

Portraits of the Famous and Infamous– Sir Rex Nan Kivell's Collection

Reginald Nan Kivell, born in Christchurch in 1898, lived as a boy surrounded by streets named after Bligh and the mutiny on the Bounty. As a child, then as an adult, he was obsessed with voyaging, mapping and explorers' accounts of their travels and conquests. He was intrigued by the process of reinvention that led to someone like James Cook, a modestly educated Yorkshire lad, becoming the most famous mariner and explorer of the 18th century, and by the fame and acclaim that such people could attract. For Nan Kivell, the process of reinvention began early and continued until his knighthood in the last year of his life. To escape his humble and inopportune origins (he was illegitimate, gay and modestly educated), he fled New Zealand in late 1916 to serve, ingloriously, in the First World War. Quickly and ambitiously he rebranded himself as Rex de Charembac Nan Kivell Esq. He had an elastic attitude towards the truth; he claimed, for example, that he was given leave during the war to 'continue his studies at the Imperial College' in London—he wasn't. This skill for fiction enabled him to create a good story and to get along with people, a quality that assisted him greatly in his career as an art dealer and collector.

The opportunity to separate himself from his past and from the shores of New Zealand meant that Nan Kivell could create a new, sophisticated 'man of-the-world' persona, as a friend to the rich and famous, but also that he could not look backwards. He invented stories of his family's illustrious pioneering past as early settlers in the Canterbury area and collected images of them, or of people that might be them. He included these images in his book, Portraits of the Famous and Infamous: Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific, 1492–1970, thereby publicly proclaiming his pedigree or provenance and placing himself and his family in good company. Rubbing shoulders with famed explorers, kings and queens of the Pacific and Europe, knights, politicians, social reformers and the scientific elite obviously appealed to him. However, while this might be seen as an elaborate form of social climbing, it should be noted that he also acknowledged the

assistance of many people who had helped him with his book and his acquisitions. Individual staff from the National Library, dealers, friends, his business partners and his partner of many years, Mizouni Nouari (born 1929), are all mentioned, some feature a portrait. Nan Kivell's processes of reinvention helped to secure his public reputation as a man with roots, heritage and a productive colonial past, something that could overwrite his illegitimacy and homosexuality in the public eye. This reinvention also meant that he could never risk returning to New Zealand and being unmasked, despite entreaties over decades to visit as a special guest of the government. Nor did he visit Australia, gently declining numerous requests from Prime Minister Menzies and Harold White, the indefatigable National Librarian (1947–1970).

Having left his past behind him, Nan Kivell achieved considerable influence in the modern art world, centred in London. He owned the prominent Redfern Gallery for decades, and his business acumen brought profits that enabled him to amass a vast private collection of material relating to the exploration, settlement and people of the Pacific. He spent generously to build up his 'Australasian collection' as he liked to refer to it. It is impossible to know how much he spent in acquiring this collection but it averages out that he purchased about two items a day for 60 years. He spent a fortune, not just on acquiring tens of thousands of items, but also in binding, bookplating and making elegant housings for his printed volumes, over 5,000 in total. He conserved, framed, reproduced, catalogued, registered and lent items for exhibition, and documented his collection with numerous very expensively bound photographic albums. He stored the collection but, as it grew larger and more unmanageable, and cautioned by a bomb hitting his gallery in the Blitz, he sought to find a worthy new home for it. From 1945 until the collection's formal acquisition in 1959, one year before the National Library Act was proclaimed, negotiations were diligently maintained. Harold White, very ably assisted by Pauline Fanning, and the Library's Liaison Officers

at the High Commission in London, spent years working with the collector to ensure that his largesse would eventually come to Canberra. The potential for the collection's exhibition in a gallery within the new Library building was a key part of the attraction for him, and the Rex Nan Kivell Gallery opened in 1974. Nan Kivell also acknowledged the strategic contribution of the Library's staff in helping him compile his encyclopaedic listing of thousands of portraits. He was very well served by the Library over decades. Staff responded to his many letters and requests, particularly in relation to his Portraits book, and he served the Library extraordinarily well. It was a symbiotic relationship and he loved the institution and its staff for the dedicated care bestowed on his cherished collection.

Nan Kivell observed the contentious processes of colonial encounter with indigenous peoples without judgement or strong opinion, happy to acquire the plethora of images thrown up in its wake. He joked in a letter to White in 1970, that some of the 'famous' characters 'recorded on one side should have been recorded on the other, somehow I was never very fond of missionaries'. He saw the value to the future researcher in assembling a collection that enabled moments in history to be viewed from different perspectives; from the formal published account or a firsthand sketch by a travel artist to a piece of ephemera or a diary entry, as evidence of an event, he kept and valued them all. He recognised the value of the connections between items held in the rich collection well before others became aware of them. That his collection has been avidly mined for exhibition and publication for over 60 years is a testament to its great and continuing value as a national treasure trove.

Perhaps surprisingly to some observers, Nan Kivell's unparalleled collection contains thousands of portraits. He assembled these works as part of his maverick project, conceived as early as 1953, to produce a book that would comprehensively document nearly 500 years of the 'famous and infamous of Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific'. He saw that the activities of the famous 'foresaw, discovered, opened up and settled' the region—King George III for example. The contribution of the infamous, he wrote, 'has chiefly been romantic, dramatic and sometimes historic'; Arthur Orton, the bankrupt butcher and title usurper from Wagga Wagga neatly fits this

category. The book, obviously the product of an autodidact's mind, is in some respects difficult to use, and not just because of its size. It has a slightly maddening and idiosyncratic layout, but it is still of considerable value as the definitive catalogue of portraits associated with our region after more than 40 years. Nan Kivell envisaged it as a useful reference tool, not as a picture book, and intended to update it, noting in the foreword that 'further research will find more portraits. These will be collected and published in a supplement at a future date'. For a number of reasons this was not to happen.

Nan Kivell obsessed about all aspects of his book from the number of colour versus black and white illustrations, to the paper stock and binding, to the title. Although he was initially concerned that the title he had chosen was 'too gimmicky', it was infinitely better than a handwritten alternative found in his papers: 'Primogenitors of Terra Australis'. With his friend, Sydney A. Spence (1898–1978), a fellow New Zealander, bibliographer and book dealer, the project eventually came to fruition in 1974. After more than 20 years of labour, a print run of 1,400 volumes was published at huge expense to its principle protagonist. Nan Kivell writes in a letter to Pauline Fanning in late 1975 that the 'astronomical' final cost of producing the volume was f.33,569. This would equate to something like \$300,000 to \$400,000 today. Eccentrically, the volume alphabetically traverses the Pacific from Abba Thulle, King of Pelew, to the Rev. J.H.L. Zillman in Ipswich, Queensland. Within its pages are some of the most compelling portraits created in our short history and in the centuries before settlement in the Antipodes.

Enjoy a small selection of these portraits here, in the larger Treasures Gallery or online.

NAT WILLIAMS James and Bettison Treasures Curator August 2015

The James and Bettison Treasures Curator is proudly supported by Helen James, whose wish it was to support a curatorship associated with the National Library's collection and its display in the Treasures Gallery.



Rex Nan Kivell 1969 by ROBERT BUHLER R.A. (1916–1989) pastel on Michallet paper

NK11545

It is interesting that Rex Nan Kivell (1898–1977), an art dealer who was so passionately interested in portraiture and in the representation of those that shaped our part of the world, only commissioned two artists to capture him in portrait form. He included these works in his compendium of portraits along with references to, and images of, his friends and those who had assisted him to produce his very time-consuming volume over nearly two decades. Nan Kivell listed as part of his biographical details that he was an 'Archaeologist, publisher, Director of Redfern Gallery of Modern Art' and that he 'formed the comprehensive ... Rex Nan Kivell Collection' and published on 'Romano-British' archaeology and 'English artists'. From time to time, he also commissioned photographers, such as Ida Kar (1908-1974), to produce images documenting him in his gallery for publicity and publication purposes.

The earliest portrait of Nan Kivell held by the Library was commissioned in 1960 from Bryan Kneale (born 1930). The British painter-turned-sculptor's career was launched by Nan Kivell in the 1950s and his cubist rendering of his dealer and friend, symbolically positioned with some of his rare books and expensively-bound albums documenting his collection, must have been commissioned to encourage Kneale. The portrait appears to have been derived from a photograph of Nan Kivell by James Mortimer (which is held in the Library's collection). Another slightly earlier portrait by Kneale of Nan Kivell was owned by his partner Mizouni Nouari but is now in a private collection.

The pastel portrait seen here is by Robert Buhler and was commissioned nine years later. It is one of a series of at least six portraits of Nan Kivell undertaken by Buhler. Born in London to Swiss parents, Buhler studied commercial art in Zurich and Basel and later printmaking and painting in London. He also taught at leading art schools. Buhler is an interesting choice for an art dealer to make when he could have commissioned just about anyone to take his portrait. Nan Kivell represented Buhler briefly and must have found his sober, rather timeless style—reminiscent of certain post-impressionist painters—appealing. Nan Kivell had made a fortune selling French impressionist and post-impressionist art and perhaps sympathised with this work. It seems a Buhler portrait was something he wanted to live with and be remembered by. Moreover, the fact that Buhler was commissioned to, or chose to produce, numerous portraits during his career of the literary and artistic world of London meant that Nan Kivell would have felt he was in good company. In the same year as undertaking Nan Kivell's portrait, and in the following year, Buhler also completed a pastel portrait of the writer and poet, W.H. Auden, two of the Poet Laureate, Cecil Day Lewis, and a portrait of the composer, Sir Lennox Berkeley. Buhler's mother ran a bookshop and café that attracted artists from the Euston Road School and her son was influenced by their brand of realist art, created to appeal to the common man. During his career, Buhler also completed portraits of the leading figures, Steven Spender, Ruskin Spear, Barnett Freedman, John Minton, Francis Bacon and John Davenport. In 1956, aged 40, Buhler was made a Royal Academician, making him one of the youngest to have achieved this distinction.



Abraham Ortelius c. 1579

by PHILIPS GALLE (1537–1612) Antwerp: CHRISTOPHE PLANTIN (1514–1589) hand-coloured engraving NK3379

Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), the famous cartographer and geographer, is best known as the creator of the first modern atlas. Entitled Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (Theatre of the World), this pioneering publication was produced in Antwerp, his birthplace, in 1570. His family had moved from Augsburg in Austria to Antwerp, which had become a major centre of map and print production by the time the atlas was assembled. Ortelius began his professional life as an engraver and cartographic illuminator but he also dealt in books, prints and maps. In 1554, he met the cartographer Gerard Mercator (1512–1594), whose name is synonymous with the revolutionary map projection that bears his name. The mid-16th century was a time of great cartographic experimentation and invention, and Ortelius saw the opportunity to amalgamate the best printed maps into one volume for easy reference. His most important influence in this enterprise was Mercator, whose revolutionary world map of 1569 Ortelius used to create at least eight maps in his volume. This atlas, the most authoritative work in print, was immediately successful and multiple editions were produced in different languages, with 25 in print by the time of Ortelius' death in 1598.

This portrait, one of several of the cartographer owned by Nan Kivell, can be seen in reverse as part of the colour double-page frontispiece in *Portraits of the Famous and Infamous*. The cast of characters involved in its production suggests both the centrality of Ortelius' atlas and the number of individuals involved in print production at the time. While the atlas was first in production in 1570, the portrait of Ortelius appears not to have

been included and circulated until 1579. The engraving was created by Philips Galle, the Dutch-born, Antwerp-based engraver, painter and print dealer. The quotation was written by Dutch poet and writer Andreas Paepe; 'Spectandum dedit Ortelius mortalib. orbem, Orbi spectandum Galleus Ortelium' is Latin for 'By looking, Ortelius gave to mortal beings the world, by looking at his face, Galle gave them Ortelius'. The publisher of the print was the famous Christophe Plantin, a Frenchborn bookbinder and printer who became the major publisher of his era and was a close friend of Ortelius. His very successful print business, the Officina Plantiniana, also printed two editions of the Ortelius atlas in 1584 and 1598. Plantin worked with Jan Moretus who became his son-in-law and later generations of the Plantin-Moretus family were friendly with Peter Paul Rubens who worked with them. It appears Rubens based his c. 1633 portrait of Ortelius on Galle's image. In this rectangular format, Ortelius rests his hand on a globe. The portrait is held in the UNESCO-listed Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp, which is located in the buildings in which the family lived and worked.

In *Portraits*, Nan Kivell observed that Ortelius in his celebrated atlas 'shows the East Indies, New Guinea, and the Northern extremity of Australia: Beach or Lucach', hence his key role in illustrating the title page. However, somewhat eccentrically, the illustration opposite the portrait of Ortelius is in fact the augmented frontispiece from the later Blaeu Atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, produced by father and son Willem and Joan Blaeu from 1635.



William Shakespeare 1807

by MARTIN DROESHOUT (1601–c. 1650) engraving NK2860

I'll put a girdle round about the earth

This image originally adorned the first composite volume of Shakespeare's (1564-1616) plays, the First Folio, as it became known. Edited by actors John Heminges and Henry Condell and printed in 1623, the volume brought together all of Shakespeare's plays, thereby preserving them in their original form. Few images of the most celebrated English writer are known, and some are disputed, but this portrait by Martin Droeshout (1601-c. 1650) is believed to be an accurate recording of his features and the print was reissued in various forms in the following decades. This version was made from the plate for the 1807 facsimile of the First Folio but was printed on seventeenth-century laid paper. Nan Kivell may have believed he was acquiring an earlier portrait, rather than one created 200 years later.

Shakespeare may seem an unlikely entry in Nan Kivell's *Portraits* yet his plays, particularly in the 1590s, feature numerous references to voyaging and the successful exploration that was occurring under Queen Elizabeth at the time. Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the globe (1577–1580) on *The Golden Hind* was an inspiration to the British people and to Shakespeare, and he makes references to Drake's three-year heroic and unprecedented journey. For example, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Oberon says, 'We the globe can compass soon, Swifter than the wandering moon'. Cheeky Puck replies, 'I'll put a girdle round about the earth, In forty minutes'.

Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) had produced the first atlas in 1570, naming it *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* or 'Theatre of the world'. The first

English globes had been produced by Emery Molyneux in 1592 and in that celebratory decade, when exploration was omnipresent, it is perhaps not surprising that Shakespeare named his new theatre *The Globe*. The theatre of the lands of the world of Ortelius had a physical presence in which its rich stories could be played out. Shakespeare's imagination captured the minds of those he entertained whilst he transported them around the globe within *The Globe*.

Nan Kivell included the Shakespeare portrait for another reason. Sentimental attachment to the landscape of his youth in Christchurch, where the River Avon flows through the city, may evoke thoughts of Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare's birthplace. For Nan Kivell, however, the river had originally been named the *Shakespear* (sic—actually the *Shakespere*), he claimed, by one of his hardy forebears Robert Rogers Nan Kivell (actually Nankivell) (1812–1898), a surveyor to the Canterbury Association. The river's name later changed to the Avon, named actually for the river in Ayrshire, Scotland, not Shakespeare's Avon, but, for hundreds of years, the Maori had known the river as Ōtākaro.



Prince Giolo, son to ye King of Moangis or Gilolo c. 1691

by JOHN SAVAGE (active 1683–1701) engraving NK7010

In an era when tattooed skin abounds, this image of exotic Giolo (c. 1660-1692) may not raise too many eyebrows. However, his presence in late 17th-century London must have been revelatory—the English didn't even have a word for tattooing until James Cook introduced them to the Polynesian Omai, 80 years later. The British buccaneer William Dampier (1651–1715) acquired a half interest in the enslaved Giolo and his mother as settlement for an outstanding debt and the prince 'accompanied' him to London in 1691. Giolo went on to meet the King and Queen, William and Mary. Dampier wrote in his published account, A New Voyage, that he 'proposed no small Advantage to my self from my painted prince ... what might be gained by shewing him in England'. He also rather self-interestedly proposed to return Giolo to his home—where gold was believed to be abundant—but as Dampier later wrote, I fell amongst rooks and could not accomplish what I designed'.

Giolo is described in the text below the image here as son to the King of Moangis or Gilolo, which lies under the Equator; the island is today known as Meangis and is part of the Philippines. 'The just wonder of ye age', Giolo's extensive body tattoos entranced the British, who believed the intricate symbolic designs were painted or stained onto his skin and that, as the text further describes, 'nothing can wash it off, or deface the beauty of it'. The juice from the plant used in the tattoos could infallibly 'preserve human Bodies from ye deadly poison or hurt of any venomous creature' and only the royal family could be thus painted. Sadly, Giolo's captivating tattoos could not protect him from smallpox, which killed him, aged about

30, at Oxford in 1692.

Towering gracefully in the centre of the composition, Giolo, imaged in a favourite renaissance pose by engraver John Savage, sends venomous serpents fleeing. He is described as 'graceful and well proportioned in all his limbs, extremely modest & civil, neat & cleanly; but his language is not understood, neither can he speak English'. We can only imagine what he made of encountering Dampier and then being pressed into his service and displayed daily as a curiosity from June 1692—'if his health will permit'—by Thomas Hyde and John Pointer at the Blue Boar's Head Inn in Fleet Street.

Little is known about the printmaker, John Savage (active 1683–1701), who created this engraving as a marketing tool to promote Giolo's appearances. He may have been of French origin and is best known for his series of 72 prints of London street vendors that also featured their trademark cries.



Omai of the Friendly Isles c. 1774

by SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS P.R.A. (1723–1792) pencil NK9670

Polynesian voyager Omai, or Mai, as he should more properly be known, became something of a sensation during the almost two years he spent in London. Mai's tutor, the priest Tupaia, voyaged with Cook on the Endeavour but sadly succumbed to the 'flux' (dysentery) after leaving Batavia in 1771. Somewhat surprisingly, knowing Tupaia's fate, Mai, also a refugee from the power stuggles on Raiatea, travelled willingly to England aged 22 in September 1773. He travelled on Cook's second vessel, the Adventure, under Tobias Furneaux. Captivating society from King 'Tosh' down, Mai's pronunciation of English names endeared him to the English as did his mimicry, his good manners and his tattoos. The word tattoo, from tattow—an English corruption of tatau, entered the English language thanks to Cook's first Pacific voyage but the visual evidence of tattooing came to the public eye through Mai. 'Toote' as Mai called Cook was to return him to Huahine, in August 1777. Mai hoped his new-found wealth and status would translate into the power to recover his father's stolen lands. He had a white stallion, armour and muskets, a jack-in-the-box, and globes and maps. Instead, he died from a fever before he turned thirty and had his many possessions appropriated.

Mai's friend, 'Opano' (Joseph Banks), wrote of him that he had 'so much natural politeness I never saw in any man: wherever he goes he makes friends and has not I believe as yet a foe'. Mai became a celebrity and was recreated in verse and musical theatre, his exotic features and origins appealing greatly to many who read Rousseau and believed in the idea of the noble savage. Mai's plans for revenge on Raiatea were not comprehended by the English, who preferred to

enjoy his company as he became one of them. Mai enjoyed a busy life: he mastered cards and chess; rode horses; shot game; was inoculated against smallpox; bathed in the sea, impressing the English with his swimming ability; prepared a luncheon in an umu or Polynesian earth oven; and had his portrait taken by the leading portraitist of the moment, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792).

It seems appropriate that Reynolds, who pioneered the imaging of the cult of celebrity, should capture Mai, and that his full-length portrait, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1776, should become his most famous and valuable work. The painting was acclaimed as a strong likeness and the Hon. Horace Walpole, art historian and man of letters, thought it 'Very good'. Mai was hung alongside Reynolds' portrait of the Duchess of Devonshire, a fascinating pairing of two celebrated people from extraordinarily different backgrounds. Reynolds kept the oil of Mai, which it seems he had painted for his own interest, until his death. Reynolds' decision to depict Mai draped in white tapa cloth with a turban is based on some aspects of contemporary Polynesian dress but also on Mai's desire to be seen, hopefully, as a member of the Raiatean nobility. Unusually for Reynolds, two preparatory versions for the major painting exist: this drawing, which is something of a rarity for Reynolds, and a less successful oil sketch. Given the close relationship between the drawing and the face in the full-length oil, it seems probable that this drawing was sketched from life and contributed to the success of the oil. This drawing is inscribed erroneously 'Omai of the Friendly Isles', the name for Tonga not Tahiti.







Captain James Cook

1 August 1784

by JOHN KEYSE SHERWIN (1751–1790) after NATHANIEL DANCE (1735–1811) engravings in three states NK10914/A, NK10914/B and NK4836

Apprenticed to the sea as a youth, James Cook (1728–1779) became the greatest mariner in British history. His opening up of the Pacific, in his three historic voyages, changed the way Europeans saw and imagined the world. To those who knew him, and there were many, the Hawaiian beach where Cook was killed in 1779 must have seemed an improbably long way from the farm where he grew up in Great Ayton, Yorkshire. The son of a Scottish labourer and his Yorkshire wife, Cook attended school until he was 17 and was then to undertake a career as a shopkeeper. Shopkeeping's loss was truly the world's gain as Cook navigated his way through the naval hierarchy to become the commander of the 1768–1771 Endeavour voyage into the Pacific that would make his name.

On the epic three-year adventure with Joseph Banks and his retinue, including naturalist Daniel Solander and artist Sydney Parkinson, they mapped New Zealand fully for the first time and then landed at Botany Bay, later claiming the newly discovered New South Wales for George III. Cook's second Pacific voyage in 1772–1775 carried the celebrated Omai (Mai) to England having established that there was no Great South Land. Cook's fateful third voyage in 1776–1779 returned Mai to Raiatea, searched unsuccessfully for the fabled Northwest Passage and discovered the Hawaiian Islands. This discovery was to lead to the explorer's death after conflict arose when he returned a second time to repair his ship. Cook's voyaging and exceptional cartography set the scene for the expansion of the British into the Pacific region and missionaries, traders and others followed. Life in the wake of Endeavour, Resolution, Adventure and Discovery would never be the same

for the native peoples of the region as 'civilisation' encroached on their worlds.

Elizabeth Cook outlived her husband, her surviving children and most of her friends. She died at 93, having been widowed for 56 years, bearing witness to her husband's achievements as they were memorialised and set in stone. They had lived together for a total of only four years in 17 years of marriage. Copies of Sherwin's engraved portrait were given to his friends by Elizabeth, as a good likeness of the man she knew, loved and admired.

Nan Kivell claimed to own over 80 portraits of Cook, and purchased a considerable amount of Cook manuscript and printed material. The portraits can be found in his collection in many forms. Here, Sherwin's famous portrait engraving can be observed in three states—evidence of the obsessive collecting interest Nan Kivell showed in documenting the Pacific and its narratives.

Sherwin studied at the Royal Academy schools from 1770 and achieved a gold medal for a historical painting in 1772. Also a pupil of the prolific printmaker, Francesco Bartolozzi, Sherwin was known as a draughtsman and engraver. His career suffered as a result of 'his extravagant and vicious habits, which destroyed his constitution and kept him in constant pecuniary difficulties'. He squandered his talents and died aged only 39. He took this image from Nathaniel Dance's famous portrait of Cook, commissioned by Joseph Banks after his colleague's death.



Sir Joseph Banks c. 1793

by GEORGE DANCE (1741–1825) pencil NK2093

President of the Royal Society for over 40 years, Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820) was a towering figure in the British natural sciences. He was passionately interested in exploration and in the life of the early colony of New South Wales, having visited it with James Cook in 1770 on H.M.B. Endeavour. Unlike Cook, Banks was born into a wealthy family, whose estate, Revesby Abbey, was in Lincolnshire. First educated at home and then progressing to Harrow and then temporarily at Eton, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner. Banks was apparently inspired as a youth by wildflowers and became captivated by botany, but could not study the subject at Oxford. Instead, he received a dispensation to be lectured by John Martyn, the famous botanist, at Cambridge. After the death of his father in 1761, Banks moved to Chelsea with his mother and commenced botanising with his older friend, John Montagu (1718–1792), the Earl of Sandwich, another Chelsea resident. After inheriting in 1764, Banks was financially able to purchase his house on New Burlington Street.

Banks never graduated from Oxford. Now wealthy, he had the funds to create opportunities to explore and collect the world's natural history in earnest. His first voyage in 1766 was on H.M.S. *Niger* to Newfoundland and Labrador. He returned with many specimens and collecting experience that would serve him well on his much longer odyssey around the Pacific between 1768 and 1771. Banks had earlier been elected a member of the Royal Society, which he was later to lead with distinction, as one of the greatest British collectors and patrons of the sciences and through his contributions arising from the

Endeavour voyage. Banks became a great advocate for New South Wales and, within weeks of Cook's death in 1779, suggested at the Bunbury Committee on Transportation in the House of Commons that Botany Bay would be a safe and potentially prosperous place to export Britain's unwanted and bothersome prisoners. Banks assured the committee that the natives would not be troublesome as there wouldn't 'be above Fifty in all the Neighbourhood ... and those ... were naked, treacherous, and armed with Lances, but extremely cowardly, and constantly retired from our People when they made the Appearance of Resistance'. He also advised only taking a year's worth of supplies if they sailed for Botany Bay. Thankfully, this advice was ignored and, even with two years of stores, the colony almost went under. His role in promoting the export of merino sheep to NSW, however, was well considered and bore dividends. In a letter to Governor John Hunter in 1797, Banks first declares a desire to transport himself and his family to the Governor's quarters and to ask for a land grant on the Hawkesbury, and then concludes: Who knows but that England may revive in New South Wales when it is sunk in Europe'.

George Dance was the fifth son of leading British architect George Dance (c. 1694–1768) and the brother of Nathaniel Dance (1735–1811), who is perhaps best known for his much copied oil portrait of Captain Cook, commissioned in 1776 by Banks to hang above the fireplace in his house (see Cook prints). George Dance trained as an architect, joined his father's firm and succeeded him as Architect and Surveyor to the Corporation of London on his father's death. Highly regarded

and innovative, he was also a founding fellow of the Royal Academy in 1768. Dance was a skilled draughtsman and 'sketched from life' over 200 portraits of friends and contemporaries between 1793 and 1810. He wrote that the drawings were 'a great relaxation from the severer studies and more laborious employment of my professional life'. Virtually all are half-portraits facing to the left in pencil. This elegant sketch of Banks reading, in an oval format, is quite unusual. Comparing the image to other dated portraits of Banks, it appears to predate the series undertaken by Dance and could therefore be dated to before 1793. Artist William Daniell made many etchings based on Dance's series of drawings (see portrait of William Hodges) yet, curiously, his 1811 print of Banks based on a June 1803 drawing (Yale Center for British Art collection) by Dance is quite different in format.

One of Nan Kivell's more improbable purchases was the entire neoclassical façade of Joseph Banks' townhouse from Soho Square. He attempted, unsuccessfully, to give it to the Canterbury Museum, in the city of his birth, Christchurch, which is adjacent to the Banks Peninsula and was named by Cook after his fellow voyager in February 1770.



The Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks, K.B. 1803 by William Daniell (1769–1837) after George Dance (1741–1825) soft ground etching NK490



Sydney Parkinson 1784

by JAMES NEWTON (1748–c. 1804) hand-coloured engraving and etching NK1323

This enigmatic image of the artist Sydney Parkinson (c. 1745-1771) imagines him as a childlike figure. Dead at only 26, he was an extraordinarily talented natural history illustrator. Parkinson was selected as botanical draughtsman by Joseph Banks for Cook's Endeavour voyage (1768–1771). He was born in Edinburgh into a Quaker family, the son of a brewer, and was praised after his death by his brother Stanfield for 'his singular simplicity of conduct, his sincere regard for truth [and] his ardent thirst after knowledge'. As draughtsman on the Endeavour, he was to focus his efforts on natural history discoveries but, after the death at Tahiti of Alexander Buchan, the topographical draughtsman, Parkinson took on the entire workload. Parkinson certainly had his work cut out for him. For £80 a year, he worked night and day to ensure that the historic discoveries were recorded quickly and accurately. Producing around 1,300 drawings on the voyage, including the first detailed images of Australia, he found time to compile a thoughtful vocabulary of over 150 words used by Aboriginal people, encountered after running aground on the Barrier Reef. Tragically, along with about one third of the crew of the Endeavour, Parkinson died of the 'flux' or dysentery on 26 January 1771 after leaving Batavia (Jakarta).

Banks only mentions his hard-working employee Parkinson eight times in his *Endeavour* journal over a period of three years. Of these mentions, one is a rebuke and one an expression of amusement at an accident Parkinson had suffered. Of his death, Banks simply noted: 'In the Evening Mr Parkinson died and one of the ships crew'. In contrast, Banks had written of Buchan's death,

'his Loss to me is irretrevable, my airy dreams of entertaining my freinds in England with the scenes that I am to see here are vanishd'. Parkinson's enlivening illustrated account of his voyage was posthumously published by his troubled brother, and this was the frontispiece to the volume. Given Stanfield's role in overseeing this problematic publication, which Banks strenuously objected to and tried to block, we can assume the portrait by engraver James Newton is a reasonable likeness of his beloved brother. The only other known portrait of Parkinson is in the Natural History Museum collection in London and is assumed to be a selfportrait, although the subject looks quite unlike the young man in this print. Both images, however, depict a young man, far too young and talented to die prematurely and perhaps underappreciated by his employer. Parkinson's botanical watercolours are also in the Natural History Museum, alongside the copper plates that Banks had made from them. Banks' Florilegium was finally published by Editions Alecto in the 1980s, highlighting the artistry and skill of Parkinson.

The Library has a set of the 738 coloured prints housed in 34 volumes.



William Hodges R.A. 15 August 1810

by WILLIAM DANIELL (1769–1837) after a drawing by GEORGE DANCE (1741–1825) dated 10 March 1793 soft-ground etching NK4438B

William Hodges (1744–1797) was born in London and is best known as the artist who travelled with Cook on his second Pacific voyage in 1772–1775. He was apprenticed to the famous landscape painter, Richard Wilson, and his early work as a painter of theatre scenery may have helped him capture the grandeur and exoticism of the islands of the Pacific in the works he completed for the Admiralty on his return. The range of landscapes Hodges encountered on the voyage was previously undocumented—from the frozen Antarctic, to tropical Tahiti, the Society and Friendly Islands, to New Zealand and the remote and barren Easter Island. As on the Endeavour voyage, Cook's crew on this occasion also included important 'scientific gentlemen', such as the astronomer, William Wales, the father and son naturalists, Johann Reinhold and George Forster, and their assistant, Anders Sparrman. The work of these men was complemented by Hodges' draughtsmanship and his ability to engage with the people he encountered.

Hodges had plenty of opportunity to experience the visual splendour and richness of the Pacific and to document it in landscapes, portraits and botanical studies. Encountering some Pacific people for the first time, Hodges sketched directly from nature and there are remarkable chalk drawings in the Library's collection that attest to his abilities as a portraitist. He was engaged by the Admiralty after the voyage to engrave the memorable images he had created. Significantly, Hodges travelled not only to the Pacific but also to India, where he worked under the patronage of Governor Warren Hastings, publishing aquatints and a narrative of his journey. After becoming the

Royal Landscape Painter to the Prince of Wales, Hodges organised a disastrous exhibition in 1794–1795, in which he displayed two controversial large paintings, the perceived political content of which led to the Prince ordering its closure. Hodges retired and took an interest in a Devon bank, which soon collapsed, bankrupting him. He may have committed suicide in 1797.

George Dance undertook a large series of memorable portrait drawings of his fellow Royal Academicians and others from 1793, and Hodges was one of them, sitting for him on 10 March (see also Joseph Banks, on display here). Another traveller to India, the painter and printmaker William Daniell, then copied 72 of these drawings, issuing them as soft-ground etchings in twelve parts, priced at one guinea each, between 1808 and 1814. Two copies of this print are held in Nan Kivell's collection.



John Webber c. 1790 by JOHN SPILLER (1763–1794) marble bas-relief NK1110

Lucky not to witness the shocking death of Cook on a Hawaiian beach, artist John Webber (1751–1793) had accompanied the mariner on his ill-fated final Pacific voyage (1776–1780). Webber was the son of a Swiss sculptor, who had moved to London. Early on, he was sent to live with his maiden aunt in Bern. Showing an aptitude for drawing, he studied first under the Swiss painter, Johann Ludwig Aberli. Webber went on to study in Paris under Johann Georg Wille, a German engraver who worked there. Having returned to London in 1775, Webber exhibited two works the following year at the Royal Academy. These were admired by Daniel Solander, whose advocacy of Webber to his friend Joseph Banks apparently led to Webber's appointment on the Pacific voyage.

Taken on shortly before sailing to supplement the 'unavoidable imperfections' of the written accounts of the official party, Webber revelled in capturing, over four years, scenes previously unwitnessed by European eyes in 20 locations spanning the globe. Webber was popular with the crew and with Cook, who wrote of him that he would execute 'the most memorable scenes of our transactions, as could be expected by a professed and skilled artist'. On his return to England, he showed George III 200 drawings from the voyage, and 61 were ultimately used in the official published account of Cook's last voyage. It took some years for this much awaited journal to be published in 1784, five years after Cook's death. Webber was paid £250 a year to work up a variety of images in oil from his sketches, and a number of these oils found their way into Nan Kivell's collection. Webber died relatively young in London, at 41, from kidney disease.

The very capable sculptor, John Spiller, also died young, in his case from consumption, at only 30. He was the brother of James Spiller, a wellknown architect, and he was the sculptor of the marble statue of Charles II commissioned for London's Royal Exchange building. It is said, rather romantically, that he was working on this large sculpture while suffering from the consumption that would kill him; the work exacerbated his condition and, even though in decline, he insisted on finishing it. He died soon afterwards. Before his death, Spiller had exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1778 and had studied there from 1781. It is tempting to think that this attractive neoclassical bas-relief of Webber may have been the 'Portrait of an artist' exhibited by Spiller at the Royal Academy in 1786. Nan Kivell was a keen collector of Webber's works and many exist in oil, drawing and print form in his collection, including, most significantly, NK1, the commanding portrait of the Chief of the Sandwich Islands on loan to the National Gallery of Australia along with Webber's Poedua, NK5192. Webber's portraits of Captain James King, Commander of Discovery During Cook's Third Voyage and Captain John Gore, who sailed twice with Cook, are both on display in the Treasures Gallery.



King George III 1800

by SIR WILLIAM BEECHEY R.A. (1753–1839) oil on wood panel NK6229

George III (1738-1820) was king for almost 60 years. His was the second longest reign in Britain's history and a period of great exploration and associated colonial expansion. It was also a period of colonial loss and his reputation has perhaps suffered as much from the loss of the American colonies as from his increasing and debilitating madness late in life. Neither of these facts does him justice. The loss of the American colonies was at least in one respect beneficial: it assisted in the establishment of New South Wales. The colony had been claimed in his name during Cook's 1768-1771 voyage and soon after this the continent began to be settled, simultaneously changing the life of the Aboriginal inhabitants in ways still only being comprehended today.

George III was culturally enlightened and greatly interested in the sciences and their progress. His vast library of 65,000 volumes was first given to the British Museum and then became, as the 'King's Library', the core of the British Library's collection today. During his reign, many volumes were dedicated in his name usually with lavish praise for his advocacy, for example for 'promoting discoveries in remote regions, the investigation of every branch of natural history and philosophy and the advancement of the more liberal arts and sciences affording an era of perfection in human knowledge and acquirements hitherto unknown'. Heady stuff indeed. The King had studied science, was interested in astronomy and agriculture, and his enthusiasm led to the affectionate nickname, 'Farmer George'. He had a happy marriage, did not take mistresses and encouraged his wife Charlotte in her botanical interests. Charlotte set up Kew Gardens with Sir Joseph Banks, while

managing to give birth to 15 children. As a token of her affections, in 1813, she presented Banks with a silver kettle as a 'get well' gift, which Nan Kivell acquired. It is on display in the Treasures Gallery.

The King met with or knew numerous people represented in this exhibition. His reign oversaw the voyages and activities of Cook, Banks, Omai, the Earl of Sandwich, Captain Wilson and Lee Boo, the Reverend John Williams and Te Pehi Kupe, and many of the other figures represented in Nan Kivell's rich collection.

Sir William Beechey was one of the most frequent and prolific, though not one of the most inspired, exhibitors at the Royal Academy. He submitted more than 370 paintings over a career of 63 years. This oil sketch is one of a number of portraits of George III by Beechey and is closely related to the full-length image displayed in Buckingham Palace and commissioned by the King in 1799–1800. The appealing nature of both the portrait and of the King himself meant that this painting was widely copied. George III is shown wearing a general's uniform with the Garter Star on his coat.

Beechey also painted almost all of the King's children and was knighted for his 1798 painting King George III Reviewing the 10th Dragoons. This painting was destroyed in the massive fire at Windsor Castle in 1992.

French exploration medals

Rex Nan Kivell was thorough in his documentation of European voyaging into the Pacific. He collected materials in many formats to illustrate the exploits of different nations, including the British, French, Russians and Spanish. He collected their charts, voyage accounts, illustrations and artefacts. In this case is an assortment of French commemorative medals drawn from the large collection of medals he assembled. Here we can see the sculpted images of Louis XVI, Napoléon Bonaparte, Louis XVIII and Louis Philippe I, all of whom presided over a remarkable period of exploration and the associated gathering of scientific knowledge. Exploration continued ambitiously, irrespective of the political climate in France and against the backdrop of almost continuous war with England, from the execution of Louis XVI to the defeat of Napoléon in 1815. The knowledge gained from this wide-ranging exploration was circulated widely in printed form through numerous multi-volume accounts.



King Louis XVI 1778 issued 1785

by PIERRE SIMON BENJAMIN DUVIVIER (1728–1819) bronze NK5378

Obverse inscription: LOUIS XVI. ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE Reverse inscription: LES FREGATES DU ROI DE FRANCE, LA BOUSSOLE ET L'ASTROLABE, COMMANDÉES PAR M.M. DE LA PEROUSE ET DE LANGLE, PARTIES DU PORT DE BREST EN JUIN 1785.

This medal encapsulates what became perhaps the greatest nautical mystery and coincidence of the century. After sailing from Brest in France in June 1785, French explorer La Pérouse and his colleagues on the ships, La Boussole and L'Astrolabe, arrived in Botany Bay, surprising the First Fleet who had arrived just four days earlier. Their expedition had been sponsored by the French King Louis XVI, seen here in profile, and was inspired by Cook's three historic Pacific voyages; it sought to prove French maritime power. When they sailed on 10 March 1788 from Botany Bay, it was as if they sailed into another dimension. They were never seen again by Europeans and for 38 years the mystery was unsolved. On his way to the guillotine in January 1793, King Louis asked, 'Is there any news of M. de La Pérouse?' In 1826,

Peter Dillon, an Irish mariner, found the wreckage of *L'Astrolabe* on Vanikoro in the Solomon Islands, where the ship and, it was determined later, *La Boussole* had both run aground. There were no survivors. The reverse of the medal commemorates the June 1785 departure of the two ships and names the two captains, *La Pérouse* and *L'Angle*.

Duvivier became medallist to the French King in 1761, taking on the job his father had held before him. He was one of the most prolific French numismatic engravers and engraved all the coins used during the reign of Louis XVI. He also created many medals and was elected to the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in 1776. During the French Revolution, he lost his position and was replaced by his former assistant.



Napoléon 1800

by FLEURY MONTAGNY (1760–1836) bronze NK5378

Obverse inscription: BONAPARTE PREMIER CONSUL DE LA REP. FRANCE. / EXPEDITION DE DECOUVERTES, AN. 9.

Reverse inscription: LES CORVETTES / LE GÉOGRAPHE ET /

LE NATURALISTE, COMMANDÉES PAR /LE CAPITAINE BAUDIN; RIM - COPIE.

Perhaps the most ambitious voyage of discovery mounted by the French was that captained by Nicolas Thomas Baudin (1754-1803). Its intended purpose, specified by Napoléon, was 'observation and research relating to Geography and Natural History', hence the names of the vessels Le Géographe and Le Naturaliste. This medal indirectly commemorates another remarkable coincidence. In 1802, while Baudin was charting the south coast of what later became South Australia, he encountered Matthew Flinders during his circumnavigation of the continent. The coincidental encounters of both Baudin and, 14 years earlier, La Pérouse with the British suggest the concerted efforts of the French monarchy, and later the empire under Napoléon, in assessing and documenting Terre Australes or later, Terre Napoléon. Both the Baudin and Flinders voyages resulted in superlative visual and cartographic records of the new worlds they encountered.

Later, Napoléon's ambitious research program published Baudin's record in lavish form. The presence of British and French names commemorating the worthy and famous around the Australian coastline has left us with an enduring legacy of this exploration, which was conducted against the backdrop of war. After their

successful endeavours, both Baudin and Flinders attempted to return home. Mauritius proved to be a key stumbling block for them. Baudin died there in 1803, exhausted, aged 49, and subsequently had his reputation blackened by François Péron who wrote the voyage account. The day *Le Géographe* sailed from Mauritius for France, Flinders arrived on the *Cumberland* and was detained by the French for nearly seven years. This unnecessary act both delayed the production of his account and hastened his untimely end, at only 40. A copy of Flinders' *A Voyage to Terra Australis* was rushed to him having been published the day before his death.

The medal was created by Fleury Montagny and copies were taken on the expedition for distribution. 'An. 9' translates as Year 9, which was the 9th year in Napoléon's French Republican Calendar. In 1789, when the French Government created the state manufactory of arms at Versailles, Fleury Montagny was a member of the committee.



Louis XVIII 1817

by GAYRARD bronze NK5378

Obverse inscription: LOUIS XVIII ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAV. / [below truncation, in minute letters, the engraver's name] GAYRARD F. / [below, in minute letters, the mint master's name] DE PUYMAURIN D.I.

Reverse inscription: [legend above] HEMISPHERE AUSTRAL / [legend below] PHYSIQUE ASTRONOMIE.

Central inscription: LA CORVETTE L'URANIE / MR. LS.DE FREYCINET, COMMANDT./ S.A.R.M. GR LE DUC

D'ANGOULÊME / AMIRAL DE FRANCE. / MR. LE VTE. DU BOUCHAGE / MINISTRE DE LA MARINE. / 1817 / [below the date, in minute letters, the mint master's name] DE PUYMAURIN D. RE.

Louis Claude de Saulces de Freycinet (1779–1842) had voyaged as a junior officer with Baudin on his epic mission to Australia in 1800–1804 and, as a result, produced the first map of Australia in 1811, beating Flinders to publication due to his confinement on Mauritius. Freycinet returned in 1818 in command of *L'Uranie*, rather unorthodoxly, with his young wife Rose Marie Pinon (1794–1832) on board. Rose had been

smuggled aboard in men's clothing and emerged at Gibraltar. The mission Freycinet led departed Toulon in September 1817 to undertake scientific surveys in the Pacific and to collect specimens. The voyage lasted three years, taking in Australia, New Guinea, the Mariana Islands and Hawaii, before being wrecked off the Falkland Islands in February 1820. While off the Western Australian coastline, *L'Uranie* visited Dirk Hartog Island to

collect the pewter plate first visited by Baudin 17 years earlier. One year later, Freycinet landed at Port Jackson and was greatly surprised to see how it had grown since his previous visit. The crew survived running aground in the Falkland Islands, salvaged as much of the natural history specimens and documentation as possible and managed to procure another vessel to take them back to France. Somewhat surprisingly, given his wife's presence, Freycinet was promoted on his return and set about progressively publishing his account Voyage Autour du Monde in 15 volumes. In 1832, Freycinet contracted cholera and was nursed by Rose who also contracted the disease and died within 24 hours. Freycinet recovered and lived until 1842.

This medal exists in two forms with different portraits of Louis XVIII, one by Andrieu and this one, with his hair tied back, by Gayrard. It seems the Gayrard version may have been commissioned for the copper and yellow-bronze examples of the medal. Perhaps the die for the original Andrieu portrait had worn and needed replacing.



Louis XVIII 1822 by BERTRAND ANDRIEU (1761–1822) bronze NK5378

Obverse inscription: LUDOVICUS. XVIII FRANC. ET. NAV.REX. / [below bust, the engraver's name] ANDRIEU F. / [below, in minute letters, the mint master's name] DE PUYMAURIN D.I.

Reverse inscription: VOYAGE AUTOUR DU MONDE DE LA CORVETTE COQUILLE / S.A.R.MGR. / LE DUC D'ANGOULÊME / AMIRAL DE FRANCE. / MR. LE MIS DE CLERMONT-TONNERRE / PAIR DE FRANCE MINISTRE / DE LA MARINE. / MR. DUPERREY LIEUT. DE VAU / COMPT. L'EXPÉDITION / 1822

Another expedition to explore Australia and the Pacific under Louis XVIII was led by Louis-Isidore Duperrey (1786-1865). Duperrey had been Lieutenant under Freycinet on L'Uranie on her voyage to Australia. The corvette, La Coquille, was provided for the mission and Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville (1790-1842) was second-incommand. They sailed from Toulon in August 1822 with instructions to examine the coast at Swan River and King George Sound in Western Australia to ascertain whether the area would support a French colony. This did not come about, perhaps luckily for the British, who set about claiming the area fairly promptly afterwards. La Coquille proceeded via the Falkland Islands, Chile, Peru, Tahiti, Cook Islands, Solomon Islands and New Guinea south to Port Jackson, where

Duperrey spent a couple of months and met with Governor Brisbane. The voyage continued on to New Zealand and through the Pacific. Altogether, it had lasted 37 months and covered over 130,000 kilometres, circumnavigating the earth. Considering the length of the voyage, it was remarkable that no lives were lost. The voyage added fifty-three new maps and charts furthering French knowledge of the Pacific. The specimens collected by La Coquille boosted the holdings of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris and, in 1842, Duperrey was elected to the Académie des Sciences. His account, Voyage Autour du Monde Exécuté par Ordre du Roi sur la Corvette La Coquille Pendant les Années 1822 ... 1825 was published in nine volumes in Paris between 1825 and 1830, when it was halted due to the Revolution. Duperrey died in 1865.



Louis Philippe I 1837

by JEAN-JACQUES BARRE (1793–1855) bronze NK5378

Obverse inscription: LOUIS PHILIPPE I. ROI DES FRANÇAIS. / [below truncation, in minute letters] Barre FT. Reverse inscription: VOYAGE AUTOUR DU MONDE, EXPLORATION DU POLE AUSTRAL. Central inscription: CORVETTES / L'ASTROLABE ET LA ZÉLÉE / Mr. DUCAMPE DE ROSAMEL / VICE-AMIRAL / MINISTRE DE LA MARINE / Mr. DUMONT D'URVILLE / CAPe. DEVu. COMMt . L'EXPÉDITION / Mr. JACQUINOT/ COMMt. LA ZÉLÉE / 1837.

Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville (1790-1842) has been described as France's Captain Cook because of his epic voyaging. Born to a wealthy family who lost their estate during the French Revolution, he went to sea at 17, developed an interest in botany and mastered six languages. In 1819, he was responsible for the French purchasing the recently unearthed Venus de Milo on the island of Milos. He was made a member of the Linnaean Society and carried out botanical investigation while serving under Duperrey on La Coquille. After his return to France in 1825, he quickly proposed another voyage in La Coquille, which was then renamed L'Astrolabe in commemoration of one of La Pérouse's ships. Dumont d'Urville sailed with some of the crew from the previous Duperrey expedition, taking olive and fig trees to give to John Macarthur in NSW, which died en route.

L'Astrolabe arrived at King George Sound (Albany, Western Australia) in October 1826 and Dumont d'Urville botanised ashore and examined the possibility of a French port there. L'Astrolabe then investigated Western Port in Victoria, Jervis Bay and finally Port Jackson. From there, he proceeded to New Zealand. In 1828, Dumont d'Urville visited Vanikoro where La Pérouse had perished and his crew raised a commemorative cairn to the lost mariners. L'Astrolabe's voyage artist, Louis Auguste de Sainson (born 1800), captured the image in a lithograph, and Rex Nan Kivell claimed he hunted for an oil painting of the de Sainson scene for 40 years. Finally he found it, only to have it attributed by art historians some years ago to Louis Philippe Crépin (1772-1851). Dumont d'Urville was to have another major voyage in 1837-1840 to the Antarctic, where he

named Terre Adélie after his wife, Adéle. He went on to the Pacific and the East Indies. Arriving back in France, he began to publish his voyage account and was working on the 4th volume when he was killed with his wife and only son in a train accident in May 1842.

This medal was sculpted by Jean-Jacques Barre (1793–1855) who was the general engraver at the Monnaie de Paris (the Paris Mint), between 1842 and 1855. He was responsible for engraving and designing French medals, the Great Seal of France, bank notes and also postage stamps. His sons, both sculptors, succeeded him for a time at the Paris Mint.



John Montague, Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchingbrook, First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty 1774

by VALENTINE GREEN (1739–1813) after JOHANN ZOFFANY (1733–1810) mezzotint NK 275

John Montague (1718–1792), the fourth Earl of Sandwich, is famous today as the First Lord of the Admiralty and for the sandwich that was named after him. Also named after him, in 1778, were the Sandwich Islands or the islands of Hawaii, where his protégé James Cook ended his fateful third Pacific voyage. His family arms bear the motto, Post tot naufragia portum, meaning 'A harbour after so many shipwrecks'. Sandwich certainly had his fair share of tempests in his political and naval career but survived them all. He divided public opinion. Seen by some as indolent, a rake and a gambler, he was also the able controller of the British Navy at key periods in its history and a patron of the arts. He was a keen sportsman and a lover of cricket. Sandwich's domestic arrangements were both tragic and unconventional. Following his wife's demise from madness, his beloved mistress Martha Ray, a talented opera singer and mother to five of his children, was murdered in the Royal Opera House in 1779 by a demented suitor. Sandwich never recovered from this trauma. He was enthusiastic about theatre and passionate about music, and his house, Hinchingbrooke, was the scene of memorable concerts focused on Handel's oratorios, in part sung by Martha and with the Earl on drums.

Sandwich was an able diplomat when he was given the opportunity to exert his influence and a reformer of the navy, which needed attention. He successfully promoted people with talent into key positions in his various areas of influence. One such promotion was that of Captain Hugh Palliser (1723–1796), Comptroller and Head of the Navy Board, appointed as one of the Lords of the Admiralty by Sandwich. Palliser was an early and

ardent supporter of James Cook. Sandwich's appointment as master of the Admiralty in January 1771 and Palliser's faith in Cook's abilities led to Cook's momentous discoveries and much greater cartographic precision about what was in the southern part of the globe. Cook met with Sandwich on numerous occasions and both Sandwich and Palliser took an active interest in the preparations for Cook's second voyage (1772–1776).

Having survived the turbulent years of British naval domination and political life, he retired in March 1782. In the years after leaving the Navy, Sandwich turned again to his passion for music; he was a leading figure in the commemoration of Handel in 1784. He helped fix Handel in the centre of English musical life, a tradition extending to the present. He died in London in 1792 but his name lives on in the U.S. fast food chain, the Earl of Sandwich, created by the current Earl in 2004.

In 1936, Nan Kivell was to move his Redfern Gallery into the Earl of Sandwich's former London townhouse on Cork Street, where the Earl played cards and perfected the sandwich. Given Nan Kivell's collecting interests, this must have had a particular resonance for him. This elaborate and commanding mezzotint by Valentine Green, a well-known printmaker, is based on a portrait by Johann Zoffany, the German-born painter of conversation pieces. Here Sandwich holds a note addressed to him as 'First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty', with the inscription below acknowledging that the original painting is in Trinity House, London. It would appear the Zoffany painting was destroyed during the Blitz. A version of the oil painting is held by the National Portrait Gallery, London.



Kalaimanokaho'owaha c. 1834

after JOHN KEYSE SHERWIN (engraver, 1751–1790) after JOHN WEBBER (painter, 1751–1793) watercolour NK 1224/1

This iconic portrait is of the Hawaiian chief, Kalaimanokaho'owaha, known as Kana'ina nui, meaning 'The conquerer'. He was the one of the first to meet Cook on his arrival in Hawaii on 17 January 1779. He was also supposedly the first to strike him on Cook's ill-fated return on 14 February at Kealakekua Bay. Kana'ina nui was then killed in the confused skirmish that arose from Cook's irascibility. These simply recounted facts only hint at the complex cross-cultural narrative of Cook's final voyage (1776–1780), a voyage celebrated in what would become a great publishing success story.

This watercolour image of Kana'ina nui in feathered cape and helmet was derived by an unknown artist from a print created by John Webber, the official voyage artist. Webber's memorable engraved image known as A Man of the Sandwich Islands with His Helmet, featured in the 1784 published account of Cook's last voyage. The long-awaited account was delayed due to the lengthy process of engraving the 61 images from the extraordinarily well-documented voyage. It was produced in three volumes and illustrated with a separate folio of remarkably varied images by Webber. The first edition sold out almost immediately. The subsequent profusion of images in the public domain that dealt with Cook's final voyage into the Pacific, such as this watercolour, is testament to the appetite for imagery of both the noble savage and the exotic landscapes encountered. Nan Kivell acquired two copies of Cook's account and numerous other Webber images, which he included in Portraits. This watercolour was created as part of a series of images used for lectures by the missionary,

Rev. John Williams (see Tangaroa).

While Webber did not witness Cook's death on the beach, he did depict his demise and also created images of Kana'ina nui and another chiefly figure. One of Nan Kivell's most prized acquisitions, NK1, Webber's large oil painting of *A Chief of the Sandwich Islands Leading His Party to Battle*, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1787 and is related to his earlier print of Kana'ina nui.

In his account, James King, the second lieutenant on board the Resolution under Cook, wrote of the chief, 'Kaneena especially, whose portrait Mr Webber has drawn, was one of the finest men I ever saw'. Unfortunately, this drawing appears to no longer exist. King described the ceremonial feathered capes and helmets, privileged attire of the Hawaiian chiefs, 'which in point of beauty and magnificence, [are] perhaps nearly equal to that of any nation in the world ... the helmet has a strong lining of wicker-work capable of breaking the blow of any warlike instrument, and seems designed evidently for that purpose'. Sadly for Kana'ina nui, the helmets were no protection from musket shot. Known as mahiole, helmets were worn on ceremonial or special occasions by people of high status. It is interesting to note that the feathered cloak or cape, known as 'ahu'ula, is depicted in colours that are not consistent with the production of such dazzling ceremonial artefacts. Usually the cloaks were produced with bright orange, black, blue and yellow feathers; the artist of this work, perhaps subconsciously, has used the colours of the Union Jack. Seeing Webber's image as a black and white print would have given readers few clues as to the original colouring.



Captain Henry Wilson of Antelope c. 1784

by ARTHUR WILLIAM DEVIS (1762–1822) oil on canvas NK5375

This portrait of Captain Henry Wilson (1740–1810) embodies a fascinating story of colonial British voyaging and survival and of cultural exchange. Wilson led an adventurous life commanding British ships, most notably the *Antelope*, a packet (mail) ship of the East India Company. When it sailed for China in 1783, the young British portrait painter, Arthur Devis, was aboard. The nineteenth child of the well-known portrait painter of the same name, Devis had his own adventures en route to Macau. While attempting to trade with New Guinea natives, the locals fired a volley of arrows which hit him in the face and chest. Apparently he suffered a 'locked jaw' for the rest of his life as a result.

The voyage continued on to Macau and then, in August, the ship was wrecked during a storm on a reef near Ulong Island in Palau (Micronesia). The local paramount chief of Koror, known by the title Ibedul, heard of their predicament and sailed to meet them. Luckily, both groups had Malay-speaking translators who could act as interpreters for them, simplifying what could have been a complicated situation. Wilson sought to build a vessel to sail home and asked for Ibedul's protection. In doing so, and in unknowingly adhering to local cultural protocol, Wilson secured the chief's 'benevolence' and protection. This was further enhanced through an exchange of goods. In return, Ibedul later asked for armed support in his battles with his enemies in Ngetelngal and Peleliu. Wilson happily provided men on four occasions but did not take part. Ibedul proved victorious. Three months later, Wilson and his crew departed on their new ship, the Oroolong (named after the island), leaving one sailor, Madan

Blanchard, who chose to stay behind. Wilson took Lebuu (Lee Boo), the adopted son of Ibedul, back to England with him.

The presence of Devis and his visual record of the stay on Ulong Island and of the people they encountered was of great assistance in developing the successful published account, written using Wilson's journals by George Keate. It featured portraits of the key figures in the narrative as seen in this showcase. Devis went on to work in India but returned to England where he completed numerous portraits and had financial troubles. He also created the definitive image of the death of the national hero Lord Nelson, after being released from debtors' prison to complete the painting. Davis vainly hoped to save his family's fortunes with the offered 500 guinea prize. Instead, in 1822, he died destitute leaving his wife and children in poverty.

Wilson went on to sail another famous East Indiaman, the *Warley*, for five voyages, served with distinction and was awarded for his role in the victory against the French at Pulo Aura in 1804. He died six years later, aged 70, at his home in Devon.



Abba Thulle, King of Pelew 1783

by HENRY KINGSBURY (engraver, active 1775–1804) after ARTHUR WILLIAM DEVIS (artist, 1762–1822) in *An account of the Pelew Islands* ... by George Keate Dublin: Luke White, 1788 stipple engraving NK3715

Abba Thulle or, more properly, Ibedul, was paramount chief or Rupack of Koror, the main island of Palau. He ruled the uninhabited rocky island of Ulong, adjacent to Koror, where the Antelope was wrecked. The English visitors led by Captain Wilson had confused the ruler's title, Ibedul, with what they thought was his name, Abba Thulle. They similarly confused his status as the ruler of 'Pelew', actually beluu meaning town, with the whole island country. After months staying with the local people, Captain Wilson and his crew understood that Ibedul was ruler of Koror and this was confirmed in the later editions of George Keate's (1729-1797) published volume, An Account of the Pelew Islands, which we see here. In this image taken from a drawing by Devis and engraved by English printmaker and caricaturist Henry Kingsbury, we can see Ibedul as he appeared to Wilson at their first meeting, naked (at least from the waist up), tattooed, wearing an earring and with a metal adze slung over his left shoulder. Ibedul was apparently a good carver and also a clever statesman, who used his visitors to good effect in settling territorial disputes. He was the key to the warm reception and successful stay on Koror experienced by Wilson and his crew.

The engaging images contributed to Keate's account, principally by Devis, helped to ensure its popular success. First published in 1788, by the following year, three editions had already been printed. It was translated into French, German and Spanish and pirated copies were circulated, probably making it the most read Pacific voyage account after Cook's in the nineteenth century. Keate, the keen interpreter of Wilson's journals, was a poet and a friend of Voltaire, he exhibited at

the Society of Artists and the Royal Academy and was also a collector. His narrative of a successful voyage turned around from near disaster, and showing the nobility of the 'savages' encountered, was a book of its time. It proclaimed to be an accurate, verified account of a voyage, not of exploration, but of commerce driven by the expansion of the East India Company, and of disaster averted thanks to the benevolence of the native people—a positive encounter narrative that clearly struck a chord with the public in the late 1780s and beyond.

Abba Thulle also features as the first of the alphabetised entries in Nan Kivell's expansive Portraits book, which consists of about 2,500 names. The collector acquired versions of the book in different formats (as seen here), illustrating its publishing success. He also bought watercolours created by Devis on Palau and watercolour views created afterwards when Devis travelled on to India. There are also numerous loose prints engraved after Devis' views in the collection. The density of images and narratives in Nan Kivell's collection around the *Antelope* story and its aftermath is a good example of the richness of his collection in offering evidence of early, or sometimes first, encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples in the Pacific.



Prince Lee Boo 1783

by HENRY KINGSBURY (active 1775–1804) after GEORGIANA JANE KEATE (1771–1850) in *An account of the Pelew Islands* ... by George Keate London: G. Nicol, 1788 engraving NK715

This depiction, entitled Prince Lee Boo, Second Son of Abba Thulle, is in fact a rendering of Lebuu, the 20-year-old adopted son of Ibedul, who travelled to England with Captain Wilson to learn more about the ways of the world. It was intended that he should be returned to Palau to impart his knowledge to the betterment of his community. Lebuu was a keen student, as Keate described in An Account of the Pelew Islands: 'nothing escaped his observation, he had an ardent desire of information'. On the first leg of the journey to China aboard the Oroolong, Lebuu suffered from seasickness and had to be given warmer clothes to protect him from the cool weather. From there, he travelled to Portsmouth on the Indiaman, Morse, arriving safely in July 1784. In Wilson's charge, Lebuu was taken to the captain's home in Rotherhithe, southeast London, by carriage, a novel experience which Lebuu described as: 'a little house, which was run away with by horses-that he slept, but still was going on; and whilst he went one way, the fields, houses, and trees, all went another; every thing ... appearing to be in motion'.

Lebuu attended church, saw the first balloon flight in London, met George Keate and his daughter Georgiana, and diligently attended an academy where he was held in affection by the teacher and students alike. Sadly, like others before him, this voyager from distant shores was also to perish. After only five and a half months, he contracted smallpox and died two days after Christmas. Lebuu spoke to his friend, Dr Sharp from the *Oroolong*, on his deathbed, saying that he was sorry he couldn't speak to his father and to tell him of all the 'fine things the English had got'. Lebuu was buried in Wilson's family plot in St

Mary's, Rotherhithe. His gravestone reads in part: 'Stop reader. Stop. Let nature claim a tear, a prince of mine, Lee Boo, lies buried here'. It was to be seven years before Ibedul and his people found out the fate of Lebuu. In 1791, Captain John McCluer on the packet ship *Panther* took gifts to thank Ibedul for his kindness to Wilson and crew. Included were copies of Keate's *An Account* ..., containing this engraved portrait of Lebuu, upon which his people must have sadly reflected.

Lebuu was half-Palauan and half-Yapese; the Europeanised image we see in print form here was taken not by Devis but by the daughter of George Keate, the publisher of the narrative. Georgiana Jane Keate was an accomplished young watercolourist who had the opportunity to observe Lebuu. Keate acknowledged his daughter's role in portraying the young traveller 'from memory, fifteen months after his death, [and it] is acknowledged to be a very striking likeness by everyone who knew him'. However, the drawing of Lebuu by Devis held in the British Museum's collection is of a very different looking young man, much more the noble savage than the youthful dandy we see here. Keate's remarkably successful An Account ... meant that Lebuu became a household name. He inspired the publication of The Interesting History of Prince Lee Boo, Brought to England from the Pelew Islands, a primer studied by thousands of British school children, and he appeared in pamphlets, magazines and prints, all of which were collected by Nan Kivell. Recently, the Library purchased a jigsaw puzzle of Lee Boo's exploits produced in 1822.



Ludee, one of the wives of Abba Thulle 1783

by ARTHUR WILLIAM DEVIS (1762–1822) crayon and charcoal drawing NK183

Ludee visited the British encampment at Koror with her husband Ibedul and his daughter 'Erre Bess' and several other women on 15 October 1783. They celebrated the occasion of the visit with a meal and sat together on a canvas on the ground sharing food. One of the crew, Will Cobbledick, a good singer, sang for Ibedul and his retinue. The meagre food supplies of the British were replenished with fish, and taro and vegetables harvested by the women, who could now meet the men whom they had been supporting for the past couple of months. Devis sketched Ludee on this happy occasion. On an earlier visit to Koror with Wilson and his son Henry, Devis had drawn some other women and attracted the attention of Ibedul, who tried his hand at sketching, without much success.

This portrait of Ludee provides the basis for the later printed image by Henry Kingsbury for Keate's An Account of the Pelew Islands, which told the story of the Antelope voyage. This simpler version depicts Ludee naturally and with some tattooing on her right upper arm. In the published account, no doubt to play to the reader's imaginings about the exoticism of the noble savage, Ludee is depicted more heavily tattooed. The imagined embellishments are probably derived from those worn by Ibedul and seen here in Kingbury's engraving of him. Additionally, Ludee's breasts, mouth and eves have been accentuated in the print, and further enhanced by the repositioning of the figure, which is turned more to the front, and in the oval format used. The eroticism of the image may have contributed in part to the success of the book's publication. Devis cannot have had input into the changes rendered to his drawings by

Kingsbury; after he left Palau, he spent the next decade painting in India. Through Nan Kivell's collection it is possible to view the principal figures of the *Antelope*-Palau-Lee Boo adventure story in depth. To be able to see a figure such as Ludee in an original drawing by Devis, in printed form in the voyage account by Keate, and also on loose proof prints for the book, attests to Nan Kivell's strong interest in the voyage narrative. It also attests to the plethora of images available for collecting through the antiquarian trade in the first half of the twentieth century in London if one had the means and the desire to do so.



Elizabeth Isabella Broughton 1814

by RICHARD READ (1765–1827) watercolour NK417

Of all the voyagers in this exhibition, Betsey Broughton's (1807–1891) story is perhaps the most affecting and unlikely. Nan Kivell's discovery of this portrait was almost as improbable. Betsey, the daughter of hardworking William Broughton, the acting commissary-general of NSW, and his wife Elizabeth, a former convict, was a tiny survivor of the infamous Boyd massacre in Whangaroa, New Zealand, in 1809. In this notorious incident, the ship's entire crew and passengers were slaughtered (and most eaten), with the only exceptions being Betsey, Ann Morley and her infant, and Thomas Davis, a club-footed cabin boy of 15. Davis was spared by the Maori due to his friendship with Te Ara, also known as George, who was on the voyage from Sydney. A Whangaroa Maori chief's son, George was flogged and mistreated for an alleged theft on board and revenge for his loss of face ultimately precipitated the attack. After the murders, the ship was accidentally burnt to the water when gunpowder ignited during its ransacking, and Te Ara's father was killed. The ensuing chaos led to a civil war in the region.

Meanwhile, having lost her mother at the age of only two, Betsey lived with the Maori for three weeks. She barely survived on their 'unwholesome food', before being freed 'in a very emaciated state' with Ann Morley, by Captain Berry of the *City of Edinburgh*. Berry, a friend of Betsey's father, captured and ransomed two Maori chiefs to engineer her release. She then travelled, eventfully, to Lima, Peru, with Morley, who died there. Betsey was first taken care of by a local family but eventually returned to Sydney via Rio de Janeiro, arriving in May 1812, two and a half years after first departing. Her arrival 'to the great joy of her

disconsolate father' led to this portrait, which Broughton commissioned from Richard Read and dedicated to 'Don Gaspar de Rico and the other Spanish Gentlemen and Ladies' who 'nobly distinguished themselves by their humanity and in their protection' of Betsey.

This image of a poised and rather preoccupied child was discovered by Nan Kivell in a Salisbury antique shop window in the early 1950s. One of the earliest extant portraits of a European created in Australia, Betsey was staring at the collector as he passed by. Later, he was astounded to find a letter inside the back of the frame from Betsey's father to her adopted family in Lima. One can only imagine their surprise when this poignant portrait arrived from across the Pacific. Somehow it made its way to England and became a treasure of Nan Kivell's portrait collection. In 1824, Betsey married Charles Throsby, the nephew of the prominent surgeon and explorer of the same name, and lived at Throsby Park, Moss Vale, NSW. She had 17 children and died aged 84 in 1891. She is buried in Bong Bong cemetery.



Reverend William Vate c. 1835

by C. JOHN M. WHICHELO (1784–1865) oil on ivory NK9642

William Yate was born in Shropshire in 1802 and at age 14 was apprenticed to a grocer. In an effort to improve himself, he went to London in 1825 to seek training as a missionary at the Church Missionary Society (CMS). Ordained as a priest, specifically for work in the 'Colonies' in 1826, he was sent to New Zealand, where he worked with Maori in the Bay of Islands until 1834. He studied the Maori language and recorded their appearance and behaviour; he found them remarkably graceful and expressive, but their ribald, forthright attitudes disturbed him and were in stark contrast to rigid missionary concerns about impurity. He travelled to Sydney to print religious texts in 1830 and returned with a printing press, which enabled him to produce some hymn sheets and catechisms. His skills as a printer were limited, however, and he gave up printing, returning to Sydney in 1832 and 1833 to generate further booklets. These works marked the beginning of the publishing program that would accompany the attempted and prolonged conversion of the Maori people to Christianity.

In 1834, Yate left for England without CMS permission, to collect his sister Sarah, recruit missionaries and to also seek funds for a church in Waimate, which he considered would be 'his' church. This action angered the CMS who felt that Waimate was not ready for a church. While sailing, he drafted the manuscript for what was to become An Account of New Zealand. In London, he achieved fame as a speaker, appeared before a House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines and met William IV at Brighton. This portrait on ivory was painted during this visit by C. John M. Whichelo, a watercolourist who became the marine and

landscape painter to the Prince Regent. Yate's account, published in 1835, became the earliest publication about the mission and was poorly received by his colleagues who saw it as self-aggrandisement. The following year, Yate published affectionate and emotive letters from Maori about their conversion experiences, which reflect his intense relationships with them and his evangelical expectations of them.

During the return voyage on the Prince Regent in 1836, Yate developed a scandalous relationship with a ship's officer, Edwin Denison, which became public knowledge after his arrival in Sydney. He was temporarily made chaplain of St James' Church and an investigation by Bishop Broughton took place. Sworn testimony from four of his Maori students was sent from New Zealand by the CMS and supported charges of sexual misconduct; Yate was suspended from clerical duties in November 1837. Yate proclaimed his innocence and returned to England, accompanied by Denison, where he sought in vain to have his case formally heard. His missionary colleagues in Waimate burned his belongings and shot his horse, Selim, to expunge his memory. As a result of his public notoriety, he was unable to find work, but with the aid of some powerful patrons, he was finally appointed chaplain to a seamen's church in Dover in 1846. He maintained this position until his death, aged 75, in 1877. One might imagine that Rex Nan Kivell, avid collector of colonial stories, of lives and their associated portraits, and openly homosexual, must have greatly prized this small painting. It neatly captured an enigmatic and contentious figure and an early and troublesome moment in New Zealand's postcolonial life.



The Reverend John Williams on board ship with native implements, in the South Sea Islands c. 1838

by HENRY ANELAY (1817–1883) watercolour NK 187

The life of the Reverend John Williams (1796– 1839) is one of the more remarkable stories of the European colonisation of the Pacific. The most celebrated missionary of his age, he was to be much mourned after his death in 1839 on the beach at Erromango (Vanuatu) and for his cannibalisation. In his memoirs published two years earlier, Williams claimed to have 'travelled a hundred thousand miles and eighteen years promoting the spread of the Gospel' around the Pacific. He certainly covered a lot of ground between his apprenticeship as a foundry worker and his extensive and successful Pacific voyaging after his dramatic conversion. He was ordained by the London Missionary Society in 1816 and, the following year, he and his 19-year-old wife Mary visited Australia en route to Tahiti and the islands of the Pacific beyond. Williams was very hands on and had the ability not just to preach and to convert, but also to build boats and buildings as the need arose. In the frontispiece to his memoirs, he states, 'For my own part I cannot content myself within the narrow limits of a single reef'. He didn't. The Williamses discovered Rarotonga and were the first missionaries to visit Samoa.

Wherever they went, filling 'the whole world with the glory of the Lord', they busily and successfully converted the 'heathens' they encountered. They lost seven of their ten children in the process. This memorable image of Williams, formally attired in the tropical heat and set against a dramatic island landscape, represents a moment when things were significantly changing for the people of central Polynesia. Williams cites examples in his published work of islanders renouncing and destroying or burning their local

gods, represented in idol form. He describes Tuahine, a chief of Rarotonga and a deacon to the Williamses, telling the locals at Rarotonga, 'There are some things we term the poison of the sea; these idols hanging here were the poison of the land, for both body and soul were poisoned by them. But let us rejoice, their reign is over'. The idols—the toppled trophies that Williams rather dismissively gestures towards in Anelay's watercolour-are some of the ones removed from Aitutaki and Rarotonga, described by Williams in his memoirs and sent back to London and now held in the British Museum's collection. Williams' own symbol of authority, his gold and carnelian seal, with which he would presumably finalise his letters to his superiors in London, dangles diminutively, but absolutely centrally, in the watercolour. It perhaps hints at the good news he would transmit to head office letting them know that the Lord's word was successfully taking hold thousands of kilometres away. Additionally, it may hint at how the news of Williams' death was transmitted by letter overland from India to London in early April 1840. 'The Martyr of Erromango' was much mourned. Ironically, it was the actions of Williams and other missionaries that both destroyed and led to the preservation of sometimes unique cultural artefacts such as those depicted here (see Tangaroa essay). As recently as 2009, relatives of John Williams visited Erromango to participate in a reconciliation event marking the 170th anniversary of his death. The President of Vanuatu, Iolu Johnson Abil, spoke of the need for his Christian country to participate in a reconciliation to remove a kind of 'curse' that remained after Williams' death.



Tangaroa, the chief of gods c. 1834

watercolour and ink NK1224/8

Nan Kivell was not averse to including non-human representations in his maverick book of portraits. 'Hawaiian' gods, the Hairy Wild Man from Botany Bay and even Augustus Earle's dog, Jemmy, all featured, reflecting the breadth of his pictorial interests and his quest for inclusiveness in this large, documentary tome. Here we see Tangaroa, the Chief of Gods. The Reverend John Williams' (1796-1839) voyages and missionary efforts around the Pacific were documented in a series of 30 largeformat watercolours, which were collected by Nan Kivell in 1953. It is not known who painted the images but they must have been produced in the extended period after Williams returned to England on leave in 1834 to raise funds for his activities. Williams sometimes dressed in a 'native' costume when delivering his very well attended lectures, and used the watercolours as illustrations to inspire the public to contribute to the Society's good deeds in the Pacific, saving heathen souls and bringing them from 'darkness' to 'light'.

The artefact seen here is a large staff god and is presumably the one collected by Williams in Rarotonga in May 1827 and today held in the British Museum. He noted that it was one of 14 'immense idols, the smallest ... was about five yards in length'. Seen in diminutive form in the adjacent watercolour of Williams by Anelay, the original staff god is made of carved wood, barkcloth and feathers, measures just under four metres in length and is one of only 17 examples known, and is certainly the largest extant. Presumably Anelay shrunk the Tangaroa figure in his watercolour as, at full scale, it would have fitted into the carefully considered composition. In his memoirs, Williams wrote that he sent the idol

to the Missionary Museum in London, where it came to hold a central and commanding position in the very varied display—which also included a stuffed giraffe. He described how it had been 'unceremoniously' taken apart by British Customs agents on reaching England to ensure it was not hiding goods or contraband, noting wryly that the agents were better protectors of the king's revenue than makers of idols. Tangaroa suffered in being reconstructed and was not 'so handsome as when it was an object of veneration to the deluded Rarotongans'.

In 1969, Roger Duff, the former curator of the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, speculated that such staff gods depicted Tangaroa, which was said to be the 'supreme deity of the Cook Islands pantheon'. This has been confirmed by more recent research. The version in the British Museum's collection had the carved wooden phallus, on the opposite end of the staff from the distinctive head, removed. Presumably this was undertaken by Williams to limit offence on its reception in London and to enable its vertical display, dominating the London Missionary Society (LMS) gallery. The depictions of Tangaroa here and in the Anelay watercolour are subtly different but seem to be of the same important Rarotongan object.

As the popularity of the LMS Museum slowly waned, these items finally entered the British Museum collection on loan from 1890 and were acquired in 1910. Some of the key artefacts collected by Williams and now in the British Museum are illustrated in the Nan Kivell collection of watercolours and were exhibited in 'Atua' at the National Gallery of Australia last year.



Augustus Earle: Solitude, Tristan d'Acunha, watching the horizon 1824

by AUGUSTUS EARLE (1793–1838) watercolour NK12/3

Stranded, watching and waiting. This self-portrait of Augustus Earle with his dog Jemmy captures the quiet desperation of the artist as he sat surveying the flat horizon for any interruption, which might indicate a ship. Seeking a way out, he had been stymied in his restless journey, his art supplies were exhausted and he was desperate to document the world. Perhaps the greatest travel artist of the 19th century, Augustus Earle was a restless adventurer and had an adventurer's share of bad luck from time to time. He suffered a broken leg in the Illawarra forests, illness ended his voyage with Charles Darwin on the Beagle and his accidental stranding for eight months in 1824 on 'Tristan d'Acunha' (Tristan da Cunha), the remotest place on earth in the southern Atlantic, must have sorely tested his patience and natural optimism. While he may not have thought so at the time, the stranding was an opportunity to be the first artist to capture the claustrophobic atmosphere of the island and the isolated lifestyle of Governor Glass and his seven companions, and led to memorable images, perhaps some of the most unlikely ever produced. His image of a man killing an albatross on an arid mountain top in the island's interior is surreal.

En route to India when he was stranded, Earle finally made his way to Hobart and then to Sydney in late 1825. He quickly established himself there, gaining commissions for portraits, starting an art gallery on George Street and beginning to travel widely; the Blue Mountains, the Hunter River, Port Stephens, Port Macquarie and the Illawarra—all were documented. A remarkable album of 161 watercolours, first sold in London in 1926, as well as various oils, entered the Library's holdings as

part of Nan Kivell's collection. He regarded the album as one of his greatest acquisitions. Earle's travels continued after Australia, to the Caroline Islands, Manilla, Singapore, Madras and Mauritius and, after returning to London in 1831, on the H.M.S. Beagle, which he was forced to abandon in Montevideo due to ill health. An entertaining writer and publisher as well, Earle produced three volumes of his travels focused on Australia, New Zealand and Tristan da Cunha. His restless spirit drove him on as it had, it seems, since childhood. He first exhibited at the Royal Academy as a 13-year-old; his last entry was an oil, A Bivouac of Travellers, in a Cabbage Tree Forest—Daybreak in the year of his death. This work is also held in the Nan Kivell Collection, alongside preparatory watercolours. Earle died from 'asthma and debility', the product of his hard living, in London on 10 December 1838.

Rex Nan Kivell owned and loved dogs. Earle's autobiographical images include canines and Jemmy, his faithful hound, accompanied him on his journeys. Nan Kivell included them both, separately, in his *Portraits* volume. Perhaps Earle's greatest self-portrait is that constructed by the watercolours, which empathetically document his travels and reflect his curiosity, personality and temperament.



Desmond, a N.S. Wales chief painted for a karobbery or native dance c. 1826

by AUGUSTUS EARLE (1793–1838) watercolour NK12/61

Virtually nothing is known of 'Desmond', as Augustus Earle records him. Earle believed Desmond was a New South Wales chief and he captures him in this beautiful watercolour, posed formally and with compassion. Not all of Earle's images of Aboriginal people depict them as elegantly as this watercolour does. The artist was capable of depicting Aboriginal people as destitute, looking bored and with little future. He wrote of them: 'The natives ... seem of the lowest grade ... they have neither energy, enterprise, nor industry ... a few exceptions may be met with; but these are the general characteristics'. Clearly he viewed Desmond as one of the exceptions. Other exceptions also recorded in watercolour are held in Nan Kivell's collection. Within the confines of the era, Earle was a sympathetic judge of the plight of Aboriginal people as they faced the growing encroachment of white society and the losses attendant on this assault. Earle recognised the effects of the loss of agency and land and of the influence of grog, and depicted, memorably, its pernicious effects.

With Desmond, he presents us with a dignified man painted up and ready for ceremony—a corroboree ('karobbery'). It is a memorable image of a man facing change and yet attempting to maintain the continuity of hundreds of generations. The composition is considered; Earle tightly arranges the commanding figure, seen only from the knees up. The low horizon line and the viewpoint used mean that the viewer looks up to Desmond. We acknowledge his dignity and sense of ownership of his past and his failing present. Along with Earle's oil painting of Bungaree (displayed at the National Gallery of Australia), it

is one of the most memorable portraits created in the colonial era and part of an extraordinary body of work that encapsulates a thoughtful artist's restless travels around colonial New South Wales between 1825 and 1827.



Ana Rupene and child after 1878

by GOTTFRIED LINDAUER (1839–1926) oil on canvas NK4

This portrait of is one of perhaps 30 created by the Bohemian painter, Gottfried Lindauer, of Ana Rupene Whetuki over the period 1878 to 1920. It is his best known image and it is iconic in New Zealand. The subject was a spirited and well-known figure in the Thames goldfield region on the Coromandel Peninsula, east of Auckland, in the 1870s. Ana Rupene of Ngāti Maru (a tribal group of the Thames and Hauraki Plains area) lived at Manaia where many of her descendants still live today. They knew her as 'Werohia', which means 'to challenge'. When local children would help themselves to the oranges growing on the boundary of the family homestead, Ana would wave a stick at them to instruct them in manners. She was also known by the name Heeni Hirini, which comes from her father's name, Hirini. Ana was married to Ruepene Whetuki, a Ngāti Maru rangatira, a local chief. She and her husband had a daughter, Poia, whose children they took responsibility for and raised when Poia died. Ana's birth and death dates are unknown but she is buried in the churchyard at Manaia. Her life coincided with the rapid settlement of the goldfields region, where land was drained for agricultural use—the effects of which are still being felt today.

Lindauer, who arrived in New Zealand in 1878, derived the image of Ana from a carte de visite studio portrait photograph taken by the Foy Brothers, who operated in Thames (near Manaia). The image was taken between 1871 and 1878, and Lindauer based at least three other Maori portraits painted in 1878 on Foy Brothers photographs. Ana is depicted wearing a ngore—a koronai or cloak covered in the usual hukahuka, falling threads

made from died flax, but with the addition of red woollen pompoms. In the original photograph, the cloak is without pompoms and, in later versions of the painting, Lindauer has made them more numerous and added green, blue and yellow pompoms to the composition. This may mean that the Library's work is closer to the original painting's date of 1878. Ana is also depicted with a *kuru pounamu* or jade ear pendant and her *ta moko* or chin and lip tattoos are clearly evident.

It is unclear when and where Nan Kivell purchased this portrait but he clearly valued it highly, giving it the catalogue number, NK4, in his prioritised list. Surprisingly, he did not recognise it as a painting by Lindauer and, in a touring exhibition drawn from his collection which travelled to New Zealand in 1953-1954, it was simply captioned Maori Woman and Child. Nan Kivell also owned another very fine Maori portrait by Lindauer (Tomika Te Mutu, NK103) and a large figure group (NK6775). Copies of this painting are held at Te Papa in Wellington, Christchurch Art Gallery, the Pitt Rivers Museum at the University of Oxford, the Náprstek Museum in Prague and the Gallery of West Bohemia in Pilsen, where Lindauer was born.



Truggernana 24 August 1835

by BENJAMIN DUTERRAU (1767–1851) etching NK79/1

Truggernana (c. 1812–1876), perhaps better known as Truganini, was considered erroneously as the 'last Tasmanian' when she died, aged 64, in 1876. She was from the Nuenonne people, whose territory extended from the south banks of the Derwent River down the D'Entrecasteaux Channel to Port Davey. Her troubled life spanned the arrival of Europeans, the brutal settlement of Tasmania, the Black War of the 1820s and the intervention of George Augustus Robinson, whom she met in 1829. By the time she turned 16, she had experienced the murder of her mother, the killing of her uncle by a soldier, the abduction of her sister by sealers and the brutal murder of her promised husband, Paraweena, by timbergetters. In 1829, she 'married' senior Nuenonne man Woureddy at the Bruny Island mission south of Hobart, where they assisted Robinson, teaching him language and travelling with him, acting as his guides for several years. The reasons for their continuing assistance to this governmentappointed 'Conciliator', who was to have such a powerful influence over their lives, are complex. They saw cooperation as the best strategy left to them and an opportunity to help others while in a terribly difficult situation.

In 1835, Truganini and Woureddy accompanied Robinson to Wybalenna ('Black Man's House'), the Flinders Island 'Aboriginal Settlement' in Bass Strait, described by Palawa people today as a 'death camp experiment'. The camp originally housed more than 130 Aboriginal people, most of whom died there from neglect and respiratory illness while waiting for Robinson's unfulfilled promise to return them to their lands. The first petition from Aboriginal people to a reigning monarch

was drafted by Walter George Arthur, 'Chief of the Ben Lomond tribe' (1820-1861) in February 1846 and sent to Queen Victoria. It was signed by Arthur and seven men at Wybalenna. In 1847, it won them the right to return to their homeland and Truganini and just 47 other survivors relocated to Oyster Cove. There, to some extent, Truganini was able to resume her traditional life. She died in Hobart in May 1876. Prior to her death, she told the Rev. H.D. Atkinson, 'I know that when I die the Museum wants my body'. Her exhumed skeleton was supposed to be protected within the Tasmanian Museum but was instead placed on display from 1904 to 1947. It was only after advocacy from Palawa people that Truganini was cremated in 1976 and her ashes scattered in the D'Entrecasteaux Channel near her homeland.

This image of Truganini, aged about 23, was created by the enterprising artist and printmaker Benjamin Duterrau (1767–1851), who arrived in Tasmania in 1832, aged 65, and produced the first etchings in Australia. The print has been removed from an album featuring etched portraits of Woureddy, Tanleboueyer and Manalergerna. These etchings were produced as a commercial venture to enable Duterrau to create his major history painting, The Conciliation. They sold for 1 shilling and sixpence each. Here Duterrau depicts a strong, tenacious woman standing her ground. We see Truganini with shaved head, wearing a kangarooskin cloak and multiple strands of a maireener shell necklace. In the background appears to be smoke from a campfire and the suggestion of her companions sitting in the landscape; the landscape from which they had been removed.



Te Pēhi Kupe 1824 by JOHN SYLVESTER (c. 1795–1829) watercolour on vellum

NK127

Another international voyager in this exhibition was Te Pēhi Kupe (c. 1795–1829), a Maori paramount chief of the Ngāti Toa of Kapiti. Born around 1795, he was descended in the senior line from Toa Rangatira, the eponymous ancestor of Ngāti Toa. He voyaged to England in February 1824 with a plan to obtain muskets from the British to avenge the murder of four of his children and 56 others in an attack from anther Maori group. His voyage commenced when he boarded the Urania, a becalmed vessel, and requested weapons. He refused to leave even though the crew attempted to throw him overboard. While on board, the wind came up and the ship had to sail; having instructed his canoes to leave, Te Pēhi stayed. Later in the voyage, he saved the ship's commander, Captain Reynolds, from drowning in Montevideo and was allowed to remain on board. Te Pēhi stayed for some months in Liverpool with Reynolds and they formed a strong friendship. Reynolds and his wife nursed him through measles and he met a Dr Traill, who also looked after him. Most of the English had not seen moke or face tattooing in the early 19th century and Te Pēhi must have been a revelation to them. When he and Dr Traill rode anywhere together, they garnered great attention from the curious public.

The image we see here was painted by a colleague of Dr Traill, John Sylvester, about whom we know nothing other than that he was an accomplished watercolourist. It is recorded that Te Pēhi was engrossed with the process of having his portrait taken but made it clear to Sylvester that the depiction of his moko must be very accurate. In *The New Zealanders*, published in 1830, George

L. Craik wrote that the moko 'constituted, in fact the distinctive mark of the individual ... Every line, both on his face and on the other parts of his body, was permanently registered in his memory'. Te Pēhi accurately drew his moko—'the stains on his own face'—and those of his brother and son, and his schematic rendering—a self portrait—is now well known. A print derived from Te Pēhi's drawing illustrates The New Zealanders. It is clear from this watercolour that Sylvester took great care to capture the intensely complex designs, as he recognised the symbolic importance of the tattoos. Unlike the acclaimed image of Ana Rupene Whetuke by Lindauer (see Ana Rupene and Child), which depicts her in traditional dress, here we see a distinguished man aged about 30 in stylish European garb, who gazes enigmatically at us, from England, nearly 200 years ago. Te Pēhi returned in 1825 to his people via Sydney, where he exchanged gifts for guns. Within four years, he was killed in the south island, having travelled with others to obtain pounamu or greenstone. He was eaten and his bones were made into fishhooks.



Mrs. Fry reading to the prisoners in Newgate in the year 1816 c. 1863

by JERRY BARRETT (1824–1906) watercolour and ink NK5649

Elizabeth Fry (1780-1845) was born into a family of Norwich bankers. She became interested in the support of poor and indigent people at an early age, and devoted her life's work to these causes under the influence of the Quakers. She supported the homeless and destitute, patients in mental asylums and the poorly educated, developing a particular interest in people imprisoned in dreadful circumstances. A visit to Newgate Prison in 1813 inspired her to work for the improvement of prison conditions. She provided clothes, food, bedding and education to prisoners and their children, and set up social groups to support this work. Her devotion to this cause, her compassion and persuasive determination became well known throughout Britain and in other countries. In 1817, Fry founded the Association for the Reformation of the Female Prisoners in Newgate, one of the earliest nationwide organisations for women.

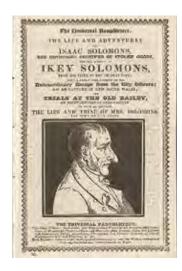
Bringing friendship and compassion to prisoners, Fry became aware of those in hulks awaiting transportation, and sought to provide the women with clothing, simple possessions and sewing materials, with which they could make quilts that could later be sold. She also ensured the appointment of matrons to supervise the convicts during the long voyage to the colonies, trusting that 'they may be suitable in the ship and helpful in the colony'.

Fry changed the lives of thousands through her personal interaction, her writing, her public presence and her access to royalty and those in power. In 1818, she became the first woman to present evidence to a House of Commons Committee, describing the conditions prevailing in British prisons. She also established schools for

poor children, worked for nursing education and in anti-slavery groups, and gave birth to eleven children. Her work exemplified a Quaker dictum to 'Take your life and do good with it'.

This watercolour is taken from an 1860 oil painting, Mrs. Fry Reading to the Prisoners in Newgate in the Year 1816, by British artist Jerry Barrett (1824–1906). Little is known about the artist but he had earlier created two heroic images of nurse Florence Nightingale at Scutari during the Crimean War. Significantly, Fry's early efforts to establish a nursing school inspired Nightingale's efforts to take trained nurses to the Crimea.

A widely circulated print was created in 1863 from Barrett's oil painting, and this artwork, the intermediate step in the printmaking process, was acquired by Nan Kivell along with numerous other portraits of her. Barrett creates an enduring and heavily symbolic image of Elizabeth Fry reading from the Bible to prisoners and their children. The explanatory key to the painting read, in part, 'with a countenance radiant with the hope [Fry] is trying to instil into the hearts of the poor degraded creatures before her' in the 'agony of slime and sorrow'. Without judgement, Fry imparts the gospel to fallen women, gin-sozzled drunks and those who have not entirely given up hope of redemption. Around her in the gaol are fellow social reformers, including her brothers, Samuel and Joseph John Gurney, her brother-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton, and Henry Ryder, Bishop of Gloucester. For years, the left-hand portion of this image has been featured on the British £5 note opposite a portrait of Fry in her distinctive bonnet. The image will be replaced next year with that of Winston Churchill.



Isaac Solomons c.1837

in *The life and adventures of Isaac Solomons* ... in *The universal pamphleteer*, no. 52 London: published by C. STRANGE (1799–1852), c. 1837 printed NK6315

Isaac 'Ikey' Solomon (1787–1850)—incorrectly recorded here as Solomons—was born in Gravel Lane, Hounslow, in London's East End, and became well known as a petty criminal with an international reputation. He began his career as a pickpocket, allegedly from the age of nine, gaining a reputation that influenced Charles Dickens in creating the character of Fagin in *Oliver Twist*. In 1810, Solomon was arrested, tried and sentenced to transportation. After six years in a prison hulk, he escaped, but returned and was awarded a free pardon. He then resumed his criminal activities, chiefly as a 'fence' or a receiver of stolen goods.

Again arrested in 1827 for these crimes, Solomon was committed to London's Newgate Prison, but he escaped while being driven back to the gaol, having drugged his captors en route. He fled to Denmark, then to the United States. His wife, Ann Solomon, was then tried as an accomplice and sentenced to transportation for fourteen years. She arrived in Hobart with her four younger children in June 1828, and her older sons, John and Moses, later emigrated to join her.

Solomon stayed in New York, where he became embroiled in a forgery scheme, and then moved to Rio de Janeiro. He travelled on to Hobart under the assumed name of 'Slowman'. He was soon recognised in Van Diemen's Land by old criminal acquaintances but the Lieutenant Governor, Sir George Arthur, was unable to arrest him without a warrant, which took a year to arrive from London. Remarkably, Ann Solomon was released on assignment to her husband after repeated requests and the posting of a £1,000 bond and various sureties.

Solomon was finally returned to an Old Bailey trial, at which he was sentenced to fourteen years of transportation. He arrived back in Hobart in 1831 and was sent to Richmond Gaol, where he became a police javelin man, responsible for guarding inmates with the aid of a long spiked pole. In 1834, he was transferred to Port Arthur, and freed in 1835 to live in New Norfolk. His reunion with his family was stormy; they had soon had enough of him and turned him out.

Lurid and largely fictitious stories about Ikey Solomon were printed for a fascinated public. Billed as 'Cheap Reading', this pamphlet, No. 52 in The Universal Pamphleteer series, recounts his adventures in some detail. Highly regarded by some as good-natured and likeable, Solomon possessed powers of persuasion and deception and was given to casual impropriety. Unlike this caricaturistic and stereotypical image of him as a Jew, Solomon was known to be 'slender' and 'dark' with hazel eyes and brown hair and a prominent acquiline nose, features that may have helped him in his life on the run. At the end of his life in Hobart, he ran a shop and was an active member of the Jewish community. He was buried in the Hobart Jewish Cemetery in 1850. His reputed fortune was found to be only £70.





Drawing of a wax model of Frank Gardiner 1863

ink NK6892/A

Sketch from a description of Johnny Gilbert 1863

ink NK6892/B

Bushrangers were recognised from the earliest days of the colonies, either as escaped convicts or desperate men, seeking to survive by lawless means. Many were helped by Aboriginal people or settlers and some were admired as heroes, while others were feared as brutal criminals who preferred to die fighting rather than surrender. Folklore and artistic records celebrate these resourceful and game young men who outraged authorities. Nan Kivell clearly collected these drawings to illustrate the 'infamous' elements in Australian life.

These small ink sketches record two wellknown bushrangers, Frank Gardiner (1830–1903) and Johnny Gilbert (1842-1865). Curiously, the first is drawn from a wax model of Gardiner and the second from a 'description' of Gilbert. With the two drawings in Nan Kivell's collection is a newspaper cutting from the Sydney Morning Herald, dated Saturday 6 February 1853. The advertisement offers £1,000 for the apprehension of the two men, undersigned by Premier Charles Cowper. After referring to the dangers of harbouring them, he records that Gardiner, aged 32, has dark hair, brown eyes, numerous scars, a dark sallow complexion, short finger nails, hairy legs and a possible pistol or whip wound to his head. Gilbert is described as aged between 22 and 24, with light brown straight hair worn long in the 'native fashion', beardless and whiskerless, and with the appearance and manner of a bushman or stockman. He 'is particularly flippant'.

Frank Gardiner arrived from Scotland in 1834 when he was about 4 years old, settling near Goulburn. In 1850, he was arrested for horse-stealing in Victoria and sentenced to five years'

hard labour. He escaped and resumed his career, only to be captured in 1854 trying to sell stolen horses at Yass. Sentenced to fourteen years, he was imprisoned on Cockatoo Island. He was given a ticket-of-leave in 1860 and bound to stay in Carcoar, in central western New South Wales, but turned to highway robbery instead; in 1862, this included a haul worth £14,000 from the Lachlan Gold Escort, near Eugowra. Gardiner went with his lover Kate to Rockhampton, where he was arrested in 1864 and sentenced to 32 years of hard labour. Petitions led to a reduced sentence, and he was released and exiled in 1874; he moved to San Francisco where he ran a saloon. He lived into the 20th century.

Johnny Gilbert (1842–1865) was a Canadian, who came to Melbourne at about the age of ten. He ran away to the goldfields, where as a young man he associated with thieves and gaming operators and gained a reputation as a smart dresser and a superb horseman. He moved to New South Wales, where he joined Frank Gardiner's gang in the Wheogo goldfields, and took part in the Eugowra robbery. He later became a member of Ben Hall's gang, involved in many armed hold-ups and the killing of police officers. Gilbert was proclaimed an outlaw in 1865, and shot by a policeman at Binalong, in the Yass Valley, where his body is buried. Banjo Paterson celebrated Gilbert in his ballad, How Gilbert Died. A sign in Binalong describes him as 'The most reckless villain of the Gardiner-Hall gangs' and 'A splendid horseman, a deadly shot, game with fists or gun, always polite to women, and of irrepressible good humour and witty speech'.



Edward Gibbon Wakefield 1826

by BENJAMIN HOLL (1808–1884) after ABRAHAM WIVALL (1786–1849) London: published by Martin Colnaghi, 1 November 1826 stipple engraving NK 551

It is interesting to consider whether Nan Kivell classified Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796–1862) as 'famous' or 'infamous'. As a prominent promoter of systematic colonial expansion and as an emigrant to New Zealand, he could be classified as famous. However, his earlier life as a kidnapper and gaolbird probably made him a candidate for a degree of infamy. It is clear that he was held in some regard by the collector, for Nan Kivell lists him prominently as one of only a few names on his specially commissioned bookplate, which is fixed to thousands of items in his collection. Wakefield's youthful temperament exhibiting 'an inflexible and impertinacious' character, contrary to his Quaker roots, perhaps did not bode well. His first marriage started with an elopement and ended with his young wife Eliza's death, shortly after giving birth to his second child. Relatively well provided for from Eliza's estate, Wakefield nevertheless decided to abduct and marry 15-yearold heiress Ellen Turner from her boarding school in Liverpool, to assist his passage into the House of Commons. Wakefield paid for this rather public and unwise path to success, with three years in Newgate Prison. From being an 'incorrigible' young man and unsuccessful litigant, he emerged from Newgate in 1830 as a man with a vision.

His ruminations on the causes of crime, the penal system and capital punishment led him to formulate his idea for systematic colonisation. He published two influential works, a Letter from Sydney, the Principal Town of Australasia (without ever having visited it) and Sketch of a Proposal for Colonising Australia. His progressive idea was to encourage the profitability of colonies by increasing their potential labour through emigration tied to the sale

of land for a 'sufficient price'. The profits from the sale of the land would allow for the free passage of men and women from a broad cross-section of British society to voyage to an antipodean, post-Enlightenment version of Britain. Wakefield advocated to end transportation to New South Wales, believing that a free-settled state would be preferable, and his work led, in 1834, to the South Australia Bill. Two years later, nine ships embarked for what would become Adelaide. Wakefield had intended to travel with them but the death of his 18-year-old daughter Nina from consumption dissuaded him. His interests then turned towards New Zealand and he was instrumental in forming the New Zealand Association in 1837. A tireless advocate for colonisation of that country, he eventually emigrated to Christchurch in 1852, having first sent his youngest brother Felix, a surveyor who had worked in Van Diemen's Land, as his agent. He soon moved to Wellington and was elected to the New Zealand General Assembly but his inability to compromise again led to problems, which seriously affected his health, already diminished from a stroke in 1846. Wakefield, the indefatigable reformer and schemer, retired ill and, by the time of his death in Wellington in 1862, the processes of eroding his public presence were already underway.



Ellen Turner

in Abduction: une nouvelle maniére d'attraper une femme, or A bold stroke for a wife/exemplified in Mr Wakefield's New Art of Love ...

London: published by E. Duncombe, c. 1827
printed
NK4505

Being abducted at the age of 15 from Miss Daulby's school in Liverpool in 1827 was, for Ellen Turner (1811–1830), a strange divergence from the usual adolescent pathway for a wealthy heiress in the Regency period. Her father had placed her in the safe hands of a reputable school—not safe enough, however, to foil Edward Gibbon Wakefield's ambitious scheme to render himself financially viable for election to public office. Wakefield was aided and abetted in his fanciful scheme by his brother William and his stepmother Frances Wakefield, who ascertained certain facts to make his case compelling for both the school and the target of his affections. The beautiful young woman was persuaded that her mother, who resided in Shrigley and was the wife of the High Sheriff of Cheshire, had been paralysed and that Ellen urgently needed to visit before her mother's condition deteriorated. She was allowed to leave, but instead of a parental visit to a paralytic mother she found herself in a carriage bound for Manchester and a meeting with an ambitious, though impetuous, young man.

Having not met him before, Ellen was persuaded that the real issue was the dire financial state of her wealthy father, who was supposedly fleeing the law. She was soon inveigled into taking another coach trip, this time to meet with her father. Wakefield's clever and complex plan was unfurled as the trip wore on. At each point, when the promised father did not appear, the true gravity of his circumstances were revealed. Ellen was told that if she married someone, her father's lawyer had drawn up papers to ensure the estate would be transferred to her and she could protect her father's assets. Masquerading as a good friend of

her father's, Wakefield offered himself for the duty. Before she knew it, Ellen was in Scotland at Gretna Green and married to her cunning abductor. They proceeded to Calais before the plan hit a snag. Ellen was tracked down by her uncle on a pier in Calais and rescued. Wakefield was to serve time in gaol—it was the making of him. The bogus and unconsummated marriage was annulled by Parliament. At the age of 17, Ellen married Thomas Legh, a wealthy neighbour, only to die in childbirth just two years later. Her daughter, also called Ellen, survived.



Dr Leichhardt 1846

by WILLIAM ROMAINE GOVETT (1807–1848) after CHARLES RODIUS (1802–1860) pencil NK5991/40

Legendary German explorer Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig Leichhardt (1813–1848) was born in Prussia. He received higher education at the universities of Berlin and Göttingen, developing an interest in natural sciences without receiving a degree. He moved to England to continue these studies, where he met William Nicholson, who helped fund his travel to Australia to further his interests and to develop plans to explore the continent. He reached Sydney in February 1842.

Leichhardt worked around Sydney and more distant areas of New South Wales, assembling specimens and data that might be displayed in a future museum, where he hoped to be employed as a curator. Unfortunately, no official funding was forthcoming. In 1845, frustrated by the lack of government support for a proposed expedition from Moreton Bay to Port Essington (established in 1838), Leichhardt organised private backing for his courageous journey of nearly 5,000 km. On his unexpected and belated return to Sydney by sea in 1846, he was given a hero's welcome, acclaimed as the 'Prince of Explorers' and generously rewarded. Leichhardt then wrote his volume on the expedition, gave lectures and analysed the research recorded on his epic expeditions. In 1847, he was awarded gold medals by both the French and British Geographical Societies. He planned in his next venture to cross the continent from east to west, then south to the Swan River colony. This began in December 1846 on the Darling Downs, but the expedition was beset by problems and abandoned. Leichhardt began a similar expedition in March 1848, which disappeared after leaving the Darling Downs. Despite numerous searches, few traces of the party have ever been found;

these include numerous trees marked with an 'L' and a small brass plate bearing Leichhardt's name, which was retrieved from a burnt weapon in a boab tree near Sturt Creek in north-eastern Western Australia. Leichhardt is remembered for his remarkable achievements, his reliable and well-documented scientific observations and his passionate dedication to the sciences. He displayed extraordinary drive and commitment and took risks, despite his poor eyesight. However, he was not always admired by those who worked with him. Admiration for Leichhardt during his time in Australia and after his disappearance turned to criticism, by some, of his abilities and achievements, which clouded his later reputation.

This drawing is in an album created by William Romaine Govett (1807-1848), a talented surveyor who worked with Major Mitchell from 1827 until 1833. Mitchell observed of him that he was 'a wild young man who needed control but who had established himself as the ablest delineator of ground in the department and remarkably good at dealing with unexplored country'. Govett left the colony in 1834 but maintained this sketchbook, begun in 1828, until not long before his premature death in England in 1848. The book is populated with lively drawings of famous Victorians, which often carry the sitter's signature. While only four images are related to Govett's Australian experiences, Nan Kivell purchased the volume anyway. In this case, Govett has based his drawing on a lithograph by Charles Rodius (1802–1860), a talented convict artist and printmaker who established himself as a free settler in 1841. The lithograph was taken from his charcoal drawing of Leichhardt in the Library's collection.

The Tichborne Claimant case

In the 21st century, it seems inconceivable that a celebrated case such as that surrounding the Tichborne Claimant in 1871 could have made it to court, yet alone occupy the attention of the public for months and then years. The case revolved around the missing heir to a fortune and the Tichborne baronetcy in Hampshire, England. Lady Tichborne advertised in 1863 for any information regarding her missing son, Roger (born 1829), who had disappeared in 1854 after leaving Rio de Janeiro on a ship. She offered a 'handsome reward' and, possibly, a title and fortune. The news of the opportunity eventually made its way to colonial Australia. A married, insolvent butcher's employee from Wagga Wagga, who went by the name Thomas Castro, claimed to be Lady Tichborne's son and wrote in poor English in 1866 to his 'mother'. He then travelled to England to settle his claim and to meet his family—subsequently, his identity was revealed as Arthur Orton (1834-1898), a former butcher from Wapping in London, who had been convicted of stealing horses in Australia.

To say that the Tichborne Claimant stretched credulity in inventing himself in opposition to the facts would be a massive understatement. In court, where his utterances should have been in congruence with the facts, it appears they were not. Yet, it seems his grieving mother and some of the public at large didn't seem to mind a bit. Young Roger grew up in Paris and French was his first language; the Claimant couldn't speak a word of French, nor could he remember where he had lived. In fact, he couldn't recall anything about his childhood at all. Roger had been a lanky youth; the Claimant returned to England weighing 20 stone—a butcher from Wagga Wagga who looked the part—and his weight continued to balloon. Roger was educated in the classics and Euclidian geometry; the Claimant didn't know who Virgil was, nor did he know that algebra had anything to do with mathematics. His supposed mother's name was Lady Henriette Felicité, yet he originally wrote to her as 'Lady Hannah Frances' then called her 'Lady Henrietta Feliceet' in court. This shambolic

and conniving figure, however, had won Lady Tichborne's heart against probity and the better judgement of her family, who recognised him for the imposter that he was. The Tichborne v. Lushington case was ultimately brought to court by the family in 1871, after the mother's death, and ten months later, Orton's claim was rejected. A final straw, and a rather damning piece of evidence, was that Roger was tattooed on the forearm. The Claimant was not. Immediately, Orton became the centre of a perjury trial, which ran for 188 days and ended with his conviction and imprisonment for 14 years. He remained recalcitrant until the end.

It is interesting that Rex Nan Kivell, an expatriate antipodean who audaciously invented himself from very little, and who was prepared to lie creatively when he felt the need justified it, was so intrigued by the inventive Arthur Orton. The collector amassed a substantial collection of material covering the trial and here you can see just three items that give scope to both the extent of, and the public interest in, the case, but also Nan Kivell's obsession with it. The Library has a very good selection of material in different formats documenting the Tichborne case and most of it has come as a result of the acquisition of Nan Kivell's collection in 1959. It is the density of material in Nan Kivell's collection about key figures, like Arthur Orton, George Barrington, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, James Cook, Joseph Banks and Rev. John Williams, for example, that enables him to document the infamous and the famous in great detail as part of the rich narrative of the discovery of settlement of the Pacific.



Claimant of the Tichborne

Estate 30 May 1871 (top) and

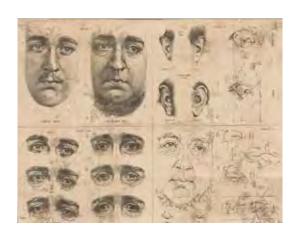
Untitled drawing of the Claimant 1871 (bottom)

by PHILIP PLEYDELL-BOUVERIE (1821–1890) pencil drawings pasted into scrapbook NK9595

The rich and varied material in this album, which documents Nan Kivell's fascination with the Tichborne affair and its central protagonist Thomas Castro aka Arthur Orton aka the Claimant, is both amusing and revealing. The volume is peppered with news clippings, detailed courtroom drawings that give a sense of the Claimant's comportment, and inventive prints and cartoons lampooning Orton from the popular press. The Claimant is seen here (above) standing in the witness box, his massive frame filling the scene, with one thick arm drawing the eye down to a fidgeting hand. In the bottom image, the Claimant is slumped, his large head sunken and his ruckled suit coat echoing the capacious chair's wellstuffed upholstery. Apparently, Orton was prone to aggressive replies under cross-examination and unable to answer even simple questions when they were addressed to him. He also used his health to his advantage. Suddenly, he would fail and would request an adjournment at opportune moments.

Recent research on the album strongly suggests that it was assembled by Philip Pleydell-Bouverie or possibly one of his children as one of the drawings is signed 'Bouverie' and a document in the volume has his banking firm's address on it. The drawings are amateurish but detailed and suggest the sketcher had time to study Orton and his behaviour during the lengthy case. Pleydell-Bouverie was linked to the Tichborne family by marriage. Lady Henriette Felicité Tichborne was born in France, the illegitimate daughter of Henry Seymour of Knoyle and the daughter of the Duc de Bourbon. Seymour had been imprisoned during the Napoleonic Wars with Sir Henry Tichborne, the 7th Baronet, and his son James. As a result of

this friendship, at 20, Henriette was conveniently married off to James, but chose afterwards to spend most of her time in Paris. Henry Seymour later married and had five legitimate children, one of whom married Philip Pleydell-Bouverie, a banker with considerable financial and social connections. Pleydell-Bouverie was therefore stepbrother by marriage to Lady Tichborne and obviously had a personal interest in the case. These images document the first trial brought by the family in 1871, which lasted a year and finally led to Orton being tried for perjury (over the course of another year), convicted and sent to gaol for 14 years.



Roger Tichborne 1853 and **The Claimant** 1874

in *The trial at bar of Sir Roger C.D. Tichborne, Bart,* edited by Dr Kenealy London: 'Englishman' Office, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, 1876 printed NK5501

This eye-catching diagram encapsulates the conundrum at the heart of the infamous Tichborne case. Two faces, twenty-one years apart: could they be the same man? The face entitled 'Chili' (Chile) belongs to Roger Tichborne, as captured in a photograph in 1853, before he disappeared at sea the following year. The plumper, older face is that of the Claimant in London, during the second court case in 1874, which ultimately led to his imprisonment for perjury. The forensic illustrations allow for a direct comparison between the two protagonists in this extraordinary legal case: Roger, who most believed to be dead, and the Claimant, Arthur Orton, apparently risen from the grave. The images also give some idea of the extent to which the legal team went to put all the available evidence before the long-suffering jury and judge. Depending on your prejudices, you could side with the Claimant and see an uncanny resemblance between the two men; alternatively, you could side with the family and many others who believed that the Claimant, Arthur Orton, was a fraudster of monstrous proportions.





Sir Roger: A Tichborne ballad

by J.F. NASH (engraver, active 1867–1909) London: H.G. Clarke, c. 1871 printed NK5501

This is one of a series of three entertaining pamphlets featuring the Tichborne story, produced under the title Clarke's Whims and Oddities. Dwelling on Roger's encounters as a youthful army officer and the hearts he claimed along the way, the pamphlet fits the title completely. The other two pamphlets are The Tichborne Trial, as Told to Our Grandchildren and The Life and Surprising Adventures of Arthur Orton, of Wapping, Butcher. According to Clarke, each of these popular diversions for the public 'consists of a Humorous Poem and 16 Droll Illustrations'. Priced at only 1 penny for a plain copy, or 6 pence for a coloured copy, people could afford to engage their curiosity in the greatest and most surprising legal saga of the day. In the ballad, the lives of Roger and Arthur are entwined while winning the hearts of a number of ladies they promise themselves to. Frame by frame, drolly, the character of Roger/Arthur grows in girth as he makes his way from Hampshire to Wapping, via Wagga Wagga, and finally back to the family pile and his mother in Hampshire, with his young son 'Roger' in tow. A publishing industry grew around the Tichborne saga, from serious works based on the case to charming ephemeral items such as this; Nan Kivell collected them all. The case has stayed in print through numerous modern volumes and has also made its way onto film.



Johnny Day, the pedestrian wonder and champion of the world 1866

London: George Newbold, 11 August 1866 colour lithograph NK330

Johnny Day (born 1856) walked his way into fame and sporting celebrity through his achievements in pedestrianism, a popular sport in the 19th century. Born in Melbourne on 20 June 1856, he earned early praise for remarkable feats in distance walking, either on circuits or in road races against other competitors. Visiting England in 1866, he was billed as 'champion pedestrian of Australia', willing 'to walk against any man or boy'. 'This really astonishing child' walked five miles of 'fair heel-and-toe' in 53 minutes, making 385 circuits of a course 22 feet in diameter. 'Not at all distressed', he was very loudly cheered.

The print shows Johnny, aged ten years, when he was described as 'three feet eleven and ½ inches tall, weighing four stone' (25 kg). His elaborate championship belt and sash with gold medallions is almost as long as he is tall. 'The pedestrian wonder and champion of the world', Johnny won more than 101 walking matches in Australia and England during his career, and some of his British wins are listed below this image. From Great Yarmouth in July 1865 to Brompton, London, a year later, Johnny achieved 11 wins, and won £410 and a gold medal. It seems he was unbeaten in his sport.

Pedestrianism developed from wealthy citizens betting on the performance of their footmen as they accompanied their carriages. The sport was popular in Britain, the USA and Australia, attracting large crowds of onlookers. Minute details of pedestrian contests were examined and reported in the press of the day, in much the same manner as that of modern sports journalism. The rules of pedestrianism were uncodified to begin with and changed over time. The sport was the

antecedent of the modern Olympic discipline of race walking.

Not content with mastering pedestrianism, Johnny went on to work briefly as a jockey. It seems he was badly injured in the 1869 Melbourne Cup but recuperated and went on to win the 1870 Cup atop Nimblefoot, setting a new record time, in a very close finish. An interesting tale accompanies his win. The horse's owner, Walter Craig of Ballarat, had a dream some months before the race that Nimblefoot would win the Cup. In his dream he approached the rider, who was wearing a black armband, after the race. He asked about the armband and was told the horse belonged to Walter Craig who had died three months earlier. Craig was in ill health and had foreseen his death, it seems, as he did die a few weeks later, and Johnny Day did wear a black armband during the race. The following year, Johnny left his apprenticeship as a jockey, perhaps chastened by his injuries and having won the top prize. He seems to have disappeared after this and his later life is not recorded.

This lithograph was printed in London in August 1866 by George Newbold, a photographer and publisher. Newbold specialised in sporting images and his lithographs were part of the contemporary profusion of such images, which enabled the public to see the sporting heroes of the time. Interestingly, Newbold produced a number of lithographic images of Australian 'champion' sportsmen, including boxers Joe Kitchen and Tom Curran (see his portrait, on display here) and sculler Richard Green. There are two copies of this print in Nan Kivell's collection.



Tom Curran, champion of Victoria, Australia

London: George Newbold, 1863 colour lithograph NK428

Tom Curran, born in Jersey on 10 September 1827, was regarded as 'one of the best pugilists that ever visited Australia'. At 19, he began boxing by chance after a showdown with a butcher, which began a career that would see him retire with an unbroken record of wins in 1860, 'the last of the old-time Victorian school of fighters'. During his time in Australia, he had many successful fights, particularly in Victorian goldfields towns where there was intense interest in the sport.

Curran's best remembered fight was against 'the Darkie', Harry Sallars, also a highly regarded boxer. It was fought on 13 March 1860 at Werribee Plains, near Geelong. After the 'picnic' train that followed the illegal bout, selling food and drink to the crowd, was banned from Skeleton Creek by police officers, it simply moved 10 miles further along the line. Billed as 'The Championship of Victoria', the bout lasted for 25 rounds (2 hours and 45 minutes), and the title was awarded to Curran on a foul when Sallars fell without being hit—he was blind in one eve and facial injuries had made him unable to see with the other. At the time of this fight, Curran was 5 feet 10 inches (177 cm) in height and weighed 11 stone (70 kg). He was also injured during the fight, with fractured ribs, which he did not disclose. Curran was presented with a gold Champion's belt, seen in this lithograph by George Newbold dated 28 November 1863, and a prize of £600.

Later in 1860, a 'Grand Fistic Tournament' was held at the Prince of Wales Theatre in Melbourne, in which Tom Curran and Harry Sallars repeated their championship match; it is not clear whether this was a rematch or purely for entertainment. Curran continued life as a hotel-keeper,

well-respected and revered as 'a born fighter who loved the game'. He died after suffering a stroke at Clifton Hill on 9 July 1898.



Elias C. Laycock, the celebrated sculler of Australia 1880

by CHARLES HENRY HUNT (1857–1938) London: printed by George Rees, February 1881 colour lithograph NK1592

Elias Laycock (1845–1938) was a well-known Australian oarsman when sculling was the most popular sport in Australia. The descendant of a wealthy colonial military officer, he was forced to fend for himself when his father lost his fortune, and worked variously as a station hand, a gold miner, a stock-driver and a sailor. Referred to as 'The Shark Islander', Laycock was reported to be 'too phlegmatic and reserved' to make or to hold friends. He rowed in crew competitions, but began his sculling career in 1874 in a regatta at Grafton. There he competed against Michael Rush and Edward Trickett, both highly accomplished scullers with whom he battled over several years in Australian regattas. He finished third in this initial contest, but went on to defeat both Rush and Trickett in 1876.

Laycock became heavily involved in sculling, winning prizes at regattas in various parts of Australia, including the title match for 'Champion of Australia' at Sydney on 26 January 1880 and the inaugural Sculling Championship of Victoria on 29 May 1880. Soon after, he left for England, where the sport also attracted huge public interest, with substantial betting, lionisation of the competitors and great crowds along the river banks to cheer them on. Competitors, Trickett and Laycock supported one another in London through some difficult times and became great friends. The scullers became celebrities, and their races and styles were documented in minute detail; their results were telegraphed to Australia as quickly as possible to inform their doting fans.

On 20 November 1880, Laycock won the Hop Bitters Regatta, rowing from Putney to Chiswick on the Thames over about three miles. An American brewing company sponsored the event in order to popularise their product, a concoction of medicinal herbs boasting remarkable curative properties. He received a prize of £500, and the event made the world aware of Australian rowing. Laycock generously offered to split his winnings with his friend Trickett who was not faring well. In America in 1881, Laycock was described as 'The Bushman', 'This awkward Colonial' and 'This simpleton from far-off shores'—but also 'that rare aquatic animal, a sculler who sculls'. On his return to Sydney in 1881, he was given a hero's welcome. Although he never won a world title, he was much celebrated.

Laycock worked as a keeper at the animal quarantine station on Shark Island for many years, and later, after being retrenched, as a fishing inspector and proprietor of hired boats at Port Hacking. He died in 1938 at Cronulla. The creator of this work, Charles Hunt, was a painter, illustrator and cartoonist for The Bulletin in the late colonial era. He was born in England, studied in London and, after gaining experience with a lithographic firm, arrived in Sydney in 1879. He also contributed to the *Illustrated Sydney* News. Here he draws Laycock on the Thames during the Hop Bitters Regatta with industrial Hammersmith behind him and with the original 1827 Hammersmith suspension bridge to the left. Thousands of spectators cheer him on from the many barges and boats and from the river bank opposite.



Lady Anna Maria Barkly c. 1860

by NICHOLAS CHEVALIER (1828–1902) watercolour, ink and pencil NK559

Lady Anna Maria Barkly (1838-1932), known as Annie, was the daughter of Major-General Pratt, Commander of the colonial troops in Australia and New Zealand. In July 1860, aged 22 years, she became the second wife of Sir Henry Barkly, then Governor of Victoria, after the tragic death of his first wife, Elizabeth. He was 23 years older than Annie and said he had fallen in love with her at first sight. Her first official outing was to farewell the expeditionary party being led, fatefully, by Robert O'Hara Burke. She would see Burke's remains lying in state two-and-a-half years later. She was also present at the inaugural Melbourne Cup, raced on 7 November 1861, when her husband presented the trophy won by Archer. Sir Henry was an English politician and professional administrator of many British colonies; Lady Barkly moved with him from Melbourne to Mauritius in 1863, when he was appointed Governor of that colony.

This watercolour, entitled 'Fancy costume emblematic of Australia, or of this colony', depicts a ball gown costume designed for Lady Barkly in about 1860 by the artist Nicholas Chevalier. Clearly, his watercolour portrait is of a costume rather than a person and Lady Barkly is seen schematically rendered, almost mannequin-like, her likeness surrendered to the flourishes of the artist's fertile imagination. The costume is symbolic of Victoria and its exports of gold and wool and seems an appropriate design for the partner of the head of state of the prosperous colony. It is trimmed with sheepskin and gemstone nuggets, appliqued with fern motifs, accessorised with a parrot feather and lyrebird-inspired fan and a quandong seed necklace and is surmounted with

a diamond 'Southern Cross'. It would appear this design was Chevalier's idea and not Lady Barkly's. Despite its bespoke and rather wonderful design, it seems Lady Barkly never wore it. *The Argus* revealed that she instead wore the costume of a 'Marquise of the Court of Louis XV' to the Mayor's Fancy Dress Ball in 1863. Annie did work with Chevalier to commission an Australianathemed silver and gold flower stand, a present from the Ladies of Victoria to the newly married Princess of Wales in 1863. It too featured ferns, was in the form of a tree-fern and carried native foliage motifs and a kangaroo and emu, the prototypical Australian coat of arms.

Annie was an enthusiastic botanist, engaged in correspondence with notable naturalists and compiled a list of the ferns of South Africa while her husband was posted to the Cape Colony between 1870 and 1877. She is listed in the *Dictionary of British and Irish Botanists*. Her health was described as delicate and she suffered from attacks of neuralgia, which sometimes prevented her from attending official functions, but did not stop her living to the age of 94. When she left Melbourne, it was noted in the press that 'her absence has occasioned a blank in Victorian circles, which it will be difficult to fill as we should desire'.



Robert Louis Stevenson 1893

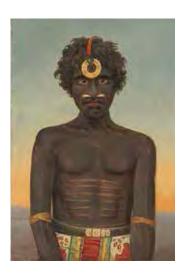
by WILLIAM STRANG (printmaker, 1859–1921) after HENRY WALTER BARNETT (photographer, 1862–1934) etching NK6242

Scottish-born Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894) was educated to follow his forebears as an engineer, but decided early in life that he wanted to be a writer. He began to publish stories and travel essays in his early twenties, with his first book, *Inland Voyage*, appearing in 1878. A severe chronic chest infection affected Stevenson's life and his ability to write, and he sought the benefit of life in different climatic zones in Europe and the United States of America. He met Fanny, his future (already married) wife, in Europe in 1879, and followed her to California, where they married in 1880. He still struggled to write because of periods of extreme illness, but managed to complete stories and essays for publication.

In the years after returning to Britain in 1880, Stevenson's creative drive enabled him to complete his best-known novels, Kidnapped, the Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde and Treasure Island, which he wrote for his stepson, Lloyd. He also wrote many essays and travel stories, and became well known as a writer of fiction. He returned to the United States in 1887, where he lived in the Adirondack Mountains in New York State until embarking on a yachting cruise to the South Pacific in 1888—again searching for a climate more favourable to his health. A distant relative from New Zealand named William Seed had planted the idea of voyaging in the Pacific 15 years earlier. This cruise introduced Stevenson to Tahiti, Hawaii, the Marquesas Islands and Samoa, and gave him material for many evocative stories and essays.

Stevenson travelled on four occasions to Sydney between 1890 and 1893 to buy supplies for his home at Vailima in Samoa. At times, he considered settling there, but weather and illness each time he visited convinced him to return to Samoa. Increasingly, his Sydney visits consolidated his fame there. He was much quoted in the press and regarded as an authority on politics in the Pacific. Surprisingly, he did not travel outside of Sydney and, when shown a map of Melbourne responded, 'When I think of Melbourne, I vomit!' He was unpretentious, direct and not afraid to make his strong opinions known. His works influenced Australian writers and illustrators and, conversely, his experiences in Sydney inspired characters in his writing. He met Tom Roberts and Arthur Streeton at the artists' camp at Balmoral on his final visit in 1893. He died in Samoa the following year.

This attractive portrait was etched by a fellow Scotsman, the painter and printmaker, William Strang (1859–1921), who based it on a photograph of 1893 by Henry Walter Barnett (1862–1934). The image was used as the frontispiece to Stevenson's *Vailima Letters*, published in 1895. Barnett established Falk Studios in Sydney in 1883 and became a leading portrait photographer and, later, a noted participant in the earliest days of cinematography in Australia.



North Australian Aborigine c. 1890

by M. JILT (active c. 1890) after PAUL HEINRICH MATTHIAS FOELSCHE (1831–1914) oil on canvas NK3646

This portrait is something of a conundrum. It is signed by M. Jilt, about whom nothing is known. Nan Kivell acquired it, but we are not sure of the acquisition date or source. This problem arises with some material in Nan Kivell's collection as the rate and volume at which items were added prevented him from thoroughly recording provenance details for every item purchased. He was managing one of the most successful art galleries in London at the same time and probably thought, as many collectors do, that having the item was of primary importance.

The painting was given the title, Queensland Native with Tribal Decorations, by the collector, and the date of c. 1860 was given by the Library. It provides a worthy, if enigmatic, conclusion to the exhibition, sifted from the thousands of portraits owned by Nan Kivell. It seems possible that the figure of the Aboriginal man is derived from a photograph taken by Paul Heinrich Matthias Foelsche (1831–1914), the founding Inspector of Police at Palmerston in the Northern Territory in 1870. An enthusiastic policeman and an amateur dentist, he was also a very fine amateur photographer whose work encompassed the last thirty years of the 19th century. His images recorded the development of the territory and, more importantly for this painting's history, from 1878, Aboriginal people. He was commissioned to produce portrait images of local people for the Exposition Universelle in Paris of that year and, over fifteen years, captured the likenesses of more than 260 people of the Larrakia, Woolna and Iwaidja people. Foelsche's images were circulated to Europe, Britain and around Australia and copied by other photographers such as J.W. Lindt (1825-1946).

Dr Philip Jones from the South Australian Museum suggested the connection with Foelsche and the reading of the image. A distinctive feature is the circular pendant on the man's forehead. Jones believes that Jilt has substituted what looks like a miniature version of a Tiwi armband or rondel-pendant for the rather odd, but nevertheless authentic, feathered headband or forehead rondel, which is in a few Foelsche photographs.

The reverse of the canvas provides two more clues. The stamped label of the maker, 'Charles Roberson, 99 Long Acre, London', means that the work was painted between 1853 and 1907 when the business was operating at that address. This is a long time span and not particularly helpful with dating but it suggests that the painting could even have been painted in Britain using a Foelsche, or Foelsche-derived, photograph. The inscription of 'NQ' perhaps suggested 'Native Queensland' to Nan Kivell, hence his title. Another intriguing possibility suggested by Dr Jones is that the painting could be of Port Essington Iwaidia man 'Mr Knight', who was the leader of a group of six Aboriginal men who travelled to the Coogee Aquarium in Sydney in 1889, under the control of Harry Stockdale, an entrepreneur who also took a live three-metre crocodile with them. There are some similarities between the painting and a photograph of 'Mr Knight' by Foelsche. Alternatively, Lindt may have taken a photograph of Mr Knight in Sydney at this time, which could account for some of the differences between the painting and the Foelsche image. Hopefully, now that the painting has been cleaned and displayed for probably the first time in over a century, more may come to light about this intriguing portrait.



Possibly George Barrington c. 1800

by T.F.W. (active 1800) pencil NK 9767-A

Nan Kivell was a great collector and a born speculator. He could see a bargain before others and could sort the wheat from the chaff when it came to making almost daily acquisitions. We know he was obsessed with collecting and publishing portraits of the 'famous' and 'infamous'. We also know that when a story caught his attention, such as the Tichborne case or Captain Wilson on Palau, he would collect in considerable depth to document its dimensions and public reverberations. Here we see another good example of his collecting practices as well as an interesting story. He acquired this beautiful drawing of a young man thoughtfully paused in reading, having written a note to someone, and believed it to be the celebrity actor and transportee-madegood, George Barrington (1755-1804), 'Prince of Pickpockets'. He appears to have been one of Nan Kivell's favourite characters. He was an infamous-made-famous figure, born in Ireland in 1755; a skilled pickpocket who avoided the gallows and transportation because of his social connections and charm. He erred once too often, however, and was transported to Sydney in 1791 where, in the fluid social order of the day, he first became high constable at Toongabbie and later superintendent of convicts at Parramatta. His 'gait and manner' were described by Captain Watkin Tench as bespeaking 'liveliness and activity' and his face was 'thoughtful and intelligent', descriptions that seem in accord with the man seen here. Barrington's long stretch of good luck ran out when, debilitated, he left his position in 1800 and died a lunatic four years later.

This elegant drawing is clearly dated 1800, although this may be a later addition. Were it

of 1800, and of Barrington, the drawing would depict an ailing person of 45. It clearly records a younger man. Research has indicated that the date of 1800 is in the middle of the 15-year period suggested by the man's attire and the chair on which he comfortably rests. Nan Kivell suggested that the drawing may have been a preparatory sketch for the printed likeness that accompanied Barrington's volume, An Account of a Voyage to New South Wales, which in fact he did not write, but which appeared in editions from 1795. Nan Kivell owned two editions of this account, allowing him to compare the book's portrait with the one he owned, or he may have had the notion that the subject was Barrington planted in his head by the dealer who sold him the drawing. Barrington's celebrity spawned a number of 'ghosted' volumes and pamphlets and he was synonymous with New South Wales in the public mind in Britain during the first decades of the 1800s. He was someone Nan Kivell had to have in the collection and, having earlier purchased the oil portrait attributed to Sir William Beechey (NK13), books and popular printed images, this charming drawing was too good to resist, even if it didn't depict the subject. In a sense, the presence of this item in the collection exemplifies Nan Kivell's role and his largesse. He collected widely and left it to the future to decide the collection's worth. The material is there to be enjoyed and sifted through for whatever gems may appear. Clearly this drawing was of considerable appeal; a note on the mount in the collector's hand tells us that it was stolen from his gallery and replaced with a photograph. He writes that he managed to buy it back a decade later. So, who is this attractive young man?

Acknowledgements

I would like to dedicate this publication to my dear friend Jacqui Beresford and to my friend and colleague Andrew Sayers.

I would like to acknowledge the very generous assistance of the Benefactor of the James and Bettison Treasures Curator position, who has enabled this research, collections-in-focus exhibition and publication.

I would also like to acknowledge the generous assistance, support and scholarship of:
Dr Murray Williams A.O., Dr Susannah Helman,
Angus Trumble, Erica Seccombe, Dr Philip
Jones, Dr Tim Smith, Dr David Hansen, Honore
Forster, Michael Graham-Stewart, David Shaw
King, Roger Duff, Stephen Hooper, Karen L.
Nero, Nicholas Thomas, Jennifer Newell, Daniel
J. Peacock, Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, Ngahiraka
Mason, Ken Hall, Suzanne Rickard, Ned Cooke,
Gillian Forrester, Zoe Rimmer, Roger Butler,
Karyna Jansons, Emily Catt, Marguerite Hancock
and the Australian Dictionary of Biography, the
Oxford Dictionary of Biography, Te Ara—The
Encyclopedia of New Zealand and, of course, Trove.

And, most of all, I want to acknowledge Sir Rex Nan Kivell's vision in creating a marvellous and varied collection that has enabled this exhibition and publication. It is a collection that has been included in so many books and exhibitions in the past and will be into the future.

Exhibition Coordinator: Dr Susannah Helman Publication and Exhibition Designer: Isobel Trundle The James and Bettison Treasures Curatorship is named in honour of Helen James. Helen, a former member of the National Library Development Council and passionate supporter of the Treasures Gallery, first spoke of the creation of a Treasures curatorship in 2009 and it was her wish that this curatorship be established. Her aspiration was for the Library to appoint a scholar who would be able to bring the Library's contemporary and historical collections to life for a wide variety of audiences. The National Library is grateful for this generous support.

Front and back cover images:

North Australian Aborigine, NK3646 Elizabeth Isabella Broughton, NK417 Ana Rupene and Child, NK4 William Shakespeare, NK2860 Kalaimanokaho'owaho, NK12241 Robert Louis Stevenson, NK6242 Te Pēhi Kupe, NK127 Captain Henry Wilson of *Antelope*, NK5275 Rex Nan Kivell, NK11545



