

HERMANN DEUTSCH, PIONEER BALLARAT ENGRAVER AND LITHOGRAPHER

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One of the first cultural institutions to be established in the newly founded settlements on the Victorian goldfields was a newspaper. The equipment necessary to print it was fairly simple, a hand press and some type, which could be moved easily from place to place. The staff of many of the early newspaper offices consisted merely of the owner and an assistant, who handled all the work of gathering copy and advertisements, editing, typesetting and printing. Typesetting and printing could, if necessary, be undertaken by relatively untrained persons. Ballarat, founded in 1851, had a newspaper printing office as early as March 1854 when Henry Seekamp established the *Ballarat Times and Southern Cross*. As Ballarat grew other newspapers were founded and job printing offices were established to undertake commercial printing for businesses and local government. However, the graphic arts, such as engraving and lithography, were more specialised branches of the printing trade, requiring highly trained artisans to undertake the work and were much slower in being established in Victorian regional towns, if they were established at all, because demand for engraving and lithography was relatively small compared to the demand for newspapers or for ordinary job printing. Offices undertaking engraving and lithography were only established in large towns, such as Melbourne, then later Geelong and Ballarat as their populations increased.

Alfred Ronalds (1802–60) had set up business in Geelong in 1849 as an engraver and copperplate printer, but following the discovery of gold he moved to Forest Creek, then Bendigo, Creswick and finally Ballarat, where he settled and ran a nursery.¹ In February 1858, he advertised two lithographic presses with four stones each and a copperplate press for sale.² Whether he ever undertook any engraving or lithography in Ballarat is not known. If he did, no examples of his work have survived in public collections.

Robert Bell (c. 1817–1905) printed and published the *English and Chinese Advertiser* at Ballarat, beginning in April 1856. The earliest issues of this newspaper were lithographed by himself on his own equipment, but later they were printed from woodblocks and cast metal. Bell did not undertake any other lithographic work and certainly no work for the general public.³

Though the *Ballarat Star* reported in January 1858 that a lithographic establishment would open shortly,⁴ it was not until May 1858 that the first lithographic printing office was established in Ballarat when the *Ballarat Star* reported:

Lithographic Art on Ballarat. A Mr Deutsch has, within the last few days, opened a lithographic printing-office adjoining our own, in which he practises his art according to a patent taken out by himself. Mr Deutsch abjures the usual method of drawing upon and transferring to the stone, but with a sharp needle actually engraves it, following this process with some recondite chemical application. Mr Deutsch is decidedly an acquisition on Ballarat, especially as some specimens of his skill are far above average of colonial productions of the kind.⁵

The Mr Deutsch was Hermann Deutsch, a native of Gleiwitz in Upper Silesia, Prussia. Gleiwitz was an industrial town at the western edge of the Upper Silesian coalfields. The main industry associated with the town was iron and steel production and associated manufacturing. The population in 1839 was about 6200 and rose to 8520 by 1857.⁶ Very little is known of Deutsch's background other than he was Jewish, born about 1832, was an engraver by profession, and arrived in Melbourne aboard the *Sussex* from London on 4 January 1857.⁷ For a short period he seems to have set up business in Melbourne in Flinders Lane East, as there is an undated sale plan entitled: 'Plan of valuable building allotments near the Central Railway Station & on the Geelong Road, Footscray. H Deutsch Lith 80 Flinders Lane e/t'.

At some time late in 1857 (probably December) Deutsch was temporarily employed in the Surveyor General's Office as a lithographic draftsman at £7 per week, lithographing part of the large map of Victoria that was compiled for the Census Commission. In January 1858 the money allocated for the project ran out and Deutsch would have been discharged before the project was finished. To complete it, he was asked to submit a tender to finish it. On 12 February 1858 he submitted a tender for the completion of two sheets of the Census Map of Victoria for the sum of £77. The tender was accepted on 24 February.⁸ This would have allowed him to be self-employed up to the middle of March. On 5 March 1858 shortly before its completion he applied to fill a vacancy of lithographic draftsman that was to occur in the Lithographic Branch of the Surveyor General's Department. He applied again on 13 March, presumably on completion of the Census map, but was unsuccessful in obtaining the position⁹ and moved to Ballarat where he opened an office in Main Street next to the *Ballarat Star* office, as that newspaper reported.¹⁰ It is possible that he purchased the lithographic presses, stones and copperplate press advertised for sale in February 1858 by Alfred Ronalds, although as we shall see another person alleged that he had purchased the equipment and was responsible for Deutsch setting up in business. It is not clear which patent process Deutsch used that was mentioned by the *Star*, because no record of a patent taken out by him has been found.

One of the earliest recorded examples of his work was a phrenological broadsheet printed in September 1858 and published by a Mr Hamilton, a local

phrenologist, which showed sketches of heads drawn by Deutsch,¹¹ but on 10 September a large advertisement appeared in the *Star*:

Ballarat Lithographic, Engraving and Printing Office. Deutsch & Ferguson. Lithographers and Engravers, Main Road (next the *Star* Printing Office) ... the only one on Ballarat ...¹²



Example of Deutsch's billhead from an account of 1860. This design was also used as his business card (State Library of Victoria, Australian Manuscripts Collection MS A1387, series 6, Archives of Ballarat Hebrew Congregation).

Deutsch's partner was John Mannin Ferguson (c. 1827–94), a Scottish lithographic printer of some ability. It is clear from the advertisement that the business now included letterpress printing as well as engraving and lithography. In the advertisement the partners also advertised for an apprentice, but apparently had no suitable applicants, as they advertised again for an apprentice in October 1858.¹³ The earliest print by Deutsch and Ferguson known so far is 'View of the Great Eastern Mining Company's Claim on the Malakoff Lead, Ballarat, visited by Professor Anderson & his family'.¹⁴ In December 1858 they printed and published an 18 x 24 inch print of Ballarat West as viewed from Black Hill, described by the *Star* as bearing a 'strong resemblance to an antique steel engraving'.¹⁵

Ballarat album

In addition to the usual productions of such an office, for example invoices and billheads, the firm undertook a major project in 1859 by printing and publishing the *Ballarat Album*, a series of 16 views of Ballarat and its environs. The project seems to have been the brainchild of François Cogné (1829–80),¹⁶ who drew and lithographed the plates based on photographs by a local photographer William Bardwell. Cogné was a French artist and lithographer who arrived in Melbourne in November 1852. It is possible that Deutsch & Ferguson may have employed Cogné, but the contemporary newspaper accounts indicate otherwise. In reporting the appearance of the first plates in January 1859, the *Ballarat Star* noted ‘Mr Cogné intends to publish about 12 five shilling numbers, each containing two lithographed sketches of Ballarat views.’¹⁷ The printed area of each plate was about 270 mm by 430 mm and they were printed in black with the addition of a brown and a blue tint. The prints were issued in pairs at approximately monthly intervals. On the issue of the eighth part in October 1859, it was announced that the set had been discontinued. The *Ballarat Times* reported the series was well executed and lithographed and was discontinued ...

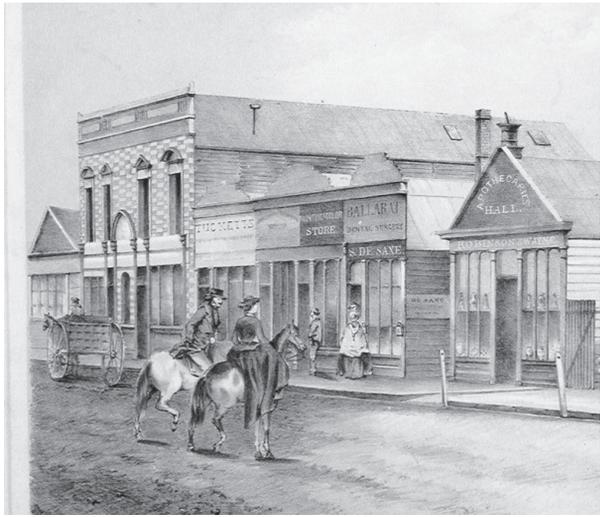
from some cause with which we are not acquainted. The publishers no doubt experienced difficulty in finding suitable views for the Album, and having given sketches of every part of the town in the least worthy of being made subjects for engravings, they would have been obliged to go into the bush for new scenes; and bush scenery, though beautiful in some places, is in the vicinity of Ballarat, by no means of a character which would induce the artist to sketch it, or for the public to value his work, however meritorious in execution it may be.’¹⁸

It seems more likely the reason for not continuing was because the prints were not an economic proposition. After this, Cogné taught French and drawing in Ballarat and then ran a restaurant, until he became insolvent in 1862, whereupon he moved to Melbourne and started a project similar to the *Ballarat Album*, entitled the *Melbourne Album*, with the lithographic printer Charles Troedel (1835–1906). After the third number was published, Cogné was no longer involved and returned to France in February 1864.

Later printing work

The partnership between Deutsch and Ferguson was dissolved on 4 October 1859 with Deutsch continuing the business in his own name.¹⁹ At some time late in 1860 or during 1861, he moved his premises from Main Road to Bridge Street in Ballarat East.²⁰ He printed and published numerous uncoloured lithographic prints of views of Ballarat and its buildings such as Ballarat Cemetery; Ballarat Mechanics Institute; Primitive Methodist Jubilee Chapel, Ballarat 1860; Ballarat Town Hall; Ballarat Hospital; Ballarat Post Office, Benevolent Asylum, Ballarat; and also prints of

events such as the Ballarat Cricket Match between the United Victorian Eleven and Eighteen of Ballarat; the Grand United Match between the Twenty-two of Ballarat and the Eleven of England Played on the 6th, 7th and 8th of March 1862; and laying the Foundation Stone of the Ballarat Town Hall. These prints were printed on thin paper and seem to have been designed for use as illustrated letter paper, because some examples have survived as headings on a large sheet of folded paper. Illustrated letter paper was a common production of Melbourne printers and stationers in the 1850s and 1860s, using



Portion of a print from the Ballarat Album entitled 'Part of Main Road 1859. Ballarat East'. The complete view showed Main Road from Biggs and Shoppé's store to that of Deutsch and Ferguson (Ballarat Star 2 April 1859, p. 3). The large two-storied building is the Star printing office next to Deutsch and Ferguson's office at the left edge of the print.

prints by well-known local artists such as S. T. Gill. Some of Deutsch's prints are on a pale blue paper. The first record of letter paper was the report in the *Ballarat Star* of September 1858 mentioned above, so such items were produced very early in the business's history. In September 1862 the *Ballarat Star* reported that Deutsch had published an illustrated letterhead of the Benevolent Asylum, with the centre and one wing of the building completed, and also a representation of the corroboree held in the Copenhagen Grounds the year before.²¹ He also published an excellent map of Ballarat at a scale of 12 chains to an inch²² and another at 50 chains to an inch, which was printed on the back of his business card. The *Ballarat Star* reported that Deutsch had ...

just issued a work of real art, in the shape of an enamelled address card of his own business. It is engraved in, not drawn on, stone, and so an amount of sharpness and delicacy has been secured which is so eminently serviceable in displaying the numerous details therein contained. The size of the card is less than that of the palm of the hand, and yet, besides Mr Deutsch's own address, it bears those of no less than twenty-eight other business establishments, all of them arranged like cards on a mantel rack. Notwithstanding the minuteness of the

characters in which these are engraved, they are perfectly legible to the unassisted eye. For the purpose of giving greater value to the card, and as adding to its chances of preservation, the other side contains a carefully executed map of the two municipalities on a scale of fifty chains to the inch. If we remember rightly, there has not before been published a map of both municipalities, and though the present is on a small scale, it is perfectly distinct.²³

In June 1862, Deutsch produced a huge sheet almanac entitled *Deutsch's Ballarat Mercantile Directory*. It was reported as being ...

really a work of art, occupies a sheet some four feet square, and is intended to be either varnished or framed for hotels, business premises, or public offices. Its use is to afford at a glance, information as to all the principal firms, &c., in Ballarat, as well as the class of intelligence which is most sought by strangers on visits either of pleasure or business. The centre compartments are occupied by a well executed plan of Ballarat on a scale of twelve chains to an inch, itself a great acquisition, and an assemblage of business addresses very prettily engraved upon a series of miniature cards arranged in star-fashion. At the corners are vignettes representing the Town Halls of the two municipalities, the Ballarat District Hospital and the Benevolent Asylum. In columns on either side is arranged the directory, which has been compiled by Mr Carkeet. It contains between fourteen and fifteen hundred names of firms, &c. Other portions of the sheet contain valuable information in every-day request, and almanacs for four successive years.²⁴

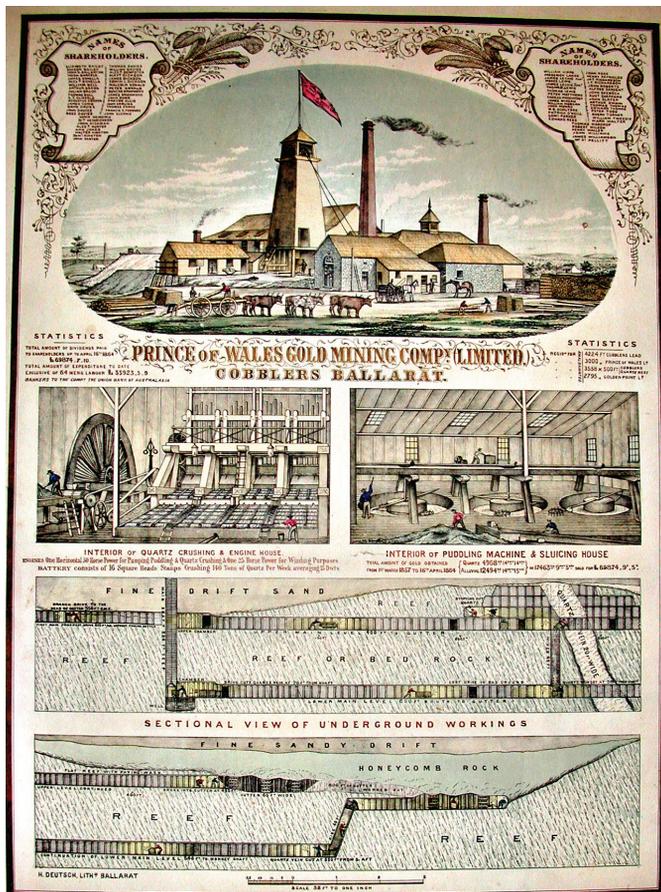
The directory was compiled by W. H. Carkeet and an advertisement for the directory stated that it was to be obtained from Carkeet, agent and compiler and from Deutsch's office, Bridge Street.²⁵

Apart from his black and white prints, Deutsch was particularly well known for a series of coloured lithographs of views and sections of Ballarat and district mines that he produced from 1858 to 1865. In these prints there was a vignette showing a view of the head works of the mine and sometimes a view of the battery or other processing equipment underneath. These vignettes were usually flanked with lists of shareholders or statistics of production, sometimes both. Below these were placed sections through the mines showing the underground workings. At least 17 of these prints were printed and published by Deutsch. The first in the series, published in 1859, seems to have been an uncoloured view of the Red Hill Mining Company's claim at Bakery Hill, which had a vignette heading it showing the Welcome Nugget owned by Julius, Isidor and Joseph Wittkowski. The next print was much more elaborate and executed in September 1861 at the expense of the Cosmopolitan Gold Mining Company and was to be sent to the Exhibition.²⁶

In April 1864 the *Ballarat Star* reported that Deutsch was engaged on a new view of the Cosmopolitan Company's works and that the first view had been sent home to the Exhibition of 1862. It was also later stated that this company was the first to employ the lithographer in elaborating a lithographed picture of the mine.²⁷

In January 1863, two of the prints were sent to the Melbourne newspapers for review, apparently with a view to selling them in Melbourne, as Sands and Macdougall were mentioned as the Melbourne agents.²⁸ Such a series of mine views were unique in Victoria, though two or three similar prints were undertaken by Deutsch's successor F. W. Niven, but these may have already been in production when Deutsch sold his business. One of Deutsch's prints particularly caught the eye of the editor of the *Ballarat Star*, who reported that ...

Mr H. Deutsch, Bridge Street, Ballarat, has just completed a large coloured lithographic display of the No. 2 shaft of the United Extended



'Prince of Wales Gold Mining Company, Ballaarat 1864'. SLV Collection..

Band of Hope Gold Mining Company. The print is uniform in style with many which Mr Deutsch has prepared for other companies, but in this case it includes a carefully executed plan of the claim, showing the various leads for which the company is registered. This has been compiled from the latest surveys by Mr Robert Davidson, mining surveyor.²⁹

Deutsch had 120 shares in this company in December 1864, which may have influenced him to produce his best work.³⁰ The print was also noticed in *Dicker's Mining Record* as 'the latest and perhaps the best of these well-known sketches'.³¹ Parts of the vignettes from some of the mining prints were also used for the headings of illustrated letter paper.³²

Illuminated addresses were commonly used in the nineteenth century as a means of celebrating particular events, such as the retirement of a popular personality or expressing gratitude for services performed or expressing welcome to an important personage. Such an address was presented as a testimonial to Sergeant Fenton of the Ballarat Rifle Rangers in July 1861, engrossed by Deutsch with the names of the corps appended and with 'two spirited drawings of the volunteers in full uniform'. The editor of the *Ballarat Star* commented that 'it is well worthy of his reputation for skill in this department'.³³ An address 'beautifully illuminated by Mr Hermann Deutsch' was presented to the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, in August 1863 on his farewell visit to Ballarat by the Municipal Councils of Ballarat West and East and another by Deutsch was presented by the Ballarat West Fire Brigade.³⁴ Such items were also used to record the progress of institutions. In 1861 for the Exhibition of that year all the municipalities of Victoria were requested to submit statistics as a sign of progress of the colony. Many of those submitted were quite elaborate. The borough of Smythesdale had their statistics engrossed by Deutsch.

Ballarat Hebrew Congregation membership

Deutsch was a member of the Ballarat Hebrew Congregation. The Congregation had been established in 1853, but exactly when Deutsch joined is not clear, though his earliest known contact is when he undertook some printing work for it in 1860. He was one of five in the choir at the consecration of the new synagogue building on 17 March 1861; however, he did not appear in the financial records until 26 August 1862 when he contributed five shillings. He was one of the two auditors who audited the Congregation accounts in October 1865, October 1867 and April 1868. The latter date is the last time he appears in the records of the Congregation. On at least two occasions he undertook printing work for the Congregation, lithographing 60 circulars for 10 shillings on 10 September 1860 and on 9 February 1863 he printed 800 circulars at a price of £1/10/-.³⁵

Mining speculator

On 23 May 1865, Deutsch sold his business to his employee Francis Wilson Niven (1831–1905).³⁶ And with £5000, which he had saved out of his earnings and from the sale of his business, he became an investor in mining companies. For three years he was highly successful but then suffered heavy losses, having had to pay out over £4000 in calls and many of his shares became worthless. The Bank of Australasia sued him for £400, the amount of an overdrawn account. Having applied unsuccessfully for an appointment as a lithographer in the Lands Department in March 1870,³⁷ he was forced into insolvency on 8 June 1870, owing to depreciation in mining stock with liabilities of £920 and assets of £58. His debts included £400 owed to the Bank of Australasia, £274 owed to William Faulks of Ballarat, £208 owed to Emanuel Steinfeld and sundry small debts, one of which was £1/14/- owed to William R. Watson of the Town Hall Hotel for board in 1870. At his examination on 23 June 1870, Judge Barry refused to accept the insolvency of an estate in which the insolvent described himself as a mining speculator because that was inconsistent with the insolvent's statement that he became insolvent through misfortune. Therefore the profession written under the space for 'Occupation' on the petition was changed from 'Mining Speculator' to 'Lithographer' and a second schedule was filed at Melbourne. At that time he was a bachelor. Only two creditors bothered to prove their debts. His remaining shares were sold and Faulks received £7/17/- and Steinfeld £6/6/-. Deutsch received his certificate of discharge on 8 November 1870.³⁸ There is no further trace of him and it seems he left Victoria.³⁹

F. W. Niven

After taking over Deutsch's business, Niven built it up to form the largest printing establishment outside Melbourne, and in the 1880s and 1890s Niven's firm produced a large number of illustrated books. Niven was a very good businessman who knew how to promote, not only his business, which he did very successfully, but also himself. Unfortunately his self-promotion involved diminishing the role of Deutsch as a pioneer lithographer in Ballarat and even the denigration of his predecessor. Niven's claims varied in the numerous publications that involved descriptions of the firm and its history. Bryans stated that Niven could be seen as a 'braggart, a villain, or a brilliant entrepreneur and successful inventor', who had a boastful and theatrical personality and was 'clearly jealous of his early business partner Hermann Deutsch and often in later life claimed that Deutsch owed his success to Niven rather than the other way around.'⁴⁰

Though Niven's claims varied somewhat from publication to publication, they can be summarised as follows. Niven, who was a qualified seaman and had some artistic ability, arrived in Melbourne in 1852 and went mining at Ballarat. After seven years and being now married, he looked for a more reliable occupation. He

purchased Ronald's lithographic plant for £40 in 1857 and taught himself with the aid of Ure's *Dictionary of Arts*, because the seller of the plant was dead. He managed to produce some work that brought him in some money.⁴¹ In one account he mentions he produced *Ballarat Punch* in 1857. Then professional opposition appeared in the form of a German, who had worked for the Government, and Niven was so conscious of his own deficiencies and his opponents imagined superiority that he handed over his plant in exchange for tuition, only finding out later that his employer knew very little more than Niven, but the business flourished. A few years later Niven gave his employer some information about a mining venture, which made his fortune and led to the sale of the business to Niven for far more than its value in 1863. He also made various other erroneous claims of priority and innovations, which do not involve Deutsch, so need not concern us here. Only in one account, Wither's *History of Ballarat*, did Niven mention Deutsch by name, presumably because there would be many people in Ballarat who still remembered Deutsch and knew of the remarkable prints of Ballarat his firm had produced.⁴²



'Victorian Explorers Monument 1863'. SLV Collection.

If we examine some of these claims, it is clear that some are based on half-truths and others are incorrect. Niven was married on 6 July 1854 at Edge-Hill, Lancashire, so was not mining at Ballarat continuously from 1852 through to 1857 or 1858 as he implied. He arrived in Melbourne in July 1852 aboard *Anna*, but returned to England in March 1854 aboard *Stebonheath* as an able seaman and was discharged on 15 June 1854 at London. He returned to Melbourne with his wife in December 1854 aboard *Herald of the Morning*. The first *Ballarat Punch* was printed in 1857 and 1858 by letterpress at the *Times* office and had no illustrations. Another illustrated periodical of the same name appeared in 1868 and Niven printed the illustrations in this version. Alfred Ronalds, from whom Niven claimed to have purchased his lithographic equipment, did not die shortly after the purchase as claimed but died in 1860, so could have helped Niven. Nowhere in any printed version of Niven's claims are the names of François Cogné or John Ferguson mentioned. However, in a letter written in 1889, Niven did state that Deutsch carried on business with John Ferguson and employed Cogné as artist with Niven as 'assistant artist, printer, ink grinder &c'.⁴³ This is the nearest he came to acknowledging other people's priority and expertise. In this particular instance he could hardly avoid telling the truth, because he was supplying information to Herbert Woodhouse, a lithographic artist, who was giving a talk at the Lithographic Artists and Engravers Club in Melbourne, many members of which would have known the people involved and whether Niven was telling the truth about his beginnings in Ballarat.

At this distance in time and lacking other evidence, it is impossible to ascertain the exact circumstances of Niven's initial involvement with Deutsch. However, on the balance of probabilities it seems likely that Niven did purchase Ronald's equipment and negotiated with Deutsch to take him on as a learner with the equipment as a premium. Apart from the *Ballarat Album* prints that seem to have been more François Cogné's project and bore his name as artist, none of Deutsch's numerous prints have any artist's name on them with the single exception of the print of the Benevolent Asylum Ballarat that has the initials FWN just visible in the foreground. So Niven certainly did some of the artwork for Deutsch, but whether as much as he claimed is not known.⁴⁴

Conclusion

Having sold his business and later becoming insolvent, Deutsch was quickly forgotten by the Ballarat public, despite his pioneering status. Nevertheless Deutsch left a remarkable legacy of unique mining prints that give us a clear idea of the methods and conditions of the famous deep lead mines of Ballarat. He also left an important visual record of Ballarat in the late 1850s and early 1860s. His business was the most successful and significant of its kind outside Melbourne and laid the foundation for F. W. Niven's later success.

Acknowledgments

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List of known prints printed by Hermann Deutsch and Deutsch & Ferguson

Institutions holding examples are as follows: La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne; Sovereign Hill, Ballarat (including Gold Museum and Ballarat Historical Society collections); Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney; National Library of Australia, Canberra; National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.

The Welcome Nugget ... View of the Red Hill Mining Company's Claim Bakery Hill, Ballarat. The Welcome Nugget was taken ... 9 June 1858 Lithogd & Printed by H. Deutsch next The *Star* Printing Office Ballarat. La T, Sov. Hill (Ballarat Historical Society Photograph Collection).

Cosmopolitan Gold Mining Compy Golden Point Lead, Ballarat. Drawn & Lithd by H. Deutsch Ballarat Sept 1859. [Noticed *Ballarat Star* 25 September 1861, p. 2.] La T, Sov. Hill (Gold Museum Local History Collection).

Koh-I-Noor Gold Mining Compy. Golden Point Lead Ballarat Lithd by H. Deutsch, Ballarat. [statistics 6 August 1860] La T.

Pioneer Gold Mining Company Durham Lead Buninyong Drawn & Lithd by H. Deutsch Ballarat. [statistics 9 March 1861] La T.

Black Hill Quartz Mining Compy Limited Ballarat Lithd by H. Deutsch Bridge St Ballarat. [statistics July 1861] [Noticed *Ballarat Star* 15 January 1863, p. 2; *The Age* 28 January 1863, p. 5; *Argus* 28 January 1863, p. 5; *Herald* 27 January 1863, p. 5] La T, Sov. Hill (Gold Museum Local History Collection).

Nelson & Wellington Gold Mining Compy. Sebastopol Ballarat H. Deutsch Lithd. Ballarat [statistics to September 1861, noticed *Ballarat Star* 20 March 1863, p. 2.] La T, NL, Sov. Hill (Gold Museum Local History Collection).

The Albion Gold Mining Compy. Frenchman's Lead Sebastopol Ballarat H. Deutsch Lithd Ballarat. [statistics December 1861] La T.

Deutsch's Ballarat Mercantile Directory [advertised *Ballarat Star* 12 June 1862, p. 3; noticed 13 June 1862, p. 2].

Independent Quartz Mining Compy. Black Hill, Ballarat. H. Deutsch Lithd Ballarat. [statistics January 1863] La T, Sov. Hill (Gold Museum Local History Collection).

Great Extended Gold Mining Compy Redan Lead Ballarat Lithd by H. Deutsch Ballarat. [statistics to June 1860, noticed *Argus* 28 January 1863, p. 5] NL, Sov. Hill (Gold Museum Local History Collection).

The Defiance Gold Mining Company Defiance Lead Sebastopol H. Deutsch Lithd Ballarat. [statistics 2 May 1863] La T, Sov. Hill (Gold Museum Local History Collection).

New Wombat Hill Mining Company Daylesford. [statistics 3 December 1863, no printer] La T.

The Llanberis Quartz Mining Compy Ballarat H. Deutsch Lithd Ballarat. [statistics 24 December 1862, noticed *Ballarat Star* 17 April 1863, p. 2.] La T.

Cosmopolitan Gold Mining Company, Golden Point Lead Ballarat. H. Deutsch Lithd Ballarat. [statistics 9 January 1864, noticed *Ballarat Star* 19 January 1864, p. 2.] La T, Sov. Hill (Gold Museum Local History Collection).

Prince of Wales Gold Mining Compy. Limited Cobblers Ballarat. H. Deutsch Lithd Ballarat. [statistics 16 April 1864 [sic], noticed *Ballarat Star* 30 April 1863, p.2; 9 May 1863, p. 2] La T, ML.

United Extended Band of Hope Gold Mining Company Limited, Golden Point Lead No. 2 Shaft Ballarat H. Deutsch Lithd Ballarat. [statistics 10 August 1864. Deutsch listed as a shareholder. Has map by Davidson, noticed *Ballarat Star* 6 September 1864, p. 2.; *The Age* 6 September 1864, p. 5.] La T.

Criterion Quartz Mining Compy. Clunes H. Deutsch Lithd Ballarat [statistics to August 1863] La T.

Alston and Weardale Goldmining Coy. (Registered) Prospect Lead, Ballarat [no printer, statistics 1 August 1863] Sov. Hill (Gold Museum Local History Collection).

Band of Hope Quartz Mining Company, Little Bendigo Ballarat. H. Deutsch Lithd Ballarat [statistics to 21 March 1863, noticed *Ballarat Star* 19 January 1864, 2.] NL, Sov. Hill (Gold Museum Local History Collection).

The Buninyong Gold Mining Coy Limited, Scotchmans Lead, Buninyong H. Deutsch Lithd Ballarat [statistics to 6 August 1864]. ML, Sov. Hill (Gold Museum Local History Collection).

Convention Gold Mining Coy. (Registered) Durham Lead near Ballarat. [statistics 10 February 1865, no printer cited] La T.

Notes

- 1 T. A. Darragh, *The Establishment and Development of Engraving and Lithography in Melbourne to the time of the Gold Rush* (Thumb Creek: Garravambi, 1990), p. 28 and note 55.
- 2 *Ballarat Star*, 25 February 1858, p. 3. There was an earlier advertisement in which one lithographic press with stones was offered for sale, but no copperplate press and the vendor was not mentioned, merely to apply to the *Herald* office in Main Road (*Ballarat Star* 18 August 18757, p. 4).
- 3 Yewang Wang & Julia Ryder, 'An "eccentric" paper edited for the unwelcome aliens', *AARL Australian Academic & Research Libraries*, vol. 30, no. 4 (1999), pp. 300–12.
- 4 *Ballarat Star*, 8 January 1858, p. 3.

- 5 *Ballarat Star*, 24 May 1858, p. 3. It seems unlikely, though not impossible, that
 6 the January report referred to Deutsch, who at that time was working in Melbourne.
 7 There were 132 Jewish families comprising 653 persons in Gleiwitz in 1836. See B.
 Nietsche, *Geschichte der Stadt Gleiwitz* (Gleiwitz, Paul Rashdorff, 1886), p. 606.
 8 Deutsch was naturalised on 26 October 1859 and 17 July 1860 and had to provide
 some background information. National Archives of Australia, naturalisation papers,
 Series A712, 1859/M10801 and 1860/Q6197. The *Ballarat Star* reported him taking
 the oath of naturalisation with some others before Mr Justice Molesworth on 17
 July 1860 (18 July 1860, p. 2).
- 9 Public Record Office of Victoria (PROV), Surveyor General's inward correspon-
 dence, VPRS 44/485/letter 58/736. The tender included pay from 1 January 1858,
 so presumably he wanted payment for about 11 weeks, that is to 13 March. *Victoria*
Government Gazette (2 March 1858), p. 407, contract accepted for engraving
 two sheets of Census Map and correcting proofs of former sheets, £77, Hermann
 Deutsch, approved 24 February 1858. The two sheets lithographed by Deutsch were
 the bottom sheets of the map and bear the inscription Lithographed by Hermann
 Deutsch Public Lands Office December 7th, 1857 and January 18th, 1858.
- 10 PROV Surveyor General's inward correspondence register VPRS 70/9, pp. 100,
 118. The letters have not been found. On 8 April 1858, he advised that his address
 was now 96 Napier Street, Collingwood (VPRS 70/8, p. 143).
- 11 The choice of Ballarat as a destination may have been because Deutsch had a
 relative there. Emanuel Steinfeld, the well-known Ballarat merchant, was born in
 Upper Silesia not far from Gleiwitz. His mother was Ernestine née Deutsch.
 Hermann Deutsch and Emanuel Steinfeld were also partners in several gold mining
 companies. Steinfeld was also Deutsch's character reference in his application for
 naturalisation.
- 12 *Ballarat Star*, 2 August p. 3. No copy of the broadsheet has been located.
- 13 *Ballarat Star*, 10 September 1858, p. 3. The advertisement listed all the kinds of
 work the partners could undertake.
- 14 *Ballarat Star*, 18 October 1858, p. 3.
- 15 The print was noticed in the *Ballarat Star*, 14 September 1858, p. 3 as designed to
 serve as letter paper. I have not traced a copy of this print.
- 16 *Ballarat Star*, 22 December 1858, p. 3. I have not traced a copy of this print.
- 17 For Cogné see P. Cudmore in J. Kerr (ed.) *Dictionary of Australian Artists* (Oxford:
 Melbourne, 1992), p. 170.
- 18 *Ballarat Star*, 25 January 1859, p. 3.
- 19 *Ballarat Times*, 5 October 1859, p. 2.
- 20 *Victoria Government Gazette*, (7 October 1859), p. 2109, partnership dissolution,
 between Hermann Deutsch and John Ferguson on 4 October 1859. All debts due
 and owing will be received and paid by Deutsch, who will carry on the business in
 his own name.
- 21 Deutsch advertised the Ballarat Lithographic and Engraving Office in Main Rd,
 opposite the British Queen Hotel in the *Ballarat Star* up to the middle of September
 1860. By November 1861 he was in Bridge Street.
- 22 *Ballarat Star*, 2 September 1862, p. 2. I have not located a copy of the corroboree
 print.

- 22 Plan of Ballarat Municipalities Circuit 10 miles. Scale 12 chains to one inch. Engraved after the latest Government Surveys by H. Deutsch, Ballarat.
- 23 *Ballarat Star*, 28 November 1861, p. 2. I have not located a copy of this particular business card. In the Niven collection, University of Melbourne Archives (74:73), there is a Deutsch business card, similar to his 1860 billhead, but with the address given as Lydiard Street, next the English Church. As there is no evidence that Deutsch was ever at this address, the card would seem to indicate that Deutsch may have considered moving from Main Road to Lydiard Street, but instead moved to Bridge Street.
- 24 *Ballarat Star*, 13 June 1862, p. 2. The four almanacs were calendars for the years 1862 through to 1865. Deutsch was listed three times in the Leading Houses, Trades, &C. columns under the headings of Engraver and Lithographer, Printers (Job) and Stationers. Given its huge size it is not surprising that examples have not survived. A copy taken from an original in private hands is held by the Gold Museum Local History Collection, Sovereign Hill, Ballarat.
- 25 *Ballarat Star*, 12 June 1862, p. 3.
- 26 *Ballarat Star*, 25 September 1861, p. 2. The print is not listed in the catalogue of the Victorian Exhibition 1861, but could have been sent to London for the 1862 Exhibition. The report in the *Ballarat Star* also stated that the print could be purchased, so it was not just for the shareholders of the company.
- 27 *Ballarat Star*, 19 January 1864, p. 2.
- 28 *Herald* 27 January 1863, p. 5; *The Age*, 28 January 1863, p. 5; *The Argus* 28 January 1863, p. 5.
- 29 *Ballarat Star*, 6 September 1864, p. 2. A similar report of the receipt of the print appeared in the *Age* 6 September 1864, p. 3.
- 30 *Ballarat Star*, 30 December 1864, p. 4.
- 31 *Dicker's Mining Record*, vol. 3, no. 9, (24 September 1864), p. 169.
- 32 See list of prints.
- 33 *Ballarat Star*, 16 July 1861, p. 2.
- 34 *Ballarat Star*, 31 August 1863, p. 2. *Argus*, 2 September 1863, p. 5. Photographs of the municipal address were made by the Ballarat photographers, Soloman and Bardwell (*Ballarat Star* 1 September 1863, p. 2).
- 35 *Ballarat Star*, 18 March, 1861, p. 4. State Library of Victoria, Australian Manuscript Collection MS A1387, series 6, Archives of Ballarat Hebrew Congregation.
- 36 *Ballarat Star*, 23 May 1865, p. 3, notice of disposal of business to Niven and notice by Niven that he has purchased the business.
- 37 Public Record Office of Victoria (PROV). Surveyor General's Office inward correspondence, VPRS 44, unit 256, application 70-64.
- 38 PROV Geelong Court of Insolvency schedules VPRS 815/96/2541.
- 39 Outward shipping lists at PROV record a Mr H. Deutsch, age 28, leaving Melbourne for New Zealand aboard Ringarooma on 9 February 1876 for Otago and a Mr Deutsch, 41 returning on the same ship and arriving in Melbourne on 28 February 1876. The ship arrived at Bluff on 14 February, then Port Chalmers on 15 February, and then on to Wellington. It left at Wellington on 20 February and arrived at Lyttleton on 21 February, then on to Bluff, leaving there on 24 February. Deutsch could have disembarked at one of the intermediate ports and then rejoined the ship,

if his business only involved a short visit. On 17 April 1877, a Mr Deutsch left Melbourne for Galle, Ceylon, probably on the way to Europe. Ages on shipping lists are unreliable, so it is possible that the three entries are all for the same person and could be the Ballarat Hermann Deutsch.

- 40 D. Bryans, *A seed of consequence: indirect image transfer and chemical printing, the role played by lithography in the development of printing technology*. (PhD thesis, Swinburne University of Technology, 2000), pp. 216–7.
- 41 It is conceivable that the report in the *Ballarat Star* (8 January 1858, p. 3) referred to the possibility of Niven setting up a lithographic establishment, but there is no report of his having done so and nothing until the May report of Deutsch starting in business.
- 42 The publications include *British Lithographer*, vol. 3, no. 13, (October–November 1893), p. 5. *British Printer*, vol. 7, no. 39, (May–June 1894), p. 153. W. B. Kimberly (ed.), *Ballarat and Vicinity* (Ballarat: Niven, 1894) p. 206. *Australian Photographic Journal*, vol. 8, (21 February 1898), p. 36. J. Smith (ed.), *Cyclopedia of Victoria* (Melbourne: Cyclopedia Company, 1905), vol. 3, p. 136. W. B. Withers, *The History of Ballarat from the first Pastoral Settlement to the present time*. 2nd edition, (Ballarat: Niven, 1887).
- 43 Dixon Library, State Library of New South Wales, MS Q/14, F. W. Niven, 16 May 1889.
- 44 Niven's first business card, printed when he took over Deutsch's business, was a highly decorative piece of art work, very similar to Deutsch's and included the same emblem of a pallete and drawing instruments as well as many of the same artistic elements and lettering. The initials H.D. are present on it indicating that Deutsch designed and engraved it for Niven. It also had Deutsch's small map of Ballarat on the verso (Niven collection, Melbourne University Archives 74:73). In the Niven collection there is a letter from Niven's father Ninian, dated 17 April 1863, advising his son to 'stick close to your old business with Mr Deutsch', suggesting that perhaps Niven was thinking of leaving.