Transnational Histories of 19th Century Australian and American Landscape Paintings (1): John Glover and Thomas Cole

「越境する 19 世紀の豪米風景画史（1）ジョン・グラバーとトマス・コールを例に」

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要旨

本研究の目的は、19 世紀前半における豪米風景画を比較することである。そもそもオーストラリアとアメリカ合衆国は共に、先住民が住んでいた場所にヨーロッパ移住者が植民した比較的若い国家である。その若さゆえに、両国の芸術なかでも風景画は、世界史の中に位置づけられることが皆無に近かった。しかし、20 世紀後半になると美術史の新しい潮流のなかで、旧英植民地を淵源に持つ米加豪各国の風景画が、ヨーロッパ芸術との対比で研究され、また英国帝国史の文脈で捉えられることもあった。しかし、こうした研究は英国との差異を各々の国家内で考察するにとどまり、国境を越えた本格的な比較や交流の検証は、本稿で取り上げる 1999 年と 2009 年の風景画展を例外として、これまで顧みられることがなかった。そこで、本稿では豪米における「風景画の祖」と称せられる（共に英国生まれの）ジョン・グラバーとトマス・コールを例に、越境的風景画論を試み、残された課題を整理してみた。

Prologue

In 1992 the National Museum of Western Art in Tokyo, along with the National Museum of Modern Art in Kyoto, the Australian-Japan Foundation, and Nihon Keizai Newspaper, hosted the first systematic

introduction in Japan of the history of Australian painting from the continent's colonial period to the present.[1] It introduced a total of 119 works, 85 oil paintings as well as 34 watercolors, and produced a Japanese catalogue, オーストラリア絵画の 200 年 , authored by Barry Pearce and four other Australian art historians. According to Haruo Arikawa, the guest curator of this exhibition, 86,932 people visited this show held between April 8 and June 28 (1996, p.28).

This exhibition reflected a larger trend in world art. Indeed, Australia has been one of the newest members of the "Western" cultural sphere since the European "discovery" of the continent four hundred years ago and since the beginning of British colonization two hundred years ago. In other words, as Megumi Kato suggested in 1995, since colonization in 1788, Australian culture has had a strong Eurocentric tendency, especially in its political, foreign, and economic policies (p.15). Given the country's geographical location, however, Australian arts have rarely been considered in the history of "western," i.e., European, art. Especially in Japan, very few general art lovers and art historians, including some 19th century painting experts, have examined the subject.

Recently, though, European and American scholars have initiated examination of Australian art within the larger western art framework, partly in response to the reconsideration of, for instance, Impressionism in Europe, Russia, and Japan. Australian painting has indeed pursued the course of European painting, while revealing a unique development based upon the Australian environment and people. Particularly in the 1960s, according to Kato (1995), the existence of a certain Australian national culture was recognized and in the following decade, under the

1 Australian art history is relatively new. For example, in 1962 Bernard Smith published the first academic work on this subject, entitled European Vision and South Pacific (Melbourne: OUP; with its revisions in 1971 and 1991) which covered the period between 1788 and 1960. In his 1991 edition of Australian Painting: 1788-1990, Third Edition (Melbourne: OUP), Bernard and T. Smith for the first time included a chapter on aboriginal art of Australia.

Whitlam Government, the Australia Council was established and the meaning of "Australian culture" was re-examined in both academic and popular circles. Therefore, one could argue that the landscape, to be seen directly or on canvas, is not simply a "scene" but rather is loaded with historical meanings.

Reflecting this cultural revisionism, as Kayo Tamura (2001) suggested, in 1992 the National Modern Art Museums in Kyoto and Tokyo included aboriginal art in the above-mentioned exhibition. Yet, the notion of Australian-ness in landscape painting at that time could be rather exclusive, especially in the intellectual context of "western" art history. For instance, Arikawa pointed out the possible objections to this exhibition's inclusion of aboriginal painting as part of the realm of Australian painting, given the exhibition's basic stance of an "examination of Australian art amidst the flow of 'western (people's)' art" (1996, p.29). In this sense, Arikawa continued, the exhibition, "Two Hundred Years of Australian Painting: Nature, People and Art in the Southern Continent," also functioned as an opportunity to reconsider the very framework of "western," i.e., Euro-centric, art of landscape (1996, p.29).

In the United States, artists as well as their critics had long defined themselves in terms of the landscape. According to Elizabeth Johns, who wrote a chapter entitled "Landscape Painting in America and Australia in an Urban Century" in New Worlds from Old: 19th Century Australian and American Landscapes (1999), "the Puritans saw the American continent as a wilderness within which they would carry out their religious mission; the Founding Fathers envisioned it as an agrarian garden in which the yeomen citizens of the republic would act out their virtue; and nineteenth-century speculators looked on the land as a commodity essential to the spread of an empire" (p.144). As this narrative, pioneered by Henry Nash Smith, R. W. B. Lewis, Hans Huth,

Leo Marx, and Roderick Nash[2] makes it clear, landscapes dominated American painting at least from the 1830s. Johns continued, one would naturally assume that "carefully researched studies of the relationship between the painted American landscape and historical and economic forces would long since have been written" (ibid). This, however, is not the case.

As the first generation of curators and scholars on "American" art in the middle of the twentieth century concentrated on style and iconography, they did little to raise questions about the relationship of landscapes to broader issues in U.S. history. When the second generation finally did so and the above-mentioned narrative became the traditional textbook account, Johns (1989) argued, the scholarship on landscape painting "invented an American nineteenth century with a unified, omnipresent spiritual climate. Museums seized this new scholarship and created art exhibitions that reinforced the scholars' vision" (p.145). Recently, however, starting in 1980, "under the influence of social history and what is increasingly called the social history of art, scholars and exhibition curators began to explore, for example, the impact on landscape paintings of class, regionalism and tourism" (ibid).

Finally, in the 1990s, as Angela Miller, professor of American art and American studies at Washington University, suggested, numerous British and American Studies scholars have lastly considered the cultural meanings of Anglo-American landscape representation from widely varied perspectives. "The topic has proved a meeting ground for trans-atlantic [sic.] collaborators wielding an array of

2 Henry Nash Smith. The Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth. Cambridge, MA: 1950; R. W. B. Lewis. The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century. Chicago: 1955; Hans Huth. Nature and American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes. Berkeley, CA: University of California press, 1957; Leo Marx. The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Idea in America. New York: 1964; and Roderick Nash. Wilderness and the American Mind. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967.

fields and approaches, from cultural geography and social history to phenomenology, aesthetics, and discursive and ideological analysis" (Miller, 1995, pp.140-141). Indeed, at the time of globalization, traditional art histories have been under heavy criticism for being too nation-focused and even overly nationalistic. In response, there have been calls for trans-national or even less-nationalistic studies going beyond national boundaries; thus, this case study of comparing and contrasting two representative painters across the Pacific Ocean.

John Glover (18 February 1767 – 9 December 1849) [Fig. 1] was an English-born Australian artist during the early colonial period of Australian art. In Australia he has been dubbed "the father of Australian landscape painting." Meanwhile, Thomas Cole (February 1, 1801 – February 11, 1848) [Fig. 2] was an English-born American painter, arriving in the US at the age of seventeen, regarded as the founder of the Hudson River School, known for its romantic portrayal of the American wilderness. Comparing Glover to his near contemporary in America, Cole, Ian McLean argued that whereas Cole redeems the American wilderness, painting "sublime panoramas of a dream fulfilled, of paradise regained," in Australia, by contrast, "the paradise was never regained. Here a paradise lost remained inscribed on the surface of its texts" (1994-95, p.132).

John Glover

John Glover, the son of a tenant farmer from Leicestershire, rose from his relatively humble background to become a successful teacher and landscape watercolorist in England before emigrating to Tasmania in 1831. He trained largely under watercolorist William Payne, "one of the most fashionable drawing masters of that picturesque decade, the 1790s" (Gough, 2003, p.4).[3] He was a contemporary of the Romantic

3 Although the picturesque is notoriously difficult to define with any great precision, Rev. William Gilpin's books of Tours published from 1782 "promoted the pleasures of the wild

landscape artists J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851) and John Constable (1776-1837). Like Turner, he was a passionate admirer of the French classical landscape artist Claude Lorraine (1604-1682) whose oeuvre greatly influenced his style. Indeed, he managed to garner himself the title "English Claude." Despite (or perhaps because of) this title and being "the most prosperous landscape painter of his day after Turner" (Beckett cited in Rosenthal, 2004, p.289), he was held in low regard by some members of the contemporary art scene, including his rival John Constable. Rosenthal describes "his persistent disparagement in John Constable's ... correspondence of the early 1820s" (ibid). Similarly, although a landscape artist with an excellent public reputation who was a regular exhibiter at the Royal Academy, Glover was never able to gain the title of Royal Academician that both Turner and eventually Constable enjoyed. Various reasons have been suggested for his rejection, including his association with the lowly profession of teaching and a general fatigue among art critics with the picturesque, Glover's preferred style (Hansen, 2003, pp.66-68). Thus, as he entered his sixth decade and with his ambitions somewhat thwarted, he decided to follow three of his sons to Van Diemen's land in the hope of discovering "a beautiful new world, new landscapes, new trees, new flowers, new animals, birds, etc." (Glover cited in Bracker, 2013, p.3). The real motivation behind his emigration does, however, remain something of a mystery. Biographers have hinted at several reasons, including a general dissatisfaction with his decreasing patronage, escape from increasingly severe British taxation, paternal responsibility to join his recently emigrated offspring in the colony and possibly "the colonial government's offer of free grants" (Hansen, 2003, p.84). Nevertheless, Hansen emphasizes that, regardless of practical motivations, the

(and of wilderness travel), of roughness, variety, surprise and irregularity" (Hansen, 2003, p.26). Indeed, Gilpin's concept of the picturesque encompassed "an appreciation of Dutch rusticity as much as Italian classicism, a nostalgia for the pre-enclosure, pre-improvement countryside and a developing nationalist sense of place" (ibid).

underlying impetus was "Glover's sense of adventure, his irrepressible curiosity" (p.86).

Once in the New World, Glover quickly bought land and by 1832 had moved from the rapidly developing urban center of Hobart to his new home in the rural setting of Mills Plain. There he took up life as a colonial farmer-painter, depicting the Tasmanian landscape by drawing on Romantic and picturesque techniques which he combined with a new realism to capture the unique character of the countryside (McPhee, 2003, p.112). At the same time, he continued to paint some European vistas from sketches and memory. After his emigration, most of his work remained in Australia, although he did send a shipment of 68 paintings back to London for exhibition in New Bond Street in 1835, 38 of which were "characteristic of the scenery and customs of the inhabitants of Van Diemen's land" (Glover cited in Rosenthal, 2004, p.289). The work was met with some interest, in particular in the opportunity it afforded to learn about Tasmania. The Morning Post likened it to "an extensive museum" (Hansen, 2003, p.94). Nevertheless, it is paradoxically suggested that the subject matter may have been the reason that "the London exhibition did not sell well" (p.104). Hansen claims that there was little general "interest in art about Tasmania, let along [sic] paintings with black people in them" (cited in Usher, 2004). Moreover, a later shipment of paintings in 1836 was never actually displayed (Hansen, 2003, p.94). Thus it is that most of Glover's Tasmanian work resides in Australia. Rosenthal claims it is for this reason that Glover has received scant attention in Britain as a colonial artist and, with the exception of a handful of his works, he remains relatively unknown outside Australia (ibid). Nevertheless, an examination of his paintings can provide "profound insights into the colonial experience: the natural environment, urban and pastoral development and the lives of Aborigines, convicts and settlers" (Gough, 2003, p.4).

From June 1998 to April 1999, galleries in Australia and the United

States hosted an exhibition entitled New Worlds from Old: 19th century Australian and American Landscapes. A decade later in 2009, the exhibition Expanding Horizons: Painting and Photography of American and Canadian Landscape 1860-1918 was held to showcase the works of artists coming from either side of the North American border. In order to establish the possible convergences and divergences between Glover's Australian colonial landscapes and Cole's North American work, some of the frames of analysis created for these exhibitions will be referenced, among others, in this paper.[4] Moreover, between 2003 and 2004 there was an Australian retrospective of Glover's paintings, John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque, and the exhibition catalogue edited by curator David Hansen (2003) provides a useful overview of the body of his work for the current examination.

In the exhibition Expanding Horizons, one of the categories of works, "History and the Theatre of Myth," drew attention to "the historical and mythic contexts against which landscape imagery was projected in the two countries and the concomitant depictions of Native People" (Oshio, 2016, p.66). With regard to the portrayal of indigenous people, a point of divergence between American and Canadian art becomes one of similarity between Canadian work and Glover's early landscapes containing Aboriginal people. Oshio writes that, unlike in American works, in Canadian art "interracial conflict was never touched upon, the subjugation of North America's indigenous people obscured by a view of the native as essentially picturesque" (ibid). A similar treatment is found in Glover's work.

When he arrived in 1831, there were very few remaining

4 Expanding Horizons covered a later period than that considered by this study which examines works produced between approximately 1830 and 1850. By borrowing the framework of this exhibition, however, one of the several intended outcomes of the current analysis is to establish the extent to which Cole and Glover can be considered the respective "fathers" of American and Australian landscape. The appearance in their oeuvre of the themes to be found in later landscapes will suggest that they laid the groundwork for the artists who were to follow.

indigenous people in Hobart. At that time a conflict lasting three decades between European settlers and Aboriginal people was drawing to a close. By 1833 the so-called "Protector of the Aborigines," missionary George Augustus Brown, had removed the remaining majority of 200 Palawa people to Flinders Island (ibid). This tragic fate of the indigenous people, which was to result in their almost complete annihilation, is concealed in Glover's work behind Romantic and picturesque treatments. The earliest of approximately 20 landscape paintings with Aborigines, A Corroboree of Natives in Mills Plains (1832) [Fig. 3] is thus known to be the product of Glover's imagination in its depiction of the Palawa in the landscape. By this time, there were certainly not enough remaining indigenous people to hold the traditional dance ceremony which is the focus of the work. In a scene infused with nostalgia and symbols of decline, he paints a group of Palawa at sunset, dancing, standing and seated around a fire beneath what appears to be a dying eucalyptus tree. They are viewed as distant silhouettes and form an integral yet transient part of the picturesque setting. The landscape is shown in its pre-settlement state as untouched by European contact. Not only were there few surviving Aboriginals, however, in reality Glover possessed Mills Plains at the time of painting. Indeed, it is suggested that this very acquisition of the Palawa's land that may have provided some of the impetus for the nostalgic mood of the work. Radford (1995) credits the artist with "some sense of guilt" and "sympathy for the departed Aboriginals." This quasi-yearning for the lost Noble Savage is the typical mood evoked in the majority of Glover's Aboriginal paintings where, as McLean (2003) says, we see the "Aborigines as a peaceful, exuberant and exotic people" (p.122) who co-exist harmoniously with the landscape. Indeed, later works are similar recreations of the idyllic lifestyle of an indigenous civilization that has actually already disappeared: Aborigines Dancing at Brighton, Tasmania (1835), The Last Muster of the Aborigines at Risden (1836), Natives

on the Ouse River (1838) [Fig. 4], The Bath of Diana, Van Diemen's Land (1837) [Fig. 5], A Corroboree of Natives in Van Diemen's Land (1840) [Fig. 6], are but some pertinent examples.[5] The 1998 exhibition New Worlds from Old introduced many of these works.

McPhee (2003) draws attention to the fact that Glover "never paints Aborigines as warriors or as a threat to Europeans" (p.113). In fact, as McLean (2003) reminds us, Glover's romantic portrayal of the Palawa people stands "in contrast to the popular view of the time that they were vermin and a hindrance to colonial expansion" (p.122). It is of course such attitudes of the British that led to the relatively quick eradication of the Palawa people in Tasmania. Indeed, Heathcote (1983) suggests that the general picturesque treatment of Australian Aboriginals, which contrasts with the predominant focus on conflict that can be found in North American works, might in part be explained by the speed with which native Australians were dominated by the British colonists. "Australia had been the 'quiet Continent'; the conflicts with the indigenes were short (but bloody) skirmishes – no Custer's Last Stand here, and no Civil War" (p.132). Additionally, some critics believe that, to contemporary eyes, the romantic portrayals of local people "provide a convenient salve for our postcolonial guilt" (McLean, 2003, p.122). Whether or not this be the case, McLean places less emphasis on the works as evidence of Glover's colonial guilt over the dispossessed and more on the artist's intention to satisfy, "a widespread ethnographic interest and ... a general curiosity about exotic cultures" (ibid).[6] With such depictions of the native people, Glover was in part surely hoping to cater to appetites for views of the New World that existed in some sectors of 19th century British society. Whatever his

5 Indeed, some are particularly reminiscent of the Arcadian indigenous landscapes of Polynesia produced by earlier British artists William Hodges and John Webber, who accompanied Captain Cook on his Pacific expeditions. See for example, Hodges's Tahiti Revisited (1776) and Webber's A View of Oheitepha on the island of Otaheite (1809).

6 As further evidence of Glover's ethnographic intentions, Hansen (2006) introduces the detailed sketchbook drawings of Aboriginals at Patterdale, his farm (pp.48-49).

motivation, nostalgic romanticism or ethnography, Glover's approach to the indigenous subjects certainly echoes that of the Canadian artists mentioned earlier; a glossing over of the harsh treatment of the indigenous people meted out by European settlers.

In the 1998 exhibition New Worlds from Old, curators recognized a common theme in the works of Australian and American colonial artists that they called "Claiming the Land" (Myers, 1999, p.177). Works in this section "focused on the settlement of Australia and America by bringing together early- and mid-nineteenth century images of fertile farms, successful ranches, and growing towns with nostalgic images of native peoples" (ibid). Although not featured in the exhibition, it is to this category that one could attribute Glover's Mount Wellington and Hobart Town from Kangaroo Point, (1834) [Fig. 7]. In a somewhat less typical treatment of Aborigines, it includes a group of Palawa placed in the foreground of the work as a point of contrast to the recent colonial urbanization of the Tasmanian landscape. In this sense the work may also have points in common with some of the North American paintings gathered in the 2009 exhibition under both the categories of "The Urban Landscape" and "The Stage of History and the Theatre of Myth" (Oshio, 2016, p.68). Interestingly, Glover's work tries to capture the very process of topographical development, the changing landscape, by contrasting an Arcadian foreground scene peopled with imagined Aborigines and an urbanized middle ground depicting Hobart in carefully sunlit detail. Hansen (2006) affirms that this picture "can therefore be read in the context of 'the Course of Empire' ... the conventionally shadowed foreground of classical landscape represents the phase which is to be supplanted by the coming development" (p.51). The British are indeed advancing in their project of claiming the land.

Nevertheless, nature still dominates in the form of the mountainous backdrop. Hobart itself is almost camouflaged from view as it nestles against the foot of Mount Wellington. One may read here an acknowledgement of the ultimate triumph of the landscape over

human endeavor and a suggestion of the frailty of human enterprise. This latter aspect could moreover be interpreted as serving one of the four main purposes of American and Australian landscapes as defined by Johns (cited in Brown, 2000); at the same time as highlighting the impact of the colonial settlement on the landscape and native people, it paradoxically draws attention to "the distance between urban society and nature" (p.41).[7] Glover's landscapes, while promoting colonial settlement, are not without their recognition of the magnificence of the natural Tasmanian landscape and an invocation of the contemporary notion of the sublime.[8]

Beyond being a commentary on the Course of Empire, the aforementioned Mount Wellington and Hobart Town from Kangaroo Point also serves as "a useful, accurate survey of the rapidly developing colonial capital as it appeared during Glover's residence there in 1831-32" (Hansen, 2006, p.39). It presents a picture of Hobart as a flourishing port, a commercial center, a seat of government and the army, a home to colonial sports such as cricket and, of course, as a growing residential area (ibid). It is not to be ignored that Glover's house in Hobart is at the very center of this "survey," with the artist staking his position as a recent settler at the heart of the new colonial town. The same home features much more largely in the painting's counterpart, Hobart Town taken from the Garden where I lived (1832) [Fig. 8], with the two works forming "a simultaneous bottom-up and top-down topographical whole" (Hansen, 2006, p.40). In this way, these detailed representations of the new colonial landscape fulfill another of Johns' aforementioned four main purposes (cited in Brown, 2000, p.241); they are part of the

7 The four main reasons for 19th century U.S. and Australian landscape paintings are "to serve as a representation of the tourist experience, a record for expedition and scientific study, an image of a physical and psychological retreat, and, finally, as a metaphor of the distance between urban society and nature" (Johns cited in Brown, 2002, p.241).

8 The theme recurs in many paintings and is already evident in one of Glover's earliest works, The River Derwent and Hobart Town (1831), which shows the new tidy settlement of Hobart in the distance viewed from a disordered expanse of wilderness in the foreground (McPhee, 2003, p.112.)

colonial project to map the world and provide a careful record that would have satisfied contemporary interests in ordinance survey.[9]

Having established the theme of a harmonious European settlement of the Tasmanian landscape, Glover develops and personalizes his landscapes further in paintings of his home and land in Mills Plains. McPhee (2003) suggests that in these works the artist is presenting "images of man-made Edens" (p.113). Thus, we encounter pictures that may both converge with and diverge from those exhibited in 1998 under the title "Nature Transcendent." Oshio (2016) describes the works in this category as a "spiritually infused idealization of landscape by the Hudson River School and its followers including ... Thomas Cole" (p.66). To establish Glover's intention to place God in the Tasmanian landscape and to compare it with that of Cole, we can consider A View of the Artist's House and Garden, Mills' Plains (1834-35) [Fig. 9]. McPhee (2003) reminds us that "[i]n his later years, Glover was a prodigious reader of the Bible, and the Eden myth of loss and recovery underlies all his Australian landscapes" (p.110). He continues to suggest that this particular painting presents "an Eden within an Eden" (p.113). Glover is known to have brought seeds (and birds) with him from England (Hansen, 2006) and it is these plants that we see blooming in his picturesque garden, a part of his project to Anglicize the landscape.[10] Indeed, it was frequently an intention of settler artists "in the colonies ... to domesticate the alien topographies of India, Canada, Australia and other outposts, describing the unfamiliar in familiar terms" (p.42). This, then, is McPhee's (2003) meaning of the aforementioned paradises: the English garden within the natural landscape. As previously mentioned

9 The ordnance survey mapping agency was first established in England in 1791, forty years before Glover arrived in Tasmania.

10 Hansen (2006) reminds us that "The heyday of the picturesque as a domestic aesthetic fashion coincided closely with the imperial expansion of Great Britain during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The lingua franca of European artists who travelled to the Americas, South and East Asia and the Pacific, it has, with some justifications, been described as the 'paradigmatic art of empire'" (p.41).

with reference to the aforementioned Mount Wellington and Hobart Town from Kangaroo Point, Glover does not deny the beauty to be found in God's landscape, which McPhee suggests he represents in this case with the perfect symmetry of Sugar Loaf Hill sitting in the background (p.114). Nevertheless, by contrasting the colorful blooming plants of the foreground with the dull tropical backdrop, the artist appears to highlight the "benefits" of civilization (ibid) and claim that the Englishman can improve upon and possibly triumph over (God's) nature. This, then, is Paradise regained, not lost as it is in the Aboriginal landscapes. A View of the Artist's House and Garden, Mills' Plains discussed above is without doubt a work that celebrates the success of this immigrant's relocation, something Glover would have been keen to impress on friends (and enemies) at home (p.114).

A similar sense of optimism in the settler's ability to sew and reap the benefits of the new land is to be found in Glover's painting of the harvest being brought in against a setting sun. In My Harvest Home (1835) [Fig. 10], the cultivated foreground yielding its fruits to the European settlers stands in contrast to the native wild bush of the background. Moreover, it is not only the land that can be improved upon through the colonial experience. Several of the farmhands are convicts, as shown by their red waistcoats, and this serves as a reminder of the contemporary belief in the redeeming nature of hard work (McPhee, 2003, p.114). The whole scene is bathed in the rays of a setting sun, the products of whose warmth are to be enjoyed by the settlers. Whether or not this sun invokes God's omnipotence, however, seems to be questionable. In his review of New Worlds from Old, Myers (1999) writes that generally the "intense light" in American paintings that symbolizes "God's blessing on the national landscape" did not clearly "invoke the divine" (p.178) when shining in the Australian landscapes. It may simply be a natural phenomenon that both helps and sometimes hinders the lot of the Australian colonial settler. Furthermore, as we interpret Glover's work, it should not be forgotten that "apart from

inscriptions on paintings and in sketchbooks and a mere handful of letters, nothing of the artist's own voice remains" (Hansen, 2003, p.16). With this paucity of information in mind, it may indeed be difficult to claim exactly how and to what extent Glover wished to reference God in his landscapes. A lack of direct invocations of the divine may in fact have been typical of nineteenth century Australian landscapes, as Myers (1999) suggests, if we reflect upon the history of the country's settlement. Immigration was driven not by religious persecution as in the earlier settlement of North America but served as punishment, initially, and later became a quest for farmland or gold and a new home in the New World. The settlers in Australia were simply not searching en masse for God in their landscape but that is not to say that some may not have found Him residing there. Thus, God's presence or lack thereof in Australian colonial-settler landscapes may reflect more individual artists' religious inclinations rather than be a common theme shared by all.

To return to McPhee's (2003) definition of two Edens, one signifying loss and the other recovery (p.110), it can be said that the pastoral paradises share with the Aboriginal works a similar concealment of hardships. The Aboriginal landscapes hide the persecution of the indigenous people in the same way that the pastoral landscapes conceal the difficulties encountered by the early settlers. In fact, My Harvest Home discussed above is unusual in Glover's work in that it actually shows laborers toiling, albeit joyously. In paintings of animal husbandry, such as Patterdale Landscape with Rainbow (1832) [Fig. 11] and Moulting Lagoon and Great Oyster Bay, from Pine Hill (1838) [Fig. 12] the emphasis is on pastoral arcadias (Bonyhady cited in Hansen 2003, p.207). Humans, if present at all, are reduced to one or two cowhands or shepherds, often sitting or reclining peacefully in the landscape. The scenery is sometimes rearranged to create an idealized picture, as in the inclusion of the river bend to the left of Patterdale Landscape with Rainbow. The river Nile at Patterdale is actually

hidden in woods (p.205). These improvements are of course designed to emphasize the appeal of the new land and the ease of resettlement, all part of colonial propaganda to encourage emigration. In fact it was in 1829 that Edward Gibson Wakefield proposed a theory of colonization based on the financing of immigration through land sales (Johns, 1999, p.256). Nevertheless, it is hard to imagine that Glover saw himself as an actual active agent of the British government's propaganda machine but rather probably intended to boast of his personal success in the New World, thus snubbing his critics back home (McPhee, 2003, p.114).

This theme was to be continued by later Australian colonial-settler artists with further images of "fertile farms, successful ranches" (Myers, 1999 p.177). Many such scenes were presented in the exhibition New Worlds from Old under the aforementioned category "Claiming the land." The only inclusion by Glover, in fact, was "Cawood" on the Ouse River (1838) with its vast expanse of neat agriculture land. Nevertheless, many of his other works mentioned above would have been strong candidates for this section of the exhibition.

Emphasis has been placed thus far on Glover's reactions to the new people and land he encountered and how he expressed his vision in the Romantic and picturesque frameworks he brought with him from Europe.[11] Nevertheless, as initially mentioned, Glover is often referred to as "the father of Australian landscape painting," just as Thomas Cole has enjoyed a similar title for North American landscape painting. Although it cannot be overlooked that, unlike Cole, Glover faced

11 One particularly curious example of this artistic hybridity that was exhibited in New Worlds from Old is The Bath of Diana, Van Diemen's Land (1838). In an idyllic setting, native Palawan people illustrate a Greek myth. In the Diana and Acteon myth, she bathes as he secretly observes her. On discovering his presence, he is turned into a stag later to be devoured by hounds. Hansen explains that "Aboriginal women were expert in the water, while the men used dogs after white settlement to help them hunt" (quoted in Usher, p.2004). Here the artist is drawing on his knowledge of indigenous culture to justify setting Aboriginals in a classical tale that would have been appealed to European audiences. In so doing, he equates the viewer with the secret observer, suggesting that too much intrusion will be punished. One might again see in this Glover's guilt over the treatment of the Palawans by the new settlers.

almost no contemporary competition for the accolade (Bonyhady, 1999, p.655), there seems to be substantial justification when we consider his recognition of the "newness" of the landscape he encountered and his delight in carefully capturing it in paint. This lends a naturalism to his Tasmanian work that goes beyond European classical influences. It can be seen from his assiduous recording of indigenous fauna and flora (kangaroos, gum trees), his attempts to create a sense of the vastness of the Tasmanian wilderness and his desire to capture the intense Australian sunlight. This latter aspect of his work was later echoed in that of artists in the Heidelberg School, established outside Melbourne in 1885. Of that school, Heathcote (1983) writes, "In Australia the concern seems to be more for vegetation – the play of light on leaf and trunk, producing what Smith calls 'a naturalistic interpretation of the sunlit landscape'" (p.138). Moreover, Glover is recognized for introducing another recurring characteristic of Australian landscapes; Hansen praises him as being "the first great Australian painter of emptiness – a theme that obsesses painters to this day" (cited in Usher, 2004). Works such as "Cawood" on the Ouse River (1838) and "Montacute" Bothswell (1838) are but two of numerous examples. Although settlers at Cawood, Montacute and other such homesteads "may have brought civilization to their parts of the world, the painter reminds us that their impress upon the vast wilderness is tenuous" (McPhee, 2003, p.118). Being the "first to paint almost everywhere he went" (Bonyhady, 1999, p.657), Glover struggled to convey the new dimensions of "vastness," as did Cole. One solution was "the high aerial viewpoint providing an almost oblique aerial coverage with multiple fixed vanishing points" (Heathcote, 1983, p.134). Moreover, it was particularly true of Glover that he was confronted with having to render interesting places that were largely unknown to his public.

In all of these ways, then, Glover is credited with "inventing a new artistic language to describe his new environment" (Gough, 2003, p.4). McKay (2003) acknowledges his Tasmanian work as "the first sustained

transformations of European landscape conventions towards a vigorous and uniquely Australian vision" (p.7). How much of this uniqueness depends on the artist's origins and training, the nature of his patronage, the place of resettlement or the colonial-settler experience itself can be ascertained to some extent by cross-referencing his oeuvre with that of Thomas Cole. Indeed, there may be some justification for suggesting that it is not the location per se that is the defining element of their work but the commonalities of and responses to the challenges faced by colonial-settler landscape artists in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Thomas Cole

Many Australian landscape paintings during the nineteenth century suggest similarities with those in the United States due to not only their aesthetic quality but also in both nations, artists brought the notions of the classical and the picturesque from Europe and tested them against un-European like landscapes. In both histories, as well as present, native people needed to be reconciled with the settlers' destiny and thus the artistic representation has carried national identity. With that in mind, one might feel it natural to bring two schools of artists together, compare and contrast them, and appreciate their similarities and differences. However, it has not been done for a long time as both "rare" trans-national exhibitions, New Worlds from Old and Expanding Horizons indicate.

In particular, bringing Australian and American schools together was realized because of the bi-national career and interests of Patrick McCaughey, Australian-born, member of Yale Center for British Art in New Haven, Connecticut. He was joined by Andrew Sayers of the National Gallery, Canberra, Elizabeth Johns of the University of Pennsylvania, Elizabeth M. Kornhouser and Amy Ellis of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut. Their show attempted

to challenge the traditional art history by examining comparative ideas of national identity. Here, this section follows their endeavors by introducing Thomas Cole as a cross-reference point to John Glover.

Cole, paying tribute to the 18th century predecessors of the Romantic Landscape Movement in London, eliminated signs of civilization and created sublime American wilderness imagery. His legacy could be discussed within the trans-national context of Romantic movements in other English-speaking countries, including Canada and Australia. By doing so, we find the convergences and divergences in the international Romantic landscape painting movements.

Cole was born in Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, England and migrated to the United States in 1818, at the age of seventeen. Seven years later, in 1825, Cole debuted as a "portraitist" of the Hudson Highlands and the Catskill Mountains. Colonel John Trumbull (1756-1843), president of the American Academy of Fine Arts, first noticed Cole who would soon establish himself as the premier American Romantic landscape painter of the Hudson River Valley, and ultimately head of the American Hudson River School of painters.

On 27 June 1829, Cole arrived in London to attend the annual Royal Academy exhibition, for the purpose of catching up on the latest trends in British and European landscape painting and painters. There he met J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851), John Constable (1776-1837), and John Martin (1789-1854), leading Romantic landscape painters in England. Cole would return to the United States three and a half years later, after traveling around England, France and Italy. During his European tour, he encountered the latest ides in art, science, and literature and found commonalities not only with Turner and Martin, but also with their major arch-rival, Constable. Cole returned to the US in November 1832 and started the Romantic landscape movement in Jacksonian America (Parry 1988, pp.95-105; Hoene 2000, p.15).

William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878), Cole's friend, had warned him after his departure to Europe to guard against the lure of the Old

World, and to strive to "keep the earlier, wilder image bright" (Bryant 1967, p.219). As Bryant had anticipated, the wonders of Europe were not lost on Cole, especially in his fascination with Claudean Italy. Cole explored differences between civilized Europe and the "primitive" features of the United States which he later stated in his "Essay on American Scenery." And, after three and a half years of travel, in London, Paris, Florence, and Rome, Cole returned to the united States on 25 November 1832 (Hoene 2000, p.19).

Upon his return, as Stansell and Wilentz stated, Cole's career was deeply affected by the tumult of the Jacksonian era (Stansell & Wilentz 1994, pp.3-21). It was the time when American nationalism and sectionalism were at their height. President Andrew Jackson (1767-1845) served two terms from March 1829 to March 1837, representing popular democracy (for and of white American male) and the removal of the native population as well as destruction of the American wilderness forest. Promoting westward movement, Jackson forced the natives to surrender their land, which left both southern planers with their slaves and a large number of northern farmers. Ultimately, the conflict between these two groups would culminate in the Civil War in 1861-1865.

Cole reflected the mood of society's struggle with the tensions between a vindication of American wilderness and the ever-increasing destruction of nature in an expanding, utilitarian society. Cole noted the contemporary apprehension of doom in the United States. In particular, Cole voiced this sense of rise and fall in his five-part series The Course of Empire (1832-1836) [Fig. 13-17] depicting the progress of a civilization from a savage wilderness state, through the Arcadian to the consummation of empire, to destruction and final desolation. As people grew further away from nature into materialism and empire, they would inevitably fall into final destruction (Hoene 2000, p.23).

On 17 February 1836, Cole stopped the completion of the last two pictures of The Course of Empire, so as to produce a picture for the

annual National Academy of Design show. This View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm (The Oxbow) (1836) [Fig. 18] was an important work which some call a "national icon." Mount Holyoke, a popular tourist site beginning in 1821, accommodated increasing numbers of sightseers each year, up to two or three thousand in 1837. However, Cole created a panoramic view with polyvalent themes. Eliminating the evidence of typical sightseers from the top of Mount Holyoke, he elevated and thrust forward the left foreground of a confrontation with nature's forces: the juxtaposition between an open vista on the right of a Claudean cultivated landscape where storm lifted and civilized pastoral scene. Cole centered himself in the picture, on the topmost outer edge of Mount Holyoke, umbrella folded, painting the view. He turns his head and gazes back at the viewer (Huth 1957, pp.76-77). Horne argues that Cole's The Course of Empire and The Oxbow fascinated and entertained the public during and after the Panic of 1837. In the midst of the national economic crisis, when many people went into bankruptcy, Cole sold The Course of Empire series for $3500 and The Oxbow for $500 (2000, p.32).

The Oxbow has invited contrasting interpretations. For example, Angela Miller suggested that the two protagonists, nature and Cole, become both "scene and actor," in an "unstable present that preserves choice rather than giving way to the apocalyptic alarm of his Course of Empire, on the one hand, on the other, to the celebratory visions of a republican millennium characteristic of the coming decades." She argues that The Oxbow is neither apocalyptic nor millennial but a summons to greater self-consciousness in the presence of choice (Miller 1993, pp.39-48). In contrast, Albert Boime argues that Cole contemplated the futurity of the nation from an imaginary height: "Where the wolf roams, the plough shall glisten" with the idea of overcoming the human and material obstacles to progress, which was carried out in society with the sense of a God-ordained mission (Boime 1991, pp.53). Barbara Novak perceives Cole's point of view as

ambivalence with the dilemma of the Nature-Culture dyad (Novak 1995). A constant tension existed between these two symbols. Paintings, by Cole and the other Hudson River painters, all reflected this tension and ambivalence (Hoene 2000, p.30).

The Clove, Catskills (1826) [Fig. 19] is based upon Thomas Cole's sketch when he visited the Catskill area in 1826, by which time the Native American population in the area had been decimated by disease and warfare. Thus, Cole's view of The Clove -- a depiction of wilderness reinforced by the inclusion of the figure of a Native American -- is probably idealized (Myers 1987, pp.22-23, 40-46). According to Cole's letter to his patron, Daniel Wadsworth, he was "enjoying & I hope improving myself amidst the beautiful scenery of Lake George & the wild magnificence of the Catskill mountains -- I have made many sketches" (Thomas Cole to Daniel Wadsworth, July 6, 1826, quoted in Cole 1983, p.1). In fact, in April 1964 Sanford Low, director of the New Britain Museum of American Art, and Fine Arts Conservation Laboratories, through the cleaning of the painting, revealed the figure of the Native American as well as what appears to be the vestiges of another figure found just to his left. Age cracks overlaying the surface of the painting are uniform, and if Cole had introduced another figure into the composition at some point, he probably made the decision to paint it out and perhaps the first figure as well.[12] Cole's seeming ambivalence about including the figures may be illuminated in part by a letter to the artist from Robert Gilmor, another important early patron: "I differ however with you in approving the omission of figures, which always give character & spirit event to solitariness itself, but it depends upon their propriety -- an Indian Hunter judiciously introduced (even in shadow behind a tree, with a catching light on a red plume or mantle) with his rifle leveled & one or two deer crossing an open space would not defeat your object but rather assist the idea of solitude" (Robert

12 The painting was examined by Patricia Garland, Painting Conservator, in the conservation studio at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, on November 21, 1994.

Gilmor to Thomas Cole, December 13, 1826, quoted in Baltimore Museum of Art 1967, pp.44-45).

In the following year, Cole continued painting Native Americans in such works as Indian Sacrifice (1826) [Fig. 20], Scene from "The Last of the Mohicans," Cora Kneeling at the Feet of Tamenund (1827) [Fig. 21], and Indians Viewing Landscape (1827). And in 1828, by the time Cole painted Lake Winnepesaukee (1828) [Fig. 22], he was a prominent landscape painter with many eager patrons. To meet the demand, he began making regular summer sketching trips and amassing a stockpile of drawings. It was from one of those summer drawing trips that this painting emerged. Lake Winnepesaukee is a large, irregularly shaped, freshwater lake twenty-two miles long in the White Mountains of New Hampshire. Its name was the subject of numerous Native American legends and was thought to have various meanings including "the smile of the Great Spirit" and "beautiful water in a high place" (Albany Institute of Art, n.d.). In the same year, Cole painted Landscape with Dead Tree (1828) [Fig. 23], where a passing storm reveals a mountaintop bathed in sunlight; a blasted tree, dead from a lightning strike, mediates between heaven and earth and suggests the cycle of life. Human presence is interjected at the top of the waterfall, where a Native American salutes nature's magnificence (RISD Museum, n.d.).

Later in life, painting American Lake Scene (1844) [Fig. 24] where a small lake, a cloudless sky, a fallen tree, and a lone Indian evoke the peace and tranquility of the American wilderness, along with Indian at Sunset (1845-47) [Fig. 25], Indian Pass: Tahawus (1847) [Fig. 26], Cole complained that people hadn't understood his paintings, and expressed regret that so much of his work had been tainted by the demands of patrons and the need to make money: "Instead of working according to the dictates of feeling and imagination, I have painted to please others in order to exist… my imagination should not have been cramped, as it had been; and I would have followed out principles of beauty and sublimity in my works, which have been cast aside, because the result

would not be marketable" (quoted in Kabat 2018).

According to David Blayney Brown of Tate Gallery, while artists in the United States were operating out of cities, an established part of an imported culture that was destroying its native predecessor, and indigenous peoples were becoming objects of nostalgia, early artists in Australia found a world intact. Glover's obvious, if romanticized, sympathy with the Aborigines accepted that the Indians were doomed, as did his contemporary Thomas Cole. Although both emerged from a European classical tradition, their attitudes toward their respective new worlds, and consequent styles, were very different:

> Cole's acceptance of the logic of white hegemony is mirrored in his pictures as it is not in Glover's, whether in the sentimental allegory of his scenes from The Last of the Mohicans, or in the grand Sublime of his landscapes of the wilderness. The ageing Glover, arrived in Tasmania, was reborn in ideas and style alike; thinking himself retired, he began again, with a fresh and almost innocent eye and a childlike sense of wonder. ... [Glover] does not beat the drum of historical legitimacy as loudly as Cole, and there is greater awareness of the price to be paid for such plenty. ... Cole and Glover are the old masters of their respective schools, and provide significant clues to future developments in which there would really be no Australian equivalent of the doctrine of Manifest Destiny (Brown 1998, p.586).

Epilogue

Until the 1960s practitioners and scholars of art, in the United States, struggled for its independence from European art history, and thus they necessarily focused on issues of "national" identity. Both artists and art historians have asked: What is American about American art? Similar soul searching was going on in Australia, too.

In fact, a question has been raised with regard to the criteria an artist should meet to qualify as colonial: to what extent can John Glover even be considered an Australian colonial artist since he did not settle in Australia until his 60s? Is his view of the land more representative of the British-ness of his origins and training than Australian-ness? Bonyhady (1999) contended that "what we now think of as Australian art was an accident of emigration" (p.667).

The removal of national boundaries, as observed in such exhibitions as New Worlds from Old and Expanding Horizons, indeed establishes a valuable framework which, as Christine Boyanoski (2000) argues, "neither marginalizes their art as footnotes to a mater (European) narrative, nor isolates and magnifies it in the way that national art histories can do when the larger context is absent" (p.159).[13] It echoes what cultural socialist Lyn Spillman (1997) has to offer in Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia. Comparing two settler colonialist countries provides "a deeper and more systematic understanding of what is really different about each country and why" (p.4). Of course, there is always a danger associated with such comparison, as David Brown argues: "[New Worlds from Old] is a show from which much is to be learned, though more perhaps about national consciousness and stereotypes than can be claimed for art history" (p.585).

In the twenty-first-century world, however, it is not just about "us" anymore, Katherine Manthorne argued, or perhaps "we" should say it is still about "us," but another version of "us" :

> We need, in fact, to examine our assumptions that by redirecting our attention to international intersections we are doing something entirely new—we must be aware of our

13 It is interesting to point out that Tate Gallery's conference entitled "English Accents: The Uses of British Art in the USA, Russia and Australia, 1776-1885" (6 November 1998) has not attracted scholarly attention.

> own contemporary vanities about globalization. Artists, their productions, and the materials out of which they created them have always been global" (2008, p.117).

And this is why, as Brown (2000) claimed in her review of New Worlds from Old, "placing the art of these two countries side by side should be seen not as a finished statement, but the first phase of a much larger project, the beginning of a new dialogue for cultural historians of both countries" (p. 241).

* 本研究は、上智大学学内特定研究「太平洋世界のグローバル・ヒストリー：アジア、北米、島嶼地域を繋ぐ多方向的移動とネットワークの形成」（2016年4月～2019年3月）の成果の一部である。

Fig. 1

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