain is enlarged compared to other landscape features on the horizon rather than just being vertically stretched, which is unusual in his practice. Although the foothills in front of that mountain are not visible to the extent illustrated in the painting from the vantage point of the field drawing, they are accurately rendered, albeit from a higher eastward vantage point. The aspect of the work that is atypically faithful to the view from the vantage point is the features comprising the foreground, although the foreground fidelity can be accounted for by Guérard's fortuitous choice of a vantage point in front of well-arranged, visually appealing features, such as the rock outcrop and the ornamental lake with its impressive trees and stone weir, so there was no need to embellish the foreground of this work for artistic effect.

Homestead view versus wilderness paintings

Yalla-y-Poora scored highly for the overall fidelity rating in the survey (18 out of a maximum of 20), which is typical of the scores attained by homestead view paintings as compared to a much wider range of scores of wilderness scenes.⁴² The low overall fidelity scores of some wilderness paintings can be attributed to the greater degree of artistic invention involved, particularly in the modification or invention of foreground features and Guérard's use of coulisses to frame the scene internally. Given that few if any of the viewers and potential purchasers of those works

42. The overall fidelity rating for the 25 identified homestead view paintings (see Appendix P) ranged from 16 to 19, as compared to the range of 11 to 19 for identified wilderness scenes.

would ever have been near the wilderness locations involved, they would have had no way of judging whether such aspects were transformed or faithful to the view at the site.⁴³ This would have provided Guérard with a greater degree of freedom in how he handled the subject matter of wilderness scenes in order to produce compositionally effective works.

The expectations with homestead landscapes were quite different. The commissioning squatter would want the work to show his enterprise and achievement in the best possible light, highlighting the pastoralist's skill in transforming the natural environment into a highly productive farming enterprise. Often the commissioner would have a particular view in mind that he wished the artist to reproduce. As the squatters would be thoroughly familiar with the landscape in which they worked on a daily basis, they would surely have noticed if Guérard significantly modified the topography and perspective, as well as natural or man-made features, to create a more picturesque or dramatic landscape. On occasions the artist would have negotiated some of these modifications with the commissioner before commencing the work. It may well have been that he discussed with the Wares and gained their approval for his intention to insert the background and horizon visible from the higher vantage point while developing the detailed drawing. The annotations on that drawing suggest he may have shown them the location of the higher sight line. Basing the painting on the modified field drawing implies that the work should be considered to be a composite landscape rather than a perceptually accurate view of the scene, even though most of the components of the scene have been accurately observed and rendered.

Conclusion

As Eagle pointed out, the other tension for a painter of homestead views is that, "while having due regard for the proprietorial details that would please his clients," Guérard also needed to "satisfy his own aesthetic."⁴⁴ In *Yalla-y-Poora* he was indeed able to satisfy his desire to create an aesthetically pleasing, well-composed work. The former is evidenced by the high praise the work has received from art historians. The latter is confirmed by the compositional strength of the work

43. Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, 94.

44. Eagle, "Homestead Views," 33.

based on the underlying geometrical forms and symmetries of the landscape. Achieving that geometrical rigour was dependent in the first place upon Guérard selecting the optimal vantage point for illustrating the fore-, mid- and backgrounds. It was also dependent on his willingness to make use of a horizon that could be seen only from a higher vantage point, even if this undermined the perspectival and topographical fidelity of the work. Doubtless, the Wares would have been very happy with the finished work, given that they may also have played a significant role in the decision-making that determined the final vista.

Chapter 12 – Discussion part A: Answering the key questions

Previous chapters examined in depth the three case study paintings and the findings of the survey of more than 120 of Guérard's Antipodean landscapes, in order to ascertain the ways in which his paintings are typically faithful to nature or transform certain features. This chapter initially brings together and compares the insights gained from the qualitative and quantitative methodological approaches. The generalisations derived from the survey are then used to address the first two key research questions, namely what natural features the artist consistently illustrated with fidelity to nature and which ones he freely transformed for artistic reasons. This leads to a consideration of whether or not the major transformations that sometimes occur in Guérard's paintings significantly either misrepresent the natural scenery visible at the site or the natural history of the location, thus addressing the third key research question of whether or not such transformations compromise his aesthetic ideal of being true to nature.

Comparing insights from case studies with survey findings

The three paintings used as case studies, *View in the Grampians*, *Lake Wakatipu* and *Yalla-y-Poora*, are reproduced together in Figure 12.1. How features of the relevant views are rendered in those paintings is compared with the generalisations relating to how such features are typically illustrated in Guérard's oeuvre are summarised in Table 12.1.

The discussion that follows focuses on how particular features of case studies exemplify those generalisations or qualify as exceptions. Features are considered under headings that reflect their arrangement into the predominantly scientific categories (e.g. topographical, geological, ecological, etc.) used in the survey instrument, as this more effectively illuminates how related facets of nature are treated by the artist.



Figure 12.1. **The three case study paintings**

Top: *View in the Grampians*, 1870 (private collection). Middle: *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand*, 1877–79 (AAG). Bottom: *Yalla-y-Poora*, 1864 (NGV).

Table 12.1. Comparing the fidelity of features in case studies with survey generalisations

Fidelity categories	Features of landscape paintings	Case studies		
		<i>The Grampians</i> (wilderness)	<i>Lake Wakatipu</i> (wilderness)	<i>Yalla-y-Poora</i> (pastoral)
Nearly always faithful	<i>Horizon topography</i>	Very accurate	Very accurate	Very accurate
	<i>Midground topography</i>		Very accurate but island shifted	Very accurate
	<i>Perspective</i>	Int	Based on multiple vantage points	Based on two vantage points
	<i>Solar illumination</i>		Modified to earlier in day	Same time of day as field sketch
	<i>Sunset bearing</i>			True bearing
	<i>Landforms</i>	Accurate escarpments	Mostly accurate but terraces missing	Accurately illustrated
	<i>Waterbodies</i>	Faithfully drawn	Faithful in outline but colour odd	Very accurate
	<i>Bush cover</i>	Very accurate ecologically	Accurate fire clearance of bush	Bush on distant hills accurate
	<i>Weather</i>	Faithful to the day	Faithful to the day	Very similar
Faithful if present, but modified if inadequate or invented if missing*	<i>Foreground slopes</i>	Accurate	Foreground entirely invented	Very accurate
	<i>Major rock exposure</i>	Strata highly faithful but left rock stack invented	Invented rock outcrops, sedimentary rather than schist	Highly accurate, with identifiable rock
	<i>Internal framing of the view</i>	Left rock formation much transformed	the distant view	Faithfully drawn, slopes act to frame homestead
	<i>Staffage</i>	Miniaturised staffage	Waka (vessel) near normal size	Swagman smaller
	<i>Foreground trees and shrubs</i>	Very faithful	Faithful to natural history	Faithful to view and natural history
Often freely modified, introduced or invented	<i>Foreground boulders</i>	Large rock slabs rather than boulders	Invented boulders	Not present
	<i>Deadwood</i>	Accurately done	Invented	Accurately done
	<i>Cloud formation</i>	Invented formation		Very similar to sketch
	<i>Wild animals and birds</i>	Wedge-tailed Eagles introduced	Unidentifiable distant birds	Same Black Swans as in sketch
Frequently modified	<i>Elevation of summits</i>	Summits not elevated but escarpment is steepened	Main ranges elevated and slopes steepened	Summit elevated and slopes steepened; but also stretched horizontally

*Inadequate for compositional purposes.

Topographical features

The heights of summits in both *Lake Wakatipu* and *Yalla-y-Poora* are significantly exaggerated, in line with the general practice evident in Guérard's works. As in most of his paintings, this is achieved through stretching the peaks vertically, which results in steepened slopes. However, Mt Langi Ghiran in *Yalla-y-Poora* is stretched both vertically and horizontally, resulting in a significantly enlarged mountain relative to other features of the horizon. This proportional enlargement is very unusual in Guérard's landscape paintings. Exceptional, too, are the distant summits of *The Grampians*, which are not heightened at all. Instead, the escarpment slopes are steepened, which has a similar effect of creating a more dramatic mountainous landscape.

As expected, the contours and placement of the distant mountains and the topography of the midground are accurately reproduced in all three case studies, except for the displacement of Pig Island/Mātau relative to background peaks of *Lake Wakatipu*. As explained on page 355, this atypical midground topographical inaccuracy was due to the artist's mobile vantage point, rather than any intentional relocation. The otherwise faithful reproduction of mid- and background topography in all three case studies resulted in geographically recognisable scenes, as is the case with all of his Antipodean landscapes with located sites, other than his composite works.¹

The foreground slopes in *The Grampians* and *Yalla-y-Poora* are accurately rendered, but those of *Lake Wakatipu* are invented. Both approaches accord with the generalisation that the foreground topography of a site is typically faithfully reproduced unless unrecorded in the field drawing, or the sketched foreground is compositionally weak.

Compositional features

As identified in a significant number of other paintings in the survey, the size of staffage introduced to provide a sense of the scale of other features of a painting is diminished relative to the size of a human being standing at the same spot at the sites in two of the three paintings. However, at less than half normal size, the Indigenous men in *The Grampians* are effectively miniaturised as compared to the somewhat shorter than expected swagman in *Yalla-y-Poora*.

1. See the examples analysed in Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity."

As the survey confirmed that most of Guérard's landscapes are faithful to the view observed from a single vantage point, it was surprising to discover that two of the three case studies selected from over a hundred possibilities incorporated views from more than one vantage point, albeit in relatively close proximity. These exceptions to the survey generalisation were due to particular circumstances resulting in pragmatic solutions, rather than deliberate departures from Guérard's typical practice of fidelity to the view, namely the mobility of his vantage point on Lake Wakatipu and the sub-optimal view of Mt Langi Ghiran from the principal vantage point at Yalla-y-Poora Station.

Guérard typically introduces an internal framing device, mostly in the form of an overhanging tree or occasionally a rock formation, in order to link the foreground to more distant aspects of a scene, or to direct the viewer's eye to a particular motif in the landscape painting. It was unusual, therefore, that he dispensed with introducing a coulisse in both *Lake Wakatipu* and *Yalla-y-Poora*, relying instead on opposing slopes on either side of the midground to frame more distant features. In *The Grampians*, however, the artist resorted to strongly modifying the left rock formation recorded in the field drawing. In conjunction with the faithfully illustrated right rock formation, the left rock pile effectively frames more distant features of the view. However, anomalies apparent in the transformed coulisse result in a geologically unconvincing foreground.

Illuminational features

Although the pattern of solar illumination in most of Guérard's landscapes is generally faithful to the configuration recorded in the field drawings, in the case of *The Grampians* and *Lake Wakatipu* the pattern of illumination has been modified to exemplify an earlier time in the morning. In contrast, *Yalla-y-Poora* is faithful to the late-afternoon illumination pattern recorded in the large field drawing. Regardless, all three scenes illustrate his preference for early-morning or late-afternoon scenes, when the lower elevation of the sun more effectively illuminates the forms of hills and mountains, and the lower trajectory of sunlight through the atmosphere generates richer colour contrasts in the sky. Although none of the paintings represents a sunset or sunrise scene, the bearing of the sun in each is appropriate for the time of day illustrated.

Geological features

Despite Guérard's typical fidelity to the geological features of sites, the cobbles, boulders and rock outcrops illustrated in two of the case studies are problematic. Instead of the foliated, westward-dipping grey schist exposures found along the shores of Lake Wakatipu, the artist painted what appear to be the shallowly dipping sedimentary bedding of flaggy sandstone. The aspect and dip of the large rocks in the highly modified left foreground formation in *The Grampians* are inappropriate for the geology of the site. In *Yalla-y-Poora*, however, the exposed surfaces of the columnar basalt bedrock of the foreground are accurately and convincingly rendered, to the extent that individual rocks can be identified at the site. The two significant departures from his usual commitment to geological fidelity are a consequence of his inclination to transform foregrounds on compositional grounds. With regard to those two examples, however, Guérard lacked sufficient knowledge of, or familiarity with, the geological features of each site to ensure the invented or transformed outcrops were geologically authentic.

Geomorphological features

As the survey revealed, Guérard faithfully illustrated the landforms and waterbodies that he observed from his vantage point at a site, except in the case of composite works based on sketches made at geographically separated vantage points. All three case studies illustrate the fidelity with which he typically illustrated landforms, such as escarpments, mountain ranges and glacial valleys, as well as bodies of water such as creeks, lakes and glaciers. The surprising omission of the distinctive river terrace landforms in *Lake Wakatipu* may be accounted for by a missed observation from the moving steamship. If deliberate, though, it could be justified by his desire to present an "untouched landscape" of pre-contact times, as the inclusion of the highly regular terraces might have been interpreted incorrectly as the work of European settlers. The turquoise colouration of Lake Wakatipu is, however, more difficult to account for other than it being an example of artistic licence.

Ecological features

In line with Guérard's typical practice, the ecological features of the three paintings are faithful to the natural history of the location. The distribution of the bush is accurately illustrated in the two wilderness paintings. Identifiable species of trees or smaller plants, such as the cabbage tree, flax and toetoe, are indigenous to the location in *Lake Wakatipu*, even if not recorded in the field drawing. The mallee growth habit of the trees on the escarpment slopes of *The Grampians* illustrates his commitment to faithfully portraying the distinctive ecological features of the natural history of a location.

Botanical features

Given Guérard's inclination to modify the foreground features visible at a site, or introduce them if accurate rendition would fail to achieve his compositional goals, the case studies illustrate the different approaches he takes to including trees and deadwood in his foregrounds. In *The Grampians*, the living and skeletal trees are highly faithful to those recorded on the day of his visit, while in *Yalla-y-Poora*, a few of the River Red Gums (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) he portrayed are still identifiable today. In contrast, the trees in the foreground of *Lake Wakatipu* are all inserted, with one identifiable species based on sketches made of specimens elsewhere. Although the artist frequently inserted the dead trees or fallen branches so ubiquitous in the Australian eucalypt forests, the few examples in *The Grampians* and *Yalla-y-Poora* are all documented in the field drawings. In contrast, the small amount of deadwood visible in *Lake Wakatipu* is all invented.

Zoological features

When present in Guérard's landscapes, the wildlife is typically introduced rather than based on images recorded in the field drawings. Although native mammals are hardly ever recorded in his field drawings, indigenous birds sometimes are, as exemplified in the case studies. Three large birds in flight are recorded in the sketch on which *The Grampians* is based, and are identifiable as Wedge-tailed Eagles (*Aquila audax*) in the painting. Similarly, some large waterfowl are recorded in the artificial lake of the field drawing for *Yalla-y-Poora*, and are identifiable as Black Swans

(*Cygnus atratus*) in the painting. In *Lake Wakatipu*, however, some unidentifiable birds can just be seen flying low above the water, but they were not recorded in the field drawing. No indigenous mammals are illustrated in any of the three case study paintings.

Meteorological features

The survey found that Guérard usually reproduced the weather conditions recorded in the field drawings on which paintings are based, a generalisation that holds true for all three case studies, with the weather being sunny with some cloud, and no strong wind apparent in each.

Cloud formations, however, are often freely modified, invented or introduced in the artist's Antipodean oeuvre. An example of the latter approach can be seen in *The Grampians*, where Guérard introduces a strangely shaped formation based on one he had sketched from near the top of Mt Arapiles. The few small, wispy clouds recorded above Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi in the Lake Wakatipu field drawing have multiplied in the painting, but are of the same identifiable fractostratus type. Contrasting with those approaches, the stratocumulus castellanus cloud formation in *Yalla-y-Poora* replicates the shape of the cloud formation observed at some time during the hours Guérard spent sketching the view. This suggests that when nature provided one of the more dramatic formations he preferred on the day, the artist was prepared to reproduce it faithfully on canvas.

Summary

The cohort of case studies illustrates well and confirms the principal finding of the survey, that Guérard practised fidelity to a wide variety of facets of nature – topographical, geological, geomorphological, ecological, botanical and meteorological – but that fidelity is selective rather than thoroughly *naturalistic*.² When compositional demands required the modification, introduction or invention of natural features, the artist did not hesitate to do so. In the case studies, the transformations that have occurred are mostly faithful to the natural history of the location, except where a lack of scientific knowledge, or familiarity with the natural history of a location, led him to illustrate scientific inaccuracies. While there are some unusual circumstances relating to the multiple-vantage-point perspective of two of the paintings, the other transformations

2. *Naturalistic* in the sense that a scene is portrayed as it is empirically observed.

discussed in this section are typical of the ones identified in the survey. A few of the issues identified in the case studies are discussed further when the question of whether such inaccuracies compromised his intention to be true to nature is discussed below.

Addressing the key research questions

As the issue of what fidelity to nature meant in Guérard's Antipodean artistic practice was not explored to any significant extent in the retrospective *Nature Revealed* exhibition (see page 10), nor in the substantial catalogue accompanying it, this thesis sought to address this deficit in Australian art historical understanding by answering the following key research questions:

1. What natural features of Antipodean landscapes did Guérard typically illustrate with fidelity to nature?
2. What natural features did the artist often freely transform for artistic effect?
3. Did such transformations compromise his expressed intention to be "true to nature" in his landscape paintings?

The findings of the fidelity analysis carried out as part of the survey of more than 120 of Guérard's Antipodean landscapes are summarised in Table 12.2, arranged according to the same classification of features as was used in the third part of the survey instrument (Appendix K). The categorical generalisations derived from the analysis enable the first and second questions to be convincingly answered. However, that analysis also revealed that while some features are nearly always faithfully rendered and others are often freely modified, there is yet a third group of features, which are usually faithfully illustrated, but in specific instances the artist modifies, inserts or invents them. This implies that there is an additional question that is worth posing, namely: what natural features did the artist transform only in specific circumstances?

Table 12.2. **Generalisation relating to the fidelity of natural features in Guérard's oeuvre**
 Summary of the generalisations derived from the analysis of the data from the third part of the survey. The ticks indicate the fidelity categories in which features were placed.

Categories of features	Specific features of paintings	Fidelity to the view				Fidelity to natural history of location
		Nearly always faithful	Faithful if present but modified if inadequate or invented if absent	Often freely modified, introduced or invented	Usually modified	
<i>Topographical</i>	Height of summits				✓	
	Horizon topography	✓				
	Midground topography	✓				
	Foreground slopes		✓			
<i>Compositional</i>	Scale of staffage		✓			
	Perspective	✓				
	Internal framing		✓			
<i>Illuminational</i>	Solar illumination	✓				
	Sunset bearing	✓				
<i>Geological</i>	Foreground boulders			✓		
	Major rock outcrop		✓			
	Identifiable rock class					
	Identifiable rock type					Nearly all local
<i>Geomorphological</i>	Range of landforms	✓				
	Waterbodies	✓				
<i>Ecological</i>	Extent of bush cover	✓				
	Identifiable flora					Nearly all indigenous
	Identifiable fauna					Nearly all indigenous
<i>Botanical</i>	Foreground trees and shrubs		✓			
	Deadwood present			✓		
<i>Zoological</i>	Wildlife present			✓		
<i>Meteorological</i>	Weather	✓				
	Cloud formations			✓		
	Cloud type					Nearly all indigenous

What features did the artist typically illustrate with fidelity to nature?

Although there are no features that were rated as highly or even mostly faithful to nature in every painting, there is a set of features that are typically faithful to the view of natural scenery at the site or to the conditions experienced on the day, with few exceptions. These features include:

- the topography of the hills, mountains or cliffs forming the horizon;
- the topography of the middle ground;
- the perspective at the vantage point;
- the range of landforms illustrated;
- the appearance and size of waterbodies;
- the extent of bush cover across the landscape;
- the pattern of solar illumination;
- the bearing of the sun in sunset scenes; and
- the weather conditions.

The two topographical features Guérard nearly always rendered faithfully enabled the location of the sites of the large majority of his paintings to be determined and visited, confirming that the artist was committed to ensuring his landscapes were geographically identifiable. This contention is reinforced by the fact that nearly all works include geographical place names in the titles given to them.³ The geographical fidelity of his works is not challenged by the exaggeration of the summit elevations nor undermined by the modification or insertion of foreground slopes.

While the perspective experienced by a viewer standing at the vantage point is not a feature of the natural world itself, only paintings based on the view from a single vantage point can accurately portray the relative size and positioning of major features of a landscape. If composite works and those with invented or highly modified foregrounds are excluded from consideration, then the artist's landscapes are consistently faithful to the perspective visible from the vantage point, as he does not engage in techniques such as foreshortening the midground.

3. The exceptions being *Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865 (SLNSW), and *Moonlight in an Australian Forest*, 1883 (present location unknown).

The accuracy with which Guérard typically renders both landforms and waterbodies suggests that fidelity to the geomorphological features of landscapes was important to the artist, although he would not have used such terminology as geomorphology had not become a recognised scientific discipline in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.⁴ Similarly, Guérard took care to ensure that ecological features, such as the appearance, diversity and extent of native forest, were accurately rendered, in some instances to document its existence before clearance by settlers. This is particularly true of his paintings of the Illawarra rainforest (Figure 12.2). Guérard commented that “the progress of the settlement is necessitating the destruction of some of these magnificent forests.”⁵



Figure 12.2. **Ecological fidelity in forest paintings**

Cabbage Trees near the Shoalhaven River, N.S.W., 1860, oil on canvas, 51.2 × 85.5 cm, SLNSW.

As for solar illumination, the depiction of sunlit and shadowed areas in Guérard’s landscapes is typically faithful to the pattern of illumination recorded in the sketch made at the

4. Huggett, *Fundamentals of Geomorphology*, 9–11. Neither was ecology a recognised scientific discipline. See Aaron Sachs, *The Humboldt Current* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 12.

5. Tipping, *Eugène von Guérard’s Australian Landscapes*, 72.

site. The sun is usually found to be correctly positioned in his sunset paintings once the location of his vantage point is determined and the principal bearing of his field of view established.

Guérard's illustration of weather conditions in his paintings is surprisingly faithful to that recorded in the relevant field sketch, despite the transient nature of many meteorological features. His landscapes are typically faithful to the conditions he chose to record at a particular moment of time during the period in which he was sketching the view. This interval would have been several hours for a large sketch or even several days for a highly detailed field drawing.

What features did the artist transform only in specific circumstances?

This set includes features that Guérard was typically committed to faithfully illustrating in landscapes, but where they were absent from the site, undocumented or, if documented, inadequate for compositional purposes, he was predisposed to insert or modify them. These features include:

- the foreground slopes;
- the foreground trees and shrubs;
- the framing of the view;
- the size of staffage; and
- the major rock outcrops present.

Given that the structure of the foreground played a significant role in determining the effect that Guérard wished to achieve in a composition, it is unsurprising that he sometimes found it necessary to modify, introduce or invent particular foreground features. However, when a site presented suitable topography or visually pleasing vegetation, the artist faithfully reproduced those features rather than constructing more imaginative foregrounds. Regardless, encountering a suitable tree or rock outcrop in the right spot to effectively frame the key motif in a scene would not have been a common occurrence, so Guérard was sometimes forced to move, enlarge or insert a tree or rock outcrop to function as a coulisse (e.g. Figure 8.16 and Figure 3.4, respectively).

Human figures are frequently inserted into the foreground of his paintings. Sometimes they act as a compositional device to give a sense of the relative size of other features of a landscape,

such as a major rock outcrop in the foreground, or a more distant landform. Although the scale of such staffage is usually appropriate, Guérard was prepared to reduce the size of human beings relative to surrounding objects when he wished to make a formation or landform appear larger, so that scene became more dramatic or sublime. In a few instances, he resorted to miniaturising human figures in order to monumentalise other features of a landscape (e.g. Figure 9.15).

Typically, Guérard faithfully illustrated the rock outcrops that he encountered at sites and documented in field drawings. Occasionally, though, he inserted, invented or modified a rock outcrop where none was present at the site or, if present, inadequate for his compositional intentions. When such artistic liberties resulted in geological anomalies, the practice is difficult to reconcile with his interest in geology and pleasure at the thought that his paintings might illustrate future treatises on the geology of the colony of Victoria. There are two paintings in which a massive midground rock exposure is inappropriately modified.⁶ Those exposures form the complex face of waterfalls, both of which the artist may have misinterpreted as he sought to simplify the geological features. However, the inclusion of a geologically unconvincing rock formation in the left foreground in *View in the Grampians* (Figure 9.12) is more problematic, as the dip and attitude of the rocks are inappropriate for the site. The formation would have been more convincingly portrayed if Guérard had imitated the structural features of the geologically accurate rock formation in the right foreground.

What features did the artist often freely transform for artistic effect?

This set of features includes those the artist freely modified, inserted or invented for artistic effect, regardless of whether such features were present at a site and recorded in the field drawing.

These features include:

- the foreground boulders;
- the dead trees and fallen branches;
- the wildlife;

6. The two paintings are *Steavenson Falls*, 1863 (NGA), and *Waterfall on the Clyde River, Tasmania*, 1877 (AGSA).

- the cloud formations; and
- the heights of summits.

Guérard frequently inserted generic boulders in the foreground of his landscape paintings, with little regard for what he had observed and/or recorded at the site. The insertion of such boulders can partly be explained by the fact that in many field drawings foreground features are only roughly sketched in, or the foreground is ignored altogether. Despite one commentator claiming in relation to one painting that “every rock is a study for a geologist,”⁷ Guérard’s lack of interest in recording foreground boulders may have been because they convey little geological information unless the rocks are distinctive enough to permit identification.⁸

The artist frequently painted still-standing skeletal trees, along with fallen trees and dead branches in the foregrounds of his landscapes. While such dead trees are often based on those he sketched in the field, he was not averse to adding a dead tree when such a feature was absent from the site. For example, in *Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border* (Figure 6.1), Guérard inserted a massive eucalypt stump along with the fallen trunk of the tree in the foreground. He was even more inclined to practise artistic invention when it came to the inclusion of fallen branches. As noted above, his often cursory sketching of foregrounds provided ample opportunity for him to insert deadwood in his painted foregrounds.

While the inclusion of boulders in the foreground might add visual interest to a landscape painting, generally they contribute little to the overall composition other than filling in the foreground. However, the presence of large dying or fallen trees sometimes contributes to the geometrical structure of a work, such as the two inward-leaning skeletal trees that frame the distant view of the Kosciuszko Massif in *Mount Kosciusko*, or the tree trunk that has fallen across the pool in *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat* (Figure 12.3).⁹ Regardless, the ubiquity of fallen

7. *My Note Book*, December 13, 1856, 8.

8. Even the highly detailed foreground boulders illustrated in John Brett’s painting *The Glacier of Rosenloui*, 1856 (Tate, London), proved difficult for Federation University geologists to unequivocally identify. The work is viewable at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/51/John_Brett_-_Glacier_of_Rosenloui_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg, accessed September 13, 2021.

9. Pullin, “Science of Landscape Painting,” 230.

branches that play no discernible compositional role does serve the function of identifying the scene as being distinctively Australian, given the propensity of some eucalypt species to “shed branches” in drought conditions.¹⁰



Figure 12.3. **A fallen tree reinforcing the geometrical structure of a work**
Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat, 1854, oil on canvas, 46.0 × 75.5 cm, NGV.

Guérard did not record many native animals in his field drawings of wilderness scenes, most likely because they were not present while he sat sketching or they moved away too rapidly. He did, however, make separate sketches when he encountered more sedate wildlife. These drawings acted as a repository of images to draw upon when he wished to introduce accurate images of mammals, birds or snakes into his landscapes.

It is unsurprising that the artist freely modified sketched cloud formations that lacked visual interest, or invented them if he had not recorded any. In the majority of assessable paintings, however, the cloud formations are similar to those sketched at the site. Given his obvious interest in dramatic cloud formations, it is likely that Guérard sketched the sky when the

10. “Eucalyptus,” Wikipedia, accessed May 6, 2021, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eucalyptus>.

clouds were at their most visually appealing during the interval when he was sketching at a site or when the patchwork illumination of the landscape was most pleasing.

There is one feature that the artist frequently modified irrespective of the state of that feature, namely, the height of summits on the horizon relative to other accurately rendered topographical features. In more instances than not, the summits are portrayed as significantly or much higher than in reality. Guérard was an experienced, European-trained landscape painter familiar with the Alps and the mountain ranges of Italy.¹¹ The flatness of so much of the landscape in western Victoria, along with the limited elevation of most of the hills and mountains in that district, would have challenged an artist inclined to produce dramatic landscapes. Guérard's resolution of the issue nearly always involved stretching summits vertically to make them appear taller, rather than foreshortening the midground to make them appear larger overall. This also had the effect of making their slopes steeper. What is more difficult to reconcile with his stated aim "to be as true to nature as far as possible" in his New Zealand paintings¹² is his exaggeration of the elevations of the much higher mountains he encountered in Milford Sound/Piopiotaahi and Lake Wakatipu. Perhaps at that late stage in his artistic career, after 25 years of elevating summits in Australia, a compensatory artistic practice had become an ingrained habit.

Are transformed features limited to established pictorial conventions?

It is worth considering whether the "freely transformed" and "transformed when necessary" features accord with those typically modified under established pictorial conventions. Some features that Guérard transforms, such as foreground vegetation, deadwood and rocks, coulisses, wildlife, staffage, illumination and weather, are those that other mid-nineteenth-century landscape artists also freely modified or invented. A comparison of paintings by Guérard and Nicholas Chevalier (Figure 12.4) portraying the same view of Mt Abrupt in the Grampians, based on sketches made within a few years of each other, with a historical site photograph illustrates common liberties taken with foreground topography, vegetation and rock formations.

11. Pullin, "Eugene von Guérard and Colonial Art in Melbourne 1850–1880," 143.

12. Letter from Guérard to Haast, April 27, 1881, in Darragh and Pullin, *Lieber Freund!*, 48.



Figure 12.4. **Comparing paintings by Guérard and Chevalier of the same scene**
Top: Eugene von Guérard, *Mount A abrupt, the Grampians, Victoria*, 1856, oil on paper on canvas, 25.8 × 34.0 cm, NGV. Middle: Mt A abrupt, Dunkeld, Victoria, c. 1900. Photographer unknown.
Bottom: Nicholas Chevalier, *Mt. A abrupt*, 1863, oil on canvas, 46 × 61 cm, Hamilton Art Gallery.

Other transformed features, such as the elevation of summits and the modification of foreground topography, may have less to do with established European pictorial conventions than the challenges of the Antipodean terrain Guérard (and Chevalier) encountered. Vast distances and the lowly elevation of many landforms necessitated heightening and steepening in order to create dramatic works. Relatively flat foregrounds meant that slopes, creeks and rock formations sometimes needed to be modified or introduced to create visual interest. These artistic inventions suggests that for Guérard fidelity to nature was not an end in itself. However, the introduction of distant landforms in a few works had more to do with the artist experimenting with composite works than either pictorial conventions or the challenges of portraying vast, relatively flat Antipodean landscapes.

Did such transformations compromise Guérard's intention to be "true to nature"?

The transformations under consideration include features that are modified as compared to how they appear now, or did appear then, at the site or are recorded in the field drawing, as well as features introduced into a work regardless of whether they are based on another sketch or are wholly imagined. While such transformations are not true to the view on the day, they do "imitate nature" if they are faithful to the natural history of the location or the natural phenomena involved. Being true to either is therefore a sufficient condition for a transformed feature to be judged as being "true to nature." There are, however, some types of transformations that can, and sometimes do, result in geographical, topographical, geological, geomorphological, ecological, botanical or meteorological infidelities. When such an infidelity occurs, the transformation involved compromises Guérard's aesthetic intention to be true to nature in his landscapes.

The kinds of transformations that could be construed as being untrue to nature in Guérard's Antipodean landscape paintings include:

- exaggerating the height of summits;
- modifying or inventing foreground slopes;
- reducing the size of staffage;
- modifying or inserting foreground boulders;

- modifying major rock outcrops;
- inserting or omitting landforms;
- modifying or inserting foreground trees and shrubs;
- modifying or inserting a tree or rock formation to act as a coulisse;
- modifying or inserting dead trees and fallen branches;
- adding wildlife;
- inventing weather conditions;
- modifying or introducing cloud formations; and
- combining views from different vantage points.

Given the frequency with which Guérard increased the relative heights of summits, it is clear that elevational fidelity was not a significant concern to him. Despite the heightened summits and steepened slopes, his vertical stretching technique did not compromise the geographical fidelity of works as the view is still readily identifiable once his vantage point is established.

The artist's inclination to modify foreground topography in order to produce a more engaging or effective composition does raise a question about his overall commitment to topographical fidelity. Aside from the occasional introduction of a landform, such as a stream gully or a waterfall in the foreground of a work, the topographical modification of foregrounds is usually limited to altering the aspect or steepness of slopes. If such attributes of foreground rises could have developed at the location due to the action of natural forces, then they can be considered to be true to nature. Given that Guérard faithfully reproduced midground and horizon topography, it is reasonable to conclude that distant topographical fidelity was important to the artist, but closer topography, less so.

Staffage is used in landscape paintings to give viewers an idea of the scale of physical features or to create human interest. Guérard often introduced staffage in his Antipodean landscapes as no human figures were documented in the field drawings. This makes it difficult to judge whether the artist appropriately illustrated the size of the humans relative to the context.

Occasionally it was possible to photograph a person standing on the same spot as the staffage, or to measure the height of identifiable large boulders that the artist reproduced in a painting. In three such instances, the human figures were reduced to about half normal size.¹³ The impact of such miniaturisation is to monumentalise aspects of a scene, making the foreground rock formations in all three paintings appear much larger and more dramatic than in reality. In such instances, an anatomical infidelity occurred.

In more instances than not, Guérard significantly modified the appearance, number and location of the foreground boulders documented in the field sketch. Alternatively, he invented them if they were not recorded in the drawing, because either they were absent in reality or he had deliberately omitted them. Given the scale at which foreground boulders are illustrated in a landscape painting, it is usually not possible to identify the type of rock, so they are judged to be generic rocks, which the artist freely included to create visual interest or to fill in the foreground. As such, it is not possible to decide whether they are faithful or not to the natural history of the location. It is a different matter, however, when Guérard modified or inserted a major rock outcrop in the mid- or foreground of a painting. Features of such painted exposures often permit determination of the rock type and the dip or aspect of strata, if present. Both features can then be compared with data on geological maps,¹⁴ thus ascertaining whether the artist's portrayal of a rock exposure is faithful to the geology of the location. In a number of works, the appearance of an outcrop is significantly different from that photographed at the site or recorded in the field drawing. Although such transformations are unfaithful to the view of the outcrop from the vantage point, a transformed outcrop can still be true to the natural history of the location if attributes such as bedding and jointing accord with the geology of the location.

There are, however, some exceptions in which the illustrated outcrop is untrue to the natural history of the location, resulting in a geological infidelity. The highly regular *tessellated*

13. The three paintings are *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (NGV); *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (AGSA); and *View in the Grampians*, 1870 (private collection).

14. Regional geological maps cover a large area, but marked dips are representative of the location.

pavement in the foreground of *Warrenheip Hills* (Figure 12.3) is inappropriate for the site,¹⁵ and in the foreground of *Lake Wakatipu* (Figure 12.1, middle) sedimentary rock replaces metamorphic schist with a dip that is inappropriate for the location. The former geological infidelity was indulged in to ensure viewers recognised that the outcrop was of volcanic origin, while the replacement of schist with sedimentary rock in the latter is most likely a consequence of a lack of local geological knowledge. In both *Steavenson Falls*, 1863 (NGA), and *Waterfall on the Clyde River*, 1877 (Figure 12.5, top), the large rock outcrop forming the face of the waterfall fills the midground, but in each case a volcanic exposure at the site takes on the appearance of sedimentary rock in the painting. In those two waterfall paintings, the artist's attempt to simplify a complex rock formation in the sketch (Figure 8.6, left, and Figure 12.5, bottom left), and to regularise it in painting for compositional purposes, resulted in the appearance of a rock type not present in the location, and as such is judged to be a geological infidelity.

15. *Tessellated pavement* refers to the top of a relatively level basalt rock exposure, which is formed from regularly shaped, joint-bounded columns that are polygonal in cross section.

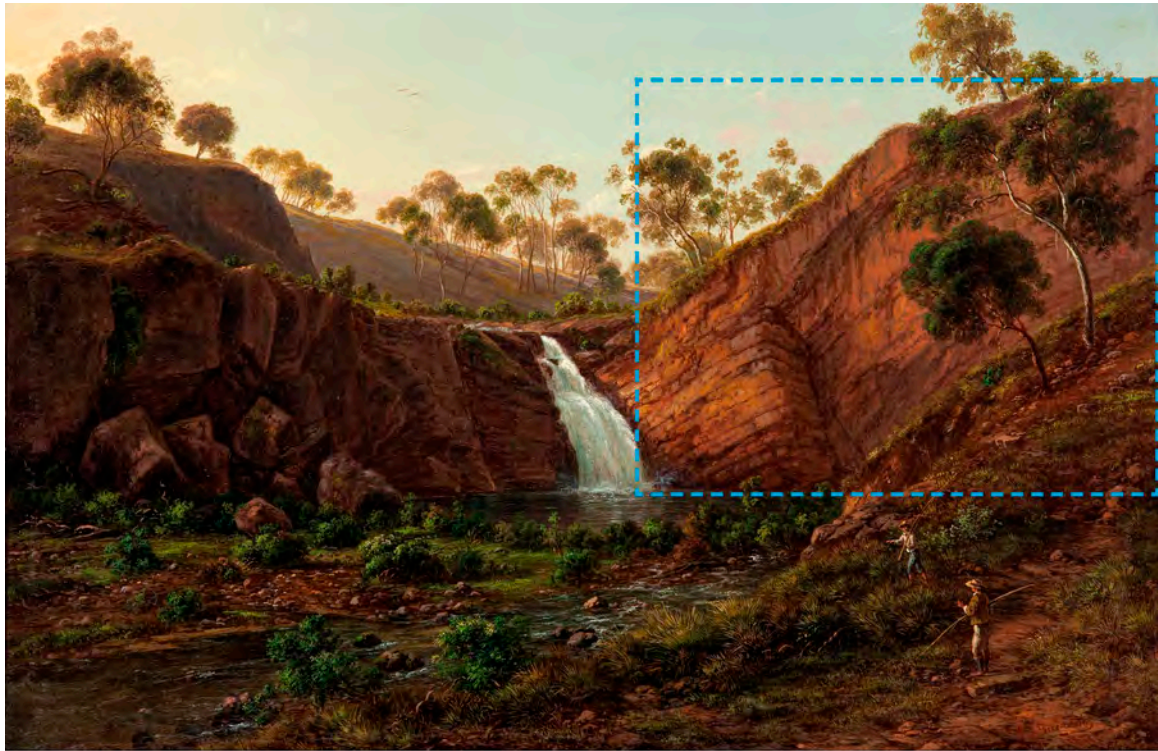


Figure 12.5. A geological feature untrue to nature

Top: *Waterfall on the Clyde River, Tasmania, 1877*, oil on canvas, 43.5 × 64.2 cm, AGSA. Bottom left: *Clyde Fall near Bothwell, 27 Jany. 75, 1875* (detail), pencil on paper, folio 2, “Collections of Views, 1855–1875,” reference code 825457, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Bottom right: view of right rock face of Clyde Falls, 2018. Photograph: author. The bottom images show the same area as that enclosed by the cyan rectangle on the painting.

Guérard occasionally inserted or omitted major landforms in his paintings, such as the insertion of Langdale Pike (Figure 1.5) into the background of *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges* (Figure 1.4), the introduction of a substantial waterfall in the foreground of *Scenery in the Mt Lofty Ranges* (Figure 8.13), and the omission of river terraces from the midground of *Lake*

Wakatipu (Figure 10.13). Those landform transformations clearly amount to geomorphological infidelities, but the introduction of less significant landforms, such as gully with a stream in *View of the Grampians with Mount Abrupt and Mount Sturgeon in the distance* (Figure 8.31) merely modify features that exist at or near the site, and are therefore judged to be true to the natural history of the location, if not to the view at the vantage point.

In a significant number of paintings Guérard modified or inserted foreground trees and shrubs as compared to those documented in the field drawing. While the artist did so for compositional purposes, he also wished to illustrate the particular character of Australian vegetation. The modified or introduced flora typically has the distinctive appearance of the Australian trees, with eucalypt forms dominating, often shown shedding strips of bark (e.g. Figure 8.16). However, the scale at which such eucalypt trees are painted usually restricts the identification of plants to the level of *genus*, as it is not possible to distinguish the floral features necessary for determining the species.¹⁶ Regardless, it is possible to identify a few non-eucalypt species, such as Cherry Ballart (*Exocarpus cupressiformis*) and Drooping Sheoak (*Allocasuarina verticillata*), on the basis of their growth habit or the colour and appearance of their foliage.¹⁷ This makes it possible to assess whether introduced specimens are indigenous to the location. According to the ecological vegetation maps consulted, Drooping Sheoak and Cherry Ballart trees are occasionally painted in locations where they are not thought to have been growing prior to European settlement, but that may reflect the limits of historical ecological models. The insertion of highly distinctive grasstrees in paintings of Victorian locations where the soil is derived from volcanic bedrock is more problematic, as there are no herbarium records of them growing on such soils anywhere in Victoria (see page 282). There are three such paintings in which the artist's desire to illustrate the distinctive nature of Australian vegetation led him to insert grasstrees in

16. Leon Costermans, email message to author, November 1, 2018. Closely related botanical species are grouped together in a *genus*.

17. It is possible only to conjecture which species of grasstree is illustrated in one of Guérard's paintings if the ecological vegetation class of the site location is taken into account.

identifiable volcanic landscapes.¹⁸ These artistic liberties resulted in ecological infidelities. Most likely, though, Guérard was unaware that grasstrees did not grow in such locations, so they ought not to be judged as deliberate ecological infidelities.

As expected, the trees sometimes used by the artist to frame the view are either modified or introduced, given that it would be unusual to encounter a suitably sized tree naturally growing at the right spot to frame the desired part of the scene visible from a vantage point carefully selected for its view of the wider landscape. Given that such coulisses are often an essential compositional element in his landscapes, it not surprising that Guérard resorted to shifting, enlarging or introducing trees. The issue of fidelity to nature in this context hinges on whether or not an identified coulisse species is indigenous to the location or not. No examples of ecologically inappropriate framing trees were identified in the survey. There are, however, two instances in which an invented rock formation was used to frame the view rather than a tree. While the granitic *tor* in *Mount Kosciusko* (Figure 4.11) appears to be geologically authentic for the location,¹⁹ the rock stack inserted in *View in the Grampians* (Figure 9.1) displays several anomalies that qualify it as a geological infidelity (see page 327).

Although the majority of paintings accurately reproduce the dead trees or fallen branches the artist documented in field sketches, a significant number have modified or inserted deadwood. The artist's propensity for adding deadwood suggests that Guérard recognised that an abundance of dead or dying trees and fallen branches was a distinctive characteristic of eucalypt forests. Although such insertions were not necessarily faithful to the deadwood visible at the site on the day, they are faithful to the natural history of the Australian bush he encountered.

Few of the native animals included in his landscapes are based on observations Guérard recorded at the site, most likely reflecting the absence or fleeting presence of such creatures during sketching intervals. Typically, he inserts images of birds and occasionally macropods

18. The three paintings are *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (NGV); *Tower Hill*, 1855 (Warnambool Art Gallery); *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (AGSA).

19. Stephen Carey, email message to author, April 23, 2021. A *tor* is an exposed rock mass with bare faces on all sides, resulting from weathering and erosion.

(kangaroos and wallabies) encountered elsewhere, and which he may even have sketched separately. Given his expressed desire to communicate the special character of the Australian landscape, it is not surprising that he would insert wildlife. Providing that such animals are indigenous to the location, their insertion is judged to be true to nature on the basis of it being true to the natural history of the location. No examples of inserting native animals in inappropriate locations were identified.

Guérard's field drawings typically provide some indication of weather conditions. In less than a handful of paintings are weather conditions significantly different from those recorded in the field drawings. Although the approaching storm inserted in *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863, is not documented in either sketch he made atop Mt Townsend (Figure 3.4), it is faithful to the major weather event of the day in which some members of the party nearly lost their lives. While no thunderstorm was recorded in the large detailed field drawing on which his Weatherboard Falls works are based,²⁰ Guérard included torrential rainfall along with the otherwise documented massive flow of water over the falls to illustrate the erosive forces of nature. Thus, the artist was being true to the geomorphological history of the location, if not to the recorded weather conditions at the time. Another scene with invented weather conditions is *Evening after a Gale, Wilson's Promontory* (Figure 12.6), in which two sailors clinging to a broken mast are in danger of being missed by a passing steamship as the sun sets. The winds whipping up sea spray may have been absent when he sketched the promontory from the deck of the SS *City of Sydney* in 1859,²¹ but gales wrecked many ships on the rocky shores of the promontory.²²

20. The two works are *Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson's Valley, New South Wales*, 1862 (NGV), and *The Weatherboard Falls, New South Wales*, 1863 (GG).

21. Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 157.

22. Jack Loney, *Shipwrecks and Sea Adventures around Wilsons Promontory* (Geelong: Neptune Press, 1982).



Figure 12.6. **An example of invented weather conditions**

Top: *Evening after a Gale, Wilson's Promontory*, 1870, oil on canvas, 35.0 × 53.5 cm, present location unknown. Bottom: *Cape Wilson or Wilsons Promontory Victoria ... Reise Nach Sydney*, 1859, folio 18, "Volume 08, Sketchbook XXIX, No. 11, Australian, New South Wales, Cape Schanck 1858–59," reference code 824703, Dixson Library, SLNSW.

The cloud formations portrayed in a significant number of Guérard's Antipodean landscapes are either significantly modified when compared to those recorded in the field on the day (e.g. Figure 12.6) or wholly imagined. While he freely invented clouds when none was documented in order to add visual interest and contrast to an otherwise formless sky, or to emphasise the contours of the land by adding shading, there are some scenes in which he

extensively modified the sketched formation, introduced one sketched elsewhere or invented one in preference to faithfully illustrating what he had documented. Regardless, both highly modified and invented formations are nearly all identifiable as specific cloud types. As the artist was a keen observer and sketcher of clouds, and could accurately portray different types (e.g. Figure 12.7), his invented formations are true to nature, even if not accurate snapshots in time.



Figure 12.7. **A sketch of a towering stratocumulus cloud formation**
Melbourne, 4 Feb. 56 [cloud study], 1856, folio 74, “Volume 01: Sketchbook XXII. No. 4 Australian. Apr. 1854-Dec. 1857, 1858,” reference code 824690, Dixson Library, SLNSW.

Paintings based on combining views from different vantage points do raise a question about his intention to be “true to nature” in his landscapes. Those that combine views from vantage points in close proximity in order to better illustrate a particular feature, such as Mt Langi Ghiran in *Yalla-y-Poora* (Figure 11.1), are faithful to the landscape as a whole even if not totally faithful to the view at one particular spot. More problematic are composite works based on combining views of landscape from geographically distant vantage points. For two such works, the artist indicated that the painting combined scenery through the title given to the work or a note provided for the exhibition catalogue.²³ As such, they should not be judged as being unfaithful to a particular view. However, the composite nature of three other works that merge views from

23. The two paintings are *Scenery in the Mt Lofty Ranges, near Adelaide*, and *view of the Gulf of St Vincent*, c. 1860 (AGSA), and *Sunset, New South Wales*, c. 1860 (SLNSW). However, the artist’s clarification that the motifs for the latter landscape were “taken from the Wollongong and Shoalhaven districts” is not entirely true as one of the motifs is found in the Blue Mountains. See *Catalogue of the Victorian Exhibits to the Sydney Intercolonial Exhibition of 1870* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1870), 16, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2860243782/view?partId=nla.obj-2860662382 - page/n1/mode/lup>.

widely separated, and in one instance disparate, locations is not acknowledged in the titles that Guérard gave them.²⁴ The geographical specificity of the titles means that those works are judged to be geographically unfaithful. Although the overall scene in each of those composite works is not faithful to the view at any particular site, each landscape component may be so, as can be observed in Figure 12.8.

24. The three works are *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (NGV); *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (AGSA); and *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges*, c. 1870, (QAG).



Figure 12.8. **Fidelity of landscape components in a composite work**

Top: *Amerikan [sic] Creek, Wollongong, 7th December 1859*, and *Granite stones at Hartley Blau Mountains N.S.W., 16 June 1859* (detail), folios 28 and 27, “Collections of Views, 1855–1875,” reference code 825457, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Bottom: *Sunset, New South Wales, 1865*, oil on canvas, 99.1 × 119.4 cm, SLNSW.

Summary of compromising types of transformations

Although increasing the elevation of summits results in topographical inaccuracy, it does not compromise the identifiability of scenes and therefore fails to qualify as a geographical infidelity. Modified foreground slopes are considered to be true to nature unless incompatible with the general topography of the location. Except for composite works based on disparate or widely separated views, none is incompatible. The insertion of foreground boulders does not result in a geological infidelity, as the scale at which they are portrayed does not permit identification of rock class or type. The occasional modification or insertion of a rock outcrop rarely results in a geological infidelity, except in those works where the identified rock class or type is not indigenous to the location, or the geological attributes of the formation are inappropriate for the location. Excluding the kinds of composite works mentioned above, there are two works with an inserted or omitted major landform that represents a geomorphological infidelity, but other less significant insertions of landforms are true to nature in the sense that those landforms are typical of the location. Inserted foreground trees, including those functioning as coulisses, are typically true to the natural history of the location. However, the addition of identifiable non-indigenous species in the foreground of some works results in an ecological infidelity. The addition of dead trees or fallen branches does not result in an ecological infidelity as the deadwood cannot be identified as having originated from trees not indigenous to the location. There are no examples of non-indigenous wildlife being inserted into landscapes. Nor are there any examples of meteorological infidelity, as cloud types are appropriate for the imagined weather events, and inserted cloud formations are realistically illustrated and identifiable as specific types in the context of standard meteorological taxonomy. Lastly, combining views from different vantage points can still be true to the general terrain if the vantage points are in close proximity. However, combining views from distant locations in a small number of paintings inevitably results in geographical and geomorphological infidelities. Furthermore, geological and ecological infidelities are also apparent in composite works that combine views from very different natural environments.

While such infidelities to nature were identified by the survey or in the case studies, they are few in number and limited to a small number of paintings. Such infidelities, whether deliberate or accidental, do compromise Guérard's expressed intention to be "true to nature" in his landscapes. However, when his Antipodean oeuvre is considered as a whole, with composite works based on disparate or widely separated views excluded as special cases, it is clear that Guérard largely achieved his intention, as the natural features of most works are either faithful to the view at the site, as empirically observed, or to the natural history of the location. When the artist, for compositional reasons, took artistic liberties that resulted in infidelities to nature, more often than not this occurred because he made an assumption about the extent of the distribution of fauna or rock types, or lacked sufficient knowledge of the local natural history, rather than deliberately choosing to transform aspects of a landscape in such a way that it became untrue to nature. However, it must be conceded that the latter did occur in the few unacknowledged composite works he created.

Conclusion

Overall, the selective fidelity to nature that Guérard practised resulted in landscape paintings whose features are typically "true to nature" in the sense of being faithful to the view of natural scenery at the site and/or the natural history of the location, particularly when invented realistic details are included. Indeed, as art historian Mark Stocker commented after reviewing the findings of the survey, the artist exhibited a "remarkable fidelity to nature," particularly if the modification or invention of features such as the weather, staffage, foreground trees, deadwood and birds are ignored as being part of a "cultural given," in the sense of being accepted pictorial conventions.²⁵ The relatively few occasions in which transforming or introducing natural features in a painting resulted in geographical, geological, geomorphological or ecological infidelities that compromised Guérard's aesthetic ideal of being "true to nature" occur in composite landscapes or when he sought to insert or simplify complex rock exposures or introduce unusual plants.

25. Mark Stocker, email message to author, October 11, 2020.

Chapter 13 – Discussion part B: Resonances and parallel developments

In the first half of this chapter, features of significant conjectured influences on Guérard's artistic practice are compared with how the artist typically practised fidelity to nature in his Antipodean oeuvre. Purported influences whose features resonate strongly with how Guérard practised his art in Australia are acknowledged as being more likely to have been influential. In contrast, alleged influences whose features only partially resonate with, or are dissonant to, Guérard's practice are identified as being less likely to have had any significant impact on the artist's oeuvre. The question of whether the Antipodes itself might have influenced how Guérard practised fidelity to nature is also considered. In the second half of the chapter, the focus shifts to the wider context of international developments in mid-nineteenth-century wilderness painting. Guérard's fidelity to nature is compared with that practised by two major international artists, who were also influenced by the Düsseldorf approach to landscape painting and, similarly, went on in their careers to paint iconic images of wilderness scenes in their home countries. The text also examines whether those artists remained true to the Düsseldorf School approach to fidelity to nature or significantly modified it as Guérard did.

Resonances with key features of significant purported influences

A diverse range of artworks, artists, artistic movements, academic training and landscape painting theories were claimed in the literature as having exerted some influence on how Guérard practised fidelity to nature in the Antipodes. These were discussed in detail in Chapter 4, which also examined the evidence advanced to support some claims, most of which was circumstantial or associational in nature. While some of those purported influences were more extensively developed and are potentially historically justifiable, others that were basically weakly formulated allusions were discarded (see pages 128–130). Regardless of the quality of the evidence advanced in the literature, it is worth considering whether the way in which Guérard actually practised being true to nature resonates with distinctive features of significant purported influences. Such resonances (and dissonances) are summarised in Table 13.1 before being discussed below. However, any such resonance between his practice and the distinctive features of a proposed

influence remains conjectural, as the similarities could well be coincidental. A major dissonance, though, would imply that the influence is unlikely to have been significant.

Table 13.1. **Guérard’s practice of fidelity to nature and significant purported influences**
Comparison of his fidelity to nature practice with distinctive features of purported influences.

Purported influences	Features relevant to the portrayal of nature in landscape painting	How Guérard’s landscapes compare
Friedrich’s paintings	Landscapes intended to evoke a religious response; include faithful details of observed nature; some works are composite views or have transported landforms	Works evoke an emotional response; faithful detail; painted a few composites and occasionally transported landforms
Early Romanticism in Germany	Nature paintings based on detailed observation of the natural world; sought to evoke a spiritual or emotional response in the viewer	Details based on careful observation of nature; works intended to evoke an emotional rather than a religious response
Nazarene Movement	Carefully finished works; accurate natural features; sought to revive spirituality in art; often painted biblical or religious scenes; works deliberately archaistic	Well finished and accurate works, but little apparent spiritual intention and no religious focus; paintings not archaistic
Koch’s geological paintings	Use of highly modified natural features to convey geological theories; complex landscape compositions	Geological features usually accurately portrayed; some complex scenes
Düsseldorf Academy landscape painting training	Thorough study of nature in the field; realistic portrayal of nature’s details in often rearranged views; compositional requirements more important than fidelity to the view; heightened rendering of detail	Diligent study of nature; accurate rendition of views, not just elements; some compositional adjustment
Humboldt’s <i>Kosmos</i>	Scientifically informed observation of nature enriched by the artist’s imagination to produce a creative work that conveys the essential nature of a particular geographical region	Often scientifically informed observation of nature; conveys essential nature of a location rather than a region, but not through imaginative enhancement
Carus’s <i>Nine Letters to Landscape Painters</i>	Artists required to absorb the ‘true forms’ of nature, so that imagined forms portrayed in paintings are true to nature; paintings expected to inform viewers of geological history of a location	Very familiar with nature’s forms; few imagined landforms included in works, more often realistic and faithful; geologically informative scenes

Friedrich’s paintings

As noted in Chapter 4, the Antipodean artist was familiar with at least some of the works by the leading German artist of the early Romantic period during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Caspar David Friedrich. Guérard’s paintings similarly include faithfully illustrated details of closely observed nature in mostly geographically identified scenes, composed with the intention of evoking an emotional response in viewers of pleasure, awe or reverence, although the colonial artist never resorted to deifying nature as Friedrich did. Whether or not Guérard’s

handful of composite paintings were influenced by Friedrich's occasional foray into painting composite scenes cannot be determined.¹ However, Guérard's transportation of a granitic rock formation sketched in the Lal Lal Valley to the foreground of a view toward Lake Corangamite more than 100 km away in *Stony Rises*, 1857 (Figure 1.6) is reminiscent of Friedrich's transplantation of a granitic rock formation sketched in the Harz Mountains in northern Germany to the foreground of a view of Mt Watzmann in the Alps (Figure 13.1). Guérard's more typical commitment to including appropriate local geological detail in the foreground of his wilderness paintings contrasts, though, with Friedrich's approach to fidelity, which according to Mitchell, "did not consider accuracy to local detail paramount."²



Figure 13.1. **A transported granitic rock formation in a painting by Friedrich**
Caspar David Friedrich, *The Watzmann*, c. 1824/1825, oil on canvas, 135 × 170 cm, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

1. Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity," 1037.

2. Mitchell, *Art and Science*, 176.

While Guérard's Antipodean wilderness paintings often illustrate untouched nature, Friedrich's tendency to imbue nature with an intense spirituality in order to evoke a religious or spiritual response in viewers is not apparent in Guérard's wilderness paintings. He merely wished that his works might "catch now and then a glimpse of the divine poetical feelings."³

Dahl's modus operandi

How Guérard practised fidelity to nature is more akin to the practice of the Romantic artist Johan Christian Dahl (1788–1857), who was not identified by any of the commentators as a potential influence. The Norwegian artist was closely associated with both Friedrich and Carus, when all three resided in Dresden.⁴ Dahl regularly went on wilderness expeditions in Norway, where he "covered great distances in the mountainous south-west on horseback and on foot," producing a "vast number of studies on which he was to base future paintings executed in his Dresden studio."⁵ So similar is Guérard's modus operandi to Dahl's that he could have been modelling it on the Norwegian's. As it is highly likely that Guérard visited Dresden during the 1840s, when he had a "good many occasions to see the finest works of art" in Germany,⁶ he may have met Dahl in the academy or in his studio.

The painting *Winter at Sognefjord*, 1827 (Figure 13.2, top), illustrates how Dahl typically practised fidelity to nature. The work is based on a field sketch (Figure 13.2, bottom left), which is an accurate view of the scene when compared with a site photograph (Figure 13.2, bottom right). While the vista in the painting is a geographically faithful view from the village of Nornes toward Fimreite, the mountains have been made steeper and more dramatic, with the exposed rock more regularised. Much of the foreground detail is invented but realistically illustrated. The sunlit apex of the monolith, which was still in existence when Dahl visited the site, helps set a mood of hope in the depths of

3. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

4. Dahl and Friedrich were both appointed as 'extraordinary professors' at the Dresden Academy in 1824, a post Dahl held until the 1850s.

5. "The Artists: Johan Christian Dahl," A Mirror of Nature, Nordic Landscape Painting, 1840–1910, Nordic National Galleries, accessed February 10, 2020, <http://www.artsmia.org/mirror-of-nature/the-artists.cfm?lng=0.html>. Dahl is acknowledged as the father of Norwegian landscape painting.

6. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

winter.⁷ Dahl's fidelity to nature has been described as a "kind of romantic realism, combining the direct observation of nature with atmosphere and mood." For Dahl, realism was not an end in itself, but was "subordinate to ... the overall impression of the work."⁸ Guérard's typical practice of being true to the overall view as well as the details of nature, but only to the extent this was compatible with the effect he sought, resonates more strongly with Dahl's approach than Friedrich's.

7. "Winter at the Sognefjord," Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo, accessed February 20, 2002, <https://www.nasjonalmuseet.no/en/collection/object/NG.M.03138>.

8. Gunnarsson, *Nordic Landscape Painting*, 94–95.



Figure 13.2. **Fidelity to nature in an alpine painting by Dahl**

Top: Johan Christian Dahl, *Winter at the Sognefjord*, 1827, oil on canvas, 75.8 × 61.9 cm, Nasjonalmuseet, Oslo. Bottom left: Johan Christian Dahl, *Landscape study in Hünenstein* (Sognefjord), 1826, pencil on paper, 16.9 × 24.2 cm, Art Museum, Bergen. Bottom right, view of Fimreite, date unspecified. Photograph: Ottar Starheim.

The Nazarene Movement

Guérard's "well finished" landscapes,⁹ with accurately portrayed natural details, resonate with some aspects of the style evident in works by some of the German painters who were part of the Nazarene Movement in Rome in the early decades of the nineteenth century. As a young adult, Guérard would have seen some of their works in Rome. It is evident that he learnt more about the movement when he was resident in Düsseldorf a decade later,¹⁰ as several ex-Nazarenes were, or had been, leading members of the academy. However, the emphasis on painting religious scenes in an archaic style, and imbuing art with spiritual values, found no such expression in Guérard's Antipodean oeuvre, nor indeed in his earlier European paintings.¹¹

Koch's geological paintings

In order to convey contemporary geological theories about the replenishment of freshwater in the water cycle,¹² Koch resorted to significantly modifying topographical and geological features in both of his two major alpine paintings. This is apparent when those works are compared with site photographs (Figure 2.2 and Figure 4.7). In contrast, Guérard's largely accurate renditions of major topographical and geological features in most of his Antipodean landscapes (e.g. Figure 2.7 and Figure 8.19) are at odds with how Koch practised fidelity to nature, and nor was Guérard explicitly didactic in his portrayal of dramatic geomorphological features, such as the *cuesta* form of Grampians in Victoria, if that was ever his intention. Regardless, some of Guérard's landscapes, such as his painting of the Kosciuszko Massif (Figure 6.1), do exhibit a complexity that is reminiscent of Koch's alpine works.

Düsseldorf Academy

As Guérard spent at least six years training at the Düsseldorf Academy during his 30s, it would be unsurprising if the artistic practice advocated by Schirmer, the landscape painting master there,

9. Guérard, Reply on the Critic.

10. Guérard specifically mentions that Cornelius, Overbeck, Schadow, Veil, Schnorr, Reinhard and Koch met in Rome at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Guérard, Reply on the Critic).

11. His handful of paintings of ecclesiastical buildings, such as of a monastery, an abbey and two churches, do not illustrate religious themes per se.

12. Mitchell, *Art and Science*, 131–32.

had not significantly influenced the maturing of the former's style and aesthetic ideals. His diligent observation and documentation of natural features wherever he travelled in Australia, as well as the accurate delineation of such features in most of his landscapes, reflect the approach of the Düsseldorf School of landscape painting during the 1840s. Works produced by the Düsseldorf School painters during this period display a greater commitment to including realistic details, precisely rendered, in more naturalistic-looking paintings when compared to those produced in the decades prior to Schirmer's arrival. Furthermore, Guérard's willingness to modify, insert or invent certain features, particularly those pertaining to the foreground, in order to realise an effective composition also accords with the Düsseldorf approach, although he never went as far as Schirmer did in his *Wetterhorn* masterpiece (Figure 2.5). The colonial artist's commitment to accurately rendering mid- and background topographical and geographical features is, however, at odds with the Düsseldorf style in which realistic details of nature were often inserted into a more generalised landscape in order to "convince the viewer of the authenticity of scenes." As Gunnarsson asserted, for Düsseldorf artists it was more important that a "picture bore the stamp of naturalness and truth than it faithfully depicted a particular fragment of reality."¹³ Also, the fact that the vast majority of Guérard's Antipodean works are of geographically identifiable locations, often specified in the title, is another significant departure from the style practised in Düsseldorf in the 1840s.

Scientific interests

Guérard's interest in science, and his knowledge of scientific developments in Victoria in particular, would have motivated him to observe and accurately record botanical, geographical and geological features of scientific interest wherever he encountered them in south-eastern Australia. As James Smith noted, Guérard's "years of incessant practice" in the field would have "saturated his mind with the characteristics of Australian scenery," thus enabling him to portray Antipodean landscapes with a high degree of fidelity.¹⁴ Indeed, the geologist Hochstetter stated

13. Gunnarsson, *Nordic Landscape Painting*, 115, 108.

14. James Smith, *Argus*, July 13, 1870.

that Guérard's field sketches provided "better information" about the western Victorian volcanic province than he could "ascertain from the geologists."¹⁵ Whether Guérard's increasing knowledge of, and passion for, the natural world in the Antipodes intensified or at least reinforced his already well-established commitment to being true to nature is another matter.

Humboldt's Kosmos

In a review of Guérard's book of lithographic prints of the natural scenery of southeastern Australia, Hochstetter referred to the colonial artist as one of the "Geographers with the Paintbrush," a term that may have implied he was one of a small coterie of artists who sought to implement Humboldt's manifesto for landscape painters.¹⁶ However, Guérard rarely engaged in combining different views, both real and imagined, in order to convey the essential geographical nature of a region, which Humboldt advocated and the avowedly Humboldtian American artist Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900) practised, for example, in his highly detailed painting *The Heart of the Andes*, 1855 (Figure 13.3).¹⁷ Guérard's commitment to reproducing the view at geographically identifiable sites limits the extent to which his landscapes resonate with Humboldt's manifesto. Regardless, the accuracy with which he illustrated the botanical, geographical and geological features of a location accords with what Humboldt expected of landscape artists travelling to distant continents. Guérard's presence on scientific expeditions appears to be a response to Humboldt's injunction that artists should accompany scientists on expeditions, but Humboldt would have had in mind a geographical, geological or botanical expedition, rather than a geophysical one, for which there was nothing to illustrate.¹⁸

15. Thomas A. Darragh, "Ferdinand Hochstetter's Notes of a Visit to Australia and a Tour of the Australian Goldfields in 1859," *Historical Records of Australian Science* 13, no. 4 (2001), 411.

16. Hochstetter, "Eugen von Guérard's Australische Landschaften," 154.

17. Jennifer Raab, *Frederic Church: The Art and Science of Detail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 46.

18. Neumayer's 300-page report on his magnetic survey of Victoria contained no illustrations other than two maps.



Figure 13.3. **A complex, composite Humboldtian landscape by Church**

Frederic Church, *The Heart of the Andes*, 1855, oil on canvas, 121.9 × 194.3 cm, Reynolda House Museum of American Art, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Carus's Nine Letters to Landscape Painters

While Guérard undoubtedly absorbed the “true forms of nature” in those Antipodean locations with which he was intimately familiar, as Carus advocated, he did not, for example, resort to creating “true to nature” imaginary landforms in his landscapes even when he produced composite works. Regardless, Guérard’s ability to identify optimal vantage points from which to illustrate major landforms, such as mountain ranges, escarpments and waterfalls, along with his detailed and typically accurate portrayal of the geological features of such landforms, meant that his landscapes had the potential to inform viewers about the geological history of a location, something which Carus implored landscape painters to do. However, Guérard’s landscapes are not didactic works.

Summary

The selective fidelity to nature that Guérard practised resonates to some degree with aspects of the approach to nature adopted or advocated by several of the significant influences. However, his distinctive practice fails to be fully consistent with all of the features of any one of those purported influences. Regardless, the lack of documentary evidence that Guérard even

encountered most of those conjectured influences, let alone was influenced by them, means that only his presence in Schirmer's landscape painting class at the Düsseldorf Academy has been unequivocally confirmed. The landscape painting approach propounded by Schirmer is, therefore, the only historically justifiable influence on how Guérard practised fidelity to nature in his Antipodean landscapes. Certainly, Guérard's assertion that he sought to be true to nature as far as it was compatible with the effect of a picture resonates strongly with Schirmer's approach, which stressed the importance of accurately illustrating aspects of nature in a landscape, but that fidelity had to be subservient to compositional imperatives. In his Antipodean works, however, Guérard rarely practised the semi-realism of the Düsseldorf School, in which "realistically produced detail" was combined with an "often readjusted or rearranged whole."¹⁹

Did the Antipodes influence how Guérard practised fidelity to nature?

Encountering very different landscapes from those with which he was familiar in Europe confronted Guérard with some significant challenges, both compositionally and aesthetically. May such challenges have caused him to modify how he practised fidelity to nature in the Antipodes? Edward Comstock, the first art historian to have made an academic study of Guérard's life and works, asserted that "by choosing to work in Australia, Guérard was forced to evolve his own doctrine of artistic freedom,"²⁰ which, if true, may also have impinged on how he practised fidelity to nature. Adequately answering the question of whether the Antipodean landscape influenced how the artist practised fidelity to nature would require a significant amount of field research examining how Guérard practised fidelity to nature in his European landscape oeuvre before emigrating to Australia, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, a brief look at one work, a non-compositional exercise that Guérard painted in 1845 as a mature adult, having largely completed his training as a landscape artist at the Düsseldorf Academy, provides some insights into what his pre-Antipodean approach to being true to nature involved.

19. Gunnarsson, *Nordic Landscape Painting*, 106.

20. Comstock, "An Australian Romantic," 21. The art historian did not elaborate on what such "artistic freedom" might have meant for Guérard, other than to say that there was "no 'law' in Australia."

The landscape, entitled *Die Kaskade von Terni* (Figure 13.4, top left), portrays the Marmore Falls near Terni in Umbria, which was a favoured subject with landscape painters in Rome in the early part of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Guérard's first formal landscape painting teacher, Giambattista Bassi, painted it repeatedly (e.g. Figure 2.1). In 1838 Guérard visited the falls, making three sketches in one of his pocket-sized sketchbooks. A half-page rough sketch (Figure 13.4, top right) shows the same view as the painting, though he would have completed a large drawing as well, given the significance of the scene, as it had become a rite of passage for artists visiting Rome to portray this "canonical site."²¹ There are, however, accurate details in the painting that are not present in the small sketch, which confirms that he must have completed a larger study 'after nature'.

21. David Marshall, [essay on *The Waterfall at Terni*, 1845], in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 61.



Figure 13.4. **Fidelity of an early non-Antipodean painting**

Top left: *Die Kaskade von Terni*, 1845, oil on canvas, 39.0 × 20.2 cm, AGSA. Top right: *Cascata di Terni* [...] (14 July 1838), folio 16, "Volume 03: Sketchbook XI, Rome, Spoleto Apennines, etc. 1838," reference code 1001144, Dixson Library, SLNSW. Bottom: Robert Macpherson, *Falls of Terni*, c. 1860, accession number 2005.100.963, New York Metropolitan Museum.

During a 2017 visit to the Mamore Falls, it was not feasible to reach Guérard's vantage point, but even if it had been, the much higher vegetation would have made it impossible to compare his landscape painting with the actual view. However, there is a very detailed early photograph (Figure 13.4, bottom), taken about two decades after the artist's visit by the Scottish photographer Robert Macpherson, the plate of which was undoubtedly exposed at the same vantage point.

The top waterfall and lower cascade in the painting are accurately rendered in terms of the individual streams of water flowing over each fall, as is the exposed rock in the faces of both falls. In the midground, the right wall of the ravine through which the Velino River flows has been steepened, and the large rock exposure immediately opposite was omitted by the artist. The midground rocks on the left side of the lower cascade and the foreground rocks have been regularised as compared to those in the site photograph. Guérard added staffage to the foreground but there is no way of telling whether the fisherman and his dog have been included at a reduced scale. Although some trees have been inserted in the foreground, the distribution of vegetation around the top of the falls resembles that documented in the photograph. Guérard's treatment of the Marmore Falls is not dissimilar to how he handled Antipodean waterfalls, except that the cliff faces and other rock exposures are far more detailed in his Victorian waterfall paintings. One surprising difference involves the geographical fidelity of the hills forming the background and horizon of the work. Unlike his typical Antipodean fidelity to the topography of the distant view, all of the background behind the plateau at the top of the falls is invented, as it is in the 1820 painting of the falls (Figure 2.1) by Bassi.

The similarities between how Guérard practised being true to nature in this particular Italian wilderness scene and how he realised that aesthetic ideal in his Antipodean wilderness scenes suggest that his encounter with Australian landscapes may not have significantly influenced how he practised being true to nature, other than perhaps to avoid distant topographic invention. The lowly elevation of summits in western Victoria may have caused him to neglect elevational fidelity for compositional reasons, but it cannot be discounted that this may also have been his practice in Europe. The vast plains of western Victoria may, however, have influenced

the design of his compositions rather than their fidelity, although that conjecture is outside the scope of this thesis.²²

The other possible influence of the Antipodes on how Guérard practised fidelity to nature was the expectations of his Victorian patrons, some of whom commissioned works and others of whom purchased finished works on display in an exhibition or in his studio. While clearly there was strong interest in obtaining wilderness works that portrayed ‘untouched nature’ during most of the period of time in which Guérard worked as full-time landscapist,²³ members of the art-buying public are likely to have had a preference for works that portrayed actual views in the New World, rather than generalised wilderness views with authentic details. If this were the case, Guérard might have decided to avoid painting any further works with invented mid- or background topography after a few early efforts, such as *Aborigines met on the road to the diggings*, 1854 (Figure 13.5), although this work is more in the nature of a genre painting than a landscape.



Figure 13.5. **A landscape with invented mid- and background topography**

Aborigines met on the road to the diggings, 1854, oil on canvas, 46.0 × 75.5 cm, GAG.

22. For an analysis of how Guérard’s compositional style evolved to accommodate vast and mostly empty pastoral landscapes, see Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral*, 120–135.

23. Bonyhady, “The Tipping Point,” in Pullin, *Nature Revealed*, 40.

The painting portrays Guérard's first encounter with Indigenous people, which occurred in the Moorabool Valley on his way to the Ballarat goldfields.²⁴ Despite the authentic details of the campsite and the dress of both the Aboriginal group and the prospective goldminers bartering over a possum-skin cloak, it is not possible to locate any view in the Moorabool Valley with a comparable midground riverbank of exposed rock, and hills and peaks whose contours match those in the background of the painting.

Parallels with other 'Düsseldorf School' wilderness painters

During his time in Australia, Guérard largely practised his art in isolation from developments in landscape painting on the Continent, particularly as he never once returned to Europe during his 30-year sojourn in the Antipodes to view new trends in landscape painting.²⁵ There are, however, significant parallels between how he practised fidelity to nature in the Antipodes and how other wilderness painters sought to be true to nature in Europe and the Americas in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Comparing how Guérard practised being "true to nature" in Australia with the practices of fellow artists who were at Düsseldorf during the 1840s or 1850s, and who also became renowned for their wilderness paintings later in their careers, connects his work to the wider context of artistic developments and movements. In particular, the Antipodean artist's practice can be productively compared with that of the Norwegian painter Hans Gude, who was in the same landscape painting class as Guérard in the 1840s, and that of the American painter Albert Bierstadt, who spent time in Düsseldorf in the following decade.

Hans Gude's wilderness paintings

Hans Fredrik Gude (1825–1903) was Norway's leading landscape painter in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.²⁶ In 1842, at the tender age of 17, the precocious Gude gained entry into the same landscape painting class at the Düsseldorf Academy as Guérard, who was 32 at the time.

24. Guérard, *Journal of an Australian Gold Digger*, 11.

25. However, Guérard would have been reading articles in magazines and journals, and chapters in books describing artistic developments in the Old World, particularly as the Melbourne Public Library was well-stocked with publications in various European languages.

26. Dahl was the leading Norwegian landscape painter in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Under the tutelage of Schirmer, Gude learnt the principles of making studies from nature and the Düsseldorf style of landscape painting. Undertaking a highly successful career as a landscape artist, he eventually replaced Schirmer as the professor of landscape painting when the latter departed in 1854. Although mostly residing in Germany, Gude frequently travelled back to his homeland, where he undertook sketching expeditions into wilderness areas, particularly around the fjords.²⁷ Those field drawings became the basis for the numerous wilderness landscapes he completed, which led to him founding a Nordic School of landscape painting.²⁸

In the mid-1860s, Gude spent two years in remote parts of north Wales painting wilderness scenes. His painting of the view from the upper reaches of the Lledr Valley towards the mountain Moel Seabid (Figure 13.6, top) is illustrative of how the mature landscape artist typically practised fidelity to nature in his wilderness paintings. While both the mid- and backgrounds of the work are topographically accurate when compared with the PeakFinder virtual view, the foreground contours appears to be less faithful when compared with the view in Google Earth. However, the large rocks in the foreground are typical of those visible in an historical photograph (Figure 13.6, bottom left), taken close to Gude's vantage point a few years earlier. In particular, Gude rendered the massive rock with a very high degree of accuracy, as is apparent when compared with a recent photograph (Figure 13.6, bottom right) of the still intact rock.

27. "Hans Gude," Wikipedia, accessed February 20, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hans_Gude.

28. Gunnarsson, *Nordic Landscape Painting*, 106.



Figure 13.6. **Comparing a Welsh wilderness painting by Gude with site photographs**

Top: Hans Gude, *Lledr Valley in Wales*, 1864, oil on canvas, 63 × 98 cm, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. Bottom left: Roger Fenton, *Moel Seabid, from the Lledr Valley*, 1857, albumen silver print, The Paul J. Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Bottom right: Split rock in the Lledr Valley, Snowdonia. Photograph: Jim Perrin.²⁹

Gude’s typical landscape painting style, involving topographically faithful, geographically identifiable scenes, with accurate renditions of geographical, geological and botanical features, and freely modified foreground features, represents an approach that resonates

29. “Country Diary: This Stone is a Tabernacle of Folk Memory,” *The Guardian*, accessed February 10, 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/sep/07/country-diary-this-stone-is-a-tabernacle-of-folk-memory>.

strongly with how Guérard practised fidelity to nature in his Antipodean landscapes.³⁰ Indeed, as Gunnarsson observed, Gude's approach to wilderness landscapes was "on the whole, realistic and he never entirely adopted the semi-realism of the Düsseldorf School," in which realistic features were inserted into often rearranged views. Furthermore, from the early 1860s onwards, when Gude was regularly undertaking expeditions into the Norwegian wilderness, his landscapes became "increasingly realistic." Similarly, Guérard's landscapes became increasingly faithful to nature after his arrival in Australia in the early 1850s, where he too participated in wilderness expeditions. Perhaps it was the experience of encountering many dramatic wilderness views, which naturally lent themselves to becoming well-composed landscapes without rearrangement once ideal vantage points were established, that led both Düsseldorf-trained artists towards greater realism, although neither believed that realism should "become an end in itself."³¹

Albert Bierstadt's wilderness paintings

Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902) was an American of German ancestry, who commenced a career as an artist at an early age. Bierstadt travelled to Düsseldorf in 1853 with the intention of undertaking training in the Düsseldorf Academy. As his draughtsmanship was not up to the standard required to gain entry to the landscape painting class, he studied informally with other American artists who had come to Düsseldorf to learn about the landscape painting style developed there. Through informal interaction with some of the masters at the school, and by studying their works on view in different venues in the city, Bierstadt "mastered a detailed and dramatic style of painting," based on multiple field sketches and "supported by regular plein air works in oil."³² After spending time in Switzerland and Italy, he returned to New York, where eventually he began painting wilderness scenes in the Hudson River Valley, becoming part of the group of Romantic painters known as the Hudson River School, founded by Thomas Cole (1801–

30. Although, in this instance at least, Gude did not elevate mountains as Guérard typically did.

31. Gunnarsson, *Nordic Landscape Painting*, 106, 108.

32. Nancy K. Anderson and Linda S. Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise* (New York: Brooklyn Museum and Hudson Hills Press, 1991), 112. Later in life, he also relied upon site photographs often taken by his brother Edward.

1848). The horizons of the second generation of the school, to which Bierstadt belonged, eventually expanded to include more of the eastern states, the American West and South America. Hudson River School paintings are “characterised by their realistic, detailed and sometimes idealised portrayal of nature,” and were often done on a large or even panoramic scale.³³

Although Bierstadt is best known for his “lavish, sweeping paintings of the American West,” which are often combine elements recorded in field sketches and studies made when he accompanied official surveying expeditions, he also painted more modest works of wilderness views in the eastern states, such as his painting of Glen Ellis Falls in the White Mountains of New Hampshire (Figure 13.7). This work is a very accurate rendition of the fore-, mid- and backgrounds of the vista, as can be seen by comparing the painting with historical and current photographs (Figure 13.7, bottom left, and top right and bottom right, respectively). The foreground granitic rocks and the massive vertical quartz zone forming part of the rock face of the waterfall are both highly detailed and very faithful to the geology of the site. Even the fallen tree across the upper part of the falls in the stereoscopic image taken by Bierstadt’s brother Edward is replicated in the painting. Although Bierstadt may have made use of sketches, and an oil study or colour notes for the autumn foliage, it is clear that in this instance the landscape is primarily based on the photographic record. In this work Bierstadt exhibited a fidelity to nature that went beyond Guérard’s typical practice.³⁴

33. “Hudson River School,” Wikipedia, accessed February 25, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hudson_River_School.

34. Although Guérard admired the works of landscape photographers (Guérard, Reply on the Critic), none of his landscapes is based on a photograph.

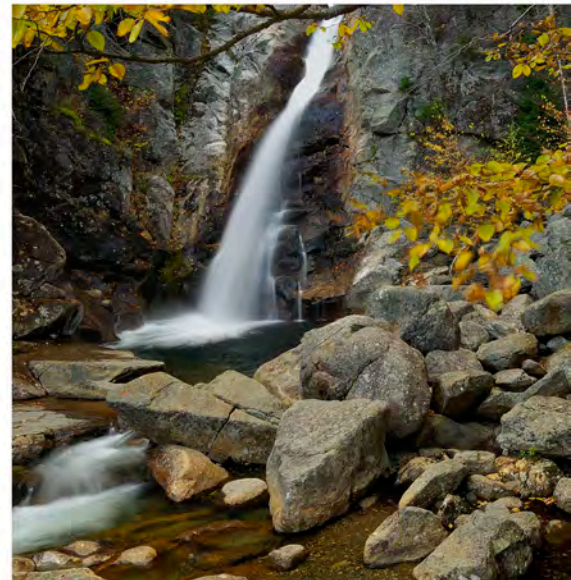
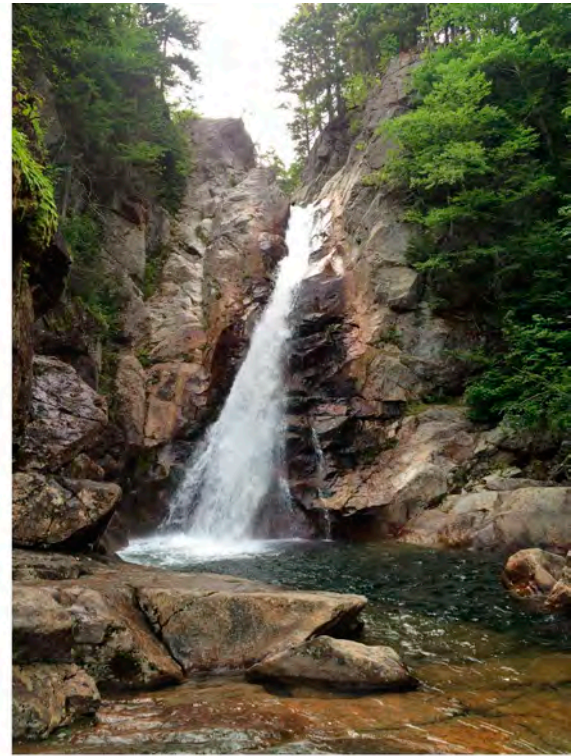


Figure 13.7. **Comparing Bierstadt's *Glen Ellis Falls* with site photographs**

Top left: Albert Bierstadt, *Glen Ellis Falls*, 1869, oil on canvas, 77 × 102 cm, Zimmerli Art Collection, Rutgers University, New Brunswick. Bottom left: Edward Bierstadt, *Glen Ellis Falls, White Mountains, N.H.*, left image of a pair of stereoscopic photographs. Top right and bottom right: Glen Ellis Falls (bottom detail). Photographs: Alan Majchrowicz (Alamy stock photos).

In contrast, Bierstadt's massive painting *The Emerald Pool*, 1870 (Figure 13.8), also of a location in the White Mountains of New Hampshire, goes far beyond the typical liberties that Guérard took in his Antipodean landscapes. While the rock outcrop through which the cascade

passes is accurately rendered, most of the rest of the scene is invented. No mountain resembling the massive one in the background is visible in the PeakFinder view; the trees on either side of the pool bear little resemblance to those recorded in the photograph taken by Bierstadt's brother; the bedded rock outcrop on the right side of the midground is not faithful to the geological details of the site; and the rock platform on which the artist and, presumably, his relatives sit or stand in the foreground of the photograph are nowhere to be seen. As the art historian Nancy Siegel commented in her article on Bierstadt's Emerald Pool landscape, the artist had "added features and views inconsistent with the location" and noted, with understatement, that the painting "does not characterize the pool precisely as it exists."³⁵

While Bierstadt was working in a "tradition where embellishment was an accepted practice," his only massive eastern canvas, as well as many of his western canvases,³⁶ had moved well beyond that. With reference to their monumental landscapes, the nineteenth-century art critic James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888) perceptively observed of Bierstadt and Church that "with singular consistency of mind they idealize in composition and materialize in execution, so that, though the details of the scenery are substantially correct, the scene as a whole is often false."³⁷ Bierstadt's major works, involving realistic detail in a rearranged whole, accord with the tenets of the Düsseldorf school of landscape painting, although his massive and sometimes grandiose landscapes went well beyond other examples of the Düsseldorf style. His monumental and panoramic western landscapes were made in response to specific historical circumstances and opportunities in the United States. Bierstadt combined "carefully observed and meticulously rendered detail with freely configured compositions that met national needs."³⁸

35. Nancy Siegel, "'I Never Had So Difficult a Picture to Paint': Albert Bierstadt's White Mountain Scenery and the Emerald Pool," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 4, no. 3 (2005), 81

36. Elizabeth Hutchinson, "Albert Bierstadt, *Yosemite Valley*, 1868," in *Picturing the Americas*, ed. Peter J. Brownlee, Valéria Piccoli, and Georgiana Uhlyarik (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 41.

37. James Jackson Jarves, in *The Art-Idea* (1864), edited by Benjamin Rowlandson, Jr. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1960), 191, as quoted in Siegel, 81, "'I Never Had So Difficult a Picture to Paint,'" 81.

38. Anderson and Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt*, 74.

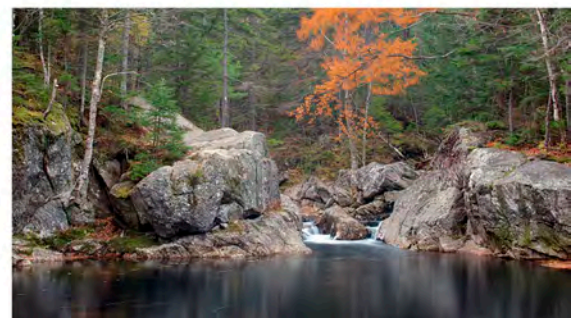
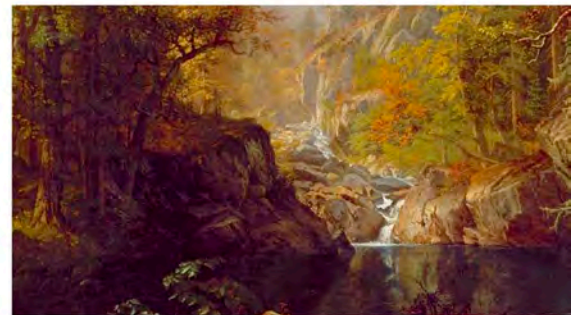


Figure 13.8. **Comparing Bierstadt's *The Emerald Pool* with site photographs**

Top and middle right (detail): Albert Bierstadt, *The Emerald Pool*, 1870, oil on canvas, 194.3 × 302.3 cm, Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk Virginia. Bottom left: Edward Bierstadt, *Emerald Pool near the Glen House*, left image of a pair of stereoscopic photographs. Bottom right: Emerald Pool. Photographer unknown.

Summary

Guérard's fidelity to nature in his Antipodean wilderness oeuvre exhibits some parallels with that practised by the Düsseldorf-trained Nordic School painter Gude and the Düsseldorf-influenced Hudson River School artist Bierstadt. This suggests that some aspects of the Düsseldorf approach to landscape painting, such as the focus on close observation of nature and the accurate, detailed portrayal of natural features, remained influential for these three Düsseldorf 'alumni' throughout their careers. However, Guérard's selective fidelity to nature is much closer to Gude's practice than Bierstadt's. Both Gude and Guérard remained faithful to the overall topography and geography of the physical landscape while inserting realistic foreground details of vegetation and rock, but in doing so they always sought to ensure that such features remained compositionally subservient to the overall 'impression' or 'effect' they wished to achieve. In contrast, Bierstadt continued to adhere to the semi-realism associated with the Düsseldorf School, which often involved inserting realistic details into rearranged views. Indeed, Bierstadt went well beyond that in some of his monumental landscapes, in which he "freely manipulated topography" to the extent that some critics judged them to be false representations of the view.³⁹ The disparity between the fidelity practised by Gude and Guérard and that practised by Bierstadt in his later works may well have to do with differences in temperament, aesthetic convictions or national imperatives, but it may also be that the nature of the very different landscapes they encountered or the differing expectations of their patrons engendered different aesthetic convictions and artistic practices.

Conclusion

None of the purported influences fully resonates with how Guérard practised fidelity to nature in the Antipodes. Features of his distinctive practice differ significantly from fidelity-related aspects of each of those conjectures. However, the resonance analysis does not prove that those influences had no impact upon how Guérard sought to be true to nature. As has been noted, though, some conjectures are more probable than others. It is not known for sure whether Guérard ever encountered or experienced some of the purported influences, with only his academic

39. Anderson and Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt*, 90.

training being historically documented. Regardless, whether the works of a particular artist or school influenced how Guérard sought to be true to nature could be investigated further through a technical analysis of his works or a stylistic comparison with key works by that artist or the school, but such research is beyond the scope of this thesis. Whether a particular landscape painting theory influenced his fidelity practice is more challenging to investigate given that such techniques have limited applicability.

The parallels between how Guérard practised fidelity to nature in his wilderness works and how Gude and Bierstadt sought to be true to nature in their paintings placed the Antipodean artist's works in an international context. His practice was part of a wider movement in landscape painting toward greater authenticity in how views were represented and details rendered. The premise that Guérard's wilderness paintings are of international significance was explicitly recognised in two major exhibitions curated by the National Gallery of Australia. The 1998 exhibition entitled *New Worlds from Old* compared nineteenth-century Australian landscapes with American ones, while the 2008 exhibition, entitled *Turner to Monet: the triumph of landscape painting*, compared nineteenth-century Antipodean landscapes with those produced in Europe and the Americas. In both exhibitions Guérard's landscape figured prominently.

Chapter 14 – Conclusion

While much has been written about the issue of fidelity to nature in Eugene von Guérard's Antipodean landscapes, only a limited amount of the commentary has been based on the kind of fieldwork that is essential for conclusively establishing how the artist practised being true to nature. As advocated by Tim Bonyhady, such questions can be answered only "if the subjects of the paintings are known, the actual sites are visited and the artist's preparatory sketches for the paintings survive."¹

The key finding of this research program, that Guérard practised selective fidelity to nature in his Antipodean oeuvre, makes a major contribution to addressing the question as it is based on comparing features of a large sample of his Antipodean paintings with the view of natural scenery at the site, as documented in the site photograph and/or recorded in the field drawing, and with the natural history of the location. Documenting the view at numerous sites throughout southeastern Australia and acquiring insights into the natural history of those locations, necessitated an extensive field research program, which resulted in a substantial repository of information and photographs relating to most paintings. This repository facilitates the development of articles on the issue of fidelity to nature in individual works by Guérard, a number of which have been published already.

While the locations of many sites were relatively easy to determine, visit and photograph from close to the artist's vantage point, establishing the locations of a significant number of his wilderness landscapes proved challenging. Innovative ways of locating sites using intersecting sight lines, digital topographical maps, GPS devices and digital elevation models were developed. The novel reverse use of the PeakFinder application to locate vantage points rather than identify peaks, although labour intensive, resulted in a number of previously unknown sites being located, one of which relates to a major painting by Guérard.²

1. Bonyhady, *Images in Opposition*, 93.

2. See Hook, "Using Spatial Technology," 18–33.

These spatial techniques could readily be applied to locating currently unknown sites of landscape paintings by other colonial artists, such as Nicholas Chevalier, as well as to locating the vantage points of works by nineteenth-century European and American wilderness painters, such as Gude and Bierstadt, providing their landscapes are topographically accurate in the midground and far distance. The spatial methodology utilised in the thesis was also tested out in the unrelated context of forensic cartography, where it was used to confirm the original locations of the Pink and White Terraces within Lake Rotomahana, New Zealand, which were partially or fully destroyed when Mt Tarawera erupted in 1886.³

Locating both of the field drawings on which each member of a trio of Guérard's landscapes is based, determining the sites from which they were sketched, and completing field trips to all sites provided evidence that the three are composite paintings, each compiled from two sketches made from vantage points at widely separated locations. These discoveries were published in a major article in a leading international art history journal, confirming the potential for field research to result in significant art historical discoveries.⁴ Another investigation of a Tasmanian landscape painting confirmed the existence of a missing sketchbook, as the rock exposure over which the creek flowed in the painting was highly faithful to a view other than the one recorded in the field drawing made at the principal vantage point. This also proved that the work was another previously unidentified composite landscape.⁵ The intensive field research undertaken for this thesis in order to locate and visit such sites proved useful for both "clearing up problems as to the artist's intentions" and "correcting false or misleading captions," as asserted by Bernard Smith.⁶

One important finding resulting from locating and visiting the sites of many of Guérard's Antipodean landscapes, and then comparing each field sketch with the view at the vantage point, is that his field drawings accurately document the landscapes he observed and recorded in

3. Hook and Carey, "Relocating the Pink and White Terraces," 172–204.

4. Hook, "Brushes with Infidelity," 1027–1053.

5. Hook, "Tasmanian Arcadia," 43–57.

6. Smith, "Painting Victoria's Changes."

Australia and New Zealand. As such, they can be used with confidence in environmental history research into what natural landscapes were like during the period of early European settlement. The one notable exception (Figure 5.3) was determined to be a compositional study in which topographical features were heavily modified in anticipation of producing a well-composed and engaging landscape painting.

One of the most significant achievements of this research program is the development of rigorous tools and practices for critically examining representational works that balance fidelity to nature with compositional requirements. The application of those tools and the implementation of those practices have resulted in a high resolution understanding of what fidelity to nature meant for Guérard.

The thesis also illustrates the value of taking a multidisciplinary approach to issues such as fidelity to nature in art, which of necessity requires both art-historical and scientific knowledge. The research demanded an understanding of the art-historical context in which Guérard practised his art, as well as nineteenth-century pictorial conventions and compositional objectives of landscape painting. However, in order to assess whether Guérard's landscapes are 'true to nature,' a working knowledge of those scientific disciplines whose focus is the natural world, such as geography, geology, geomorphology, ecology and botany, is essential. Regardless of the degree of familiarity with different disciplines that was acquired during the course of the research, evaluating whether significant transformations of natural features in Guérard's landscape paintings are true to the natural history of the location often required consulting scientists and experts across a range of disciplines and occupations. Judgements drawing on such cross-disciplinary expertise can, therefore, be made with a greater degree of confidence.

The experimental adoption of a mixed-methods approach, usually restricted to social science research, in order to investigate the complex issue of what fidelity to nature in art meant in the practice of a landscape painter is a significant contribution to methodological innovation in art history. Confirmation of the value of combining qualitative and quantitative research techniques occurred when early case study research informed the development of the survey instrument, and then the findings of the survey raised issues requiring further investigation

through in-depth case studies of particular paintings, such as whether homestead paintings might be more topographically faithful than wilderness works.⁷ Quantitative research methods may, however, find limited acceptance in art history research given the challenges of quantifying aspects of artworks. The use of Likert-type scales to judge the degree to which natural features illustrated in a painting are faithful to the view at a site relies on subjective judgement. While, with practice, an individual investigator can develop the capacity to make such judgements consistently, it is less likely that different individuals assessing the same works would necessarily make the same assessments. The use of benchmarks would increase the reliability of such assessments but, given the number of items assessed in this survey, it would have been impractical in this instance.

One limitation with the use of the quantitative survey instrument in the research project is that statistical analysis of the data was largely constrained to descriptive statistics. Statistics that would have tested how strongly the degree of fidelity of different natural features are correlated could not be used because of the significant number of missing values and the clumping of results at one end of the faithful-transformed continuum. Despite this restriction, the visual comparison of frequency distribution graphs enabled the categorisation of features into: those that are nearly always faithfully illustrated; those that are usually faithful unless absent at the site or inadequate for compositional purposes; and those that are often freely modified, introduced or invented. This meant that the first two key research questions have been convincingly answered, namely: what features are typically illustrated with fidelity to nature and which are often freely transformed?

The question of whether Guérard's paintings are indeed as "true to nature as far as is possible," as asserted by the artist,⁸ has been addressed by an empirical research program that exemplifies how such research can be of value in the humanities. Although the exploratory nature of the empirical research undertaken in this study was incompatible with the adoption of any

7. A detailed comparison of the fidelity with which natural features are illustrated in homestead paintings, as opposed to how they are portrayed in wilderness scenes, would also be possible using the data collected in the survey.

8. Letter from Guérard to Haast, December 29, 1879, in Darragh and Pullin, *Lieber Freund!*, 33.

particular theoretical perspective, the ways in which historical ideas, ideals and theories might have influenced the artist's practice were examined. Even though the comparison between how Guérard realised fidelity to nature in his Antipodean oeuvre and the distinctive fidelity-related features of artworks, artists, artistic movements, academic training or aesthetic theories purported to have influenced his practice eliminated a number of conjectures, key features of a few of the inferred influences resonated with the artist's practice to varying degrees. Given the lack of documentary evidence, such conjectures remain speculative, but they nevertheless make a useful contribution to understanding and sometimes interpreting the artist's work.

Parallels between how Guérard sought to be true to nature in his landscape paintings and the practices of leading mid-nineteenth-century wilderness painters in Europe and the Americas placed the colonial artist's oeuvre in the wider context of international developments in landscape painting. Thus justifying the view that his works deserve to be compared with wilderness paintings by artists such as Gude, Bierstadt and Church.

Many of Guérard's Antipodean landscapes portray Indigenous people in either a pre- or post-contact context. When examining whether such paintings are 'true to nature,' questions inevitably arose as to whether those scenes are also 'true to history.' Are his portrayals of the lives of Indigenous people in pre-contact scenes (e.g. Figure 14.1, top) authentic in terms of their attire, implements and activities? Do the appearance and activities of Indigenous figures in post-contact scenes (e.g. Figure 14.1, bottom) reflect actual encounters with individuals living in the general vicinity during the time of the artist's visit? Given the significant number of paintings that do include Indigenous people, investigating truth to history in Guérard's Antipodean oeuvre constitutes a major research opportunity that could build on the multidisciplinary and methodological approaches adopted in this thesis. Exemplifying this potential are three published articles that discuss five case-study landscape paintings investigated as part of this research program, all of which included sections on truth to history, as Indigenous people are illustrated in each.



Figure 14.1. **Truth to history in the Guérard's Antipodean landscapes**

Top: *Mountain scenery near Jamberoo, N.S.W.*, c. 1860, oil on canvas, 28.8 × 44.4 cm. Bottom: *Mr John King's Station*, 1861, oil on canvas, 40.0 × 84.0 cm. Both present location unknown.

In summary, this thesis makes four significant contributions. The principal scholarly contribution is deepening the knowledge base underpinning the study of colonial landscape painting by finely resolving the question of how the leading mid-nineteenth-century artist in Australia, Eugene von Guérard, practised being true to nature. The development and testing of innovative disciplinary, methodological and technological approaches for this research program make

significant contributions to diversifying the research tools available to both art and environmental historians. Confirming the accuracy of the artist's field drawings means they can be confidently used as trustworthy environmental history records. Finally, the value of field research in art history is affirmed by case study investigations that resulted in significant discoveries, such as locating the 'lost' rock pool illustrated in the work *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (Figure 14.2).

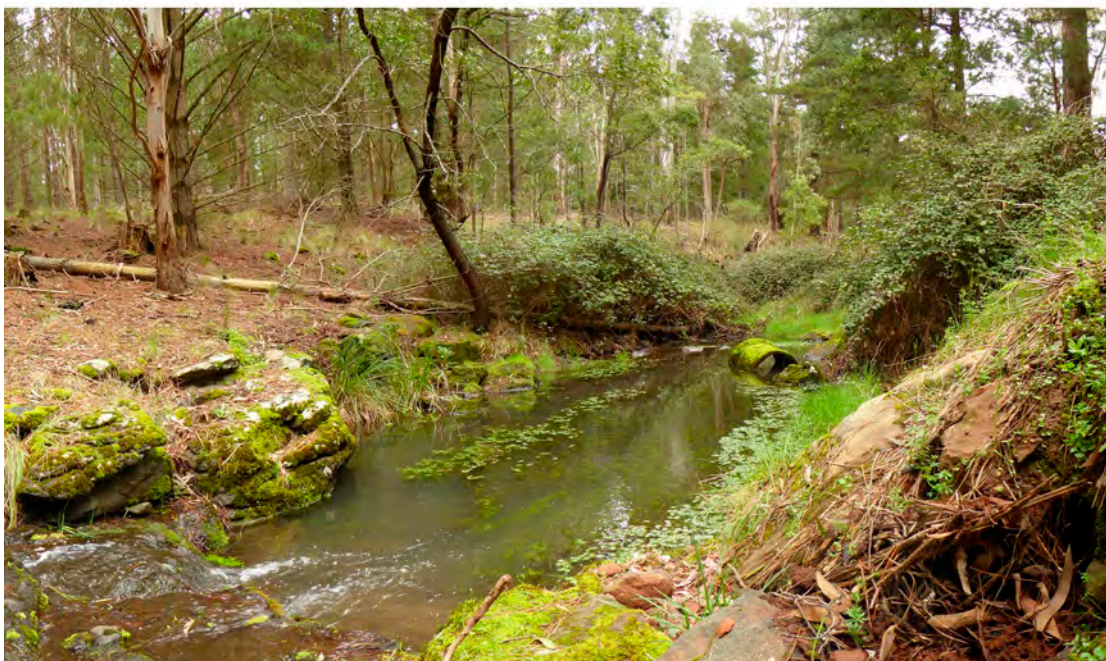


Figure 14.2. **Locating the 'lost' rock pool**
Top: *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854: Bottom: site of rock pool, 2017. Photograph: author.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Contemporaneous references to the issue of fidelity to nature

Table A.1. References to fidelity to Australian scenery

Painting	Newspaper	Commentary
Paintings in general	<i>Argus</i> Apr. 22, 1855	“faithful and elaborate portraitures of Australian scenery” “characterised by habitual fidelity and high finish.”
<i>Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges</i> , 1857	<i>Argus</i> Dec. 29, 1857	“a faithful illustration one of the most picturesque aspects of the scenery in Victoria.”
	<i>Illustrated Melbourne News</i> Jan. 9, 1858	“a faithful transcript of some of the most remarkable features of colonial scenery”
<i>Basalt Rocks at Sandy beach near Cape Schanck</i> , [1860]	<i>Argus</i> Nov. 20, 1860	“the wild scenery of our coast is most faithfully represented”
Paintings in general	<i>Illustrated Australian Mail</i> Feb. 22, 1862	“Nothing is overlooked, nothing imperfectly recorded, nothing impertinently introduced. What he sees, he describes, with literal truth and admirable force. His interpretation is faithful to a fault, and faulty, by reason of its excessive fidelity.” (James Smith)
<i>Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson’s Valley, New South Wales</i> , 1862	<i>Argus</i> Dec. 29, 1862	“he has, by many years of study and the incessant practice of his art, saturated his mind, so to speak, with the characteristics of Australian scenery, until he is able to interpret it with unerring fidelity...” (James Smith)
<i>Valley of the Acheron River, Victoria</i> , 1863	<i>Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> Nov. 21, 1863	“every picture purporting to be a transcript of natural scenery”; “and that technical skill, patience, conscientiousness, fidelity to truth, retentive memory, and reverence for his art, which enable him to transfer to his canvas, with such singular felicity and unerring precision, the objects he observes.” (James Smith)
<i>Spring in the Valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges in distance</i> , 1863	<i>Illustrated Australian News</i> Jul. 27, 1867	“The original painting in the National Gallery exhibits all the characteristics of Von Guérard’s style, which is distinguished by a fine perception of local form and colour, and especially by conscientious fidelity. He reproduces exactly what he sees, being essentially a realist in art.”
<i>View in the Grampians</i> , 1870	<i>Argus</i> Jul. 13, 1870	“The perspective is correct, the topographical description of the spot is no doubt most faithful”
<i>Mt Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border (Mt Hope Ranges)</i> , 1866	<i>Argus</i> Jan. 2, 1872	“is a minute and faithful likeness of the place its author intended to represent.”
Paintings in general	<i>Age</i> Mar. 24, 1872	“and the various localities are truthfully depicted.”
<i>Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand</i> , 1879	<i>Argus</i> May 17, 1877	“those who had visited the lake will recognise the conscientious fidelity with which M. von Guerard has produced some of the grandest features of its scenery”
<i>Waterfall on the Clyde River, Tasmania</i> , 1877	<i>Argus</i> 25 Aug. 1877	“it has been painted with obvious fidelity, and with that close attention to detail which forms one of the characteristics of M. von Guerard’s careful work.”

Table A.2. References to fidelity to nature

Painting	Newspaper	Commentary
<i>View of Geelong</i> , 1856	<i>Argus</i> May 21, 1856	“fidelity to nature similar to that which is now aimed at by the Pre-Raphaelite school artists in England.”; “There is no attempt to improve on nature ... the whole scene is a faithful transcript of the original” (James Smith)
<i>View of Mount Abrupt, on the Wannon River, in the Grampians, Western District Victoria</i> , 1856 (missing painting)	<i>Newsletter of Australasia</i> Jan. 1857	“these are distinguished at once by the general faithfulness to nature”
<i>View of Hobart Town, with Mount Wellington in the background</i> , 1856		
<i>Tasman’s Island</i> , [1857] (missing painting)	<i>Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> Aug. 16, 1862	“and gives a truthful view of this fine range of basaltic rocks, which vary from two to three hundred feet in height”
Paintings in general	<i>Argus</i> Nov. 1, 1862	“Few artists study nature more reverentially; few owe their inspiration more directly to her; and few interpret her more faithfully.” (James Smith)
<i>Castle Rock, Cape Schanck</i> , 1865	<i>Argus</i> May 17, 1865	“Like his previous work, this is distinguished by its conscientious fidelity to nature and its literal accuracy.”
<i>Spring in the valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges</i> , 1866	<i>Argus</i> Apr. 24, 1866	“but he is at once the most literal and poetic translator of mountain beauty. He studies it with the eye of a poet, and depicts it with the hand of a conscientious artist.”
Paintings in general	<i>Argus</i> Oct. 25, 1866	“ M. von Guérard offers a literal interpretation, idiomatic and mannered ... M. von Guerard sees things as they are. ... M. von Guérard’s style is distinguished by its fidelity.”
<i>North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko</i> , 1863	<i>Australasian</i> Nov. 24, 1866	“terribly true to nature”
	<i>Argus</i> Dec. 29, 1862	“and the result is a picture not merely of striking artistic merit but very remarkable as a representation of nature in one of her greatest productions under an Australian sky.”
<i>Dandenong Ranges from Beluera</i> , 1870	<i>Argus</i> May 30, 1870	“The colours are those in which this artist usually delights, and are not unpleasing even when not always true.”
<i>View of the Granite Rocks at Cape Woolamai</i> , 1872	<i>Age</i> Mar. 15, 1872	“the colouring speaks more for the imagination of the painter than for his fidelity to nature.”
	<i>Argus</i> Mar. 22, 1872	“suggest that [the waves] are rather reminiscences of that portion of the scene portrayed, than actual transcripts of the colour of what the artist saw”
<i>Milford Sound with Pembroke Peak and Bowen Falls</i> , 1879	<i>New Zealand Mail</i> Dec. 6, 1877	“nothing that I have ever seen painted of West Coast scenery approaches so near to nature”

Table A.3. References to the representation of the special character of Australian scenery

Artwork	Newspaper	Commentary
Paintings in general	<i>Argus</i> Feb. 1, 1855	“faithful and elaborate portraitures of Australian scenery”; “characterised by habitual fidelity and high finish.”
<i>View of Mount Abrupt, on the Wannan River, in the Grampians, Western District of Victoria, 1856</i> (missing painting)	<i>Age</i> Dec. 15, 1856	“the whole picture is a marvellous display of the artist’s thorough acquaintance with the characteristics of Australian scenery”
<i>View of Hobart Town, with Mount Wellington in the background, 1856</i>	<i>Newsletter of Australasia</i> Jan. 1857	“exhibited even more than usual power in representing the peculiarities of Australian landscape”
<i>Mount William from Mount Dryden, Victoria, 1857</i>	<i>Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> Jan. 1858	“he gives us, unmistakeably, Australian forests, mountains and plains”; “the consummate art with which the very peculiar tints of an Australian landscape are rendered.” (Frederick Sinnett)
<i>Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson’s Valley, New South Wales, 1862</i>	<i>Argus</i> Dec. 20, 1862	“The physical features, the local colour, and the pervading sentiment are essentially Australian. We do not require either the description in the catalogue, or the presence of the aborigine in the landscape, to assure us that subject is racy of the soil.”; “he has, by many years of study and the incessant practice of his art, saturated his mind, so to speak, with the characteristics of Australian scenery” (James Smith)
<i>North view from Daylesford, 1864</i>	<i>Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> Nov. 18, 1864	“an Australian landscape possesses peculiar characteristics, not easily definable, but still special – these the artist has transferred to his canvas in masterly style”
<i>View in the Grampians, 1870</i>	<i>Argus</i> Jul. 13, 1870	“the peculiar character of the trees and shrubs with which they are partially covered.”
<i>View of the Grampians with Mount Abrupt and Mount Sturgeon in the distance, 1875</i>	<i>Australian Sketcher</i> Aug. 7, 1875	“exhibit some of the most characteristic features of the scenery”

Table A.4. References to detailing in Guérard’s landscapes

Artwork	Publication	Commentary
<i>View of the Australian Pyrenees, from Bald Hill, near Ballarat, [1854]</i>	<i>Age</i> Dec. 15, 1856	“extraordinary minuteness of detail”
<i>Mount Abrupt View of Hobart Town, with Mount Wellington in the background, 1856</i>	<i>Newsletter of Australasia</i> Jan. 1857	“every detail is wrought up with remarkable exactness, the general effect is in no way subordinate to this minuteness”
<i>Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges, 1857</i>	<i>Age</i> Dec. 8, 1857	“[he] paints with all the distinctness and minuteness of detail which our rare atmosphere imparts to objects, even the most distant.”
<i>Mount William from Mount Dryden, Victoria, 1857</i>	<i>Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> Jan. 1858	“The very details of foliage are given with a microscopic minuteness” (Sinnott)
<i>View of the Wannon Springs in the Grampians, with Mount Abrupt, 1859</i>	<i>Age</i> , Nov. 20, 1860	“the peculiarities and beauties of his style – almost microscopic minuteness of detail”
<i>View of the Grampians and the Victoria Range from Mount Rouse, 1861</i>	<i>Age</i> Oct. 3, 1861	“faithful elaboration of detail”
<i>View in the Grampians, 1870</i>	<i>Argus</i> Jul. 13, 1870	“but they offer a minutely laborious description of almost every leaf upon the gum trees, and of every vein and crevice in the rocks” (James Smith)
<i>View of the Granite Rocks at Cape Woolamai, 1872</i>	<i>Age</i> Mar. 15, 1872	“each individual stone is painted with minute distinctness and mathematical precision”
<i>Waterfall on the Clyde River, Tasmania, 1877</i>	<i>Argus</i> Aug. 25, 1877	“it has been painted with ... that close attention to detail which forms one of the characteristics of M. von Guerard” careful work.”
<i>Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges, c. 1870</i>	<i>Age</i> Sep. 2, 1884	“is quite an extraordinary example of minute and elaborate work.”

Table A.5. References to the general accuracy of Guérard's pictures

Artwork	Publication	Commentary
Paintings in general	<i>Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> Jan. 1858	"Every landscape is an accurate portrait of the scene it professes to portray"
<i>Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson's Valley, New South Wales, 1862</i>	<i>Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> Jan. 3, 1863	"The brown sandstone rocks fringed with heather and brushwood, are painted with accuracy that nothing can excel"; "the only exception possible to be taken any portion of picture is the waterfall to the left. This has a somewhat hard and forced appearance as if it had been put in from memory, and the memory had not been very accurate on the subject."
<i>Valley of the Acheron River, 1863</i>	<i>Illustrated Melbourne Post</i> Nov. 21, 1863	"'I recognise,' said a well known explorer, in reference to the picture under notice, 'the individual physiognomies of the trees and brushwood in the foreground.'" (Alfred Howitt)
<i>Castle Rock, Cape Schanck, 1865</i>	<i>Argus</i> May 17, 1865	"Like his previous work, this is distinguished by its conscientious fidelity to nature and its literal accuracy."
<i>Mt Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border (Mt Hope Ranges), 1866</i>	<i>Argus</i> Jan. 2, 1872	"Indeed the photographic accuracy of this artist's pictures is too often insisted upon at the expense of breadth of treatment."
<i>Cape Farewell, West Coast, Middle Island, N.Z., [1878]</i>	<i>Argus</i> Dec. 17, 1878	"will be immediately recognised by all who have passed the remarkable rocks which figure so conspicuously in the picture"
Paintings in general	<i>Age</i> Sep. 1, 1884	"In the whole of these scenes the artist seems to have aimed at a scrupulous accuracy of detail, and the result is an almost photographic fidelity of representation."
<i>Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges, 1857</i>	<i>Age</i> Sep. 2, 1884	"is quite an extraordinary example of minute and elaborate work. Various forms of vegetation are accurately portrayed"
	<i>Argus,</i> August 13, 1858	"...Nature's affidavit of the truth of M. de Guérard's picture."

Table A.6. References to the scientific accuracy of aspects of Guérard's paintings

Artwork	Publication	Commentary
<i>View of Mount Abrupt, on the Wannan River, in the Grampians, Western District of Victoria, 1856</i> (missing painting)	<i>My Notebook</i> Dec. 13, 1856	"every tree has a botanical accuracy, and every rock is a study for geologists"
<i>Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges, 1857</i>	<i>Age</i> Dec. 8, 1857	"painted with such technical minuteness as well as artistic effect the picture is equally valuable as a botanical study."
<i>The Basin Banks about 20 miles south of Mount Elephant, 1857</i>	<i>Bell's Life in Victoria</i> Dec. 12, 1857	"so clearly showing the geological formation of the surrounding country and its volcanic nature."
<i>Mount William from Mount Dryden, 1857</i>	<i>Illustrated Journal of Australasia</i> Jan. 1858	"every tree and flower has not merely its local character, but its botanical peculiarities" (Sinnett)
<i>Basalt Rocks at Sandy beach near Cape Schanck, [1860]</i>	<i>Argus</i> Nov. 20, 1860	"the rocks are represented with an amount of attention to form and colour which would almost recommend itself to the geologists rather than to the mere connoisseur of art."
<i>View in the Grampians, 1870</i>	<i>Argus</i> Jul. 13, 1870	"the peculiar character of the trees and shrubs with which they are partially covered. So accurately, indeed, do the latter seem to be made out, that we imagine a botanist would be almost able to discover amongst them the banksia, the casuarina, the xanthorrhoea [<i>sic</i>] or some of the other hardy inhabitants of these lofty regions."

Appendix B: Guérard's supernatural revelation of his muse to James Smith

An old friend of mine, an artist, whose pictures are notable for their delicacy of touch and minuteness of detail, passed over in 1901. A few weeks afterwards he came to me and in the course of conversation, after speaking very slightly of his own pictures, as he sees them now, he went on to say: - "When I woke up out of my sleep (as I thought it to be) "Velvet" Breughel came to me and said "I am your guide," and he explained the meaning of the word to me. "I have been your guide," he continued "ever since you were a boy." I was angry for I did not like the idea of not having been the painter of my own pictures. And he, smiling good humouredly, said, "Oh! you don't understand it yet, come with me and I will introduce you to some of the Dutch painters, and to the 'little masters' of Germany as they are called." We travelled very quickly - for you have only to wish to go anywhere and you are there - to his studio, where there was a gathering of artists. Von Ostade was there and Gereid Douw, and many more. They bade me welcome, and seated me in the chair of honor, explaining to me where I was, and I could only exclaim, "Wonderful. Wonderful." Then Breughel spoke of his own guidance of my pencil and I felt my pride wounded, but he showed me that I had never lost my own individuality any more than they had done, when they were on the earth. "You have not been an automaton, Von Guerard, any more than I was. We were all under spiritual guidance as you have been, and your work will now be to guide artists who are still in the flesh." "But I must first learn the laws of control, for what I perceive is that these things are affected by thought forces . . . Everything here is just as tangible, material and objective as things were to me on the earth, whereas when I touch this table, as a spirit, it is like a ghost, and I can walk through it. I am not yet accustomed to this mode of communication and am still full of wonder and bewilderment. [In reply to a question.] Yes, when I woke up my wife stood beside me, and Summers, and Buvelot, and Folingsby, but Breughel could speak better to me than she or they could because he had been in magnetic relations with me all my life."

Excerpt from a letter to the editor of the *West Gippsland Gazette*, entitled "Science v. Spiritualism," published May 8, 1906. Punctuation as in the original.

Appendix C: *Mr. Von Guérard's New Picture*

Vor-Raffaellismus had its first, and perhaps its most congenial, home in Germany. It commenced there long before the corresponding art-revolution to which we have given the name of pre-Raphaelitism took place in England. Cornelius, with his co-enthusiasts Veit, and Pforr, and Overbeck, and Schnorr, were the predecessors of Ruskin and the disciples who followed the creed he so eloquently taught. It is not, therefore, astonishing that even in this colony the sole artist of any pretensions who has adopted the new doctrine should be a son of the Vaterland, and a belted knight of Franz Josef. M. Eugen Von Guérard is our local apostle of that microscopicism in pictorial delineation which was the extravagance wherein the indignant protest of the German "purists" first took shape. His landscapes may not present quite fifteen hundred different grasses, as there are not generally so many to be found in the bush scenes with which his pencil is familiar, but they offer a minutely laborious description of almost every leaf upon the gum trees, and of every vein and crevice in the rocks, which would make them delightful illustrations of a treatise on the botanical or geological features of the colony.

It is to be regretted that one who succeeds so well in that patient manipulation which, after all, is but the meaner part of pre-Raphaelitism, should strive so little after the elevated earnestness of feeling with which it was pervaded, and which formed its chief attraction. In Germany, its aim was to bring back the spirit of early Italian art, clothing it in the same forms which it received from the hands of Masaccio, Fiesole, Gozzoli, Lippi, and other masters of the fifteenth century. In England, the object of the "pre-Raphaelite brethren" may perhaps best be described by saying that they are asserted to do for English art what Wordsworth and the other "lakists" attempted to do for English poetry. But in both countries it was an awakening from the lethargy into which art had fallen - from the apathy of careless working and commonplace incident to the life, and fervour, and reality of its mission amongst men. The intellectual force and artistic intensity of which it was the expression naturally produced works which startled every spectator into an admission of its power, whether he was pleased with it or not and men forgot for a moment the graces of Raphael to admire the efforts of those who imitated his predecessors. In Germany, apostates are still living who have long forsworn the vows they pledged in those days. In England, the faith was lost in the natural divergencies of the original minds by which it was inspired, and there is now no more unity of thought or style between Millais and Hunt, Inchbold and Davis, Woolner and Boyce, than between any other two artists of equal note. Nothing now remains of the "literal manner" but the glory which belongs for ever to the great masters by whom it was first taught and practised. Their greatness, as all greatness in art, has been found to be altogether independent of its manner, and now it is well understood that, as the minuteness of a Van Eyck only increases the feeling of his work, so that of a Denner only brings out with more distinctness the barrenness of idea to be remarked in his productions. If we continue the comparison, in order to show the applicability of these remarks to our present subject, we fear it will be found that Mr. Von Guérard resembles Denner rather more than Van Eyck.

We have just had an opportunity of examining M. Von Guérard's new work—a view in the Grampians in the Western district of this colony, a subject that might well inspire as noble an effort as landscape artist ever put forth. The high-priest of pre-Raphaelitism would have told him that those mountains were made "to fill the thirst of human heart for the beauty of God's working;" that "they are a great and noble architecture, covered with mighty sculpture and painted legend;" and that "they are lifted up towards heaven in a stillness of perpetual mercy." Mr. Von Guérard feels nothing, however, of all this or cares little about it. He finds nothing more to note in

these magnificent ranges, which Mitchell describes as “truly sublime,” than the ferruginous sandstone of which they consist, or the peculiar character of the trees and shrubs with which they are partially covered. So accurately, indeed, do the latter seem to be made out, that we imagine a botanist would be almost able to discover amongst them the banksia, the casuarina, the xanthorrhoea or some of the other hardy inhabitants of these lofty regions. The view represents the most northern part of the ranges, including Mount Zero and Rose’s Gap. Daylight pours down its full blaze over the summits of these hills, and casts strange illusory reflections over the boundless plains of mallee-scrub that stretch away behind them out of sight. The lords of creation are represented by a couple of aborigines, whose attitudes are rather theatrical, but whose presence, while it gives life to the scene, is not out of harmony with the primeval appearances of nature with which they are surrounded. The perspective is correct, the topographical description of the spot is no doubt most faithful, the elaboration of details merits all the praise due to finished execution, and if the colour were less hard, we should have little fault to find with the technical quality of the picture. There are some other points to which we might allude, but we think it better at present to direct attention merely to the distinguishing characteristics of Mr. Von Guérard’s work, and its leading merits and defects. Now that he occupies a position where his example will have more influence than it had before, it is more than ever necessary that just notions should be propagated concerning the principal features and the main tendency of his art. We shall on some future occasion perhaps have, an opportunity of entering more into detail. Suffice it to say for the present, that the “View in the Grampians” is a good specimen of this artist’s style; and though it may be wanting in some of the higher qualities to be sought in works of the kind, it has merits not unworthy of its author’s reputation.

James Smith, *Argus*, July 13, 1870. Spelling and punctuation as in the original.

**Appendix D: Reply on the critic of Eugene von Guérard's painting of the north
Grampians**

To the artist of the above named picture, the name of Vor Raffaellismus is quite a new word, he is only convinced that it had its first origin from the style of painting used in Italy by a great many of Raphael's predecessors which showed a very great tendency to paint saints in religious compositions, other persons in historical pictures and all kinds of things not clad in human forms, so much as possible true to nature, not only in the effect but also in the finishing of the details, especially in pictures which were intended to be put in rooms or galleries, not for great distances as it is usually the case with very large church paintings or scene painting for theatres.

Raphael himself made his beginning with very elaborate pictures more so like his great master Pietro Perugino, whose works should be seen in its native town to be really able to know the great value of this master's work. He painted more for the effect at a distance, so soon as he adopted his second and third style in a time when nearly all his paintings were of a large size, but in the same time all his work, especially those which were painted for rooms, were highly finished even down to the smallest details, so that it would satisfy the strictest Preraffaelite.

Not only the purity correctness and gracefulness of Raphaels designs combined with his beautiful colors, entitled this great Master to the eternal name which he has, but his being able to keep the correct limits between the extremely concienious finished paintings of his first style and the more freely painted works of his later days in which we see never a useless darkening of colors or a careless drawing and loose style of painting.

Everyone who has an eye properly educated to see correct, will easily discern that from this highest elevation of art, which Raphael attained the great many artists which followed him down to the beginning of the present century, gradually deteriorated and certainly we see that the pupiles of Raphael did not exaggerate in finishing too well but exaggerated in finishing too little their pictures forgetting how careful there greate Master was to take nature as its only model and rule. It was in the beginning of the nineteenth century that the great German Artists Cornelius, Overbeck, Schadow, Veil, Schnorr, Reinhard, Koch, and others met in Rome and drawing a parallel between the state of the fine arts in the time of Michale Angelo Buonarotti and Raphael with that of their own time, recognised the necessity to begin with a totally different course of studies in order to rectify that careless style of art which was grotesque in the drawing and highly mannered painting and composition.

More than all the others it was Peter Cornelius which tried to raise the art of drawing and painting but to my believe never he was a follower of that primitive - the Preraffaelite style nor did so his friends (which Mr G. nearly all had the honor to know personally) but they were convinced that a careful and well finishing style of painting could lead to a reevaluation of the art which was so much neglected.

However great Ruskin is in his works on art, but the artist whose name and painting give raise to the alluded Criticism, thinks for certain that all the above named artists never know this autor's name, or in any way were influenced by Ruskin's writing.

If the noble Art Critic which took so much trouble to show his erudition in Art literature accuses the style of painting of Mr. G. as pre Raffaelite this artist can assure the Public that it was the first time that he heard of that school in the year 1854 when he exhibited his first pictures of Australian scenery in Melbourne and that the only reason for which he adopted that so caled style was that he finds nature so infinitely pre Raffaelite and with all the existing difficulties he wished

to paint so closely as he saw the details and effects of nature; if he fails it consists in his want of ability, not in the possibility to achieve near this aim of all the really great artists.

As an Apostle of microscopism in pictorial delineation the artist feels ashamed of his praise because he sees clearly that he is (the author) not a judge of what can be seen in nature and to what use can be brought what we see so well finished in the details of nature, and that an artist should so far as it is compatible with the effect of a picture, imitate nature not only in the masses but also in the details and it is his conviction that a good many which are painting in a different way are not able to finish a picture well and find it a much easier and more profitable work to pay so little regard as possible the details, so as it is well known to keep a painting in a good harmony and finish as well is one of the most difficult operations in painting.

If ever the artist in question could succeed to paint Australian scenes to make them delightful illustrations for treaties of botanical or geological features of the Colony then he would be convinced that for the future his paintings would have a greater value, where it will be doubtful if those which can be taken equally well for a misty English or an Australian landscape will have the same future.

If Mr. G did not succeed in giving such an elevated and earnest feeling to his pictures, as the Critic on his painting requires it for his qualities, he is exceedingly sorry as the real artist always shall strive, if possible, to satisfy everyone who sees his work. With very few paintings, the artist thinks, to have better succeeded as with the one in question, to explain, so as he sees now an unmerited praise from the Public in general, owing to the great want of knowledge in the history of art, its rules and perfections, in all his kind admirers, but he hopes that more such learned critics on his paintings will open the eyes and elevate the feelings of those which have made a mistake at present. He is further convinced that from motives which are below the surface the kind author of the Art Critic, will never be satisfied with his works, and Mr G. never will attempt to gain his favor with other charms than his careful paintings which he executes with the greatest desire to imitate nature so well as in his power, not only in an elaborate copy of her details, but shall do his best to catch now and then a glimpse of the divine poetical feelings which the author of the kind article is so much wanting in his works quite as much as he seems to be full of it himself.

The enemy of well finished Works of Art, the admirer of careless ones, in taking as examples the great works in history of Art, will find out which of the two styles have led to a better and more lasting result. The imitation of nature and its effects may be equally well attained in the two styles by artists of equal strength, each artist will select the style congenial to his individuality. If all artists would adapt the same style, would art have the same charms as it has now? – Would it not be in giving up the individuality of the artist that we would arrive at that unhappy point to be only equals and producing equal works to the machine art. Mr G wishes to state that he is a great admirer of Photography Chromolithography ec., but he thinks that more or less they will be always void of an artistic individuality.

To a certain degree the time produces the wants for a certain kind of Art, it is very difficult that art will be able to change the taste of the time and unhappily our time is the worst for great historical, religious and even landscape compositions. It is not the want of the proper genius in the artist to create but in our time is principally the wish for the works of Art copied or taken from nature, nearly in all branches of Art and especially in Landscape painting.

In repeating the words of the author of the critic on his poor painting “the greatness, as all greatness in art, has been found to be altogether independent of its manner”, in Mr G’s painting,

besides the want of spirit and elevation in feeling the greatest defect in his work is that poor miserable style to imitate nature in a microscopic way.

He feels very unhappy that he was not able to inspire himself with the greatness of his subject, so as a good many uneducated eyes believed he did, he felt inspired to the highest extent with it as he had the good fortune to look from the high summits of the Grampians into the depths of the forrests and far away into the distant plains stretching to the Murray but his wishes were too high for his skill and he feels it now that first it would be necessary for him to elevate his mind at a level with his great judge and kind Critic.

Mr G did what he could but remained so much behind his great original, if he had the highly educated eye of the learned critic he would probably surpass nature: as to his kind praise that he thinks to be able to distinguish in Mr. G painting all the different kinds of Australian plants, of whose names he is so cleverly acquainted, very likely he did bestow to the artist beyond his merits. Mr G feels very thankful for the kind hint as to the theatrical position of the aborigines in the foreground and he hopes it shall not be lost for the future and so likewise in regard to the hardness of the colors he feels equally thankful knowing too well that generally from our enemies we learn better our defects than from our dearest friends, and for that reason he must deeply regret it if that not all the points were cleared up, he feels in the same time that he is too exacting as the criticising article was already too long and very likely the candle of the author too short to extend it any longer. In regard to the fears of the author alluding to Mr G's new position as a teacher he wishes to allay them with the open promise that as a real artist, which at least he wishes to be, he has not whatsoever narrow views on Art, seeing with the greatest delight a good work in any style and he would be too sorry if the few artists in Melbourne would believe that he is narrow minded enough to think less of a work of art which has not the same tendency as his own.

The very kind of critic on Mr. G's picture may be sure that never more he will take the trouble to give a reply to his noble criticisms. His time is too precious for that the trouble which he underwent to give an answer was for the defence of the kind opinion which his former Critics and his many good friends and patrons entertained of his productions, and which so as he thinks, were treated with a greater contempt than Mr G's work which, he feels is too far away from the high aim before him but he hopes that this feeling of the necessity to improve will enable him to advance in his art.

To conclude he will only add that during his long artistic life in Australia, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, France and England he had a good many occasions to see the finest works of art and to form his taste and expression and during that time he had also the chance to read a great many art critics but to his recollection never he saw an article which expressed a higher opinion of the author's knowledge and learning and a more dictatorial, impertinent and malicious style of writing than in the article of this learned critic. It would be highly interesting for the public in general to know where he accumulated all his treasures of critic knowledge which more than once was so highly amusing in the columns of the Argus.

Unpublished response to James Smith's critique. Transcribed uncorrected.

Appendix E: Definitions of 'landscape painting'

Table A.7. Definitions of landscape painting in art dictionaries and encyclopedias

Reference	Definition
<i>Grove Dictionary of Art</i>	"Type of work in which natural scenery is the essential motif; an independent pictorial form from the 16th century." ¹
<i>Illustrated Dictionary of Art Terms</i>	"A painting in which natural scenery is the principal subject, although figures, animals, buildings and other objects maybe incorporated into the composition." ²
<i>Oxford Concise Dictionary of Art Terms</i>	"A picture representing an expanse of natural scenery." ³
<i>Encyclopedia of World Art</i>	"The term 'landscape' refers that type of pictorial representation in which natural scenery is the subject or at least prevails over the action of the figures." ⁴
<i>A Dictionary of Art Terms and Techniques</i>	"A painting, drawing, or other depiction of natural scenery. Although figures and man-made objects may be included in the landscape, they are of secondary importance to the composition and incidental to the content." ⁵

1 Jane Turner, *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 18 (New York: Grove, 1996), 700.

2 Kimberley Reynolds and Richard Harding Seddon, *Illustrated Dictionary of Art Terms: A Handbook for the Artist and Art Lover* (New York: P. Bedrick Books, 1984), 94.

3 Clarke, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Art Terms*, 141.

4 Bernard S. Myers, *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. IX (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959).

5 Ralph Mayer, *A Dictionary of Art Terms and Techniques* (New York: Crowell, 1969), 209.

Appendix F: Small landscapes identified as oil studies

1. *From our Apartment in Collins St., at the Architect, Mr. Webb*, 1854
2. *Police Paddock, Melbourne* (top and bottom) 1855
3. *Mount Macedon from the point between St Kilda and Brighton* 1857
4. *Doctor Howitt's Corner, Dandenong Ranges* 1862
5. *Mount Tambo from Omeo Station* 1862
6. *Deep Creek (Victoria) Mr Wilson's Model Farm* 1865
7. *Plenty Ranges from East Melbourne* 1865
8. *View of Mt Feathertop from the Ovens Valley* 1867
9. *Distant view towards Yarra Bend from our little tower* 1871
10. *Bushrangers Cove, Cape Schanck* 1873
11. *From Below the Lighthouse, Cape Schanck, Victoria* 1873
12. *Honeysuckles, Cape Schanck* 1873
13. *Lower Part of the Castle Rock Below the Lighthouse, Cape Schanck, Victoria c. 1873*
14. *Pulpit Rock from Mr Barker's Station* 1873

Appendix G: List of composite paintings based on two or more views of the landscape

Composite works are defined as those painting that are based on two or more sketched or actual landscape views.

1. *Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat*, 1854 (NGV).
2. *Mr. Muirhead's station*, 1856 (NLA).
3. *Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite*, 1857 (AGSA).
4. *From the verandah of Purrumbete*, 1858 (NGA).
5. *Lake Bullen Merri*, 1858 (private collection).
6. *Scenery in the Mount Lofty Ranges, near Adelaide, and a View of the Gulf of St Vincent, SA, c. 1860* (AGSA).
7. *A fig tree on the American Creek, near Wollongong, NSW*, 1861 (AGNSW).
8. Cathedral Range paintings: *Cathedral Mount, Valley of the Acheron River, Victoria*, 1863 (private collection); and *Valley of the Acheron River, Victoria*, 1863 (present location unknown).
9. *North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko*, 1863 (NGA).
10. *North View from Daylesford*, 1864 (private collection).
11. *Yalla-y-Poora*, 1864 (NGV).
12. *Sunset, New South Wales*, 1865 (SLNSW).
13. *Tea Trees near Cape Schanck, Victoria (Pulpit Rock)*, 1865 (NGV).
14. *Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges, c. 1870* (AGWA).
15. Lake Wakatipu paintings: *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, New Zealand*, 1877, (present location unknown); *Wakatipu with Mt Earnslaw*, 1878 (private collection); and *Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand*, 1879 (AAG).
16. *Thal um Mt. Wellington bei Hobart "Insel Tasmania, Australien,"* 1886 (ATL).
17. *Milford Sound, Mitre Peak and Bowen Falls*, 1892 (Fletcher Collection, Auckland).

Appendix H: Sample of Antipodean paintings

Table A.8 Information relating to each of the paintings in the sample

Id. no.	Full title of the landscape painting	Scan quality	Perspective of work	Version of scene	Field drawing(s)	Size of field drawing(s)	Site location(s)	Vantage point(s)	Site photograph(s)
1	<i>A view near St Kilda, 1854</i>	poor	single view	only version	missing	–	not located	not reached	none available
2	<i>Warrenheip Hills near Ballarat, 1854</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	found	both large	both located	one reached	view part obstructed
3	<i>The farm of Mr Perry on the Yarra, 1855</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	view part obstructed
4	<i>Tower Hill, 1855</i>	excellent	single view	only version	missing	–	located	reached	excellent
5	<i>Cutting out the Cattle, Kangatong, 1856</i>	very good	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	useful
6	<i>Dunmore, 1856</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	view part obstructed
7	<i>Mount Abrupt, the Grampians, Victoria, 1856</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	view part obstructed
8	<i>Mr. Muirhead's station, 1856</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	found	small	both located	reached	limited
9	<i>The Grampians from the South, 1856</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small & large	located	reached	useful
10	<i>View of Geelong, 1856</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	view part obstructed
11	<i>View of Hobart Town, with Mount Wellington in the background, 1856</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
12	<i>View of Perth Tasmania, c. 1856</i>	adequate	single view	only version	missing		located	reached	no photo
13	<i>Basin Banks, Lake Gnotuk, 1857</i>	excellent	single view	first version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
14	<i>Fern Grotto Tandarook, 1857</i>	adequate	single view	only version	found	small	not located	not reached	none available
15	<i>Fern Tree Gully in Dandenong Ranges, 1857</i>	excellent	single view	first version	missing	–	located	reached	limited
16	<i>Ferntree Gully, 1857</i>	poor	single view	subsequent	see first version (#15)				
17	<i>Larra, 1857</i>	excellent	single view	only version	missing but detail	–	located	reached	useful

Id. no.	Full title of the landscape painting	Scan quality	Perspective of work	Version of scene	Field drawing(s)	Size of field drawing(s)	Site location(s)	Vantage point(s)	Site photograph(s)
18	<i>Mount William from Mount Dryden, Victoria, 1857</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
19	<i>Sailing ship rounding the South end of Tasman's Island, c. 1857</i>	excellent	single view	only version	missing	–	not located	not reached	none available
20	<i>Stony Rises, Lake Corangamite, 1857</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	both found	both small	both located	both reached	both limited
21	<i>Tanunda Creek, South Australia, 1857</i>	adequate	single view	only version	found	small	located	not reached	none available
22	<i>The Basin Banks about 20 miles south of Mount Elephant, 1857</i>	adequate	single view	subsequent	see first version (#13)				
23	<i>From the verandah of Purrumbete, 1858</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	both found	both small	both located	one reached	useful
24	<i>Purrumbete from across the lake, 1858</i>	excellent	single view	only version	exists but no scan	large (may be composition study)	located	not reached	none available
25	<i>Lake Bullen Merri, 1858</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	found	small + detail	principal located	reached	useful
26	<i>Lake Gnotuk, near Camperdown, 1858</i>	excellent	single view	subsequent	see first version (#13)				
27	<i>Bushfire between Mount Elephant and Timboon, 1858</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small (coloured)	located	not reached	none available
28	<i>Mr. Andrew Whittles Residence at Apollo Bay, with Cape Patton in the distance, 1859</i>	very good	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
29	<i>View of the Wannon Springs in the Grampians, with Mount Abrupt, 1859</i>	excellent	single view	only version	exists but no scan	large	located	reached	excellent
30	<i>American Creek near Wollongong, c. 1860</i>	poor	single view	only version	found	small (partial view)	located	not reached	none available
31	<i>Cabbage Trees near the Shoalhaven River, N.S.W., 1860</i>	excellent	single view	first version	found	large + detail	not located	not reached	none available
32	<i>Cabbage Tree Forest, American Creek, New South Wales, 1860</i>	excellent	single view	subsequent	see first version (#31)				

Id. no.	Full title of the landscape painting	Scan quality	Perspective of work	Version of scene	Field drawing(s)	Size of field drawing(s)	Site location(s)	Vantage point(s)	Site photograph(s)
33	<i>Koort Koort-nong homestead, near Camperdown, Victoria with Mount Elephant in the distance, 1860</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	useful
34	<i>Koort Koort-nong homestead, near Camperdown, Victoria, 1860</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	limited
35	<i>Mountain Scenery Near Jamberoo, N.S.W., c. 1860</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small	located	not reached	none available
36	<i>View from Fritz Wilhelmberg, Herne Hill, 1860</i>	very good	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
37	<i>Scenery in the Mount Lofty Ranges, near Adelaide, and a View of the Gulf of St Vincent, SA, c. 1860</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	both found	small & large + detail	both located	both reached	view partially obstructed other limited
38	<i>Sydney Heads, 1860</i>	very good	single view	first version	found	large	located	reached	view partially obstructed
39	<i>View of Lake Illawarra, N.S.W., with distant mountains of Kiama, 1860</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	view partially obstructed
40	<i>Woody Yaloak Creek, Western District, c. 1860</i>	adequate	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	useful
41	<i>A fig tree on the American Creek, near Wollongong, NSW, 1861</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	both found	both small	both located	neither reached	none available
42	<i>Meningoort, 1861</i>	very good	single view	only version	found + detail	large	located	reached	view partially obstructed
43	<i>Mr John King's station, 1861</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
44	<i>View of the Gippsland Alps, from Bushy Park on the River Avon, 1861 (diptych)</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large panorama	located	reached	useful
45	<i>View of the Grampians and Victoria Ranges from Mount Rouse, West Victoria, 1861</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small panorama	located	reached	excellent
46	<i>James Glass's station on the Goulburn River, Victoria, 1862</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	useful
47	<i>Waterfall, Strath Creek, 1862</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent

Id. no.	Full title of the landscape painting	Scan quality	Perspective of work	Version of scene	Field drawing(s)	Size of field drawing(s)	Site location(s)	Vantage point(s)	Site photograph(s)
48	<i>Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson's Valley, New South Wales, 1862</i>	excellent	single view	first version	found	large	located	reached	useful
49	<i>Cathedral Mount, Valley of the Acheron River, Victoria, 1863</i>	excellent	composite view	first version	both found	large & small	one located	reached	excellent
50	<i>Elephant Rock, near Cape Schanck in Victoria, 1863</i>	poor	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	excellent
51	<i>Forest scene near Kiama, 1863</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small	not located	not reached	none available
52	<i>North-east view from the northern top of Mount Kosciusko, 1863</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	both found	both small	both located	one reached	excellent
53	<i>Spring in the valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges, 1863</i>	excellent	single view	first version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
54	<i>Steavenson Falls, 1863</i>	very good	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
55	<i>The Weatherboard Falls, 1863</i>	very good	single view	subsequent	see first version (#48)				
56	<i>Valley of the Acheron River, Victoria, 1863</i>	adequate	composite view	subsequent	see first version (#49)				
57	<i>View on the Upper Mitta Mitta, c. 1863</i>	poor	single view	only version	found	small	not located	not reached	none available
58	<i>A view from Mt Franklin towards Mount Kooroocheang and the Pyrenees, c. 1864</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	excellent
59	<i>Breakneck Gorge, Hepburn Springs, 1864</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	useful
60	<i>North View from Daylesford, 1864</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	both found	both large	both located	both reached	both useful
61	<i>View of the Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River, 1864</i>	excellent	single view	first version	found + detail	small	located	not reached	none available
62	<i>Yalla-y-Poora, 1864</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	found + detail	large	both located	principal reached	view partially obstructed
63	<i>Valley of the Goulburn River and Mount Buller east of Thom's Station, 1864</i>	poor	single view	only version	found	large	located	not reached	none available
64	<i>Castle Rock, Cape Schanck, 1865</i>	excellent	single view	only version	missing, detail only	–	located	reached	excellent

Id. no.	Full title of the landscape painting	Scan quality	Perspective of work	Version of scene	Field drawing(s)	Size of field drawing(s)	Site location(s)	Vantage point(s)	Site photograph(s)
65	<i>Cumberland Creek, near Lorne, Victoria, 1865</i>	adequate	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	useful
66	<i>Mount Shadwell from Mount Noorat, 1865</i>	poor	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	limited
67	<i>Mount Langi Ghiran, looking north-west from near Buangor, 1865</i>	adequate	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
68	<i>Mount William and part of the Grampians in West Victoria, 1865</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large compositional study only	located	reached	excellent
69	<i>Sunset, New South Wales, 1865</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	both found	two large	both located	one reached	excellent
70	<i>Sydney Heads, 1865</i>	excellent	single view	subsequent	see first version (#38)				
71	<i>Tea Trees near Cape Schanck, Victoria (Pulpit Rock), 1865</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	both found	large & small	principal located	reached	excellent
72	<i>Mount Kosciusko, seen from the Victorian border (Mount Hope Ranges), 1866</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	found + detail	both small	both located	one reached	excellent
73	<i>Spring in the valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges in the distance, 1866</i>	excellent	single view	subsequent	see first version (#53)				
74	<i>Stoneleigh, Beaufort near Ararat, Victoria, 1866</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	useful
75	<i>Sydney Heads, 1866</i>	poor	single view	subsequent	see first version (#38)				
76	<i>Western Mountains near Longford, Tasmania, c. 1866</i>	adequate	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	view partially obstructed
77	<i>Mr Clark's Station, Deep Creek, near Keilor, 1866</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	view partially obstructed
78	<i>Mr William Lang's camp on the Salt Water River, 1867</i>	very good	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	view partially obstructed
79	<i>View of Mt Sturgeon and Mt Abrupt from the Crater of Bald Hill 1856, 1869</i>	adequate	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	useful

Id. no.	Full title of the landscape painting	Scan quality	Perspective of work	Version of scene	Field drawing(s)	Size of field drawing(s)	Site location(s)	Vantage point(s)	Site photograph(s)
80	<i>West Coast of Phillip Island, Victoria, 1869</i>	poor	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	excellent
81	<i>Woodlands Homestead on the Wimmera River, 1869</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found + detail	large	located	reached	no photo
82	<i>Dandenong Ranges from Beleura, 1870</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small & large	located	reached	view partially obstructed
83	<i>Evening after a Gale, Wilson's Promontory, 1870</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small	located	not reached	none available
84	<i>Fern Tree Gully, Cape Otway Ranges, c. 1870</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	both found	large & small	both located	both reached	both useful
85	<i>Ravine near Glenlyon, Upper Loddon, 1870</i>	very good	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	useful
86	<i>View in the Grampians, 1870</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
87	<i>View in Rose's Gap, Northern Grampians, West Victoria, 1870</i>	excellent	single view	first version	found	small	located	reached	view partially obstructed
88	<i>Mount Langi from Pleasant Creek, 1871</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	excellent
89	<i>Rose's Gap at the northern end of the Grampians, 1871</i>	poor	single view	subsequent	see first version (#87)				
90	[The Cathedral, Acheron Range], 1871	poor	single view	only version	found	small	not located	not reached	none available
91	<i>View of the Granite Rocks at Cape Woolamai, 1872</i>	excellent	single view	first version	found + detail	small	located	reached	excellent
92	<i>View of the granite rocks at Cape Woolamai, 1872</i>	excellent	single view	subsequent	see first version (#91)				
93	<i>Govett's Leap and the Grose River Valley, Blue Mountains, New South Wales, 1873</i>	excellent	single view	first version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
94	<i>Govett's Leap, the Blue Mountains, c. 1872–1873</i>	very good	single view	subsequent	see first version (#93)				
95	<i>Mount Kent on the Wonnangatta River, Gipps Land [sic], 1873</i>	very good	single view	only version	found	small	located	not reached	none available

Id. no.	Full title of the landscape painting	Scan quality	Perspective of work	Version of scene	Field drawing(s)	Size of field drawing(s)	Site location(s)	Vantage point(s)	Site photograph(s)
96	<i>St Agnes Head, southern side of Philip [sic] Island, 1873</i>	very good	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
97	<i>Track on the Mitta River, near Benambra Mountains, 1873</i>	poor	single view	only version	found	large	not located	not reached	none available
98	<i>Golden Point and Flat with part of Black Hill as seen in July 1853, 1874</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	limited
99	<i>The Mitre Rock and Lake from Mount Arapiles, 1874</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
100	<i>Dungrove, near Bothwell, Tasmania, 1875</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	useful
101	<i>The Great Lake, Tasmania, 1875</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	excellent
102	<i>View of Cape Woolamai, c. 1873–1875</i>	adequate	single view	only version	missing	–	not located	not reached	none available
103	<i>View of the Grampians with Mount Abrupt and Mount Sturgeon in the distance, 1875</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	limited
104	<i>Waterfall on the Clyde River, Tasmania, 1877</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	view partially obstructed
105	<i>Forest Scene in the Dandenong Ranges, 1878</i>	adequate	single view	only version	missing	–	not located	not reached	none available
106	<i>Main Creek, near Elephant Rock, 1878</i>	adequate	single view	only version	found	small	located	reached	excellent
107	<i>Moonlight scene in the Ranges from Dandenong to Gippsland, 1878</i>	poor	single view	first version	missing	–	not located	not reached	none available
108	<i>Mitta Mitta River, Victoria, 1878</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	small	not located	not reached	none available
109	<i>Head of the Mitta Mitta, Eagle's View of the mountains, 1879</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	not reached	none available
110	<i>Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, New Zealand, 1877</i>	excellent	composite view	first version	both found & detail	all small	both located	one reached	excellent
111	<i>Wakatipu with Mt Earnslaw, 1878</i>	adequate	composite view	subsequent	see first version (#110)				
112	<i>Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand, 1879</i>	excellent	composite view	subsequent	see first version (#110)				

Id. no.	Full title of the landscape painting	Scan quality	Perspective of work	Version of scene	Field drawing(s)	Size of field drawing(s)	Site location(s)	Vantage point(s)	Site photograph(s)
113	<i>Milford Sound, with Pembroke Peak and Bowen Falls, 1879</i>	excellent	single view	first version	found + detail	large	located	reached	excellent
114	<i>Creek at the Foot of Mount Kosciusko, 1883</i>	very good	single view	only version	missing, detail only	–	not located	not reached	none available
115	<i>Moonlight in an Australian Forest, 1883</i>	adequate	single view	subsequent	see first version (#107)				
116	<i>Ballarat in the early times; As it appeared in the summer of 1853–54, 1884</i>	excellent	single view	only version	found	large	located	reached	useful
117	<i>Thal um Mt. Wellington bei Hobart "Insel Tasmania, Australien," 1886</i>	excellent	composite view	only version	one found, other missing	large & small	both located	both reached	one partially obstructed other excellent
118	<i>Mount Earnslaw vom Wakatipu See Neu Seeland, 1887</i>	adequate	single view	subsequent	see first version (#110)				
119	<i>Mount William as seen from Mount Dryden in The Grampians, Victoria, 1892</i>	adequate	single view	first version	found	small	located	reached	excellent
120	<i>Milford Sound, Mitre Peak and Bowen Falls, 1892</i>	excellent	composite view	first version	found + detail	small	located	reached	excellent
121	<i>View of the Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River, 1864</i>	very good	single view	subsequent	see first version (#61)				

Appendix I: Survey instrument – first part

Features of an antipodean landscape painting, its source sketch(es) and site photos

Title of painting: Identifier:

Instruction: Distinct scene no.: Catalogue raisonné number:

Details of painting

- Year completed: inscription year
<1855 (1), 1855-1859 (2), 1860-1864 (3), 1865-1869 (4), 1870-1874 (5), 1875-1879 (6), ≥1880 (7), unknown (99)
- Commissioned or not: commission
commissioned (1), most likely commissioned (2), not commissioned (3), don't know/unsure (33)
- Collection holding painting: collection
national (1), state (2), regional (3), known private collection (4), unknown collection (99)
- Extant versions of same scene: versions
one only known to exist (1), two versions (2), three versions (3), more than three (4)
- Orientation (panorama w ≥ 2h) orientation
normal horizontal orientation (1), panoramic horizontal orientation (2), square (3), vertical orientation (4)
- Height of painting (cm): height
unknown (99)
- Width of painting (cm): width
unknown (99)
- Area of painting (m² to 2 dp): area
<0.25 m² (1), 0.25-0.49 m² (2), 0.50-0.74 m² (3), 0.75-0.99 m² (4), 1.00-1.24 m² (5), 1.25-1.49 m² (6), 1.50-1.74 m² (7), 1.74-2.00 m² (8), etc
- Medium of painting: medium
oil on canvas (1), oil on board (2), oil on canvas on board (3), unknown (99)
- Quality of scan of painting: quality
excellent (4), very good (3), adequate (2), poor (1)
- Source of scan: source
WikiMedia Commons (1), gallery (2), catalogue raisonné (3), *Nature Revealed* (4), auction house (5), other (6), unknown (99)

Colony and related expedition

- Colony illustrated: colony
Victoria (1), South Australia (2), Tasmania (3), New South Wales (4), New Zealand (5), indeterminable (99)
- Expedition during which site visited: expedition
1853-54 Ballarat (1), 1855 Tasmania (2), 1855 South Australia & Victoria (3), 1856 Lal Lal Falls (4), 1856 Western Districts (5),
1857 Western Districts (6), 1858 Cape Schanck (7), 1858 Mt Baw Baw and Dandenongs (8), 1859 New South Wales (9),
1859 Cape Otway (10), 1860-61 Gippsland (11), 1862 Cape Otway (12), 1862 Goulburn River (13), 1862 Mt Kosciusko (14),
1863 Cape Schanck (15), 1864 Western Districts (16), 1866 Western Districts (22), 1868 Mt Arapiles & NW Victoria (17), 1869
Mornington and Phillip Island (18), 1875 Tasmania (19), 1876 New Zealand (20), not done on an expedition (21), unknown (99)

Source sketch(es)

- Principal source sketch: source
located (1), in existence but not viewed (2), not known to still exist (3)
- Location of principal source sketch: sketch
small sketchbook (1), large drawing in album (2), loose drawing collection (3), private collection (4), none located (66)
- When painted after sketch made: lapse
same year (1), following (2), within 2 years (3), within 5 years (4), within 10 years (5), over 10 years (6), no sketch (66), etc

17. Existence of other sketch of identical scene: -
 larger version (1), smaller version (2), none found (3), irrelevant as principal not even located (66)

18. Location of other version: -
 in an album (1), loose drawing collection (2), in a sketchbook (3), irrelevant as does not exist (66)

19. Isolation of site at time of visit: -
 very isolated (4), isolated (3), visited by locals (2), visited by many people (1), irrelevant (66), unknown (99)

Compositeness

20. Composite or single view (excl. foreground): -
 single sketch (1), two sketched views combined (2), more than two views combined (3), irrelevant as no field drawings (66)

21. Details of secondary source sketch: title
 source and institution

22. GPS co-ordinates of secondary vantage point: latitude longitude
 co-ordinates in degrees, minutes and seconds

23. Locations of combined views: -
 same site (1), relatively close (2), distant but similar environment (3), distant and disparate (4), irrelevant (66)

24. Other sketched or viewed details: -
 rock formation (1), plants (2), animals (3), humans (4), buildings & structures (5), mountains (6), others (7), none located (8)

Features of the painted scene

25. Principal type of landscape scene: -
 wilderness (1), pastoral (2), agricultural (3), mining (4), settlement (5), marine (6), other (7), difficult to decide (99)

26. Dominant type of wilderness: -
 alpine (1), bush (2), lake (3), river (4), coastal (5), other (6), mixed (7), irrelevant (66)

27. Dominant landform (add as needed): -
 mountain/range (1), hill (2), crater (3), plain (4), valley (5), gorge (6), falls (7), lake (8), cliff (9), beach (10), tor (11), other (20)

28. Type of internal framing: -
 tree or bush (1), rock formation (2), landform (3), other (4), not present (5), irrelevant (66)

29. Dominant weather: -
 cloudless day (1), sunny with clouds (2), overcast (3), raining (4), stormy (5), other (6), irrelevant (66), indeterminate (99)

30. Main cloud type: -
 cirrus (1), cirrostratus (2), cirrocumulus (3), altostratus (4), altocumulus (5), nimbostratus (6), cumulus (7), stratus (8),
 cumulonimbus (9), stratocumulus (10), other (11), can't identify (33), irrelevant (66), indeterminate (99)

31. Human beings visible: -
 present (1), absent (2), indeterminate (99)

32. Dominant type of human: -
 Indigenous (1), pastoralists (2), farm workers (3), miners (4), rural settlers (5), explorers/scientists (6), officials (12),
 tourists (7), travellers (8), rowers/sailors (9), hunters (10), others (11), irrelevant as none visible (66), indeterminate (99)

33. Main human construction: -
 mia mia (1), homestead (2), shed (3), cottage (4), tent (5), boat/ship (6), mine (7), road (8), fence (9), other (10), none (33)

34. Intended historical period: -
 pre-contact (1), post-contact (2), irrelevant (66), indeterminate (99)

35. Location of sun: -
 ahead (1), front left (2), far left (3), behind left (4), behind (5), behind right (6), far right (7), front right (8), irrelevant (66)

36. Time of day: -
 sunrise (1), morning (2), near midday (3), afternoon (4), near sunset (5), night time (6), irrelevant (66), indeterminate (99)

35. Location of sun:
 ahead (1), front left (2), far left (3), behind left (4), behind (5), behind right (6), far right (7), front right (8), irrelevant (66)

36. Time of day:
 sunrise (1), morning (2), near midday (3), afternoon (4), near sunset (5), night time (6), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99)

37. Significant geological feature:
 horizontal bedding (1), tilted strata (2), columnar jointing (3), corestones (4), tor (5), crater (6), lava flow (7), maar lake (8),
 lava dome (9), spatter rampart (10), dyke (11), cuesta (12), sea stack (13), other (20), none (66), indeterminable/too far (99)

38. Identified class of rock at site:
 sedimentary (1), volcanic (2), plutonic (3), metamorphic (4), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99)

39. Identified rock type at site:
 sandstone (1), limestone (2), basalt (3), granite (4), dolerite (5), scoria (6), other (7), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99)

40. Principal vegetation class:
 grassland (1), grassy woodland (2), forest (3), woodland (4), shrubland (5), scrub (6), mailee (7), rainforest (8), irrelevant (66)

41. Identified flora:
 several identified species (3), one identified species (2), no identified species (1), irrelevant (66)

42. Presence of grass trees:
 appropriately present (1), inappropriately present (2), absent (3), irrelevant (66)

43. Presence of animals (excluding birds):
 wild animals (1), domesticated animals (2), both types (3), none visible (4), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99)

44. Presence of birds:
 individual birds (1), flock (2), individual birds and flock (3), none spotted (4)

Principal site visit and site photograph

45. Principal site located:
 specific location determined (3), general location determined (2), location not determined (1)

46. Visiting principal site:
 visited many times (4), visited twice (3), visited once (2), visited but not found (1), not visited (0), loc. undetermined (66)

47. GPS co-ordinates of principal vantage point: latitude longitude altitude
 co-ordinates in degree, minutes and whole seconds

48. Vantage point location type:
 national park (1), scenic/nature reserve (2), crown land (3), private land (4), irrelevant as unlocated (66), indeterminable (99)

49. Principal site photograph:
 own photo at vantage point (1), other's photo at VP (2), own photo near VP (3), other's photo near VP (4), no photo (66)

PeakFinder view at principal site

50. PeakFinder image of painted scene:
 from vantage point (3), from close to vantage point (2), further from vantage point (1), not generated as site not located (66)

51. Peakfinder's field of view:
 matches that of painting (3), close to that of painting (2), difficult to tell (1), irrelevant as site not located (66)

52. Bearing and angle of view: Principal bearing Angle of view Range to

Historical photo of principal site

53. Historical photo of same view:
 contemporaneous photo found (2), turn-of-the-century photo located (1), none found (3)

54. Field-of-view of historical photo:
 same as painting (4), most of the scene (3), only part of the scene (2), features of scene only (1), irrelevant as none (3)

Appendix J: Survey instrument – second part

Fidelity of enduring features illustrated in a field drawing to those observed at the site

Title of painting: **Identifier:**

Title of field drawing: **Type:**

Compare 'enduring' natural and man-made features in a field drawing (FD) with those recorded in a site photo (SP) taken from the artist's vantage point (VP). If no site photo, or horizon obscured in site photo, then use PeakFinder (PF) or Google Earth (GE) views.

- Quality of field drawing:**

excellent quality (4), good quality (3), adequate quality (2), poor quality (1), missing drawing (33)
- Usefulness of site photograph(s):**

highly useful (4), mostly useful (3), quite useful (2), limited usefulness (1), no site photo (33)
- Period of acquired photographs:**

early only (1), early & contemporary (2), contemporary only (3), no site photo (33)
- Field-of-view of site photo cf. field drawing:**

whole view (4), limited extent/partially obstructed (3), mostly obstructed (2), fully obstructed (1), no comparison possible (33)
- Principal comparison:**

with site photo (1), with site photo & PeakFinder (2), with PeakFinder only (3), none as FD missing (33), none as no SP or PF (66)
- Height of main summit (cf. SP/PF view):**

not elevated (4), slightly elevated (3), significantly elevated (2), strongly elevated (1), no comparison possible (33), irrelevant (66), indeterminate (99)
- Horizon topography (cf. site photo/PF view):**

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified (1), no comparison possible (33), irrelevant (66), indeterminate (99)
- Midground topography (cf. photo/PF view)**

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified (1), no comparison possible (33), irrelevant (66), indeterminate (99)
- Foreground slopes (cf. site photo only):**

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified (1), no comparison possible (33), irrelevant (66), indeterminate (99)
- Foreground boulders (cf. site photo):**

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified/ inserted (1), no comparison possible (33), irrelevant/ignore (66), etc
- Major rock outcrop (cf. site photo):**

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified (1), no comparison possible (33), irrelevant/absent (66), etc
- Geological attributes of rock outcrop:**

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified (1), no comparison possible (33), irrelevant (66), etc
- Drainage/shore lines (cf. site photo/GE):**

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified (1), no comparison possible (33), none present (66), etc.
- Surviving large trees (cf. site photo):**

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified (1), no comparison possible (33), none survive/present (66), etc
- Surviving buildings (site photo):**

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly modified (2), highly modified (1), no comparison possible (33), none survive/present (66), etc

Overall ratings: Number of assessed items:

Number of 4s and 3s: Number of 2s and 1s: Number of 33s, 66s and 99s:

Note: 33 usually indicates the field drawing is missing or no site photo/PF view is available; 66 signifies the feature is irrelevant for the scene; and 99 implies the response is indeterminate as the drawing or photo lacks clarity or the feature is no longer present at site.

Overall fidelity rating (1-10, 0 dp, r.u.):

= (sum of all 1 to 4 scores for questions 6 to 13 ÷ maximum possible score ignoring all 33, 66 and 99 items) x 10

Appendix K: Survey instrument – third part

Fidelity of natural features illustrated in a painting to the view at the vantage point and the natural history of the location

Title: Identifier:

Field drawing to be ignored: Scene number: Catalogue raisonné number:

Comparing natural features illustrated in a painting with those recorded in the site photograph (SP), the PeakFinder view (PF), or a faithfully rendered field drawing (FD), as well as with the known natural history of the location, e.g. as given on a geological map (GM).

Topographical features:

- Height of main summit (cf. photo/PF/FD):

same height (4), slightly higher (3), significantly higher (2), much higher (1), no SP, FD or PF (33), irrelevant (66), etc
- Horizon topography (cf. photo/PF/FD):

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced summit (1), no SP, FD or PF (33), etc.
- Midground topography (cf. photo/PF/FD):

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced hill or valley (1), no SP, FD or PF (33)
- Foreground slopes (cf. photo/FD):

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced slopes (1), no SP, FD or PF (33), etc.

Compositional features:

- Scale of staffage (cf. actual size at site):

normal size (4), slightly smaller (3), significantly smaller (2), much smaller (1), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99)
- Perspective (cf. drawings/site photos):

single view (4), close views combined (3), distant related views combined (2), distant disparate views combined (1), etc
- Internal framing of scene (cf. field sketch):

very similar (4), slightly different (3), significantly modified (2), very different/ introduced (1), no field drawing (33), no framing (66)

Illuminational features:

- Solar illumination (cf. field drawing):

very similar (4), slightly different (3), significantly different (2), opposite direction (1), no field drawing (33), irrelevant (66), etc
- Sunset bearing (cf. PF view):

appropriate (4), distinctly shifted (3), significantly shifted (2), setting in east (1), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99)

Geological features:

- Foreground boulders (cf. drawing/photo):

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), no FD or SP (33), incl./ignored (66)
- Major rock outcrop (cf. drawing/photo):

very accurate (4), mostly accurate (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), none present/close by (33), etc.
- Identified rock class (cf. sample/GM):

exists at site (3), exists in general location (2), non-existent in location (1), irrelevant as none visible (66), unidentified (99)
- Identified rock type (cf. sample/GM):

exists at site (3), exists in general location (2), non-existent in location (1), irrelevant as none visible (66), unidentified (99)

Geomorphological features:

- Range of landforms (cf. photo/drawing):

same range (4), reduced range (3), introduced local landform (2), introduced distant landform (1), no site photo/drawing (33), etc
- Waterbodies (cf. field drawing/photo):

very similar (4), slightly different (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), no field drawing/site photo (33)

Ecological features:

16. Extent of the bush (cf. drawing/photo):
very similar (4), slightly different (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), no field drawing/early photo (33)
17. Identified flora (cf. known flora at time):
all indigenous to location (3), not all indigenous (2), none indigenous (1), irrelevant for scene (66), none identified (99)
18. Identified fauna (cf. known fauna at time):
all indigenous to location (3), not all indigenous (2), none indigenous (1), none present (66), indeterminable (99)

Botanical features:

19. Foreground trees & shrubs (cf. drawing):
very similar (4), slightly different (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), no field drawing (33), etc
20. Deadwood present (cf. field drawing):
very similar (4), slightly different (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), no field drawing (33), none (66)

Zoological features:

21. Animals present (cf. field drawing):
very similar (4), slightly different (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), no field drawing (33), none (66)

Meteorological features:

22. Weather (cf. field drawing):
very similar (4), slightly different (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), no field drawing (33), etc
23. Cloud formations (cf. field drawing):
very similar (4), slightly different (3), significantly different (2), very different/introduced (1), no field drawing (33), etc
24. Cloud type identifiability (cf. cloud chart):
readily identifiable (3), possibly identifiable (2) not identifiable (1), no clouds in sky (33), irrelevant (66), indeterminable (99)

Ratings for the 19 pictorial fidelity questions (1-11, 14-16, 19-23):

Number of irrelevant items (66s): Number of assessed items:
Number of 4s and 3s: Number of 2s and 1s: Number of 33s, 66s and 99s:

Note: 33 indicates that no site photo, virtual view or field drawing is available; 66 signifies the feature is irrelevant for the scene; and 99 implies that the fidelity level cannot be determined as the subject matter lacks clarity in the painting, site photo or sketch.

Overall fidelity rating (1-20, 0 dp, r.u.):
= (sum of all 1 to 4 scores for questions 1-11, 14-17, 19-23 ÷ maximum possible score ignoring all 33, 66 and 99 responses) x 20

Appendix L: List of same-scene works

Table A.9. Listing of same-scene Antipodean artworks

Scene	1st version	2nd version	3rd version
Fern Tree Gully, Dandenongs	<i>Fern Tree Gully in the Dandenong Ranges</i> , 1857 (NGA)	<i>Ferntree Gully</i> , 1857 (present location unknown)	
Mount William from Mount Dryden	<i>Mt William from Mt Dryden, Victoria</i> , 1857 (AGWA)	<i>Mount William as seen from Mount Dryden in The Grampians, Victoria</i> , 1892 (present location unknown)	
Lake Gnotuk/ Basin Banks	<i>Basin Banks, Lake Gnotuk</i> , 1857 (AGB)	<i>The Basin Banks about 20 miles south of Mount Elephant</i> , 1857 (private collection)	<i>Lake Gnotuk, near Camperdown</i> , 1858 (Newcastle Art Gallery)
Cabbage Tree Forest	<i>Cabbage Tree Forest, American Creek, New South Wales</i> , 1860 (Wollongong Art Gallery)	<i>Cabbage Tree Forest, American Creek, New South Wales</i> , 1860 (SLNSW)	
Sydney Heads, from Vaucluse	<i>Sydney Heads</i> , 1860 (NGV)	<i>Sydney Heads</i> , 1865 (AGNSW)	<i>Sydney Heads</i> , 1866 (present location unknown)
Weatherboard Falls, Blue Mountains	<i>Weatherboard Creek Falls, Jamieson's Valley, New South Wales</i> , 1862 (NGV)	<i>The Weatherboard Falls, New South Wales</i> , 1863 (GAG)	
Mitta Mitta Valley, Bogong Ranges	<i>Spring in the valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges</i> , 1863 (NGV)	<i>Spring in the valley of the Mitta Mitta with the Bogong Ranges</i> , 1866 (NGV)	
Cathedral Mount, Acheron River	<i>Cathedral Mount, Valley of the Acheron River, Victoria</i> , 1863 (private collection)	<i>Valley of the Acheron River</i> , 1863 (present location unknown)	
Roses Gap, Grampians	<i>View in Rose's Gap, Northern Grampians, West Victoria</i> , 1870 (present location unknown)	<i>Rose's Gap at the northern end of the Grampians</i> , 1871 (present location unknown)	
Granite Rocks at Cape Woolamai	<i>View of the Granite Rocks at Cape Woolamai</i> , 1872 (present location unknown)	<i>View of the granite rocks at Cape Woolamai</i> , 1872 (NGA)	

Scene	1st version	2nd version	3rd version
Govetts Leap, Blue Mountains	<i>Govetts Leap and the Grose River Valley Blue Mountains NSW, 1873 (NGA)</i>	<i>Govetts Leap, the Blue Mountains, c. 1872–1873 (NLA)</i>	
Lake Wakatipu with Mt Earnslaw/Pikirakatahi	<i>Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, New Zealand, c. 1877 (present location unknown)</i>	<i>Wakatipu with Mt Earnslaw, 1878 (ICI collection, Auckland)</i>	<i>Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand, 1877–79 (AGA)</i>
Moonlight in an Australian Forest	<i>A Forest View in the Ranges from Dandenong to Gippsland, 1878 (present location unknown)</i>	<i>Moonlight in an Australian Forest, 1883 (present location unknown)</i>	
Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River	<i>A View of the Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River, Gippsland Alps, Victoria, 1864 (NGV)</i>	<i>View of the Snowy Bluff on the Wonnangatta River, 1864 (present location unknown)</i>	

Appendix M: Descriptive statistics for part two of the survey instrument

Quality of field drawing

Statistics

Quality of field drawing

N	Valid	82
	Missing	0
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Quality of field drawing

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	excellent quality	55	67.1	67.1	67.1
	good quality	22	26.8	26.8	93.9
	adequate quality	4	4.9	4.9	98.8
	poor quality	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total		82	100.0	100.0	

Usefulness of site photo(s)

Statistics

Usefulness of site photo(s)

N	Valid	77
	Missing	5
Median		3.00
Mode		4

Usefulness of site photo(s)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	highly useful	33	40.2	42.9	42.9
	mostly useful	24	29.3	31.2	74.0
	quite useful	13	15.9	16.9	90.9
	limited usefulness	7	8.5	9.1	100.0
Total		77	93.9	100.0	
Missing	no site photo	5	6.1		
Total		82	100.0		

Period of site photo(s)

Statistics

Period of site photo(s)

N	Valid	76
	Missing	6
Median		3.00
Mode		3

Period of site photo(s)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	contemporary only	57	69.5	75.0	75.0
	early & contemporary	17	20.7	22.4	97.4
	early only	2	2.4	2.6	100.0
	Total	76	92.7	100.0	
Missing	no site photos	6	7.3		
Total		82	100.0		

Field of view of site photo

Statistics

Field of view of site photo

N	Valid	77
	Missing	5
Median		3.00
Mode		4

Field of view of site photo

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	same as field drawing	37	45.1	48.1	48.1
	lesser field of view/partially obstructed	28	34.1	36.4	84.4
	very limited field of view/mostly obstructed	10	12.2	13.0	97.4
	fully obstructed	2	2.4	2.6	100.0
	Total	77	93.9	100.0	
Missing	no site photo/no field drawing	5	6.1		
Total		82	100.0		

Principal comparison

Statistics

Principal comparison

N	Valid	82
	Missing	0
Median		2.00
Mode		2

Principal comparison

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	with PeakFinder view only	8	9.8	9.8	9.8
	with site photo & PeakFinder view	54	65.9	65.9	75.6
	with site photo	20	24.4	24.4	100.0
	Total	82	100.0	100.0	

Height main summit

Statistics

Height main summit

N	Valid	75
	Missing	7
Median		3.00
Mode		4

Height main summit

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	not elevated	33	40.2	44.0	44.0
	slightly elevated	14	17.1	18.7	62.7
	significantly elevated	27	32.9	36.0	98.7
	strongly elevated	1	1.2	1.3	100.0
	Total	75	91.5	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	2	2.4		
	irrelevant	5	6.1		
	Total	7	8.5		
Total		82	100.0		

Horizon topography

Statistics

Horizon topography

N	Valid	75
	Missing	7
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Horizon topography

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	64	78.0	85.3	85.3
	mostly accurate	9	11.0	12.0	97.3
	significantly modified	1	1.2	1.3	98.7
	highly modified	1	1.2	1.3	100.0
	Total	75	91.5	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	2	2.4		
	irrelevant	1	1.2		
	no comparison possible	4	4.9		
	Total	7	8.5		
Total		82	100.0		

Midground topography

Statistics

Midground topography

N	Valid	75
	Missing	7
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Midground topography

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	67	81.7	89.3	89.3
	mostly accurate	8	9.8	10.7	100.0
	Total	75	91.5	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	1	1.2		
	irrelevant	2	2.4		
	no comparison possible	4	4.9		
	Total	7	8.5		
Total		82	100.0		

Foreground slopes

Statistics

Foreground slopes

N	Valid	61
	Missing	21
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Foreground slopes

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	54	65.9	88.5	88.5
	mostly accurate	7	8.5	11.5	100.0
	Total	61	74.4	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	2	2.4		
	irrelevant	9	11.0		
	no comparison possible	10	12.2		
	Total	21	25.6		
Total		82	100.0		

Foreground boulders

Statistics

Foreground boulders

N	Valid	18
	Missing	64
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Foreground boulders

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	14	17.1	77.8	77.8
	mostly accurate	4	4.9	22.2	100.0
	Total	18	22.0	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	2	2.4		
	irrelevant/absent/ignored as massive	47	57.3		
	no comparison possible	15	18.3		
	Total	64	78.0		
Total		82	100.0		

Major rock outcrop

Statistics

Massive rock outcrop

N	Valid	39
	Missing	43
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Major rock outcrop

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	32	39.0	82.1	82.1
	mostly accurate	4	4.9	10.3	92.3
	significantly modified	3	3.7	7.7	100.0
	Total	39	47.6	100.0	
Missing	irrelevant/absent	41	50.0		
	no comparison possible	2	2.4		
	Total	43	52.4		
Total		82	100.0		

Geological attribute of rock outcrop

Statistics

Geological attribute of rock outcrop

N	Valid	31
	Missing	51
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Geological attribute of rock outcrop

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	25	30.5	80.6	80.6
	mostly accurate	4	4.9	12.9	93.5
	highly modified	2	2.4	6.5	100.0
	Total	31	37.8	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	7	8.5		
	irrelevant/absent	39	47.6		
	no comparison possible	5	6.1		
	Total	51	62.2		
Total		82	100.0		

Drainage and shore lines

Statistics

Drainage and shore lines

N	Valid	48
	Missing	34
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Drainage and shore lines

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	38	46.3	79.2	79.2
	mostly accurate	10	12.2	20.8	100.0
	Total	48	58.5	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	7	8.5		
	irrelevant/absent	16	19.5		
	no comparison possible	11	13.4		
	Total	34	41.5		
Total		82	100.0		

Surviving large trees

Statistics

Surviving large trees

N	Valid	10
	Missing	72
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Surviving large trees

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	7	8.5	70.0	70.0
	mostly accurate	3	3.7	30.0	100.0
	Total	10	12.2	100.0	
Missing	irrelevant/none survive	68	82.9		
	no comparison possible	4	4.9		
	Total	72	87.8		
Total		82	100.0		

Surviving human structures

Statistics

Surviving human structures

N	Valid	19
	Missing	63
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Surviving human structures

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	18	22.0	94.7	94.7
	mostly accurate	1	1.2	5.3	100.0
	Total	19	23.2	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	1	1.2		
	irrelevant/none present	57	69.5		
	no comparison possible	5	6.1		
	Total	63	76.8		
Total		82	100.0		

Number of features scored

Statistics

Number of features scored

N	Valid	82
	Missing	0
Median		5.00
Mode		4

Number of features scored

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	8	6	7.3	7.3	7.3
	7	13	15.9	15.9	23.2
	6	14	17.1	17.1	40.2
	5	17	20.7	20.7	61.0
	4	22	26.8	26.8	87.8
	3	7	8.5	8.5	96.3
	2	2	2.4	2.4	98.8
	1	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
	Total	82	100.0	100.0	

Number of features scored

Statistics

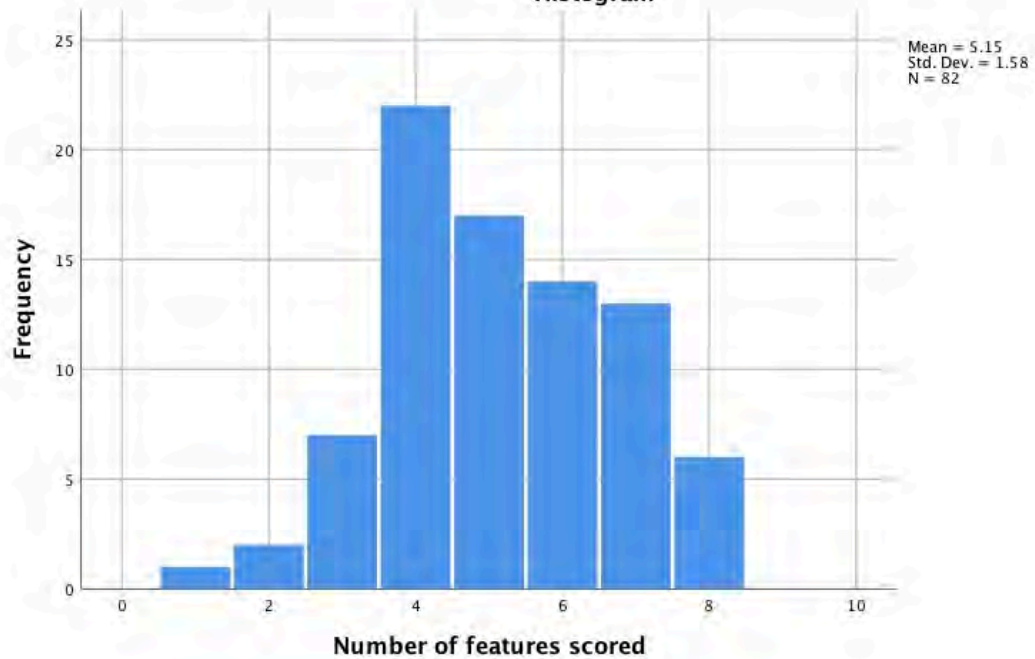
Number of features scored

N	Valid	82
	Missing	0
Mean		5.15
Median		5.00
Mode		4
Std. Deviation		1.580
Skewness		-.016
Std. Error of Skewness		.266
Kurtosis		-.477
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.526

Number of features scored

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	1	1.2	1.2	1.2
	2	2	2.4	2.4	3.7
	3	7	8.5	8.5	12.2
	4	22	26.8	26.8	39.0
	5	17	20.7	20.7	59.8
	6	14	17.1	17.1	76.8
	7	13	15.9	15.9	92.7
	8	6	7.3	7.3	100.0
Total		82	100.0	100.0	

Histogram



Nonparametric Correlations

Correlations

Spearman's rho	Height main summit	Height main summit	Horizon topography	Midground topography	Foreground slopes	Foreground boulders	Massive rock outcrop	Geological attribute of rock outcrop	Drainage and shore lines
Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.146							
Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.216							
N	75	74	71	71	56	16	37	29	43
Correlation Coefficient	.146	1.000							
Sig. (2-tailed)	.216	.	.281		.905		.435		.838
N	74	75	71	71	55	16	36	28	42
Correlation Coefficient	-.111	-.130	1.000						
Sig. (2-tailed)	.357	.281	.	.479					.017
N	71	71	75	57	35	15	35	27	45
Correlation Coefficient	.084	-.016	.096	1.000					
Sig. (2-tailed)	.540	.905	.479	.	.255		.867		.417
N	56	55	57	61	16	31	25	37	37
Correlation Coefficient	.327	.655**	-.237	.303	1.000				
Sig. (2-tailed)	.216	.006	.396	.255	.	.700			.147
N	16	16	15	16	18	14	13	13	13
Correlation Coefficient	-.217	-.134	.012	.031	-.113	1.000			
Sig. (2-tailed)	.196	.435	.944	.867	.700	.	.000		.443
N	37	36	35	31	14	39	29	25	25
Correlation Coefficient	-.038	.219	-.042	-.243	-.123	.650**	1.000		
Sig. (2-tailed)	.846	.263	.835	.241	.689	.000	.	.378	
N	29	28	27	25	13	29	31	21	21
Correlation Coefficient	-.034	-.033	.354	-.138	.426	-.161	1.000		
Sig. (2-tailed)	.831	.838	.017	.417	.147	.443	.378		.
N	43	42	45	37	13	25	21	48	48

***. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

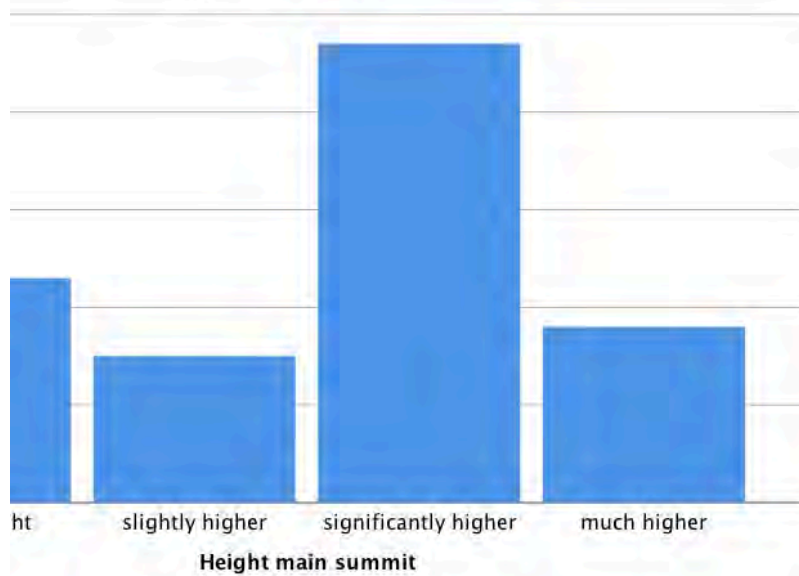
Appendix N: Descriptive statistics for part three of the survey instrument

Height main summit

Height main summit

Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
23	19.0	22.3	22.3
15	12.4	14.6	36.9
47	38.8	45.6	82.5
18	14.9	17.5	100.0
103	85.1	100.0	
4	3.3		
11	9.1		
3	2.5		
18	14.9		
121	100.0		

Height main summit



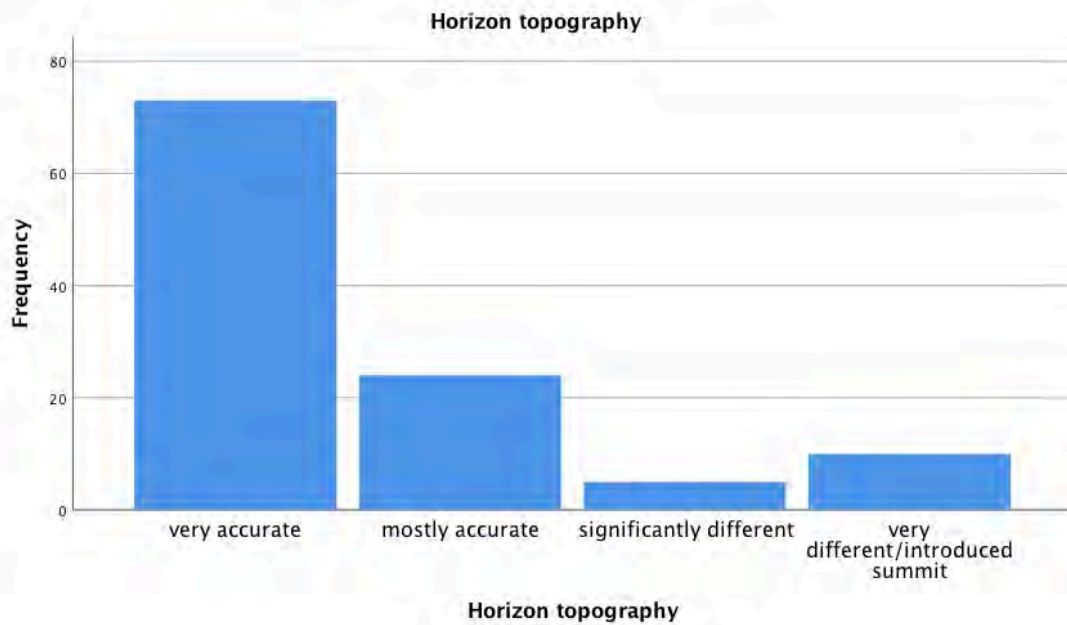
Horizon topography

Statistics

Horizon topography		
N	Valid	112
	Missing	9
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Horizon topography

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	73	60.3	65.2	65.2
	mostly accurate	24	19.8	21.4	86.6
	significantly different	5	4.1	4.5	91.1
	very different/introduced summit	10	8.3	8.9	100.0
	Total	112	92.6	100.0	
Missing	irrelevant	6	5.0		
	no site photo, field drawing or PeakFinder view	3	2.5		
	Total	9	7.4		
Total		121	100.0		



Midground topography

Statistics

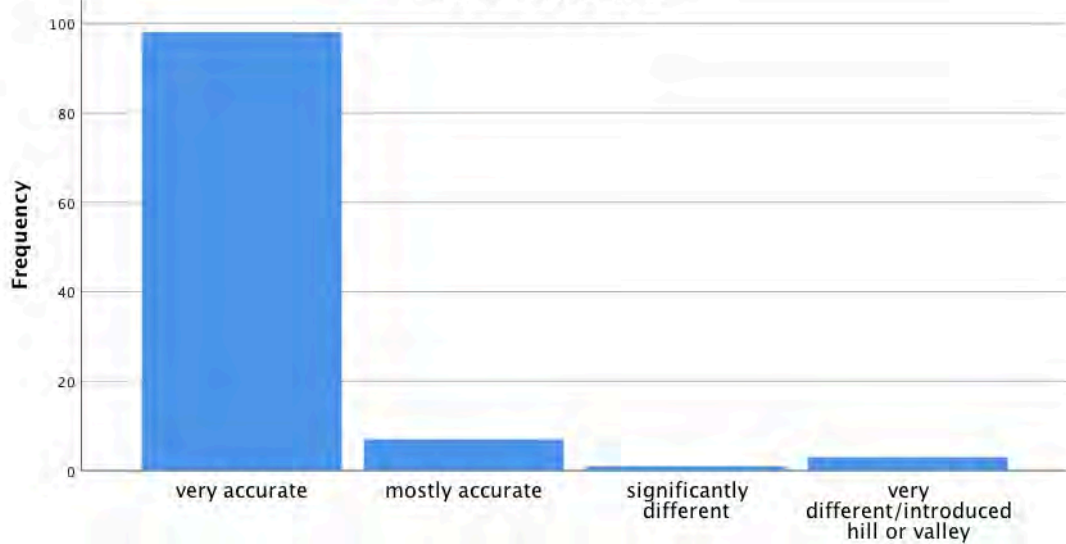
Midground topography

N	Valid	109
	Missing	12
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Midground topography

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	98	81.0	89.9	89.9
	mostly accurate	7	5.8	6.4	96.3
	significantly different	1	.8	.9	97.2
	very different/introduced hill or valley	3	2.5	2.8	100.0
	Total	109	90.1	100.0	
Missing	irrelevant	6	5.0		
	no site photo, field drawing or PeakFinder view	6	5.0		
	Total	12	9.9		
Total		121	100.0		

Midground topography



Midground topography

Foreground slopes

Statistics

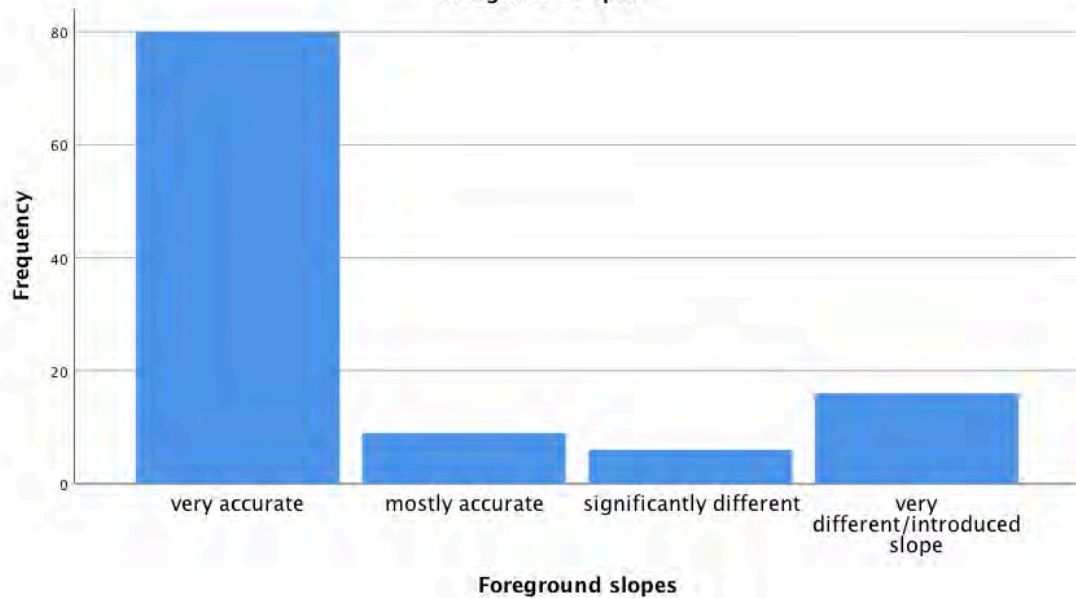
Foreground slopes

N	Valid	111
	Missing	10
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Foreground slopes

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very accurate	80	66.1	72.1	72.1
	mostly accurate	9	7.4	8.1	80.2
	significantly different	6	5.0	5.4	85.6
	very different/introduced slope	16	13.2	14.4	100.0
	Total	111	91.7	100.0	
Missing	irrelevant	2	1.7		
	no site photo, field drawing or PeakFinder view	8	6.6		
	Total	10	8.3		
Total		121	100.0		

Foreground slopes



Size of staffage

Statistics

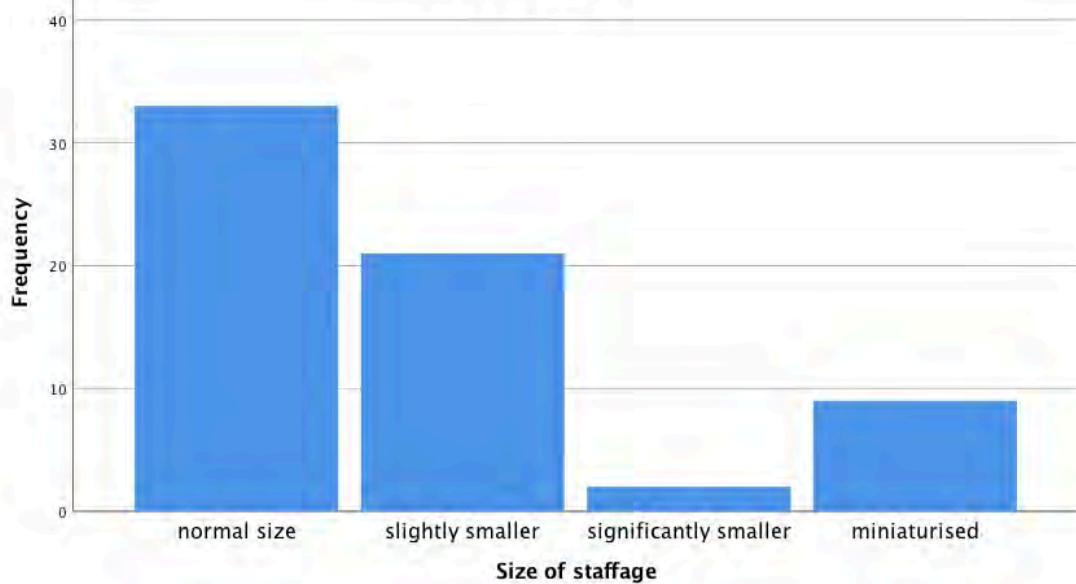
Size of staffage

N	Valid	65
	Missing	56
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Size of staffage

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	normal size	33	27.3	50.8	50.8
	slightly smaller	21	17.4	32.3	83.1
	significantly smaller	2	1.7	3.1	86.2
	miniaturised	9	7.4	13.8	100.0
	Total	65	53.7	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	52	43.0		
	irrelevant	4	3.3		
	Total	56	46.3		
Total		121	100.0		

Size of staffage



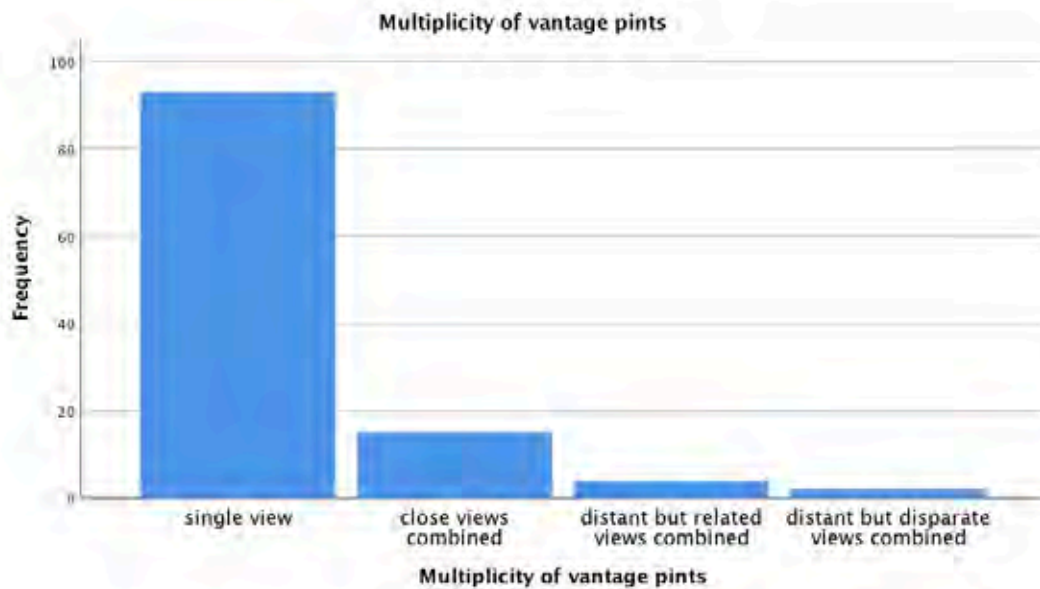
Multiplicity of vantage pints

Statistics

Multiplicity of vantage pints		
N	Valid	114
	Missing	7
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Multiplicity of vantage pints

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	single view	93	76.9	81.6	81.6
	close views combined	15	12.4	13.2	94.7
	distant but related views combined	4	3.3	3.5	98.2
	distant but disparate views combined	2	1.7	1.8	100.0
	Total	114	94.2	100.0	
Missing	Indeterminable	7	5.8		
Total		121	100.0		



Internal framing

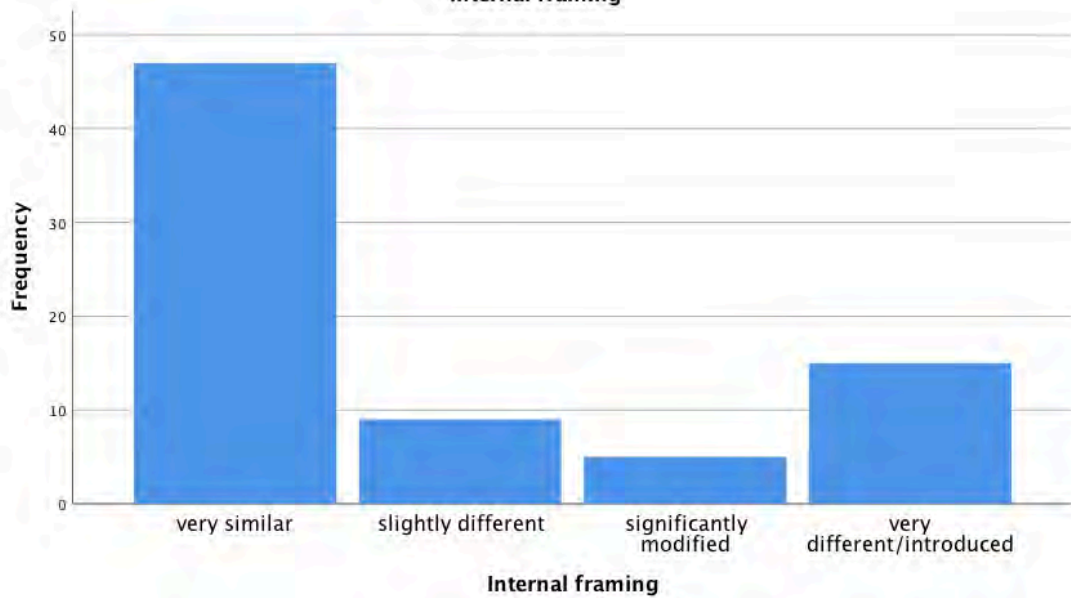
Statistics

Internal framing		
N	Valid	76
	Missing	45
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Internal framing

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	47	38.8	61.8	61.8
	slightly different	9	7.4	11.8	73.7
	significantly modified	5	4.1	6.6	80.3
	very different/introduced	15	12.4	19.7	100.0
	Total	76	62.8	100.0	
Missing	no internal framing	31	25.6		
	no field drawing	14	11.6		
	Total	45	37.2		
Total		121	100.0		

Internal framing



Solar illumination

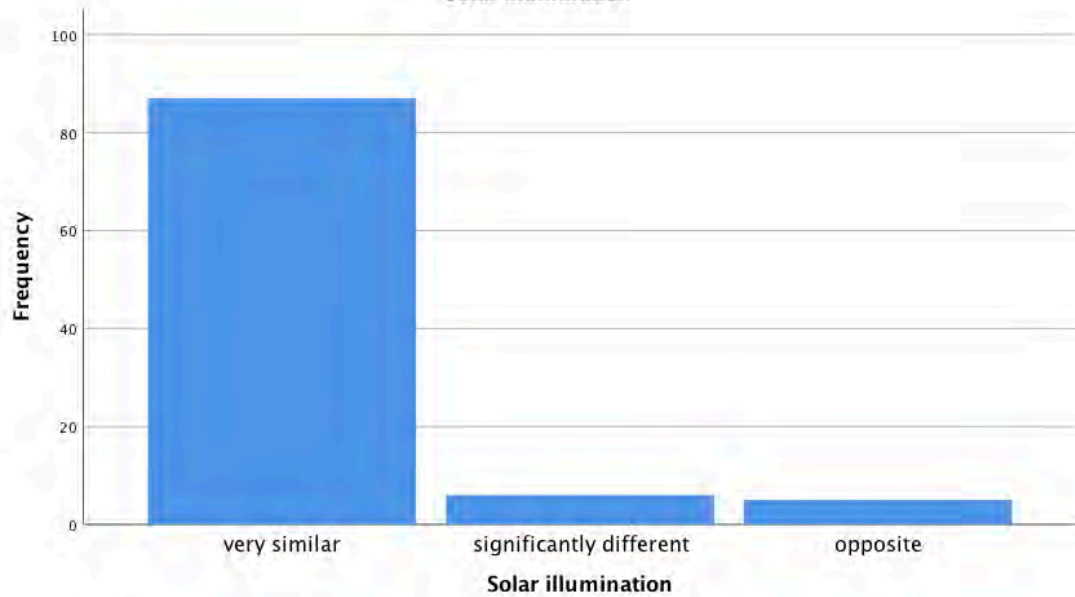
Statistics

Solar illumination		
N	Valid	98
	Missing	23
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Solar illumination

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	87	71.9	88.8	88.8
	significantly different	6	5.0	6.1	94.9
	opposite	5	4.1	5.1	100.0
	Total	98	81.0	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	9	7.4		
	irrelevant	3	2.5		
	33	11	9.1		
	Total	23	19.0		
Total		121	100.0		

Solar illumination



Sunset bearing

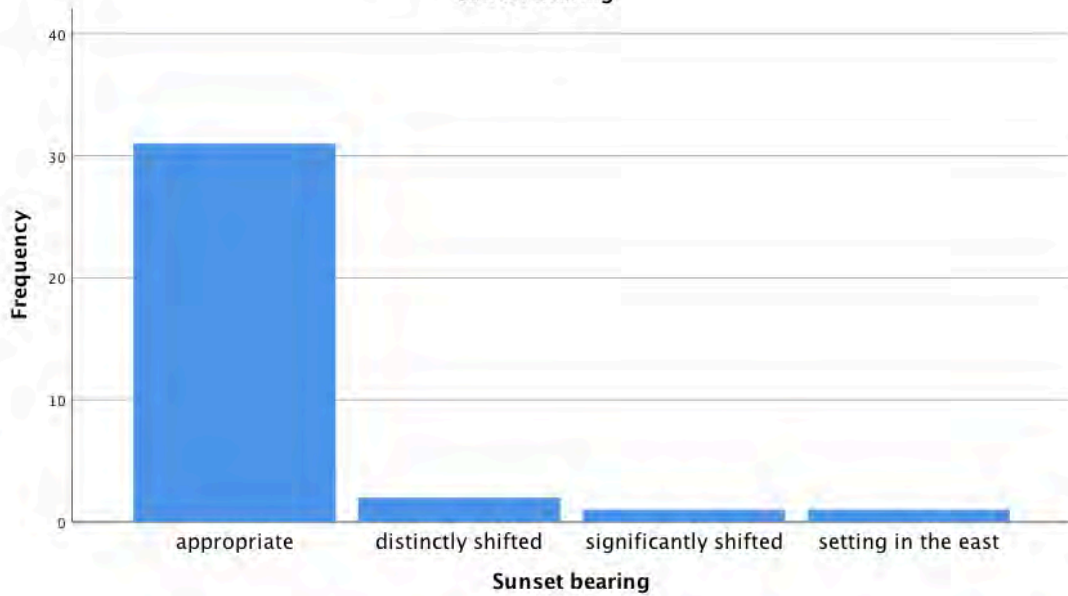
Statistics

Sunset bearing		
N	Valid	35
	Missing	86
	Median	4.00
	Mode	4

Sunset bearing

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	appropriate	31	25.6	88.6	88.6
	distinctly shifted	2	1.7	5.7	94.3
	significantly shifted	1	.8	2.9	97.1
	setting in the east	1	.8	2.9	100.0
	Total	35	28.9	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	3	2.5		
	irrelevant	83	68.6		
	Total	86	71.1		
Total		121	100.0		

Sunset bearing



Foreground rocks

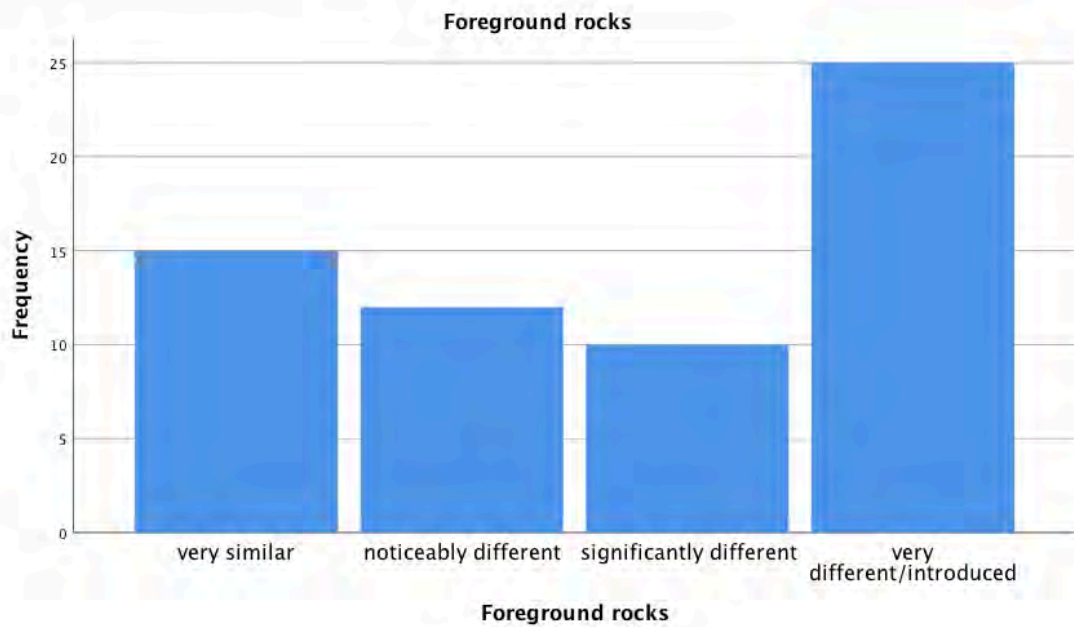
Statistics

Foreground rocks

N	Valid	62
	Missing	59
Median		2.00
Mode		1

Foreground rocks

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	15	12.4	24.2	24.2
	noticeably different	12	9.9	19.4	43.5
	significantly different	10	8.3	16.1	59.7
	very different/introduced	25	20.7	40.3	100.0
	Total	62	51.2	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	6	5.0		
	irrelevant/ignored	22	18.2		
	no field drawing or site photo	31	25.6		
	Total	59	48.8		
Total		121	100.0		



Major rock outcrop

Statistics

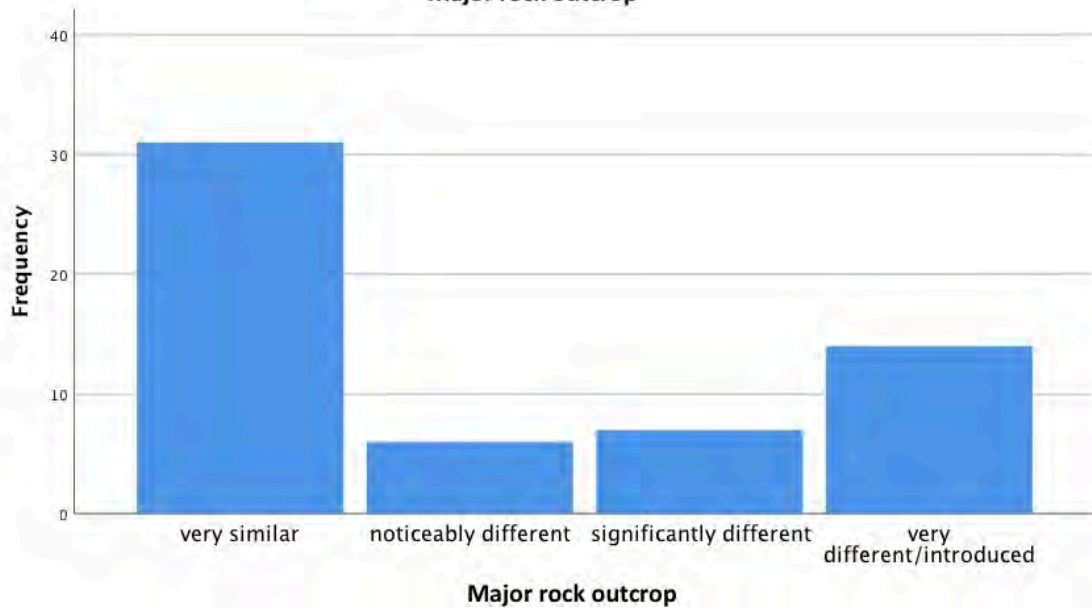
Massive rock outcrop

N	Valid	58
	Missing	63
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Major rock outcrop

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	31	25.6	53.4	53.4
	noticeably different	6	5.0	10.3	63.8
	significantly different	7	5.8	12.1	75.9
	very different/introduced	14	11.6	24.1	100.0
	Total	58	47.9	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	3	2.5		
	irrelevant	4	3.3		
	none visible/close	56	46.3		
	Total	63	52.1		
Total		121	100.0		

Major rock outcrop



Identified rock class

Statistics

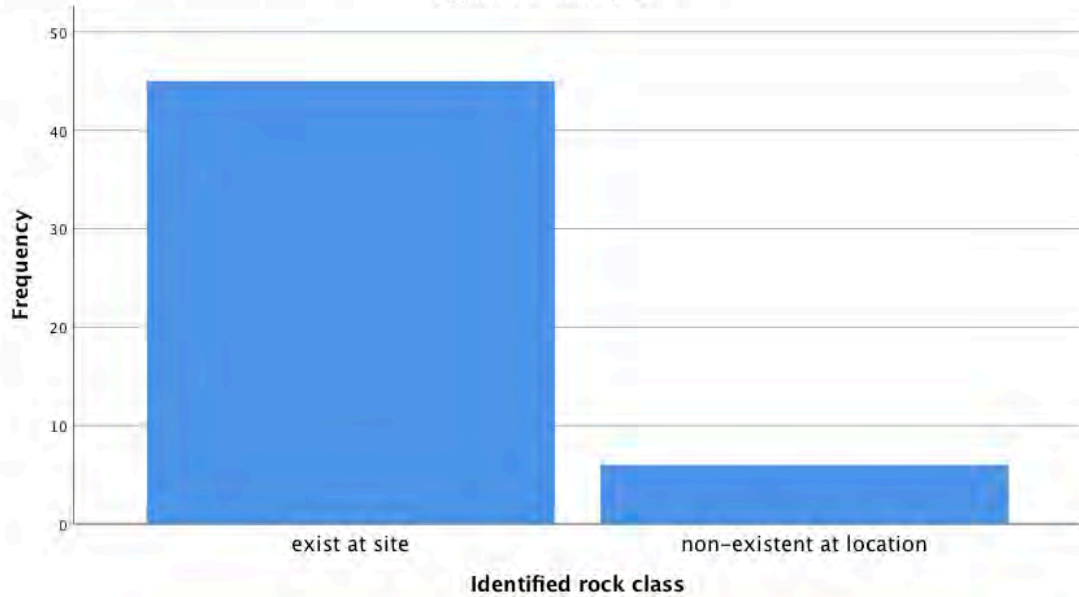
Identified rock class

N	Valid	51
	Missing	70
Median		3.00
Mode		3

Identified rock class

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	exist at site	45	37.2	88.2	88.2
	non-existent at location	6	5.0	11.8	100.0
	Total	51	42.1	100.0	
Missing	unidentified	43	35.5		
	irrelevant as none visible	27	22.3		
	Total	70	57.9		
Total		121	100.0		

Identified rock class



Identified rock type

Statistics

Identified rock type

N	Valid	9
	Missing	112
Median		3.00
Mode		3

Identified rock type

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	exist at site	9	7.4	100.0	100.0
Missing	unidentified	82	67.8		
	irrelevant as non-hostile	30	24.8		
	Total	112	92.6		
Total		121	100.0		

Identified rock type



Types of landforms

Statistics

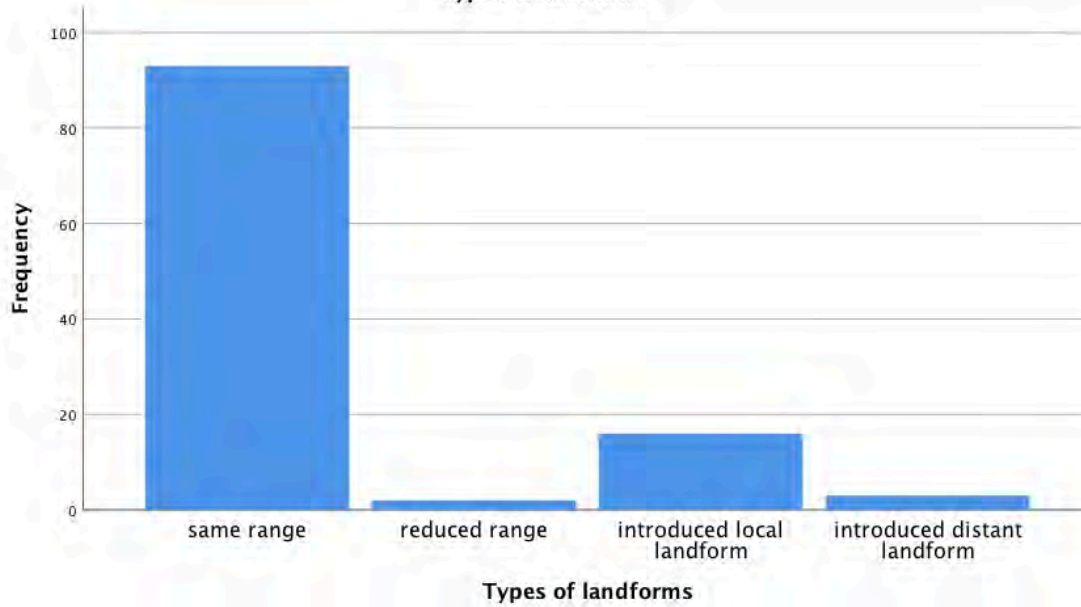
Types of landforms

N	Valid	114
	Missing	7
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Types of landforms

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	same range	93	76.9	81.6	81.6
	reduced range	2	1.7	1.8	83.3
	introduced local landform	16	13.2	14.0	97.4
	introduced distant landform	3	2.5	2.6	100.0
	Total	114	94.2	100.0	
Missing	irrelevant	2	1.7		
	nothing to compare with	5	4.1		
	Total	7	5.8		
Total		121	100.0		

Types of landforms



Water bodies

Statistics

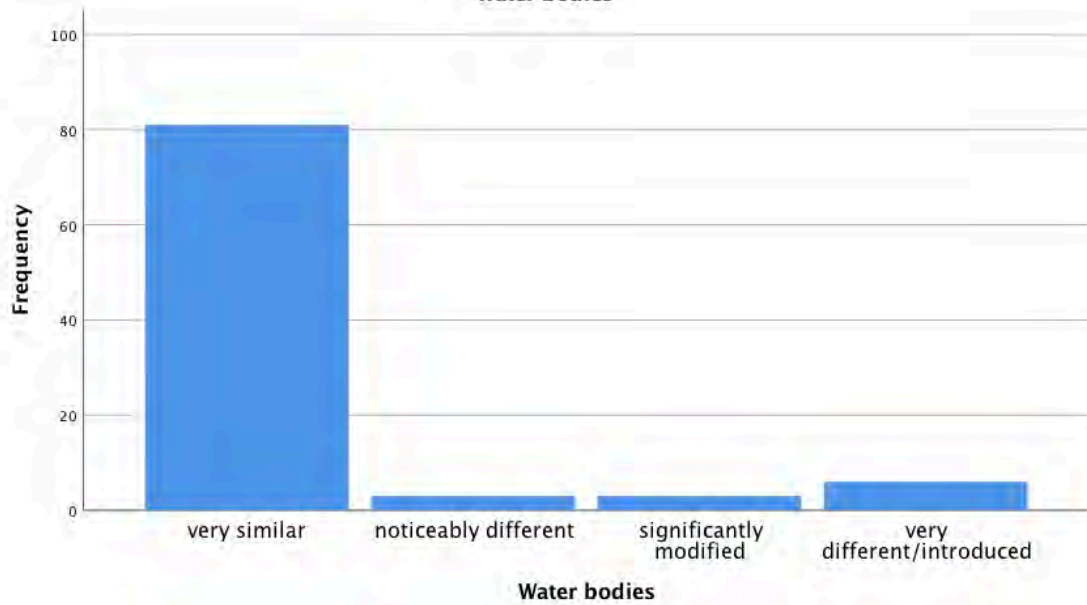
Water bodies

N	Valid	93
	Missing	28
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Water bodies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	81	66.9	87.1	87.1
	noticeably different	3	2.5	3.2	90.3
	significantly modified	3	2.5	3.2	93.5
	very different/introduced	6	5.0	6.5	100.0
	Total	93	76.9	100.0	
Missing	irrelevant	19	15.7		
	nothing to compare with	9	7.4		
	Total	28	23.1		
Total		121	100.0		

Water bodies



Extent of bush

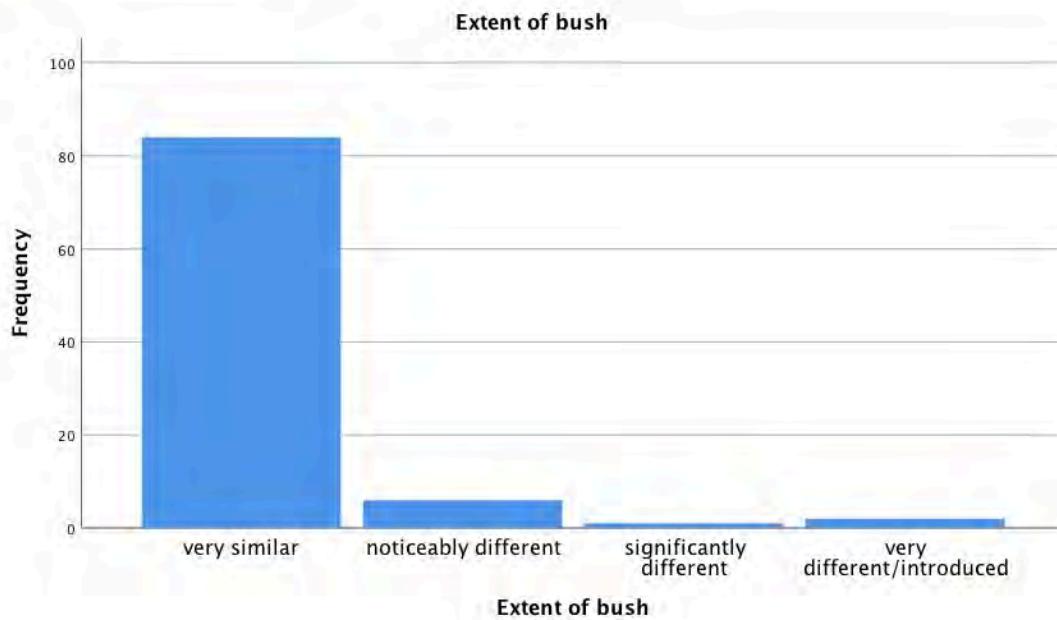
Statistics

Extent of bush

N	Valid	93
	Missing	28
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Extent of bush

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	84	69.4	90.3	90.3
	noticeably different	6	5.0	6.5	96.8
	significantly different	1	.8	1.1	97.8
	very different/introduced	2	1.7	2.2	100.0
	Total	93	76.9	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	4	3.3		
	irrelevant	15	12.4		
	no filed drawing or early site photo	9	7.4		
	Total	28	23.1		
Total		121	100.0		



Identified flora

Statistics

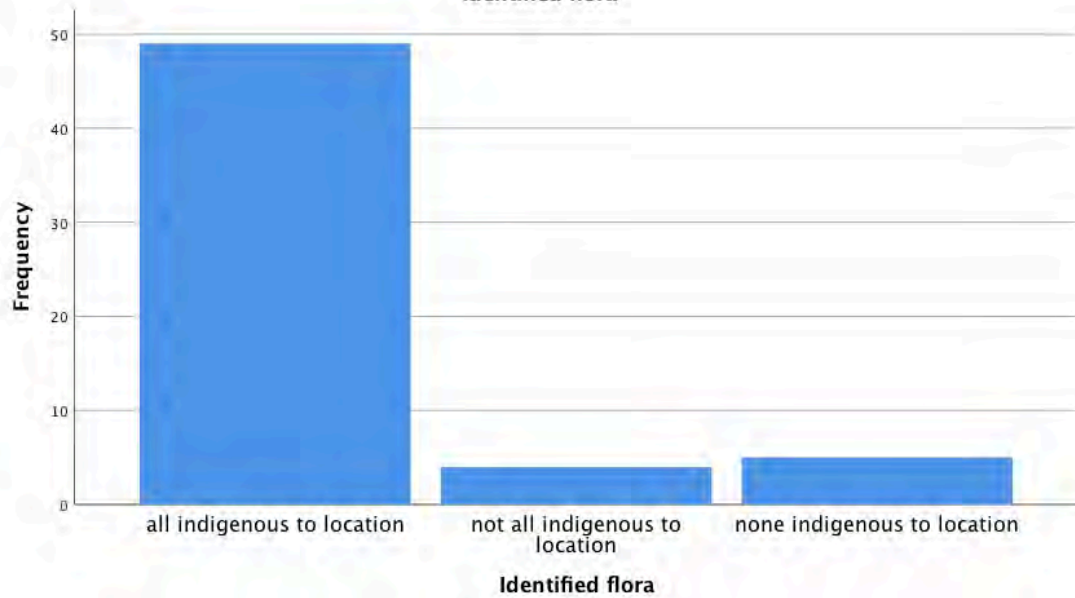
Identified flora

N	Valid	58
	Missing	63
Median		3.00
Mode		3

Identified flora

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	all indigenous to location	49	40.5	84.5	84.5
	not all indigenous to location	4	3.3	6.9	91.4
	none indigenous to location	5	4.1	8.6	100.0
	Total	58	47.9	100.0	
Missing	none identified	57	47.1		
	irrelevant for scene	6	5.0		
	Total	63	52.1		
Total		121	100.0		

Identified flora



Identified fauna

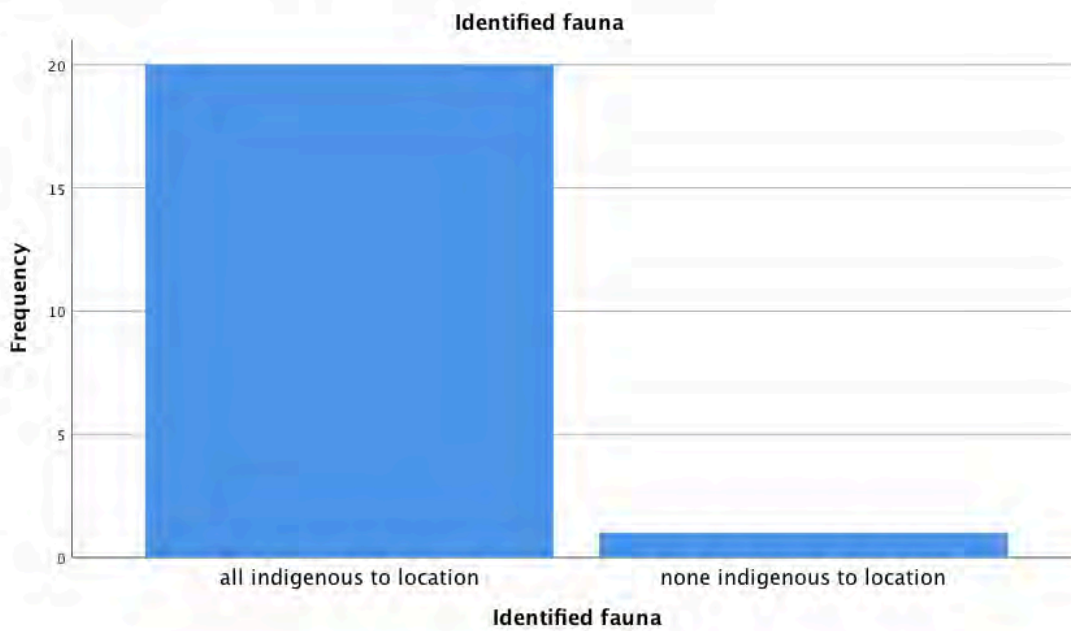
Statistics

Identified fauna

N	Valid	21
	Missing	100
Median		3.00
Mode		3

Identified fauna

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	all indigenous to location	20	16.5	95.2	95.2
	none indigenous to location	1	.8	4.8	100.0
	Total	21	17.4	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	36	29.8		
	none present	64	52.9		
	Total	100	82.6		
Total		121	100.0		



Foreground trees and shrubs

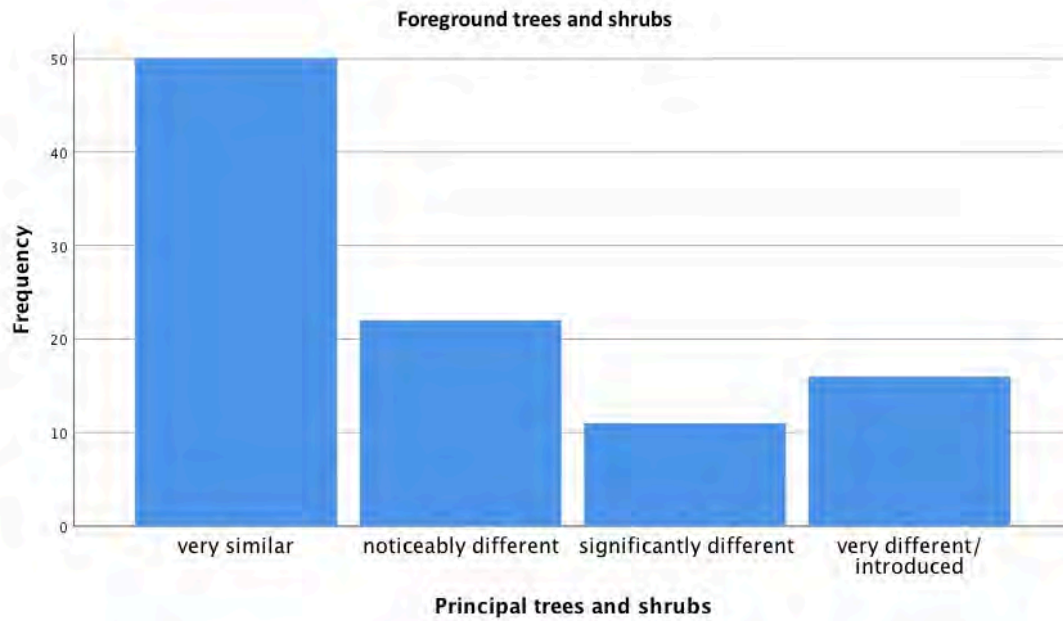
Statistics

Principal trees and shrubs

N	Valid	99
	Missing	22
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Foreground trees and shrubs

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	50	41.3	50.5	50.5
	noticeably different	22	18.2	22.2	72.7
	significantly different	11	9.1	11.1	83.8
	very different/ introduced	16	13.2	16.2	100.0
	Total	99	81.8	100.0	
Missing	irrelevant	9	7.4		
	no field drawing	13	10.7		
	Total	22	18.2		
Total		121	100.0		



Dead wood present

Statistics

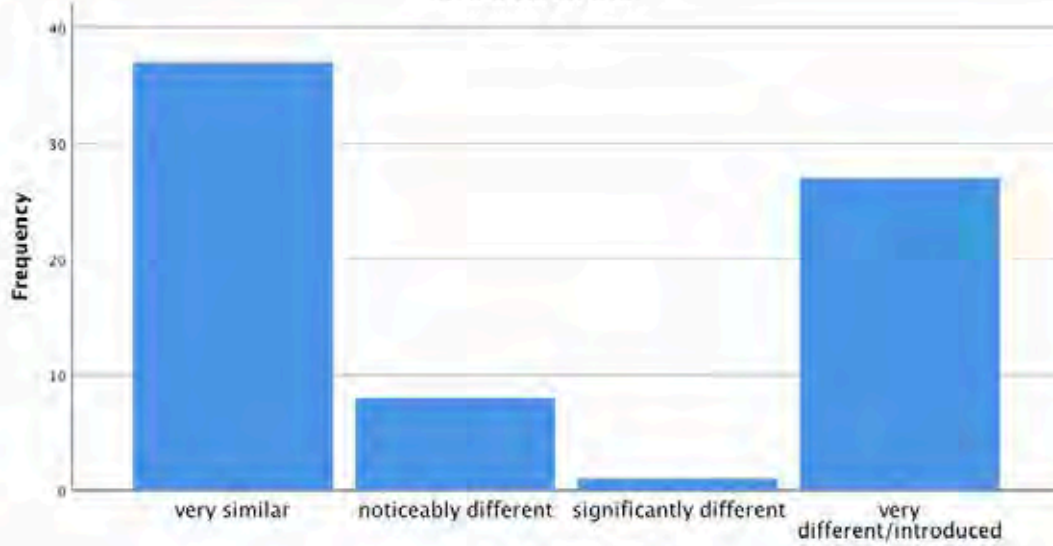
Dead wood present

N	Valid	73
	Missing	48
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Dead wood present

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	37	30.6	50.7	50.7
	noticeably different	8	6.6	11.0	61.6
	significantly different	1	.8	1.4	63.0
	very different/introduced	27	22.3	37.0	100.0
Total		73	60.3	100.0	
Missing	undeterminable	2	1.7		
	none present	32	26.4		
	no field drawing	14	11.6		
	Total	48	39.7		
Total		121	100.0		

Dead wood present



Dead wood present

Animal life present

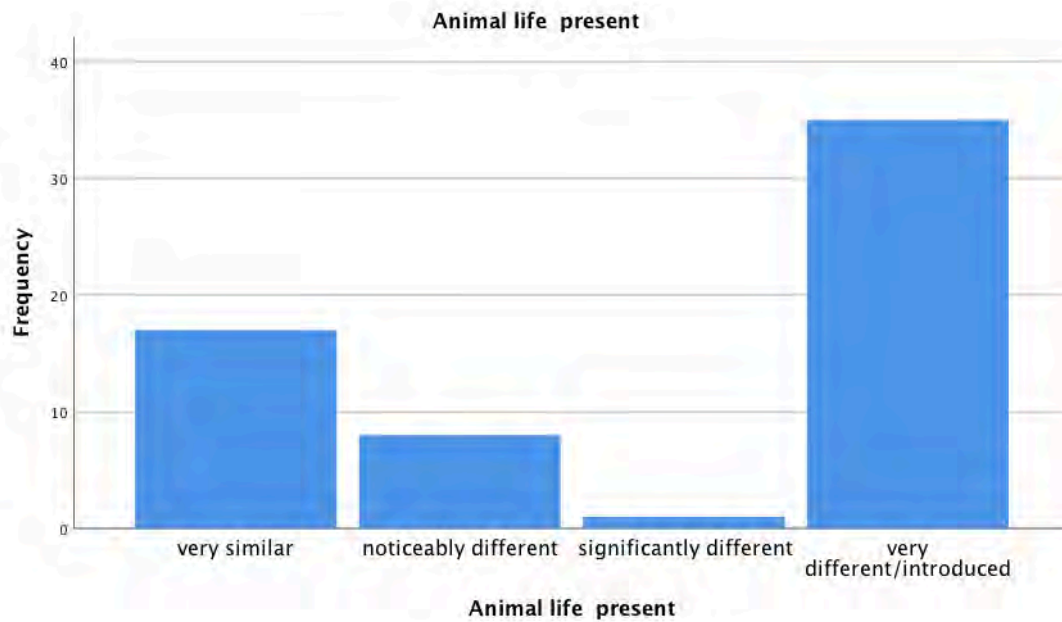
Statistics

Animal life present

N	Valid	61
	Missing	60
Median		1.00
Mode		1

Animal life present

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	17	14.0	27.9	27.9
	noticeably different	8	6.6	13.1	41.0
	significantly different	1	.8	1.6	42.6
	very different/introduced	35	28.9	57.4	100.0
	Total	61	50.4	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	2	1.7		
	none present	45	37.2		
	no field drawing	13	10.7		
	Total	60	49.6		
Total		121	100.0		

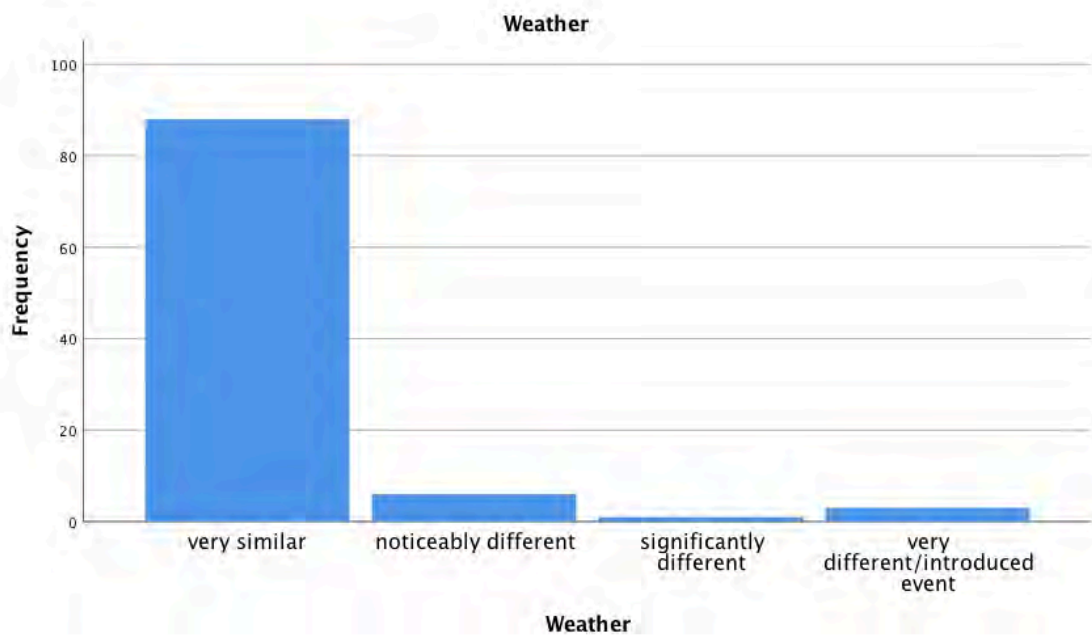


Weather

Statistics

Weather		
N	Valid	98
	Missing	23
Median		4.00
Mode		4

Weather					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	88	72.7	89.8	89.8
	noticeably different	6	5.0	6.1	95.9
	significantly different	1	.8	1.0	96.9
	very different/introduced event	3	2.5	3.1	100.0
	Total	98	81.0	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	9	7.4		
	no field drawing	14	11.6		
	Total	23	19.0		
Total		121	100.0		



Cloud formations

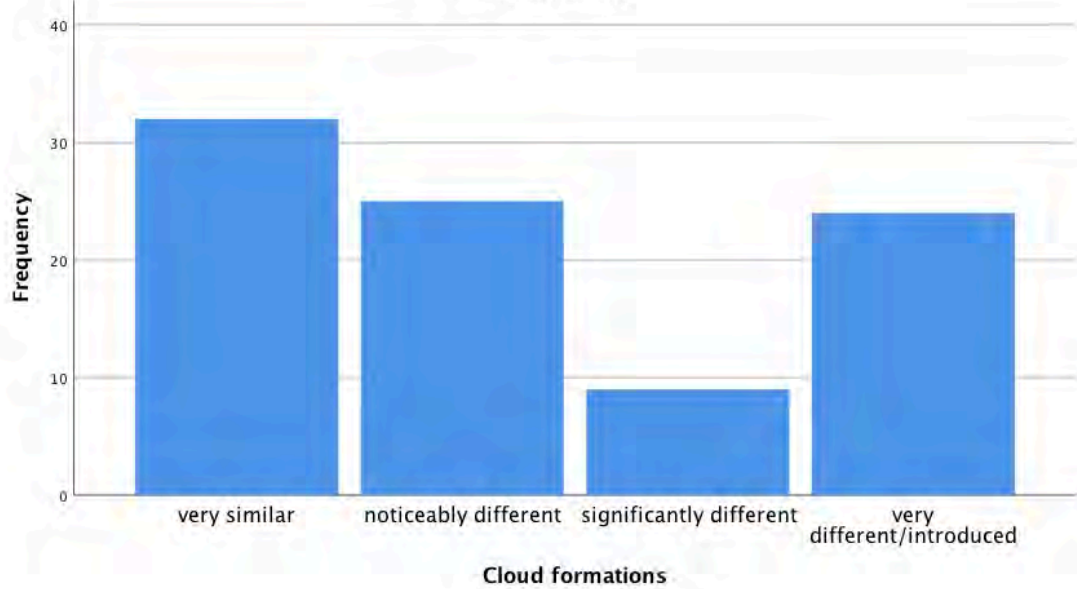
Statistics

Cloud formations		
N	Valid	90
	Missing	31
Median		3.00
Mode		4

Cloud formations

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	very similar	32	26.4	35.6	35.6
	noticeably different	25	20.7	27.8	63.3
	significantly different	9	7.4	10.0	73.3
	very different/introduced	24	19.8	26.7	100.0
	Total	90	74.4	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	16	13.2		
	irrelevant	1	.8		
	no field drawing	14	11.6		
	Total	31	25.6		
Total		121	100.0		

Cloud formations



Cloud types

Statistics

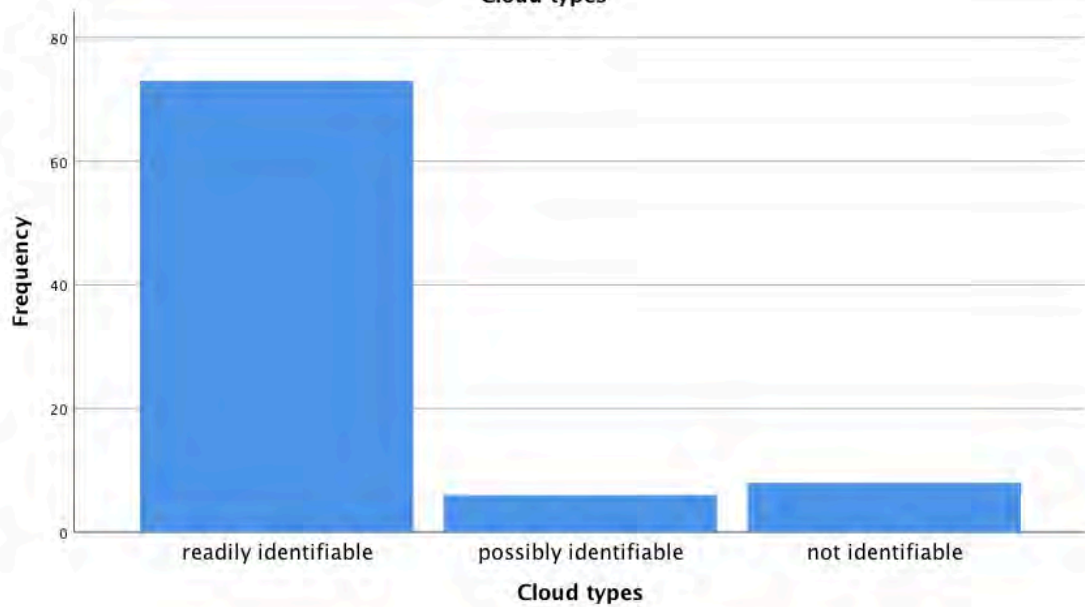
Cloud types

N	Valid	87
	Missing	34
Median	3.00	
Mode	3	

Cloud types

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	readily identifiable	73	60.3	83.9	83.9
	possibly identifiable	6	5.0	6.9	90.8
	not identifiable	8	6.6	9.2	100.0
	Total	87	71.9	100.0	
Missing	indeterminable	33	27.3		
	irrelevant for scene	1	.8		
	Total	34	28.1		
Total		121	100.0		

Cloud types



Number of irrelevant items

Statistics

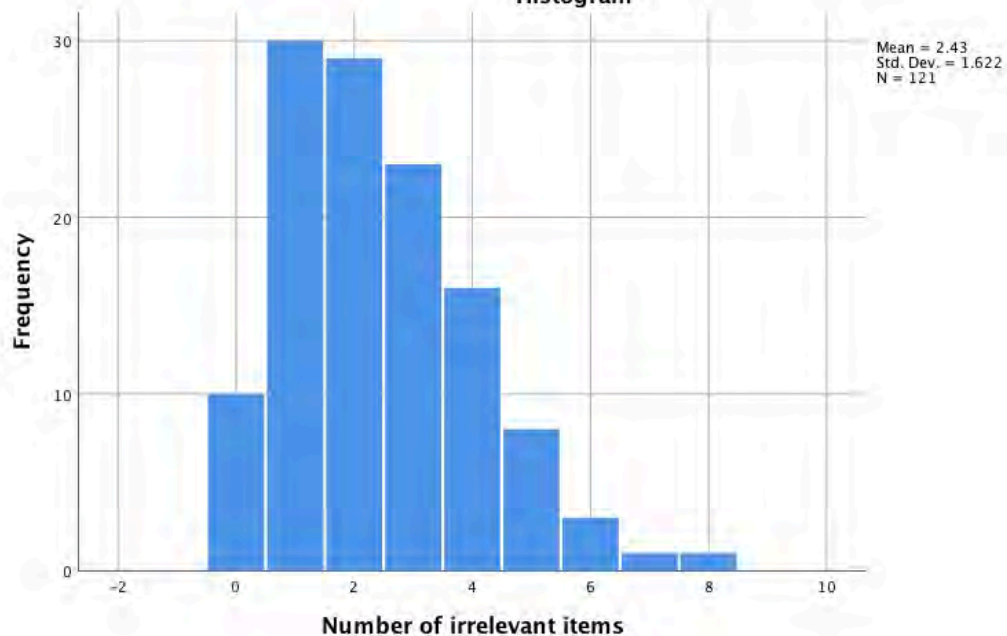
Number of irrelevant items

N	Valid	121
	Missing	0
Mean		2.43
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		1.622
Skewness		.742
Std. Error of Skewness		.220
Kurtosis		.482
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.437

Number of irrelevant items

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	10	8.3	8.3	8.3
	1	30	24.8	24.8	33.1
	2	29	24.0	24.0	57.0
	3	23	19.0	19.0	76.0
	4	16	13.2	13.2	89.3
	5	8	6.6	6.6	95.9
	6	3	2.5	2.5	98.3
	7	1	.8	.8	99.2
	8	1	.8	.8	100.0
Total		121	100.0	100.0	

Histogram



Number of assessed items

Statistics

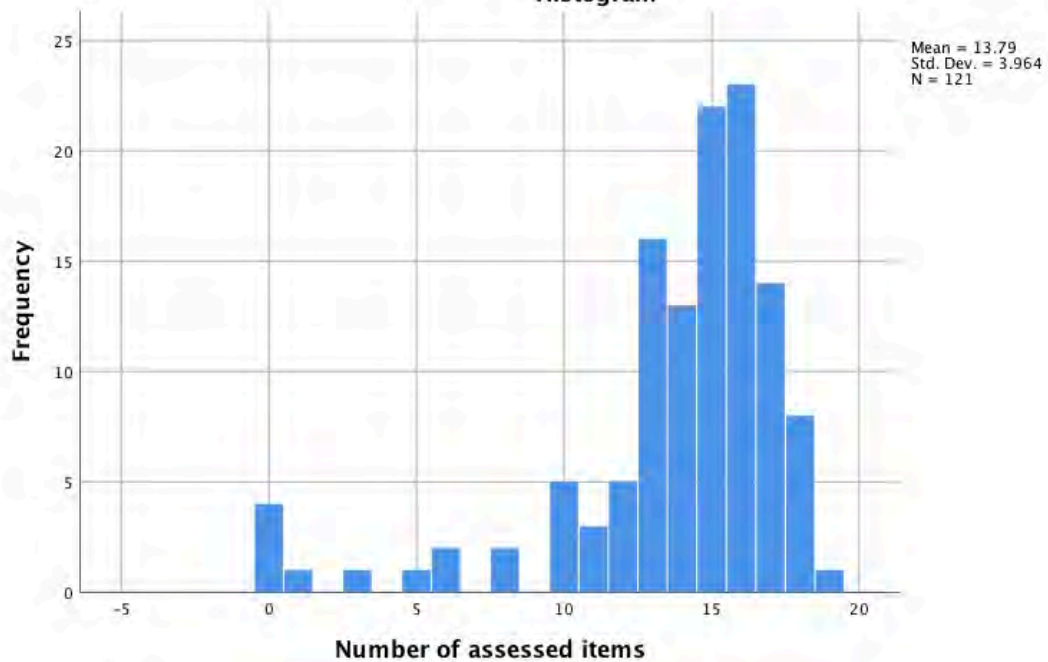
Number of assessed items

N	Valid	121
	Missing	0
Mean		13.79
Mode		16
Std. Deviation		3.964
Skewness		-2.007
Std. Error of Skewness		.220
Kurtosis		4.279
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.437

Number of assessed items

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	0	4	3.3	3.3	3.3	
	1	1	.8	.8	4.1	
	3	1	.8	.8	5.0	
	5	1	.8	.8	5.8	
	6	2	1.7	1.7	7.4	
	8	2	1.7	1.7	9.1	
	10	5	4.1	4.1	13.2	
	11	3	2.5	2.5	15.7	
	12	5	4.1	4.1	19.8	
	13	16	13.2	13.2	33.1	
	14	13	10.7	10.7	43.8	
	15	22	18.2	18.2	62.0	
	16	23	19.0	19.0	81.0	
	17	14	11.6	11.6	92.6	
	18	8	6.6	6.6	99.2	
	19	1	.8	.8	100.0	
	Total		121	100.0	100.0	

Histogram



Number of 4s and 3s

Statistics

Number of 4s and 3s

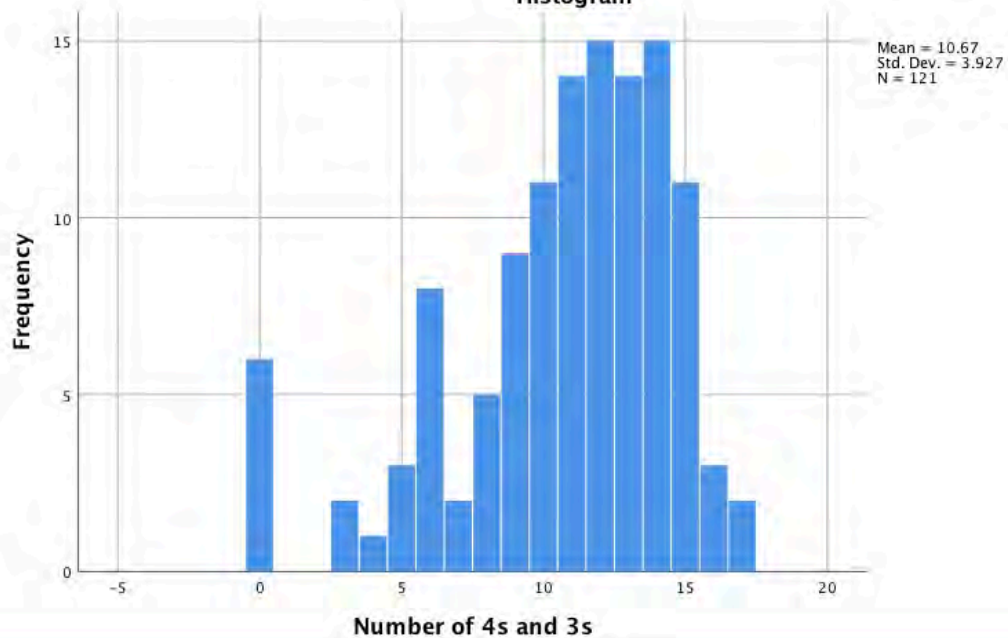
N	Valid	121
	Missing	0
Mean		10.67
Mode		12 ^a
Std. Deviation		3.927
Skewness		-1.044
Std. Error of Skewness		.220
Kurtosis		.829
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.437

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

Number of 4s and 3s

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	6	5.0	5.0	5.0
3	2	1.7	1.7	6.6
4	1	.8	.8	7.4
5	3	2.5	2.5	9.9
6	8	6.6	6.6	16.5
7	2	1.7	1.7	18.2
8	5	4.1	4.1	22.3
9	9	7.4	7.4	29.8
10	11	9.1	9.1	38.8
11	14	11.6	11.6	50.4
12	15	12.4	12.4	62.8
13	14	11.6	11.6	74.4
14	15	12.4	12.4	86.8
15	11	9.1	9.1	95.9
16	3	2.5	2.5	98.3
17	2	1.7	1.7	100.0
Total	121	100.0	100.0	

Histogram



Number of 2s and 1s

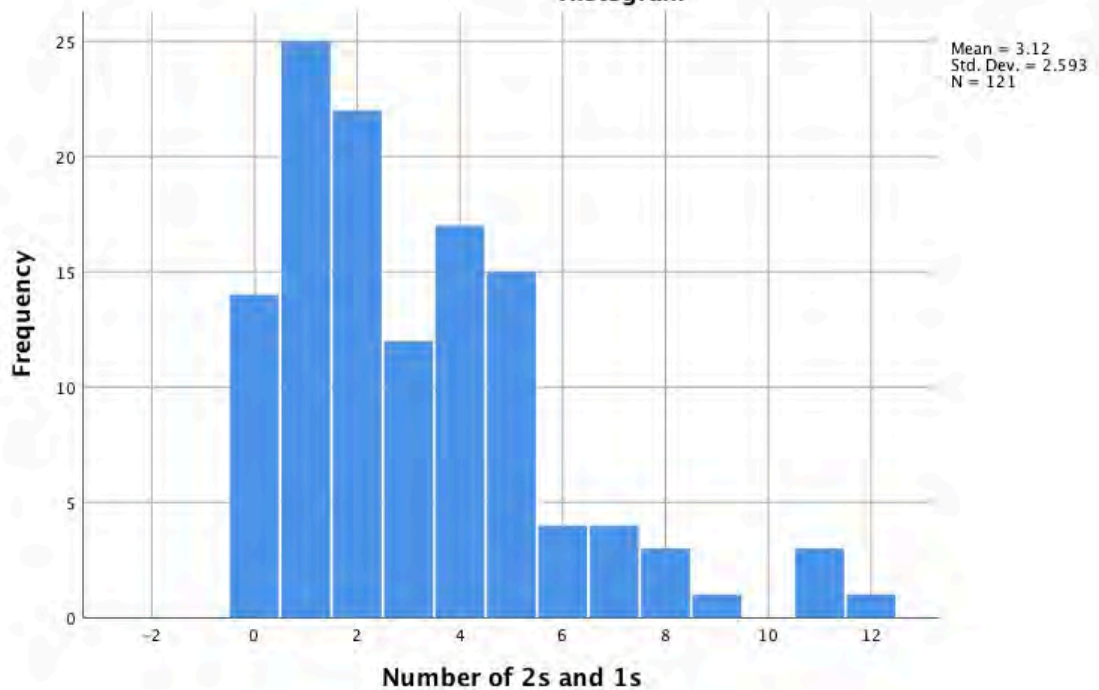
Statistics

Number of 2s and 1s		
N	Valid	121
	Missing	0
Mean		3.12
Mode		1
Std. Deviation		2.593
Skewness		1.193
Std. Error of Skewness		.220
Kurtosis		1.549
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.437

Number of 2s and 1s

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	14	11.6	11.6	11.6
	1	25	20.7	20.7	32.2
	2	22	18.2	18.2	50.4
	3	12	9.9	9.9	60.3
	4	17	14.0	14.0	74.4
	5	15	12.4	12.4	86.8
	6	4	3.3	3.3	90.1
	7	4	3.3	3.3	93.4
	8	3	2.5	2.5	95.9
	9	1	.8	.8	96.7
	11	3	2.5	2.5	99.2
	12	1	.8	.8	100.0
Total		121	100.0	100.0	

Histogram



Number of 33s, 66s and 99s

Statistics

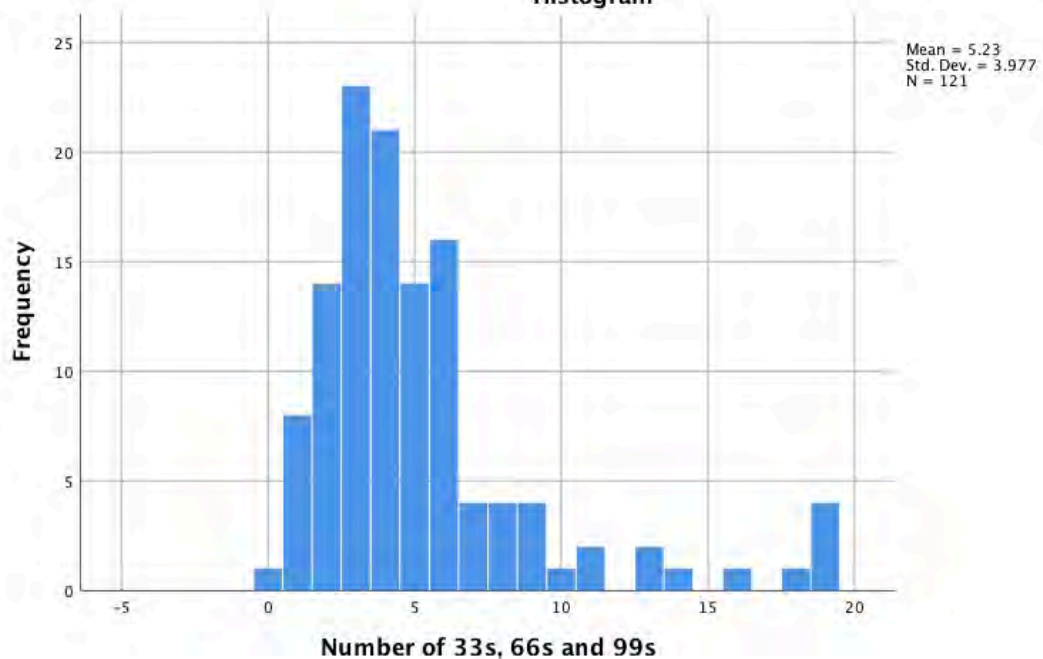
Number of 33s, 66s and 99s

N	Valid	121
	Missing	0
Mean		5.23
Mode		3
Std. Deviation		3.977
Skewness		1.979
Std. Error of Skewness		.220
Kurtosis		4.150
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.437

Number of 33s, 66s and 99s

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 0	1	.8	.8	.8
1	8	6.6	6.6	7.4
2	14	11.6	11.6	19.0
3	23	19.0	19.0	38.0
4	21	17.4	17.4	55.4
5	14	11.6	11.6	66.9
6	16	13.2	13.2	80.2
7	4	3.3	3.3	83.5
8	4	3.3	3.3	86.8
9	4	3.3	3.3	90.1
10	1	.8	.8	90.9
11	2	1.7	1.7	92.6
13	2	1.7	1.7	94.2
14	1	.8	.8	95.0
16	1	.8	.8	95.9
18	1	.8	.8	96.7
19	4	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	121	100.0	100.0	

Histogram



Overall fidelity ratings of paintings

Statistics

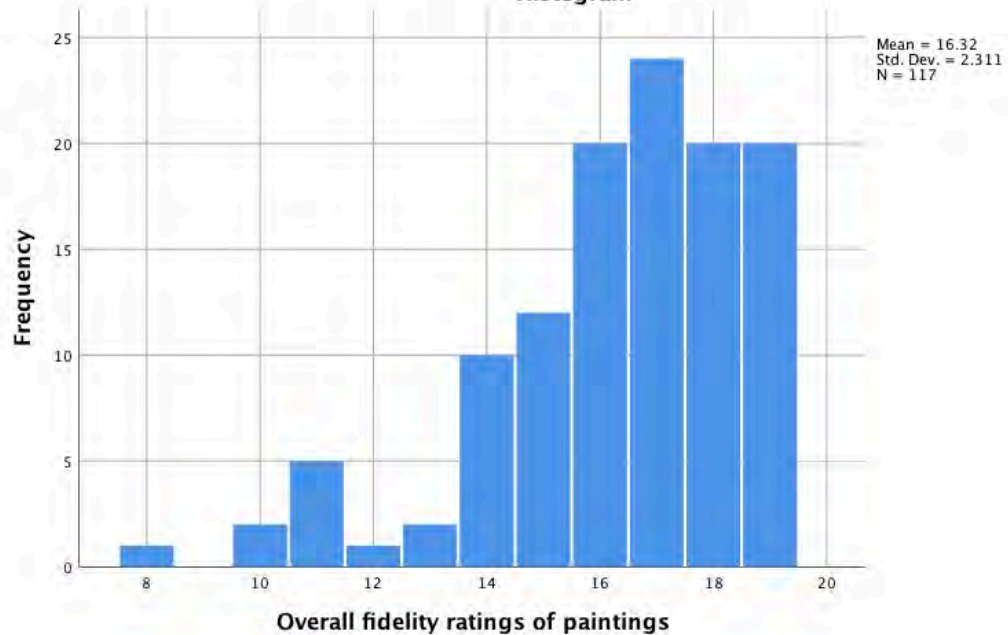
Overall fidelity ratings of paintings

N	Valid	117
	Missing	4
Mean		16.32
Mode		17
Std. Deviation		2.311
Skewness		-1.170
Std. Error of Skewness		.224
Kurtosis		1.404
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.444

Overall fidelity ratings of paintings

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	8	1	.8	.9	.9
	10	2	1.7	1.7	2.6
	11	5	4.1	4.3	6.8
	12	1	.8	.9	7.7
	13	2	1.7	1.7	9.4
	14	10	8.3	8.5	17.9
	15	12	9.9	10.3	28.2
	16	20	16.5	17.1	45.3
	17	24	19.8	20.5	65.8
	18	20	16.5	17.1	82.9
	19	20	16.5	17.1	100.0
Total		117	96.7	100.0	
Missing	no calculation possible	4	3.3		
Total		121	100.0		

Histogram



Overall fidelity ratings of paintings with 7 or more features assessed

Statistics

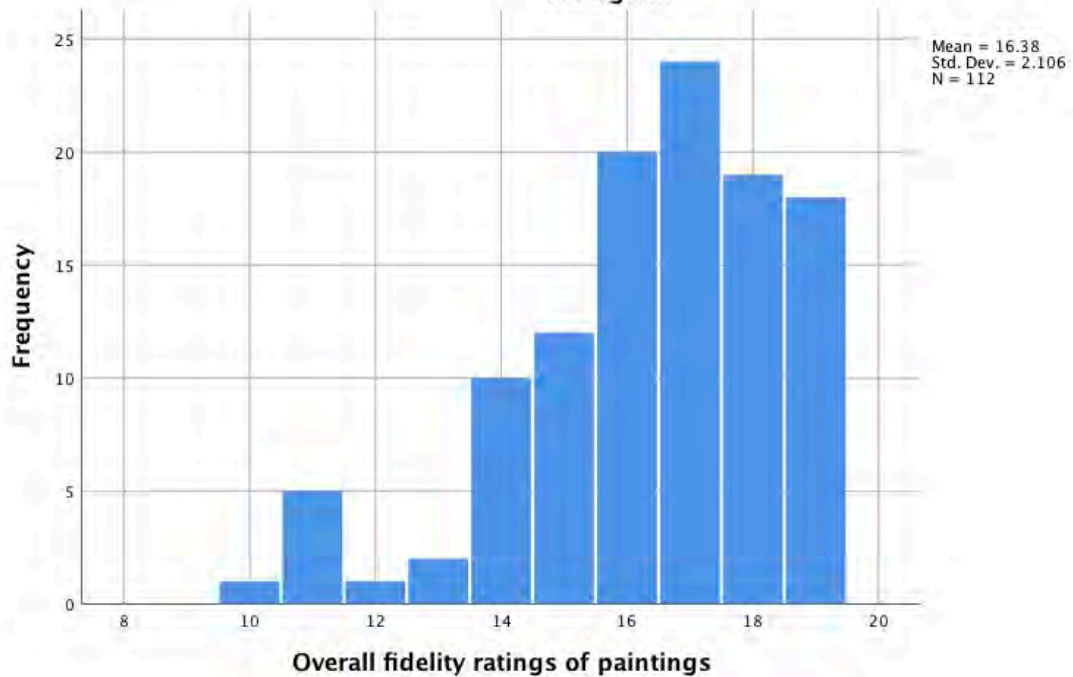
Overall fidelity ratings of paintings

N	Valid	112
	Missing	0
Mean		16.38
Median		17.00
Mode		17
Std. Deviation		2.106
Skewness		-.945
Std. Error of Skewness		.228
Kurtosis		.703
Std. Error of Kurtosis		.453

Overall fidelity ratings of paintings

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10	1	.9	.9
	11	5	4.5	5.4
	12	1	.9	6.3
	13	2	1.8	8.0
	14	10	8.9	17.0
	15	12	10.7	27.7
	16	20	17.9	45.5
	17	24	21.4	67.0
	18	19	17.0	83.9
	19	18	16.1	100.0
Total	112	100.0	100.0	

Histogram



Appendix O: Transcription and translation of diary entry for 26 October 1868

Montag, d. 26ten Oct. vorm Sonnenauf. ½ 5 auf. Nebel. Wash in the Creek. Green. Frühstück. ½ 6 fertig. M[it] Green) u[nd] Patrick aufgebrochen mit Mundvorrath in der Richtung v(on) welcher wir Sonntag kamen- langer Waldmarsch an d.[em] Paddock Tree vor[bei] - [Woollytrees?] - Stringobarkhochwald [sic] langsame Steigung – Schweiß in Strömen - klein Patty u großer Patty. Auf u.[nd] ab an d.[en] Gebirgsseiten – Felsen Sandstein im struppigen Wald höher hinauf anblick [sic] in den 15–18 Meilen langen u. 8 M.[eilen] breiten Thalkessel zwischen d.[en] waldigen Abhängen d.[er] Grampians Flatt mit einer Anzahl kleiner und großer Swamps. Green hill [Mill?]. Stawell Seite – noch ein Marsch von wohl 8–9 Meilen an d.[en] See oder Gebirgsswamp. auf den Gipfel zwischen Felsen - Enttäuschung meiner Erwartung - weiter [Forschungen?]. [Pinnien?...] sumpfige [Flatts?] zwischen Felsen. Auf die Felsenhöhe gestiegen zur trigometrischen [sic!] Stange herrliche Ansicht nach Norden – 400–500 Fuß hoher Felsen (ohne [...]). Rand nach [Letkomert?]. Mt Zero m[it] Taylor Lake gezeichnet bis 12. Zurück zur S[ee?] - Thee Fleisch u m. [und mehr] Land. – Grund, Eidechsen Ansicht v. Mt William, Abrupt u. Sturgeon, Victoria - von 1 bis ½ 6 [Lake?] gezeichnet – Schöner tiefer Abend [offen?] = Überraschung als ich [umkehrte?] - die Ansicht der Hochthales [zwischen?] in voller Gluth eine duftige Abendbeleuchtung, mit der [duften...?] des Himmels in d.[en] [Sügfreen?] u. Bewaldung u. Felsen unter uns im tiefen Schatten - erfreulich – Eidechsen – müde v. Sitzen – Gott sei Dank fertig –[Abstieg?] ins Thal über Felsen, Gestrüpp Wald - [Sinnengewitter?] i [M... ...unter] m Fläche und verlassene Homestation [sic]. Lange über d.[en] Mackenzie nachdem wir Sumpf-Flats passiert - Anfang der Dunkelheit. Nasse Wege über Sumpfwiesen und Creeks. – [Krone?] der Familie – 8 Uhr zu Hause nach 6. Ms [Meilen]. [Mensch?] [Find.?] Essen Thee, [Pylerien?] nette Leute. U[m] 9 Uhr zu Bette - herrlicher Mondschein. Schnarchen d.[er] Patties – [Kaminfeuer?] im Schlafzimmer. Viel geträumt von Nett[...?] und [Kretz...].

Monday 26th Oct. before sunrise. Up at 4.30. Fog. Wash in the Creek. Green. Breakfast finished 5.30. Departed with Green and Patrick, with provisions in the direction from which we came on Sunday – long forest trek past the Paddock Tree - [Woollytrees?] – Stringybark high forest - slow climb –sweating profusely – little Patty and big Patty. Up and down on the sides of the mountains – rocks, sandstone- in the scrubby forest higher up view into the 15–18 miles long and 8 miles wide basin between the forested slopes of the Grampians Flatt with a number of small and large swamps. Green hill [Mill?]. Stawell side – another trek of probably 8–9 miles to the lake or mountain swamp. Onto the peak between rocks – disappointment of my expectation – further [research?]. [Pines?] swampy [Flats?] between rocks. Climbed to the rocky peak to the trigometrical pole splendid view to the north – rock 400–500 foot high (without [...]). Edge to [Letkomert?]. Mt Zero with Taylor Lake, drew until 12. Back to the [lake?] – tea, meat and more. Land. – Ground, lizards. View of Mts William, Abrupt and Sturgeon, Victoria – drew [Lake?] from 1 to 5.30 – Beautiful deep evening [open?] = surprise when I [turned around?] – the view of the high valley [between?] in full glow an airy evening light, with the [fragrant ...?] of the sky in the [...?] and forest and rocks below us in deep shade – pleasant – lizards – tired from sitting – finished thank God – [descent?] into the valley via rocks, scrubby forest – [storm of the senses?] in [M.. ...under] with area and abandoned Homestation [homestead]. Long walk via the Mackenzie after we passed swampy Flats- beginning of darkness. Wet paths via swampy meadows and creeks. – [Crown? Head?] of the family – home at 8 o'clock after 6 miles. [Mensch?] [Find.?] Food, tea, [Pylerien?] nice people. At 9 o'clock to bed – splendid

moonshine. Snoring of the Patties – [open fire?] in the bedroom. Dreamt much of Nett[...?] and [Kretz...?].

Transcribed and translated by Susanne Haring.

Appendix P: Homestead view paintings in the sample

This list includes paintings known to have been commissioned by a run-holder and those in which the name of a run is mentioned in the title

1. *The farm of Mr Perry on the Yarra*, 1855 (private collection).
2. *Cutting out the Cattle, Kangatong*, 1856 (AGB).
3. *Dunmore*, 1856 (private collection).
4. *Mr. Muirhead's station*, 1856 (NLA).
5. *The Grampians from the South*, 1856 (private collection).
6. *Larra*, 1857 (private collection).
7. Lake Gnotuk paintings: *Basin Banks, Lake Gnotuk*, 1857 (AGB); *The Basin Banks about 20 miles south of Mount Elephant*, 1857 (private collection); and *Lake Gnotuk, near Camperdown*, 1858 (NAG).
8. *Lake Bullen Merri*, 1858 (private collection).
9. *From the verandah of Purrumbete*, 1858 (NGA).
10. *Purrumbete from across the Lake*, 1858 (NGA).
11. *Koort Koort-nong homestead, near Camperdown, Victoria with Mount Elephant in the distance*, 1860 (NLA & NGA).
12. *Koort Koort-nong homestead, near Camperdown, Victoria*, 1860 (NLA & NGA).
13. *Meningoort*, 1861 (private collection).
14. *Mr John King's Station*, 1861 (present location unknown).
15. *View of the Gippsland Alps, from Bushy Park on the River Avon*, 1861 (NGA).
16. *James Glass's station on the Goulburn River, Victoria*, 1862 (NLA).
17. *Yalla-y-Poora*, 1864 (NGV).
18. *Stoneleigh, Beaufort near Ararat, Victoria*, 1866 (SLNSW).
19. *Mr Clark's Station, Deep Creek, near Keilor*, 1867 (NGV).
20. *Mr William Lang's camp on the Salt Water River*, 1867 (AGSA).
21. *Woodlands Homestead on the Wimmera River*, 1869 (NGA).
22. *View of Mt Sturgeon and Mt Abrupt from the Crater of Bald Hill 1856*, 1869 (private collection).
23. *Dungrove, near Bothwell, Tasmania*, 1875 (unknown).