'A world of fern-trees': Ferns, Gullies and the Enchanted Settler

> We were in a world of fern-trees, some palm-like and of gigantic size, others quite juvenile; some tall and erect as the columns of a temple, others bending into an arch, or springing up in diverging groups, leaning in all directions; their wide-spreading feathery crowns forming half-transparent green canopies, that folded and waved together in many places so closely that only a span of blue sky could peep down between them, to glitter on the bright sparkling rivulet that tumbled and foamed along over mossy rocks, and under fantastic natural log bridges, and down into dark mysterious channels that no eye could trace out.[1]
>
> Louisa Anne Meredith, 1852.

This winter I visited a fern gully on Woi wurrung land where I, non-Indigenous woman, live. Like Louisa Anne Meredith, I revelled at the majestic plants that towered over me, nurturing families of smaller ferns along their trunks and shading bracken beneath their fronds. As I stared in awe of the moss that replicated in miniature the delicate beauty of the great ferns, I shared in the experience of Meredith and many other settlers from the nineteenth century.[2] In moss covered gullies, alongside crystalline creeks, tree-ferns captivated European settlers and evoked wonder.[3] Fostered by pre-existing practices in imperial science and the cultural fascination with ferns in Britain, settlers in the colonies of Tasmania and Victoria quickly recognised tree-ferns and fern

This research was undertaken with the generous support of the Russel and Mab Grimwade Miegunyah Collection.

[1] Louisa Anne Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania: Nine Years in Australia*, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1852), 161, https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511751127.

[2] Throughout this essay I will be referring to nineteenth-century colonists/invaders/settlers/unsettlers as settlers, invoking settler-colonial theory and Patrick Wolfe's 'logic of elimination', Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 21, 2006): 387.

[3] Andrea Gaynor, "Environmental Transformations," in *The Cambridge History of Australia*, eds. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 272, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHO9781107445758.014.

gullies as cultural commodities. The work of transposing the British fern-frenzy to the antipodes is shown through the art and literature that settlers produced in the second half of the nineteenth century. A sampling of this visual culture is represented within the Russel and Mab Grimwade 'Miegunyah' Collection. These artworks allow insight into the complexities of fern-settler relations as emotional, scientific and aesthetic, and ultimately a part of how settlers mediated their relationship to place.

Although Meredith wrote her sumptuous description of ferns on a small island, she called Van Diemen's Land, the luscious picture her words painted was a part of a much broader cultural phenomenon. Across the globe, on another island, Britain, which Meredith had once called home, ferns were at the centre of a cultural and scientific movement known as pteridomania (fern-craze).[4] In 1628, over two centuries before Meredith's breath caught in that fern gully in lutruwita, the first 'exotic' fern was transported from Virginia, then a British penal colony on Turtle Island, to join the many 'native' ferns of Britain.[5] This single fern did not ignite passionate scientific experimentation or inspire novel aesthetics. However, over the following centuries, the same networks of exchange across the British empire fostered successive scientific innovations that laid the foundations of the nineteenth-century fern craze.[6] Crucially, this included learning how ferns reproduced through spores, which was first described in 1794 to Joseph Banks by John Lindsay, a botanist who worked in Jamaica, and the development of a reliable transportation method for ferns making ocean voyagers.[7] This

[4] David Elliston Allen, *The Victorian Fern Craze: A History of Pteridomania* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 48–50; Tim Bonyhady, *The Colonial Earth* (Melbourne University Press, 2002), 128; Sarah Whittingham, *Fern Fever: The Story of Pteridomania* (London: Frances Lincoln, 2012), 11.
[5] Allen, *The Victorian Fern Craze,* 2; Whittingham, *Fern Fever*, 14.
[6] Allen, *The Victorian Fern Craze*, 2–3, 6; Whittingham, *Fern Fever,* 14.
[7] Allen, *The Victorian Fern Craze*, 3; Whittingham, *Fern Fever,* 15–16.

second innovation was successfully achieved by naturalists as early as 1771, yet it was Nathanial Bagshaw Ward who would go on to claim the ultimate victory in 1833 with his creation the Wardian Case.[8] His case was used by preeminent nurserymen Conrad Loddigies and sons to transport ferns from Van Diemen's Land to Britain, making lutruwita's ferns available for the British public.[9] In the three decades that followed Ward's invention, pteridomania set in. The growing obsession with ferns over this period was demonstrated by an increasing number of publications that educated the reading, mainly middle-class, public about ferns.[10] Books and magazines taught people how to identify the British ferns that they botanized in the forests around them, while the Wardian case allowed people to reproduce the lush fern glens as ornaments within their homes and gardens.[11] The craze operated to 'train' the emotional and aesthetic sensibilities of Britons to seek out ferns as beautiful objects, and would go on to have profound affects when Britons became settlers in the antipodes.[12]

Although scientific innovation and practices contributed to pteridomania, the craze was a cultural phenomenon with cultural underpinnings and outcomes. It is cultural products – artworks and literature – that are held within the Grimwade Collection. Two artworks are the cornerstone of the collection's fern artworks, John Skinner Prout's *Fern Tree Valley, Van Diemen's Land* and Eugene von Guerard's *Ferntree Gully, Dandenong Ranges, Victoria*. Von Guerard's lithograph was made in collaboration

[8] Allen, *The Victorian Fern Craze*, 8–11; Mark Nesbitt, "Trade and Exploration," in *A Cultural History of Plants in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. David J. Mabberley, vol. 5 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022), 87.
[9] Allen, *The Victorian Fern Craze*, 12; Luke Keogh, *The Wardian Case* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 24–27.
[10] Allen, *The Victorian Fern Craze*, 17, 19, 48-50.
[11] Allen, *The Victorian Fern Craze*, 31–34; Whittingham, *Fern Fever*, 11.
[12] Andrea Gaynor, Susan Broomhall, and Andrew Flack, "Frogs and Feeling Communities: A Study in History of Emotions and Environmental History," *Environment and History* 28, no. 1 (February 1, 2022): 87, https://doi.org/10.3197/096734019X15740974883861.

with printers Hammel and Ferguson in 1867 and was created from sketches he did during his time in Melbourne, where he lived from 1854 after two unsuccessful years on the Victorian Goldfields.[13] He first began sketching ferns in the Dandenong Ranges on Kulin nations' land in 1855, taking a trip to what was then known to settlers as Dobson's Valley, near Mt Corhanwarrabul.[14] In 1858, he produced a finished drawing (Figure1). Then subsequently created a lithograph, received to general acclaim, that represented the landscape as sublime; the giant fern gracefully towers over the gully, accompanied by lyre birds with tails that mimicked the fronds of the plants around them (Figure 2).[15] These hugely popular works inscribed new meaning to the landscape and cast fern trees as emblems of the South-eastern colonies.[16]

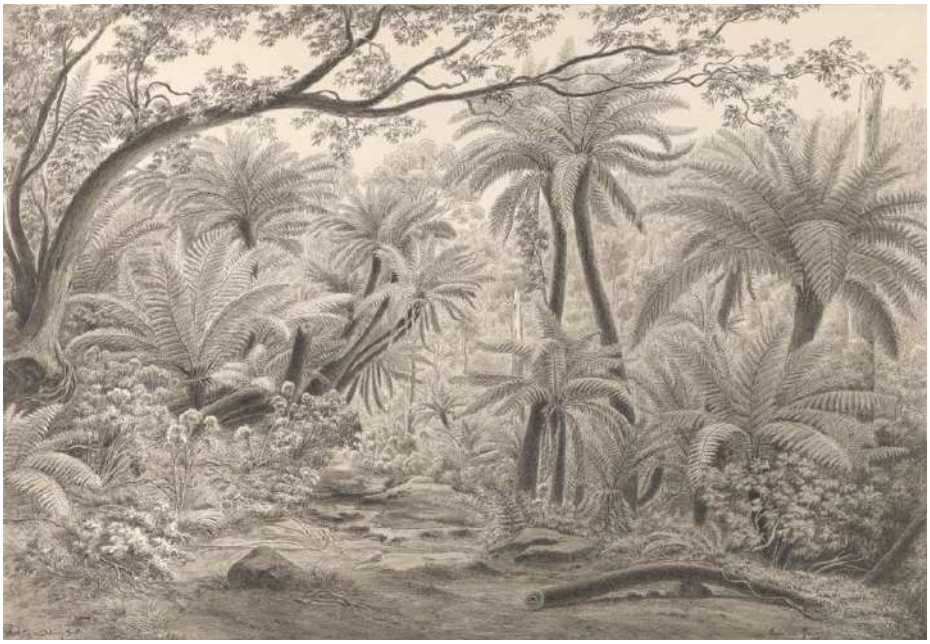

Fig.1. Eugene von Guerard, *Ferntree or Dobson's Gully, Dandenong Ranges,* 1858.

[13] Alisa Bunbury, *Pride of Place: Exploring the Grimwade Collection,* ed. Alisa Bunbury (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, 2020), 198; Marjorie J. Tipping, "Johann Joseph Eugen von Guerard (1812–1901)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), accessed July 23, 2024, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/guerard-johann-joseph-eugen-von-3677/text5745.
[14] Ruth Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller: The Sketchbooks of Eugene von Guerard* (Ballarat: Art Gallery of Ballarat, 2018), 128.
[15] Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller,* 128; Ruth Pullin, *Eugene von Guerard: Nature Revealed* (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 2011), 236–37.
[16] Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 134–35.

Fig.2. Eugene von Guerard, *Ferntree Gully, Dandenong Ranges, Victoria,* 1867.

Fig.3. John Skinner Prout, *Fern tree valley, Mount Wellington,* 1844.

Fig.4. John Skinner Prout, *Fern Tree Valley, Van Diemen's Land,* 1847.

There are no lyre birds in Prout's piece, instead he populated his gully with people. Prout painted countless fern gullies during his time in the colonies and consistently included people. [17] He first sketched the ferns of Tasmania in 1844 (Figure

[17] John Skinner Prout, *Fern Tree Gully, Table Mountain, Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land*, 1844, watercolour on paper on cardboard, 23.8 x 33.0 cm, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, http://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/75919/; John Skinner Prout, *Valley of the Ferns*,

3), and published this artwork in *Tasmania Illustrated,* a book Russell and Mab owned.[18] Three years later he produced a watercolour representation, *Fern Tree Valley, Van Diemen's Land,* that was purchased for the Grimwade Collection by the University of Melbourne in 1993 (Figure 4).

Central to these artworks are the undercurrents of European Romanticism. Pteridomania in Britain was tied to Romanticism, fuelled by ideals from the picturesque movement, Gothic revival architecture and Romantic poets such as William and Dorothy Wordsworth.[19] When transported to the Australian colonies, the Romantic underpinnings of pteridomania provided an emotional script for colonists encountering ferns and fern gullies. For von Guerard in the antipodes, the fern gully was a landscape where the artist encountered the sublime, in that quintessentially Romantic sense of encountering the terrible, then being drawn into wonder.[20] This is especially evident when the work is viewed alongside von Guerard's other lithographs produced with Hammel and Ferguson and published in *Australia Illustrated,* that represent each diverse landscape in revelatory grandeur.[21] The lithographs in that collection consistently emphasised the vastness and unity of Australia's diverse landscapes. The works capture an emotional process that literature scholar Anne Mellor describes as a 'spiral upward to a higher state of consciousness,' in response to the sublime in nature. Going on, Mellor writes that the Romanticism Movement expected an artist's encounter

1844-1848, watercolour, opaque white gum, scraping out on paper, 39.5 x 59.2 cm, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/collection/works/8272/.

[18] V. W. Hodgman, "John Skinner Prout (1805–1876)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), accessed July 23, 2024, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/prout-john-skinner-2565/text3501; John Skinner Prout, *Tasmania Illustrated. Vol. I* (Hobart Town: publisher not identified, 1844).

[19] Gaynor, "Environmental Transformations," 274; Whittingham, *Fern Fever*, 12–13.

[20] Whittingham, *Fern Fever,* 87–90.

[21] Bunbury, *Pride of Place*, 198.

with the sublime to allow him to 'understand the ultimate harmony between the workings of nature and his own mind and to consummate a marriage with nature through his "spousal verse"', or in von Guerard and Prout's cases their sketches, lithographs and paintings.[22] Sketching in the midst of majestic nature, von Guerard and Prout's artistic practices fulfilled Romantic expectations and their artworks mapped fern gullies as a locus for the dynamic emotions of awe and terror, harmony and enrapture associated with the sublime. Although still functioning within a Romantic paradigm and creating an emotional script, Prout's work communicated the sublime differently – by placing humans in the scene. Prout demonstrated the unmatched stature of the fern trees as they loom over adults and children alike, evoking that same wonder tempered with unity. The works of these European artist codified the fern gullies of Victoria and Tasmania as sublime landscapes, training settler-colonists to experience these places as 'vale[s] of enchantment,' just as Meredith did.[23]

These Romantic ideals and emotions were carried on by artists who came of age in the colonies, such as photographer Nicholas Caire. Aged twenty-one, Caire and his parents migrated from Guernsey. Despite being three decades younger than Prout, his work continued the Romantic sensibilities the previous generation of artists.[24] As an adult, Caire photographed ferns prolifically across Victoria, including on Woi wurrung land where he created *Giant Fern Trees, Black Spur* (Figure 5). Like Prout, Caire showcased the incredible size of the tree-ferns by including a person, barely visible

[22] Anne K. Mellor, *Romanticism and Gender* (Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 1992), 13, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/unimelb/detail.action?docID=1337504.
[23] Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania*, 2:167.
[24] Jack Cato, "Nicholas John Caire (1837–1918)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 18 vols. (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), accessed July 24, 2024, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/caire-nicholas-john-3139/text3683.

amidst the truly giant ferns. Although operating in a different medium, Caire continued to represent the fern gully's Romantic appeal.

Fig.5. Nicholas Caire, *Giant Fern Trees, Black Spur,* c.1876.

The continuity between mid-century European artists and younger settlers who engaged similarly with the same ferny environments suggests a replication of the cultural underpinnings of British pteridomania. This applied to both aesthetic frameworks and behaviour patterns (which were also influenced by British naturalism). In mid-century Britain, pteridomania resulted in fern collecting and introduction to Britain; people created fern books, filled with pressed fronds, and planted ferneries.[25]

Fig.6. Samuel Calvert, *Fern Gatherers,* 1877.

Similar activities, enabled by fern tourism, were popular in Victoria and Tasmania, and they lasted into the early twentieth century. By reproducing the British trend of fern tourism in the colonies, settlers, en masse, encountered their unfamiliar surrounds as they travelled from urban areas to admire and collect ferns.[26] Fern tourism, encouraged by artworks by Prout, Von Guerard and Caire, was a formative part of settler-colonists becoming familiar with recently invaded lands.[27] These encounters were readily reminisced about in newspapers, magazines and engravings (Figure 6), and were encouraged by photographs and photographic postcards.

[25] Allen, *The Victorian Fern Craze*, 25–26, 49–50.
[26] Allen, *The Victorian Fern Craze*, 19; Whittingham, *Fern Fever,* 70.
[27] Whittingham, *Fern Fever,* 90–92, 161–62.

The Grimwade Collection contains two such photographs by Charles Nettleton, a slightly older contemporary of Caire.[28] Nettleton was known for systematically recording the development of Melbourne through photography, but also created a substantial collection of photographs of fern gullies, mainly in the Dandenong Ranges on Woi wurrung country.[29] His photographs, writes art historian Alison Inglis, 'conveyed the magic of the valley's understory, where pure, wooded streams overhung by ancient ferns led to thoughts of 'fairyland'.'[30] This idea of fairyland was another imported association from Britain's fern-craze, where the otherworldly supernatural became almost tangible in curated fern gardens.[31] By contrast, Nettleton found the 'entranced into Fairy Land' out in the 'wilderness,' to use Meredith's words, rather than in the ferneries of great houses.[32] There is no mistaking the chaos filled gullies of Nettleton's photographs for curated gardens. The soft, luminescent water featured in two Nettleton photographs, belonging to the Grimwade Collection, is a striking feature of these pieces (Figure 7 and Figure 8). Flowing through the centre of the gullies, the water guides the eye through the mess of ferns, urging the viewer deeper. Nettleton's photographs invited settler to explore fern gullies and contributed to fern tourism.

[28] Jean Gittins, "Charles Nettleton (1826–1902)," in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 18 vols. (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), accessed July 25, 2024, https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/nettleton-charles-4289/text6941.
[29] Gittins, "Charles Nettleton (1826–1902)".
[30] Alison Inglis in Bunbury, *Pride of Place*, 226.
[31] Whittingham, *Fern Fever*, 40.
[32] Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania,* 2:165,167.

Fig.7. Charles Nettleton, *Sassafras Creek – Dandenong Ranges, Victoria,* c.1875.

Fig.8. Charles Nettleton, *Sassafras Creek – Dandenong Ranges, Victoria,* c.1875.

So, people came. They recreated Prout's vision of the fern valley as a place of leisure, over and over, through day-trips, picnics and fern gathering. Not quite the archetypal Romantic response to the sublime, fern tourism demonstrated the evolution of the Romantic fascination with giant tree ferns into a multifaceted relationship with ferns and their gully homes that incorporated elements of botany and naturalism. Newspapers from Launceston, Hobart, Melbourne and countless other Victorian towns consistently reported on the fern-gathering trips of townsfolk from the 1860s into the 1910s.[33] Reporting in newspapers demonstrates the popularity and longevity of fern tourism, especially in Victoria, while revealing the common rhetoric surrounding the pass time. One reoccurring thread in reporting was the abundance of 'grand specimen,' as one reporter wrote[34] In 1868, another writer remarked that,

> the now well known Fern Tree Gully at the Dandenong Ranges is nothing compared with the fern gullies here… at the Black Spur… you see the fern trees in all the completeness of their graceful beauty, with their tall, upright stems, and their tapering fronds from four to seven feet in length. Besides the fern trees, you have the Australian beech, peculiar to these regions, and a beautiful tree it is; the sassafras and the myrtle; the gum trees, too, are different from those to be seen elsewhere. [35]

The ability to experience environments spilling over with variety was central to the appeal of fern valleys.

The obsession with an abundance of variety reflected another European way of thinking and knowing, Humboldtian science. Alexander von Humboldt was a Prussian

[33] A search of "fern gathering" in the Trove newspaper database returns 314 results from within Victoria and Tasmania between 1860 and 1910, and 712 across all colonies/states.
[34] "The Contributor: A Trip to Fernshaw No. III," *Prahran Telegraph*, 21 January 1899, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article144638360.
[35] "NOTES OF A TRIP TO THE BLACK SPUR," *Leader*, 11 January 1868, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article197424544.

naturalist, born in 1769, whose work and writing focussed on understanding the natural world as a collection of interconnected systems.[36] Humboldt was incredibly influential in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth century; his impact as a scientist was comparable to Carl Linnaeus and Charles Darwin.[37] In the Australian colonies, leading botanist Ferdinand von Mueller was an adherent of Humboldtian science and who, as Government Botanist for the colony of Victoria and Director of Melbourne' Botanic Gardens and Herbarium, shaped settlers practice of natural history and botany.[38] However, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that Humboldt's writing was translated from German into English and became widely accessible in Britain and to British settlers as both a work of science and literature.[39]

Humboldt's view of nature, easily synergised with Romanticism, and further encouraged settlers in Victoria and Tasmania to seek-out fern gullies. In his magnum opus, *Cosmos,* which was published serially between 1845 and 1858, Humboldt encouraged his readers to engage both empirically and emotionally with nature as he argued that aesthetic sensibilities, wonder and solace aided in the process of observation and comprehension.[40] Additionally, his own desire to understand the unity of natural systems, led him to extol the value of temperate rainforest environments,

[36] Alison E. Martin, *Nature Translated: Alexander von Humboldt's Works in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 1, https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/nature-translated/A3C9E77528FAEBFB2F2004C3E29E4CBB.
[37] David J. Mabberley, "Introduction," in *A Cultural History of Plants in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. David J. Mabberley, vol. 5 (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022), 10; Martin, *Nature Translated*, 1.
[38] Catherine De Lorenzo and Deborah Van Der Plaat, "'Our Australian Switzerland': Lindt, Humboldt and the Victorian Landscape," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 24, no. 2 (April 1, 2004): 143–44, https://doi.org/10.1080/14601176.2004.10435317; John Gascoigne and Sara Maroske, "Colonial Science and Technology," in *The Cambridge History of Australia*, ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 449, https://doi.org/10.1017/CHO9781107445758.021.
[39] Martin, *Nature Translated*, 13–17.
[40] De Lorenzo and Van Der Plaat, "'Our Australian Switzerland,'" 138–39.

including fern gullies, for their dense biodiversity.[41] Art historians Catherine De Lorenzo and Deborah Van Der Plaat write that *Cosmos* advocated that 'the greater the biodiversity of a region, the greater the opportunity for the individual to grasp the inherent unity binding what could be described as the "infinite variety of nature".' [42] Thus, as Humboldtian science disseminated through the colonies, thanks to its English translators and the work of men like Mueller and Caire, also a Humboldt adherent, another layer of cultural significance was bestowed upon fern gullies.

This added dimension of meaning was expressed in the Grimwade Collection works. Art Historian Ruth Pullin noted how von Guerard's work was infused with Humboldtian thinking as he depicted the variety of flora of fern tree gullies, especially in the undergrowth (Figure 2). [43] Meredith's writing was published during the period when Humboldt's *Cosmos* was translated into English. Although it may not have directly referenced it, historian Jane Carey argues that despite Meredith explicitly framing her work as literature rather than science, 'she took every opportunity to exhibit her knowledge of the latest scientific theories.'[44] *My Home in Tasmania* gullies' echoed Humboldtian reverence for diversity, and when describing a fern gully Meredith wrote,

> The stems of the fern-trees here varied from six to twenty or thirty feet high, and from eight inches diameter to two or three feet; their external substance being a dark-coloured, thick, soft, fibrous, mat-like bark, frequently netted over with the most delicate little ferns, growing on it parasitically. One species of these creeping ferns had

[41] De Lorenzo and Van Der Plaat, '"Our Australian Switzerland,'" 133.
[42] De Lorenzo and Van Der Plaat, '"Our Australian Switzerland,'" 140.
[43] Pullin, *The Artist as Traveller*, 128–34.
[44] Jane Carey, *Taking to the Field: A History of Australian Women in Science* (Melbourne: Monash University Publishing, 2023), 23.

> long winding Stems, so tough and strong that I could rarely break them, and waving polished leaves, not unlike hart's-tongue, but narrower.[45]

So, as settler-colonist visited fern gullies following the example of artists like von Guerard and Meredith, Humboldtian science allowed a synergy between the more scientific responses to nature and aesthetic interactions with ferns.

The fern related material of the Grimwade collection, from Meredith's luscious prose to Nettleton's photographs, documented the individual artists responses to ferns and demonstrated the pervasive ideas from Romanticism and Humboldtian science. While settler's interactions with ferns were shaped by British pteridomania, the colonial context of Victoria and Tasmania resulted in a distinct relationship to the plants and especially the environments where they grew – fern gullies. Both the Humboldtian emphasis on variety and the Romantic obsession with the sublime enabled setters to develop an emotional connection to fern gullies and tree ferns as examples of Australian excellence. The works in the Grimwade Collection served as archetypes for the generations of settlers who engaged in fern tourism and followed artists into Victoria and Tasmania's temperate rainforests.

In an attempt to focus on the contents of the Grimwade Collection, this short, incomplete history has only sampled the broad range of primary material relating to ferns, fern gullies, fern gathering and fern tourism. Much more research could be done, particularly into the political, conservationist and botanical aspects of fern-settler relations, that would surely reveal in more detail the complex relationship settlers cultivated with ferns. These questions are not merely stimulating propositions about the

[45] Meredith, *My Home in Tasmania*, 2:163.

past, but offer pathways to gain deeper understanding of the present. Fern-settler relations continue to shape broader understandings of place and the environment. I was not the only settler wandering in awe through that fern gully this winter.

Nevertheless, the specific contents of the Grimwade collection evinces complex fern-settler relations in Tasmania and Victoria and the persistent entanglement between artistic and scientific concerns throughout the nineteenth century. Ferns in the colonies provided settlers with the opportunity to replicate pteridomania, as they developed relationships to place. The mid-century British fern-craze and Humboldtian science were epistemological blueprints for settlers interacting with ferns and fern gullies well into the twentieth century. Following this blueprint, they developed multifaceted relationships with fern gullies which were evinced through the art and literature they produced. Both the cultural framework of Romanticism, and scientific framework of Humboldt's *Cosmos*, had distinct emotional valencies. They trained settlers to experience particular emotions in fern gullies, much of the artwork in the Grimwade Collection is a result of and perpetuator of this phenomenon. The emotions encoded into these environments allowed a deeper sense of connection to land that was, and remains, unceded Indigenous land.

List of Figures (incomplete)

Fig.7. Nettleton, Charles. *Sassafras Creek - Dandenong Ranges, Victoria. c.*1875. Albumen silver photography, 14.8 x 19.7 cm (sheet). The University of Melbourne Art Collection, The Russell and Mab Grimwade Miegunyah Fund, Melbourne. 1993.0043.000.000.

Fig.8. Nettleton, Charles. *Sassafras Creek - Dandenong Ranges, Victoria. c.*1875. Albumen silver photography, 14.8 x 20.2 cm (sheet). The University of Melbourne Art Collection, The Russell and Mab Grimwade Miegunyah Fund, Melbourne. 1993.0044.000.000.

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