The World Upside Down
Australia 1788-1830
Acquired over nearly a century, the collections of the National Library of Australia relate the history of Australia through material that includes books, maps, pictorial items, manuscripts and ephemera. A considerable amount of material held by the Library concerns the period immediately following the establishment of the British colony in New South Wales.

*The World Upside Down: Australia 1788–1830* draws on the Library's collections to explore many fascinating aspects of early Australian life, art and the documentary record. Together with the exhibition of the same name, this collection of essays provides an insight into our colonial past and the unique collections of the National Library of Australia.
The World
Upside Down

Australia 1788 - 1830

National Library of Australia
Canberra 2000
Foreword

The National Library of Australia, along with other Australian libraries, is responsible for collecting, preserving and making accessible the documentary heritage of Australia. Over many years, gifts to the Library from private benefactors, acquisitions of major formed collections—such as those of Edward Petherick, Rex Nan Kivell and John Ferguson—and numerous purchases have created an extensive and unique collection of diverse material relating to the history of Australia. This material includes a great deal of information about the period immediately following the establishment of the British colony in New South Wales in 1788.

As a nation we are fortunate that so many records of our origins are extant. This is, in part, a product of Australia’s relative youth in comparison to many other nations. It is also due to the British Government’s requirement that those in charge of the early penal colony maintain extensive records. Further, a significant expansion of print culture in Britain coincided with the British settlement in the colony.

The essays in this publication accompany and complement the National Library’s exhibition The World Upside Down: Australia 1788–1830. Drawing on the maps, books, illustrations and other items held by the Library, they explore many fascinating aspects of early Australian life, art and the documentary record, covering the period 1788–1830. I am delighted that the Library is able to make this material accessible to the community through this publication and the exhibition The World Upside Down: Australia 1788–1830.

Jan Fullerton
Director-General
National Library of Australia
V. Woodthorpe (fl.1794–c.1802)

Kangaroo

in Barrington’s History of New South Wales
Including Botany Bay and Its Dependencies; to
Which is Added Barrington’s Voyage to New
South Wales with the Life, Trials, &c. of the Author
by George Barrington (1755–1804)
London: M. Jones, 1810
F485a
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The documentary record of the white settlement of Australia created between 1788 and 1830 is one of the most extensive of the origins of any nation. Created for a variety of purposes and in a variety of media, the records range from the official to the deeply personal, from the pragmatically useful to the whimsically poetic. The National Library's collection of early Australian records, which the exhibition *The World Upside Down* surveys, offers an extraordinary range of material from which it is possible to discover the realities of Australia's foundation. The material encompasses maps of the fledgling settlements of Sydney, Norfolk Island and Hobart, letters, diaries and reports, drawings, watercolours and prints, editions of books produced both about and in the colony, and broadsides and pamphlets intended for a popular audience. Together, they serve as witnesses to our history, bringing to life the events and experiences of the past. They reveal the attempts to recreate British society in a world upside down and offer insights into the ways in which these early experiences continue to affect our society and sense of national identity.

The documentary record of the first 40 years of white settlement was also influenced by conditions in the colony, its role as a jail, and the competing interests...
of settlers, administrators and the Colonial Office. But fortunate as we are to have such wonderful resources to consult about our origins, the record is incomplete and the majority of the documents available are unlikely to satisfy any desire to see Australia's origins in an elevated or heroic light. No official artists were sent to record the activities of the First Fleet. The voyage—whose termination now supplies us with an annual celebration and holiday—was then seen chiefly as an expedient solution to overcrowded prisons. It would be 12 years before the first British artist who was not a convicted forger or a naval topographer would arrive to record the colony and 31 years before the British Government would send Commissioner Bigge to investigate the state of New South Wales.

The most glaring omission from the documentary record is the lack of first-hand Aboriginal accounts of the process of colonisation. From the people for whom the First Fleet's arrival was an invasion, there are only second-hand accounts, all of them filtered through European perspectives and values. Watkin Tench, in his A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales: Including an Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony ... (1793), gives a sense of the impact of an alien culture on the Aborigines and tells of cultural fracture in the face of loss of land, extra competition for resources, introduced disease, and the appropriation of women and cultural artefacts by the newcomers.

Read carefully, first-hand European accounts contain much valuable information, often unwittingly provided by their authors. David Collins, for example, asserted that the Aborigines were without religion, yet passages in his An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales from its First Settlement in January 1788 to August 1801 ... (1804, 2nd edition) contain
strong evidence of Aboriginal spiritual beliefs and ritual practices.

The earliest works in the exhibition show the first attempts by the British to make sense of their new environment. Quite unprepared for what they found, their sole source of information on what to expect was the brief survey of Botany Bay undertaken in 1770 and recorded in James Cook's and Joseph Banks' journals. Hampered by limited artistic skills and materials, and working under difficult conditions, the naval artists of the First Fleet created the type of records to which they were most accustomed—maps, coastal profiles and topographical views. They also attempted what were for them less familiar subjects, creating impressively naive ethnographic and natural history studies that show just how strange they found New South Wales to be. What they lacked in hard information they substituted with inferences drawn from their own life experiences and speculations on the nature of man and the world then current in contemporary European thought.

From a British point of view, the colony at Port Jackson literally was upside down at the bottom of the world, but the colony represented an inversion of the accepted order of things for a number of other reasons. Members of the First Fleet seem to have been unprepared for the changed seasons, but creatures like the black swan—both the same as and yet opposite to the northern white swan—would have conformed nicely to some of the early theories about what a world upside down might furnish. Similarly, it was assumed that the dark-skinned

Francis Fowkes
*Sketch & Description of the Settlement at Sydney Cove, Port Jackson in the County of Cumberland Taken by a Transported Convict...*
London: R. Cribb, 1789
hand-coloured engraving; 23 x 31.6 cm
U1454 NK276
indigenous peoples must also hold values opposite to the 'civilised' values of pale Europeans. Creatures like the kangaroo and platypus, however, were much more disturbing, hinting at a perverted rather than inverted form of nature. Interestingly, John Hunter's attribution of these supposed freaks of nature to a 'promiscuous intercourse' between species served to infect the country itself with the moral contagion represented by the cargo of convicts.

Although the colony was intended as a prison, convicts initially had considerable freedom of movement as the settlement's location was its most effective barrier to escape. In the early days of food shortages, the only walls that were necessary were those which kept the convicts away from precious supplies. From a social perspective, the 'proper' order of society was overthrown as convicted felons became the founding members of a new society. While few became as wealthy as the emancipist merchant Simeon Lord, many came to fill positions of authority and enjoy greater prosperity than they could have known back home. In contrast, for the indigenous inhabitants of the country, the arrival of an entirely alien culture represented disaster. Transformed from being custodians of their ancestral lands, enjoying a rich material and spiritual culture, into dispossessed 'savages', the world was indeed turned upside down for them.

Within the colony, the creation of a visual record served a number of purposes. With few of the more usual distractions and entertainments of 'civilised' society available, recording the surroundings could be an interesting and profitable pastime. Accurate maps and surveys were of use both in the colony and at the Colonial Office, and depictions of the colony could be sent back to Britain to support written and oral reports of progress. Providing images for illustrating books and for engraving as prints was potentially lucrative—although, in the confusion surrounding the attributions of many works subsequently engraved for publication, it is hard to work out who would have received payment. Studies of natural history and ethnographic subjects could also prove most acceptable gifts for potential patrons, such as Sir Joseph Banks.

From the beginning, art produced in New South Wales was intended to be informative, but the information conveyed was very selective. The pictorial record of the colony reflected the interests of the artists and—for convict artists—their masters, but left out those aspects of the colony considered unpalatable or potentially damaging. Landscapes, natural history subjects, 'ethnographic' images of Aborigines and records of the progress of Sydney predominate. Occasionally, important events such as the wreck of the Sirius and the 1804 Castle Hill convict uprising are recorded. The everyday lives of convicts, free women and children, who between them made up the majority of the population, are largely missing.

Accurate figure drawing generally required a level of training only available in the art academies. Consequently, the early studies of the Aborigines by artists unfamiliar with figure drawing focus on tribal markings, body decorations and tools. These images often depict a 'type' rather than the humanity of their subject, although the Port Jackson Painter clearly tried to depict recognisable individuals. For all their elements of caricature, the paintings of Aborigines by the artists of the First Fleet contain much more information than the more polished images produced back in Britain by artists such as Thomas Medland. Based on Sydney Parkinson's drawings from the Endeavour voyage, Medland's figures have more in common with classical figures from antiquity, including a complexion like white marble, than with the actual Aborigines. Important exceptions to the predominance of ethnographic over personal studies of Aborigines are
found in the sensitive portraits of William Westall, Nicolas-Martin Petit and Augustus Earle but, by the time these three artists visited the colony, the impact of white settlement on local Aboriginal groups was profound.

Of particular importance for the Australian documentary record was the expansion of the printing industry in Britain and the resulting proliferation of British printmakers. This expansion coincided with and was stimulated by the fashionable interest in natural history and scientific discovery held by the social elite and expressed among the lower classes as an unquenchable curiosity for the odd. The colony of New South Wales—offering extraordinary examples of flora and fauna, and enjoying the notoriety of a population of felons—was an ideal topic for printers and their public. As a result, the published record, aimed at a variety of audiences and including both pictorial and text-based materials, was also the one upon which the majority of people based their understanding of the Australian colonies.

By 1830, free settlers and emancipists outnumbered convicts in the colony, creating a new and more palatable raison d'être for settlement. Sydney and Hobart no longer bore much of a resemblance to the earliest depictions and descriptions of them. 1830 was also the year in which the infamous Black Line was undertaken in Tasmania. This attempt to expel the Aboriginal people from the settled areas of Tasmania and confine them on the Tasman Peninsula confirmed that the survival of the British colonies in Australia came at the price of the destruction of the traditional way of life and basic rights of the Aborigines.

Time and ‘progress’ soon obliterate evidence of the past, making the historical records that we have all the more valuable. The opportunity to see the primary documents on which later histories are based is also an opportunity to learn of the realities behind the white settlement of Australia and to understand the continuing impact of our early history.

Ferdinand Bauer (1760–1826)
[Stewartia serrata] c.1804
gouache; 44.2 x 29.1 cm
R4747

Time and ‘progress’ soon obliterate evidence of the past, making the historical records that we have all the more valuable. The opportunity to see the primary documents on which later histories are based is also an opportunity to learn of the realities behind the white settlement of Australia and to understand the continuing impact of our early history.
In 1827, *Blackwood's Magazine* reported that most Europeans, if asked to describe Australia, would 'think only of ropes, gibbets, arson, burglary, kangaroos, George Barrington and Governor Macquarie'.

These superficial notions about the colony were entrenched hard and early—even today many Europeans still think of Australia in these terms. While Australians themselves like to see the colony as a product of the Enlightenment, and all that implies about being defined by a rational examination of the world, the truth is considerably less ordered.

What people knew about Australia was as variable as their experiences of it. The narratives of Captain James Cook and Sir Joseph Banks were widely circulated through published accounts, but the next most famous associate of the colony—apart from the kangaroo or platypus—was surely the London pickpocket George Barrington. His exploits were documented in numerous European popular pamphlets and engravings. Once Barrington was in New South Wales, he was named author (without his permission and much to his annoyance) of numerous English publications about the colony—none of which he had actually written.

Yet these publications—plagiarised and sensationalised interpretations of official accounts—were perhaps the most widely available texts about the early years of the colony. The popular *Barrington's History of New South Wales...*, which was published in at least two editions (1802 and 1810), took information from books like David Collins' measured *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* of 1798 and turned it into a kind of tabloid tale. The accompanying engravings by V. Woodthorpe were either loose interpretations—reversed in the copying process—of plates in Collins or, like Woodthorpe's twin joey-bearing kangaroo, were simply invented. This cavalier disregard for any notion of accuracy was in part due to a popular press which encouraged superficial texts that emphasised sensation and concentrated on curiosities. The coincidence of a new colony and a famous pickpocket was clearly a publishing opportunity.

This mind-set was probably not too far removed from that of most Europeans when they first confronted Australia. There was rarely methodical and rational engagement. The majority of the first colonists had a fairly unsophisticated understanding of their own world, let alone that of a country on the other side of the globe. Poorly educated and removed from London's ghettos, it is hardly surprising that a few convicts thought China was over the Blue Mountains. Even an educated man such as Captain John Hunter could wonder if the oddities of Australian fauna were caused by 'promiscuous intercourse' between different species.
The nature of the engagement with the new colony depended on education, class and personal interests. When the well-educated Elizabeth Macarthur arrived in New South Wales in 1790,

everything was new to me, every Bird, every Insect, Flower &c. in short all was novelty around me, and was noticed with a degree of eager curiosity, and perturbation, that after a while subsided into calmness.²

Elizabeth Macarthur's transition from 'eager curiosity' to 'calmness' is almost a metaphor for the process of colonisation. Calmness implies acceptance and was, for Macarthur, the beginning of the notion that the land was actually worth possessing economically and, more importantly, emotionally. Many other colonists shared Macarthur's 'eager curiosity'. Its manifestation—collecting flora and fauna, and Aboriginal artefacts—began literally from the very first days of the First Fleet's arrival. Sold to the ships returning to England, these artefacts became one of this country's first export industries.

Collecting was rarely systematic, but was determined by what was colourful and unusual, what was curious. Kangaroos, black swans, and any number of hardy and colourful parrots and lorikeets (often bought from Aborigines) were frequent passengers to England where they were either distributed amongst family and patrons or sold.

Drawings were similarly circulated. Together with images of the settlement itself, images of Aboriginal people and natural history were the dominant themes of most colonial art production. From a naturalist's point of view, however, the drawings were often unsatisfactory. When John Latham, who was interested in the taxonomy (the naming and classification) of birds, looked over drawings made in New South Wales he despaired:

even the sizes in some cases have not been noticed any more than the Manners ... which had the Painter been at all versed in ornithology, he could not have failed to have remarked in writing.³

In the first decade of settlement, colonists were enthusiastic about the encyclopedic—if somewhat amateur—documentation of their new environment. The idea of the Port Jackson Painter's precise and comparatively thorough depiction of early 1790s Aboriginal lifestyles and artefacts was not repeated in the new century. In part this was because Aboriginal communities were decimated by contact with Europeans, but also too because the initial curiosity had lapsed into neglect and hostility.

The industry of the officers who made collections of illustrations of flora and fauna—such as the 100 drawings John Hunter compiled for his sketchbook—did not last much into the nineteenth century either. By then the enthusiasm for that sort of collecting had dissipated as colonists became more comfortable in their new environment. Collecting was largely, though not exclusively, left to the professional naturalists and artists, such as George Caley or John Lewin.

Drawings and specimens circulated widely in the English natural history community, who traded or copied them for their own collections. A number were published in early official accounts of the colony, such as Arthur Phillip's The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay ... (1789) and John White's Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales (1790). Others found different outlets. An Exact Portrait of a Savage at Botany Bay (1795) by J. Ihle took the Port Jackson Painter's
careful documentary record and turned it into a popular print which emphasised savagery.

At the same time as the colony's curiosities were emerging in the popular consciousness, the very notion of the colony simply as a penal colony was itself changing—its advantages and potential were soon recognised by both its prisoners and their keepers. Indeed, John Thomas Bigge's Commission of Inquiry of 1819 was established partly because the British Government recognised that the concerns of free settlers, not convicts, were beginning to dominate the colony's agenda.

Most images of the early nineteenth century were, therefore, aimed at promoting the colony. Pre-1800 images were largely the result of the enterprise of individuals from the military classes, and the translation of them by European engravers. Post-1800 images tended to be the work of professional artists—both convict and free. Colonial patrons generally limited their patronage to topographical, natural history and Aboriginal images, so artists had to be adaptable. In 1821 Richard Read senior, for instance, advertised in the Sydney Gazette that he had on sale 'some very superior Views of various Parts of New Holland, together with Drawings of Birds, Flowers, Native Figures &c'. He also painted portraits and could turn his hand to classical subjects.

Similarly ex-convict artist Richard Browne compiled a portfolio of designs of natural history (kangaroos, emus, lyrebirds) and Aboriginal people from which his patrons could order. His sinuous images of Aboriginal people, which appear to verge on caricature, were defended by one patron as being 'accurate likenesses'. Yet Brown's portraits were unsympathetic, and presented Aboriginal people as much as curiosities as his images of kangaroos or lyrebirds.

Most of these images were a sort of tourist art, coded with obvious symbols. Topographical views focused on the colony's towns, often with Aboriginal people inhabiting the margins, rather than pure landscape. This was not because...
colonists could not appreciate the landscape, but rather because these images were more about promoting colonial progress and development. For £9, Absalom West's successful *Views in New South Wales*, issued between 1812 and 1814, took its readers on a proud tour, beginning in Botany Bay and then travelling through Sydney and its harbour, before exploring the colony's other settlements, such as Parramatta, Windsor and Newcastle.

This was how colonists wanted to see their colony. It was not how the English popular press which, if it took any notice, chose to describe it. They were much more interested in kangaroos and criminals, or broadsheet tales of convict laments. Probably the most widely available images were Woodthorpe's curious and fantastical plates in Barrington's *History of New South Wales*. On the evidence of the meagre number of references to Australia listed in London's *Times* index during the early nineteenth century, even authoritative sources showed little interest in Australia.

Joseph Lycett, whose 48 aquatints in his *Views in Australia* of 1824–25 took his readers on a tour of Tasmania as well as New South Wales, reinforced in his text the potential of the colonies. Australia, the ex-convict artist argued, was an embryonic empire which would eventually supplant its parent. His book, published in England, presented Australia as a collection of flourishing towns, enterprising farms, grand houses (Captain Piper's Henrietta Villa was proudly said to have cost £10 000) and beautiful landscapes. Lycett's orderly and highly picturesque delineation of the colonies was again about their promotion as places of investment and emigration.

Much less formal was the work of the widely travelled Augustus Earle, who was in Australia between 1825 and 1828. Part gentleman, part professional artist, Earle chose (like the other upper-class colonial artist Sophia Campbell) not to be proscribed by the limited concerns of colonial patrons. Earle's beautiful watercolours are distinguished by their interest in people—unusual in colonial art, which rarely foregrounded human activity. His watercolour portrait, *Desmond, a N. S. Wales Chief Painted for a Rarobb [i.e. Corroboree] or Native Dance* (c. 1826), is perhaps one of the finest of all colonial portraits. His series of lithographs, *Views in New South Wales*
(1830), is similarly unusual in the compositional importance people have in the pictorial space, be it Bungaree and his wife, or a family lounging at Mrs Macquarie's Chair.

That Earle included *A Government Jail Gang, Sydney, N. S. Wales* (1830) in this series was unusual, for convicts—the *raison d'être* of the colony—rarely appear in colonial art. Often convicts, like Aboriginal people, were the marginalia of topographical views—providing a clue to their locality—and only began appearing in images of the 1820s. In part, this was because convicts really only became visible in the colonies from the 1820s, when a concerted push was made to distinctively mark convict clothing. R.G. Reeve's 1828 aquatint *Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land* and Major James Taylor's 1823 Sydney panorama both include in their foregrounds convicts in productive employment. These were not threatening convicts but men integrated into the fabric of their society.

In 1829 John Carmichael, a deaf and dumb Sydney engraver, published *Select Views of Sydney*. In one of those views, *Sydney from Woolloomooloo Hill*, he, too, depicted convicts in the foreground. Carmichael's provincial publication—lacking the gloss and presentation of the fine Reeve and Taylor aquatints—in many ways marks the transition of the colony from a penal to a free society. His client base included the emigrant settlers who wished for some pictorial record of their new circumstances to send back to England. For these people, compliant convicts were also a reassuring sight.

Carmichael's work is symptomatic of the evolving colonial enterprise. For much of the early nineteenth century, Australia had been depicted as if it was still in the eighteenth. Elizabeth Macarthur's 'eager curiosity', born of a tentative appraisal of a new world, was by the 1820s a very different kind of thing. An 1820s emigrant may still have exclaimed at the unfamiliarity of Australia, but the perturbation had gone. Instead it was, as William Charles Wentworth declared, a new Britannia in another world.
NOTES


Realism, Caricature and Phrenology:
Early Colonial Depictions of the Indigenous Peoples of Australia

Sasha Grishin

The sense of the exotic, the ‘other’, was overwhelming for the earliest European visitors to Australia. Not only the flora and fauna, but also the Aborigines struck the newcomers as being unlike anything else they had encountered. When they came to depict this ‘other’ in art, the European visitors sought to use established conventions to make the exotic intelligible to a European audience.

When examining some of the early images of Aborigines, it becomes immediately apparent that artists consciously selected pictorial conventions to work within. These did not particularly alter according to the specificity of the subject matter. Augustus Earle, for example, employed similar pictorial conventions to depict his Aboriginal figures, whether celebrating a sense of native nobility, as in his *Desmond, a N. S. Wales Chief Painted for a Rarobb [i.e. Corroboree] or Native Dance* (c.1826), or recording native degradation, as in *A Native Family of New South Wales Sitting Down on an English Settlers Farm* (c.1826). Another painter, like Richard Browne, whether it be in his bust-length Aboriginal portraits or in his full-length figure compositions such as *Bruair, N.S.W, 1819* (1819) and *Long Jack* (c.1819), also employed a consistent artistic language, but his was markedly different to Earle’s.

Geoffrey Dutton, in his pioneering account of the depiction of Australian Aborigines in art arrived at a convenient classification for late eighteenth and early nineteenth century renderings. He argued that there were artists, like Sydney Parkinson, who illustrated the myth of the ‘noble savage’ and related it in terms of classical abstractions, referring to Cook’s much quoted observation that although to some these people appeared as ‘the most wretched people on earth, but in reality they are far more happier than we Europeans’. A second category, which included artists like Philip Gidley King, produced simple, truthful and unadorned images; while a third category, largely consisting of convict artists, treated the Aborigines with hostility and envy. Dutton argued that ‘the real damage in white–Aboriginal relations was done by convicts, who raped, murdered and robbed the native population whenever they could’. It was these convict artists, like Thomas Watling and T.R. Browne, who left unsympathetic and even hostile images of Aborigines. In Bernard Smith’s words:

The natives are no longer seen as individuals but as grotesque caricatures; the type forms, in distorted silhouettes, being reshuffled and reassembled from group to group.
The earliest drawings executed in Australia, one may assume, were intended for a European audience and a European market, and were frequently destined to be illustrations in published accounts of voyages of discovery, travel books for armchair travellers or evidence of the success of the British colony in Australia.

It is only in the opening years of the nineteenth century that one can speak of a small domestic market for drawings in Australia, conceived in the form of inexpensive topical souvenirs which could be retained for domestic amusement or sent back home as illustrations of life in the colonies. It is in this context that we can consider the drawings of local Aborigines by T.R. Browne. This artist may be identified with a Richard Browne, a convict from Dublin who arrived in New South Wales in 1811 and who executed some natural history drawings for Lieutenant Thomas Skottowe in 1813. On completion of his sentence in 1817, he spent the remaining seven years of his life in Sydney where he attained a degree of notoriety by executing and repeating drawings of Aborigines. Later his son, William, produced further copies of these drawings, possibly employing stencils, which circulated widely in Europe.

To many commentators these drawings have appeared as exaggerated and grotesque, a caricature style which was to be followed by W.H. Frenybound and Charles Rodius. They have been described as a comic and grotesque caricature, or as a social commentary on the degradation of the Aboriginal peoples following their contact with European civilisation. Other commentators have called them

\[\text{cruelly satirical drawings of native men and women contaminated and degraded by their contact with white civilisation, who are given such nicknames as 'Hump Back'd Maria' and 'Long Jack'.}\]

Browne, in terms of his imagery, assembled a repertoire of Aboriginal types, each of which was apparently derived from a specific individual widely known in the Sydney region. More recently, it has been argued that

\[\text{Browne intended his watercolours as ethnographic records of Aborigines. Individually he meant his paintings to show something of the Aborigines' appearance and way of life. Collectively his sets of paintings, which sometimes included at least eighteen if not as many as twenty-two works, were meant as records of the Aborigines' traditional occupations and amusements.}\]

There exists a sufficiently large body of contextual information to establish the function of Browne's watercolour drawings—they were designed as relatively inexpensive souvenirs, reflecting local colour, which were sold to visitors to Sydney. Their racist slant is self-evident and one can only argue over their purpose—cruel caricature, comic humour or
didactic moralism. What is less clear are the artistic conventions employed by the artist. While Browne was not an artist of refined sophistication, both his natural science studies, such as his *The Mountain Pheasant* (1819), and his topographical views demonstrate that he had a broad competence in watercolour painting. His studies of Aboriginal types point to the use of different conventions from those which he employed in his other work. Firstly, he employed the silhouette convention of presenting his figures virtually as cut-outs with white highlights, a style fashionable in contemporary silhouette portraiture; secondly, he used exaggerated profile features to bring out the character of his figures.

As silhouette portraiture, Browne's Aboriginal profiles were instantly recognisable. In *Killigrant and Ginatoo, Natives of New South Wales* (c.1820s), for example, Ginatoo was in fact well known to local inhabitants. The Wesleyan missionary, the Reverend Samuel Leigh, noted that she
was an old deformed female native, whom I knew, and who was well known as she walked the streets in Sydney—she was murdered by one Wawyanee a native of the Five Islands while he was in a state of intoxication a few months back—she was harmless and was well known in Sydney by the name of Pussy-cat and Humpy Mary.13

What is less clear is the thinking behind Browne’s radical rearticulation of his Aboriginal profiles. In each instance, particularly evident in his Bruaire, N.S.W., 1819 (1819) and Long Jack (c.1819), the forehead recedes steeply leading to a somewhat protruding brow. The nose is a rounded hawknose, almost joined to the huge, thick parted lips, which protrude over the receding jaw and then the face culminates in a jutting chin. A glance at the images of Aborigines by William Westall, Edward Dayes, Augustus Earle, Joseph Lycett or Benjamin Duterrau suggests that in these more sophisticated images there was a greater degree of ethnographic specificity. Browne’s images appear less concerned with accuracy, but more concerned with a stylisation that grew out of an understanding of popular phrenology.

Phrenology was a scientific fad which developed out of the eighteenth century physiognomical studies of the Swiss author, John Caspar Lavater. The Austrian physician, Franz Joseph Gall, gave it a comprehensive anatomical reading, while Johann Spurzheim disseminated it in early nineteenth century Britain. With the writings of George Combe, particularly his Constitution of Man (1834), phrenology permeated many aspects of Victorian thinking, including penal reform and art.14 It was a theory of human behaviour and appearance, where the mind could be read anatomically, a convincing mixture of ‘common-sense conclusions and recent discoveries of science’.15 Phrenology played an active role in the debate over the question of transportation to Australia16 and was seen as a respectable scapegoat for the criminal treatment of the indigenous
peoples of Australia. In phrenology, apologists found 'scientific evidence' that the indigenous Australians were in fact cruel, backward and barbaric.

Browne's Aboriginal images can be convincingly read as phrenological illustrations. Lavater, for example, argued that the projecting forehead implies 'imbecility, immaturity, weakness, stupidity', while the thick protruding lips are 'altogether as brutal as a mouth can be'. In fact, Browne's watercolour drawings could be taken as illustrations of Lavater's so-called 'physiognomical laws' when speaking of the most brutal and debased human specimens. The Lavater engraving, which most closely resembles the Aboriginal drawings of Browne, Lavater describes as

still more debased—a countenance by vice rendered fiend-like, abhorrent to nature, in which falaciousness is sunken almost below brutality. Every spark of sensibility, humanity, nature, is extinguished. Distortion, deformity in excess—and though sensuality should not appear with this particular kind of ugliness, yet, may it not incur ugliness still more dreadful! Whoever has frequently viewed the human countenances in houses of correction and jails, will often scarcely believe his eyes, will shudder at the stigmas with which vice brands her slaves.

Lavater's three laws which characterise brutality and incurable imbecility are projecting foreheads which sink towards the eyes (Law XI); eyes which, when seen in profile, run almost parallel with the nose, without standing forward from the head (Law XXIII); and arched noses turned downward (Law XXXVIII).
Nineteenth century phrenological handbooks quite openly transferred the observations of Lavater, Gall and Spurzheim, concerning individuals, to races, one arguing, for example, that 'the Caucasian race is superior in reasoning power and moral elevation to all other races, and accordingly, has a higher and bolder forehead, and more elevated and elongated top-head'.

Although the argument for the influence of phrenology in the depiction of Australian indigenous peoples by a number of early colonial artists, including Browne, can be overstated, there appears to be a body of evidence to suggest that these grotesque caricatures were not purely created for comic intent, but were illustrations informed by quasi-scientific European thought.

NOTES


Convict Australia presented women with a world upside down. Convict women and men had undertaken the greatest journeys of their lives. Typically they were at sea for somewhere between 120 and 220 days—depending upon the route, which might skirt South Africa or the Cape of Good Hope, or go via Madrid and Rio—before ending up on the other side of the globe. Some feared falling off from such a precarious position. Physically, it was the wrong way up for a start. They arrived to find the weather here was sunnier, and Christmas was hot. There was no snow. Light possessed a different quality. Soil was a drier texture, plants a greyer shade of green. There were extraordinary flowers, the birds were raucous but sometimes highly coloured, and the mammals incomprehensible.

Conceptually, their world had also been inverted. As prisoners in Great Britain or Ireland, they were held inside restraining walls: here in Australia they appeared to be on the outside. New South Wales was a penal colony, a jail rent so large that there were no walls in sight.

Other things were different, too. The 'prison guards' were military officers. Convicts found themselves part of an invading force, conquistadors of the British Empire. Would indigenous people be their enemies, their victims, or their allies against a common foe of British military might? Each woman might ask herself a similar question about the other convicts: who could you trust? So much was unfamiliar, including the multitude of accents: where did they all come from? From all over Great Britain and Ireland, in fact, with a few from British colonies like Mauritius tossed in as well. There were Londoners, Southerners, Northerners, and many Irish lilts (three in ten women came from Ireland, principally from the provinces of Munster and Leinster).

In the early years in particular, this seemed a strange society. Among the whites, there were hardly any older people or children, but there were an awful lot of men. Transportation was a very masculine phenomenon. The figures are a little inexact but, between 1788 and 1830, around 55,000 convict men arrived in Australia. At the same time, only 8,500 women came. We are unsure whether this sex imbalance worked for or against the women. Minorities sometimes get marginalised. Conversely, if you are in demand, the fewer competitors the better!

Nearly all the transported women's compatriots in this new land, male or female, were criminals or ex-cons. There was no government-assisted free immigration until 1832, and not many unassisted immigrants chose Australia in these early years. Nor was association with the Aborigines encouraged. Instead, the community the women mixed in
was criminal. Around and about were convicts at various stages of their sentences. Most typically, sentences were of seven years duration, although some received 14 year sentences and a small number were transported for life (commuted death sentences). Effectively all transportation was for life, though, due to the high cost of a return passage. Increasingly there were time-expired convicts who had served their sentences, some individuals who had been pardoned, and there were ticket-of-leavers who were still technically convicts but who had more freedoms than the rest. And with every new ship that sailed through the heads, there was a fresh supply of felons.

Some contemporary commentators feared that this criminal combination was a recipe for disaster. One claimed that, inevitably, transportation meant ‘pouring scum upon scum, dregs upon dregs, building up with them a nation of crime’. Such anxiety might have been assuaged by an understanding of what it meant to be a criminal in this period.

Essentially, these female outcasts were first-time offenders expelled from Great Britain and Ireland for stealing, or robbery (about 80 per cent were thus charged). Then there were some pickpockets, shoplifters and vagrants. Very few of the transported women were murderous thugs. No, these women were thieves—housemaids who had stolen clothes from their mistresses, prostitutes who had stolen money from their clients, kitchenmaids who had taken knives and forks, washerwomen who had not returned all the sheets.

Banishment was their fate. It can be difficult comprehending how different eighteenth and early nineteenth century British society was from our own. There was no police force, no public prosecution, no prison system capable of large-scale incarceration—just a few lockups, gaols and hulks. The legal tyranny of Britain’s ‘Bloody Code’ seemed to dictate that nearly all offences were capital, that is, punishable by death. It was not until the 1820s—
with Robert Peel's reforms and the introduction of 'Bobbies' to London's streets—that things were to change. Until that time, punishment was barely graded, and the same sentence could be meted out to all felonies be they theft, rape or murder. Transportation arose in this context as a middle road between hanging and letting guilty people go scot-free.

But penal transportation could also be crafted to have a secondary role: colonisation. Establishing a self-replicating society required many things, chief among them healthy young women. And it was healthy young women who were transported. Mainly they were aged in their twenties and thirties. (So, too, were the convict men, and the guards.) To undertake the journey they had to be identified as fit. And, after some disastrous experiences in the early years, considerable effort was put into the care of convicts both in transit and in Australia. The outcome was a population of women and men in the most productive and reproductive phases of their lives.

While much in the colony was different, some things were more familiar. Work was work. Most of the women continued to do what they had done back home: cook, sew, launder, clean, feed children and keep an eye on them. Convict women did these things in their own homes, or in the homes of their employers. Although finding employers was different: the Government picked who the women would work for, and on what terms, and under what conditions they could leave their masters. Quite a few women would be held within the very real walls of the Female Factories: a combination of workhouse, prison, maternity ward, and employment agency. Most, however, worked for private employers, and quite a few married them! Some worked on farms, others stayed on
the urban fringe. Women who could find no employment under trying circumstances at home found new opportunities open to them in the colonies.

Friendships were established, rivalries commenced, paramours found, children born: the cycle of life continued, albeit within certain constraints (not that life back home was without any). Some women resisted the control authority had over them, baring their buttocks to visiting clergy, defiling the property of their masters and mistresses, being surly, or talking back. There were a variety of ways of protesting. But whether protesting or accommodating, or some combination of the two, these women made Australia their home. Many individuals made good in their new lives, while life continued to be a strain for others. Many never overcame the wrench of being torn from family, friends and places back home. Yet others managed to be reunited with husbands and children, when family joined them (or when they followed the earlier transportation of a partner), crafting a hybrid of the past and present for the future. In the process, they built a colony, and a colony that rapidly became free.

This normalisation of society, economy and environment was at the heart of a contradictory process which held within it the seeds of its own destruction. Colonisation through penal transportation could not satisfy all policy objectives. For colonisation to be successful, a thriving outpost of Empire had to be established. For penal transportation to punish and act as a deterrent, the place of exile had to be frightening and inhospitable. Charles Dickens, among other
critics, observed how New South Wales had lost its ability to terrify. The very success of this criminal colonial enterprise heralded its own demise.

Those women who arrived in 1788 found little comfort in their surroundings, and would have suffered most from culture shock. But the passage of time allowed for the construction of a more recognisable architectural space, and for the emergence of a society which in many respects looked as free and familiar as that back home. The experiences of a woman who arrived in 1830 were thus markedly different from those of an earlier generation of women. Penetrating all these different lives is no easy task, and historians and genealogists still have a long way to go. But the records are rich. For in a period when most ordinary individuals disappeared from history, criminals were recorded—one great benefit of being founded by a bureaucracy.

Nearly all convict women are recorded in the convict indents from their voyages, and some criminal case histories are in the criminal calendars and prison registers of counties in the United Kingdom and Ireland. For some individuals, there are colonial assignment registers, records of births, deaths and marriages, and colonial jail reports. Somewhere there must be letters. And there are other records, too, for the investigative and imaginative mind: tombstones, bits of porcelain, art, embroidery, the way space was organised in an historic house—all offer glimpses of a world that these women grasped and turned on its head.
It is difficult to evaluate British reactions to the colonial landscape during the first 40 years of European settlement. Despite collections, such as that of the National Library of Australia, the evidence is limited. Many questions remain unanswered about the works themselves, including those associated with authorship, training, patronage and clientele. And the fact that art may have a hidden agenda, or reflect contemporary theories and attitudes, must also be taken into consideration.

It is further pertinent that the majority of works created between 1788 and 1830 failed to enter the public domain, being sent to England soon after execution. On the one hand, New South Wales lacked a viable, market-based infrastructure; on the other, the works were almost invariably produced for an overseas, rather than a local, audience. Ironically, embellished (often scarcely recognisable) versions of these images later became known back at their point of origin via publications and separately issued prints.

From 1788 until 1830, there was no single ‘vision’ of New South Wales: indeed, the only unifying factor was the struggle by artists and writers to come to grips with this new, totally alien environment. Evidence suggests that natural history subjects, ethnographic studies, and portraits predominated initially, and it was not until the third decade of the nineteenth century that the landscape assumed greater importance.

Nevertheless, the physical appearance of the colony was documented from the outset, firstly by naval officers attached to the First Fleet who had been trained in topographic landscape drawing. They also compiled written records extolling the beauty of the harbour and its foreshores and comparing the hinterland to an ‘English nobleman’s park’. While genuinely interested in Aboriginal lifestyle, these early chroniclers ascribed to the theory that the land was ownerless (i.e. Terra Nullius) and had an implicit belief in the superiority of their own civilisation and culture. Nor did this attitude change as the colony continued to evolve. The First Fleeters were followed by the convict artists, Thomas Watling and John Eyre, and freeborn artists, such as J.W. Lewin and G.W. Evans, whose output reveals a growing sophistication.

Initial enthusiasm for the landscape soon paled, however, giving way to despair over the monotonous evergreen forests, the absence of picturesque viewpoints and the unexpectedly violent climate. The ‘primeval wilderness’ which lay beyond the confines of European settlement also aroused fear and suspicion.

It was not until the arrival of Governor Macquarie and his wife, Elizabeth, on 29 December 1809, that the colony entered a new phase of development and, correspondingly, its social structure became more fluid. New South Wales then comprised a
small, compact area, no more than 60 by 80 kilometres, which was closely defined by the encircling range of the Blue Mountains. (Satellite settlements had also been established at Norfolk Island and Van Diemen’s Land.) By this time, the population exceeded 10,000 but—according to Macquarie’s assessment—the colony itself was ‘barely emerging from an infantile imbecility’.

Influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment’s theory that society developed over time through four consecutive stages, Macquarie immediately embarked upon a vigorous program of public works. He encouraged exploration beyond the coastal settlement and led no less than ten Tours of Inspection into the interior of the colony (the most celebrated being his procession over the Blue Mountains in 1815) and by sea to Van Diemen’s Land. While Norfolk Island was abandoned in 1813, Newcastle subsequently became a convict depot for secondary offenders and settlement extended south to such regions as the Illawarra and Jervis Bay.

Macquarie’s initiatives led to a sense of stability in the colony, which, in turn, engendered philosophical thought and discourse. A fledgling art establishment also began to take shape, partly orchestrated by Macquarie himself, and new (albeit limited) opportunities for patronage—mainly drawn from the officer and emancipist classes—emerged. The growing number of artists within the colony was paralleled by an increasingly diverse range of subject matter as they moved beyond the Sydney/Parramatta/Hawkesbury axis to document the Blue Mountains, Bathurst, Newcastle, the Illawarra, and ultimately the ‘darker’ interior. It is further significant that local artworks became more accessible following the appearance, from 1812, of views which had been engraved and published in Sydney.

Another change occurred after 1821, when Governor Brisbane removed restrictions on the settlement of the country beyond the Blue Mountains and also opened up the Hunter Valley and the Illawarra. This resulted in a new emigration drive, fuelled back in London by the publication of panoramas, view books and guides such as James Atkinson’s *An Account of the State of Agriculture & Grazing in New South Wales* (1826).

The landscapes produced prior to 1830 are more remarkable for their omissions than their inclusions. Aborigines and (to a lesser extent) convicts make an occasional appearance but, almost invariably, are marginalised: no depictions of Aboriginal guerilla warfare have yet been located and only two crudely-drawn images (one of which is *Convict Uprising at Castle Hill* (1804) by an unknown artist), together with Augustus Earle’s *Skirmish Between Bushrangers and Constables, Illawarra* (1827), record convict insurrection.

It has been speculated that while the Aborigines were dispossessed by the arrival of the Europeans, their inclusion in landscapes served as a useful ‘locational’ motif for an overseas audience. Conversely, the transportation system frustrated the ambitions of those who sought to promote the colony’s progress overseas and, from the 1820s, to attract prospective emigrants. Thus, transportation was largely invisible in art.

The landscapes discussed below have been confined to a representative sample from mainland, eastern New South Wales. They can be divided into two distinct categories, watercolours and prints, and further subdivided into those executed in the colony and those executed back ‘home’. (The medium of oil painting lagged far behind and did not assume prominence until the mid-1830s.) Such images cannot be interpreted literally, however, but must be juxtaposed...
with current philosophical and aesthetic ideas emanating from Great Britain, together with the demands of the engraving trade.

During the late eighteenth century, a particular style of line engraving for the reproduction of artworks developed in Europe. This employed standardised techniques and conventions (such as massive foreground rocks) which tended to reduce topographical engraving to a formula, repressing much of the original artistry.

The early landscape, **View of the Governor's House at Sydney, in Port Jackson, New South Wales Jan'y 1791** (1791) was executed by William Bradley (c.1758-1833), who served as first lieutenant aboard the *Sirius*. Another, very similar watercolour (also signed and dated 1791 below the image) is tipped into a fair copy of Bradley's manuscript journal held by the Mitchell Library. Both images depict a substantial, two-storey house, and its outbuildings and curtilage, encircled by trees which seemingly reinforce European possession of
The eight plates of Sydney and Parramatta reproduced in Collins' An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales (1789) are believed to be after original drawings by Watling. He may also have been responsible for a lost drawing, A View of Sydney Cove, New South Wales, which was reworked by the English artist, Edward Dayes (1763–1804), and published in London in 1804. The engraving depicts a tranquil, idealised image of the settlement, complete with cows and cowherd, taken from the area around Dawes Point; significantly, however, the Aboriginal family shown in the foreground is located beyond the settlement's boundary.

A West View of Sydney in New South Wales (c.1808)—attributed to another convict artist, John Eyre (b.1771)—reinforces the process of alienation: an Aboriginal group gathers around a fire on the uninhabited, rocky foreshore while several canoes are dwarfed by the European sailing ships lying at anchor in the harbour. An almost identical image, also unsigned and undated, is held by the Dixson Library. One or other may be the original for New South Wales, View of Sydney from the East Side of the Cove, No.1, an aquatint by John Heaviside Clark (c.1770–1863), which was published in London after a drawing by Eyre, who by this time had gained his freedom. Conversely, both may be later copies. In 1809 the emancipist, D.D. Mann, had left for England with four commissioned Eyre views, forming two panoramas, which were engraved by John Heaviside Clark.
They were published separately in 1810 and the following year appeared as illustrations in Mann’s *The Present Picture of New South Wales* (1811).

Another work after Eyre, *View of Part of the Town of Parramatta in New South Wales Taken from the North Side of the River*, was engraved in Sydney by Walter Preston (b.1777). This was issued as Plate 11 of *Views in New South Wales*, a series of 24 local engravings which appeared in two sets between 1 January 1813 and 12 September 1814. The principle of continuity and organisation adopted by the publisher, Absalom West, was that of the scenic tour. Moreover, his pictorial agenda was carefully considered (at least for the first set) and moves through the various stages of social progress from pre-contact to highly developed European settlement. It also addresses changes taking place out on the ‘frontier’. The Parramatta view, for example, is redolent with references to agrarianism, such as the newly-felled trees; conversely, a reclining shepherd and his sheep—shown on the far left—are contrasted with a group of tribal Aborigines.

Sophia Campbell nee Palmer (1777–1833) has been described categorically as ‘the first woman known to have painted Australian scenes and people’. Although her œuvre was undoubtedly more extensive, only two sketchbooks (both dating from about 1816 to about 1825) have survived; one remains with family descendants, while the other is held by the National Library of Australia. Both comprise a series of watercolours and drawings executed for the artist’s own enjoyment as well as her immediate circle. Married to a prominent local merchant, Campbell had greater freedom than other contemporaries who attempted to make a living through art. Nevertheless, the images depicted in the National Library’s sketchbook, such as *Sydney Barracks* (1817), reflect a
very limited world view which focuses upon public, rather than private, subjects. On the other hand, Campbell's watercolours recording the convict outpost at Newcastle (which she visited in 1818) provide an invaluable documentary resource.

The convicted forger, Joseph Lycett (c.1775–1828), reached Sydney in 1814 but, after transgressing again, was banished to Newcastle. He received his conditional pardon five years later and established himself as an artist in Sydney, receiving commissions from Lachlan and Elizabeth Macquarie, among others. It was perhaps during this period that he worked up his sketches of Aborigines in the area around Newcastle, sketches which are remarkable for depicting traditional tribal activities and defying the principle of Terra Nullius.⁴ In 1821, Lycett was granted an absolute pardon and returned to England, where he began preparing his Views in Australia, a series of 49 aquatints published by John Souter between August 1824 and June 1825. These are far more sophisticated than his earlier colonial output and—perhaps to encourage emigration—include such gentrified images as View of Captain Piper's Naval Villa at Eliza Point Near Sidney [sic], New South Wales.

In 1817 the surveyor, John Oxley (1783–1828), made the first of two important inland expeditions, leading his party along the Lachlan River and into the area south-west of Bathurst. He set off again the next year and, after exploring the Macquarie Marshes, headed east via the Liverpool Plains to the ocean at Port Macquarie. On each occasion, Oxley was accompanied by the surveyor and artist, G.W. Evans (1780–1852), three of whose field sketches were 'improved' back in Sydney by Major James Taylor. Images such as Liverpool Plains, West Prospect from View Hill (1820) depict surveyors taking possession of the land and have a celebratory aspect, a view not shared by Oxley who noted that 'one tree, one soil, one water, and one description of bird, fish, or animal prevails alike for ten miles and for one hundred'.⁵ The images were engraved subsequently by John Clark and published in Oxley's Journals of Two Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales (1820).
Major James Taylor (c.1785-1829) arrived in Sydney in 1817 aboard the convict transport Matilda. Like other fellow officers, he would have received some training in draughtsmanship and a number of watercolours depicting Sydney and its environs have been attributed to him. Taylor returned to England in July 1822 and, soon after arrival, apparently arranged the engraving and printing of a three-part panorama of Sydney which he had executed several years earlier. This was published by Robert Havell and Colnaghi & Co. in August 1823 and was subsequently exhibited—as a 360-degree view—at Barker & Burbard's Panorama Building, Leicester Square. Taken from a viewpoint on Observatory Hill, the panorama depicts a well-ordered, expanding settlement populated by soldiers, women, convicts and Aborigines, apparently coexisting in harmony. It has been noted, however, that the resulting aquatints have a more refined appearance than either the watercolours on which they were probably based or, indeed, the place itself.

Augustus Earle (1793-1838) was possibly the most interesting artist to visit New South Wales during the pre-1830 period. Widely travelled, he reached Sydney by default in May 1825 and soon established himself as a portrait painter, landscapist and lithographer. He also opened the colony's first art gallery. Towards the end of 1826, Earle visited the Blue Mountains, Bathurst and the Wellington Valley: his View from the Summit of Mount York, Looking Towards Bathurst Plains, Convicts Breaking Stones, N.S. Wales (c.1826) is a rare representation of convicts during this period. He later journeyed north of Sydney via the Hunter River and also explored the Illawarra district. Although claiming to have little interest in the Aborigines, Earle depicted a series of landscapes, such as A Native Family Sitting Down on an English Settlers Farm (c.1826), which respond very sympathetically to the plight of the dispossessed, indigenous population. The fact that he was an outsider—combined with his broader worldview—perhaps empowered Earle to overtly address subjects usually marginalised in colonial art.

Earle's departure from Australia in 1828 left a real vacuum, which was not filled until the arrival seven years later of Conrad Martens (1801-1878), who has been described as the first freeborn artist to take up residence in the colony and support himself through his profession. By then, the number of emigrants had increased significantly and they began to demand 'house portraits' and landscapes composed according to picturesque principles which would reflect favourably upon their chosen new abode. The documentation of New South Wales thus became more prescribed and bore little relation to the views produced in the colony prior to 1830.

NOTES
Some time around 1831 the American artist, Samuel Morse, asked his compatriot, Charles Robert Leslie, for news of their mutual friend, Augustus Earle, whom they had not seen since he had set off for Malta in 1815. Leslie’s reply was to detail the astonishing itinerary of Earle’s travels, from the Mediterranean through to the United States and South America, Tristan d’Acunha, Van Diemen’s Land, New South Wales, and New Zealand, and, eventually, India and Mauritius, before he ‘found his way home’. This had taken Earle until 1829. In April 1832 he was to set off again, this time with Darwin, on the Beagle.

Earle’s relatively long period of settlement in London gave him the time to publish a set of lithographs, Views in New South Wales, in 1829, and a book, A Narrative of a Nine Months’ Residence in New Zealand, in 1832. Each drew on his experiences during his only other spell of relative stasis, in the Antipodes, between January 1825 and October 1828. And, even then, Earle had hardly been sedentary. Dedicating his Views in New South Wales to Sir Thomas Brisbane, he wrote how ‘having no land to attend to, or situation to seek, I amused myself by strolling through the Colony, and sketching’. His ‘peregrinations’, albeit ‘very extensive’, amounted merely to ‘rambling’, as though the distances he had covered were hardly vast, nor the country unknown and, often, a nightmare for a European to traverse. Earle’s contriving to break his leg while rambling through the Illawarra in 1827, which event he typically described in an amusing verse letter to a Mrs Ward, alerts us to his insouciance and remarkable personality.
Reviewers of *A Narrative of a Nine Months’ Residence in New Zealand* were alert to Earle’s singularity. Describing him as ‘perhaps as extraordinary a phenomenon as any which he describes’, the *Edinburgh Review* noted how ‘Several of the panoramas with which the London public have been gratified in Leicester Square, were from delineations made by Mr Earle in and around the Antipodes’; while the critic of the *Quarterly Review* commented

though few of us may ever have heard his name, there are perhaps still fewer who have not ere now been indebted both for amusement and instruction to his indefatigable pencil.

The panoramas of Sydney and Hobart which had been exhibited by Robert Burford after Earle’s watercolours of those places had, notably, supplied the first surrogate experience of either place for the British public. And the *Quarterly Review* critic concluded that ‘no reader can part with Mr Earle without having formed, on the whole, a favourable notion of his talents as well as of his temper’.

That ‘on the whole’ was an interesting qualification. The critic admitted to having had ‘considerable hesitation’ as to whether the book should be reviewed at all. The problem was that, despite being a ‘spirited performance’, it abounded

in sweeping sarcasms on the English Missionaries … supported only by a handful of anecdotes which … are not improbably tinged by his personal prejudices.

The *Edinburgh Review* had its reservations, too. While praising Earle’s book as being
'at once extremely amusing and full of information', there were, nonetheless, considerable portions of it which require to be carefully sifted'. This writer, too, was troubled by Earle's straightforward critiques of the missionaries, opining that the less than friendly welcome he records their affording him was doubtless consequent on his not being 'that sedate and sober person who was likely to gain their confidence' (conveniently forgetting the kind of company Christ sometimes kept). The book, though, was engaging. And Earle's capacity to think and see for himself was manifested too in his artwork and, in particular, that which he produced during his tours of New South Wales.

Earle's subjects—views of Sydney, landscapes, studies of Aboriginal people—were those which preoccupied other colonial artists. But a glance from his to their versions shows up extraordinary conceptual differences. In Major James Taylor's *The Entrance of Port Jackson and Part of the Town of Sydney, New South Wales* (1823), convicts are an element of a vista of civic improvement and civil progress. In *Sydney from Woolloomooloo Hill* (1829), John Carmichael represents convicts (as Constable had the English labouring poor) as isolated and industrious, to discharge the image of threat. Earle's *View from the Summit of Mount York, Looking Towards Bathurst Plains, Convicts Breaking Stones, N.S. Wales* (c.1826) represents a breathtakingly infinite blue prospect—in the foreground of which are four convicts, three breaking stones, another carrying buckets—to supply an imagery of ennui and of pointless labour as tallies with some literary accounts. In the lithograph, *A Government Jail Gang, Sydney, N. S. Wales* (1830), he indulged a pictorial essay on the physiognomy of stupidity. The image does not match the artist's letterpress, which relates, with a beguiling factuality, the treatments prisoners received,
and identifies the 'annexed subject' as 'one of the Government gangs being told out of the barracks for the daily work, and given in charge of a soldier, who acts as overseer'. The disjunction between what we read and what we see is notable. Language has to conform to certain protocols, and it is only when we notice that the caricature extends to the turnkey as much as to the chained convicts, that the degraded actuality of the subject is confirmed.

Earle's watercolours are as intriguing. Aboriginal people attracted the European eye from the start, and were represented in a variety of ways, from classicising nudes to the deplorable cartoons of Richard Browne. From time to time people, such as the 'Port Jackson Painter', would attempt a documentary representation, and against these Desmond, a N. S. Wales Chief Painted for a Rarobb [i.e. Corroboree] or Native Dance (c.1826) stands out for the way in which his individual particularity has been represented. Earle's concern with anatomy, body decoration, and facial features is less extraordinary than his low viewpoint (conventional for portraits of British aristocrats, to subordinate the viewer to the sitter). Even though Desmond is in an inferior medium (watercolour) on a far smaller scale, the fact remains that Earle has seen no incongruity in applying this portrait format to an Aboriginal person—even his weapon corresponds to those often prominent in military portraits. Only the identification of the sitter as 'Desmond' jars, for this was not his name.

Thus is manifested a tension between colonists and Aboriginal people, which is represented explicitly in other works. Wellington Valley, N.S.W. Looking East from Government House (c.1826), for example, juxtaposes the verticality of a column topped with an ionic capital
(signifying moral virtue through cultural values)

with the ramrod straight Aborigine behind whose back the ordering lines of fences and enclosures are imposed on his lands. It points up what we cannot but discern from *A Native Family of New South Wales Sitting Down on an English Settlers Farm* (c.1826). This work is remarkable. The family dominates the foreground, observed by a man in a top hat and tails and a woman in a red dress, whom they ignore. There are dogs, a naked child, a woman, and a man whose carelessly-worn European attire and pipe smoking exemplify the radical incompatibility between the two cultures. That this may be a sunset, an ending picture, enhances the poignancy of a composition in which it is difficult not to detect hints of a Holy Family, represented, perhaps, in the way of an indigenous flight into Egypt. The pictorial narrative, in this as in others of Earle's watercolours, is of dispossession and impending catastrophe, and articulates a tragedy still to be played out.

Yet this narrative rings oddly against what the artist wrote. Failing to understand the cultural differences between a Polynesian diaspora and the development of a people insulated for millennia from other humans, Earle confessed himself baffled by the 'decided dissimilarity between the natives of New Holland and New Zealand'. The latter he admired. The former he thought 'the last link in the great chain of existence', and entirely lacking in beauty:

Their limbs are long, thin, and flat, with large bony knees and elbows; a projecting forehead, and pot-belly. The mind, too, seems adapted to this mean configuration.
The conventionally racist language contradicts what Earle had pictured, in Desmond for example, and fits uneasily with the letterpress to Views in New South Wales. 'In the neighbourhood of Sydney,' wrote Earle, 'the Natives are growing scarce; the Whites locating so much land has destroyed their hunting grounds and means of subsistence,' which was so. What he wrote was constrained by convention and context. The pictures tell a different story.

The possibility of a sympathetic relationship between Europeans and Aborigines is intimated in A Bivouack [i.e. Bivouac], Day Break on the Illawarra [i.e. Illawarra] Mountains (1827), which represents Earle's party and their guides as compatibly sharing the warmth of a fire; thus making a neat contrast with the closely contemporary Skirmish Between Bushrangers and Constables, Illawarra (1827), in which Europeans visit deadly violence upon other Europeans. And if we consider the Illawarra region, we again notice inconsistencies between Earle's public and his private writing, and what he painted. In the letterpress to Views in New South Wales, Earle characterised this as 'wild forest scenery', which was both 'picturesque', and 'interesting'. These sentiments comply with a convention that had by this time identified the Illawarra region as exotic or tropical.

When Earle was writing privately, as in his verse letter to Mrs Ward, his language suggested otherwise:

Such tangled thickets now we pass'd, such mighty trees we saw,
Such giants of Australian growth, now fill'd my mind with awe.

This conforms far more with his imaging of the forest, both in A Bivouack [i.e. Bivouac], Day Break on the Illawarra [i.e. Illawarra] Mountains and in a series of related watercolours which form a uniquely interesting group of landscapes in the history of European art. When Conrad Martens visited the Illawarra in 1835 he coped with the overwhelming chaos of nature either by composing his scenes—picturing ponds surrounded by vegetation sufficiently distant to allow a sight of the sky so as to counteract the overwhelming character of the colossal trees—or by concentrating on details. Earle did nothing like this. In his Illawarra watercolours it seems as though the boundaries of the image have been fixed at random. Tree trunks enter at odd angles and places, and exit similarly. Those figures which are featured are properly dwarfed, and the different relationships between Aborigines and Europeans with this terrain are clearly articulated. The forest is alien to the European imagination and, as was his wont, Earle had the artistic means to demonstrate this.

This was an extraordinary artist. Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones suggested that he may have learned his craft from the British watercolourists John White Abbott, Francis Towne, and John Sell Cotman. This is perfectly feasible. Hackforth-Jones points out that Earle probably saw the Greta Bridge Cotman sent to the 1806 Royal Academy, for he had submitted work too, and in some of Cotman's 'Greta' studies of 1805 one can find a parallel imagery of, apparently, unselected nature and random views. If there was any connection, it could have interesting consequences. Andrew Hemingway has seen these works of Cotman's as manifesting an 'aesthetic of individuality', which valorised the 'detached individual consciousness'. If an impressionable young Augustus Earle did have any contact with this kind of thinking, it might have contributed to the formation of his own highly individual consciousness.
Earle had ‘amused’ himself ‘by strolling through the Colony, and sketching’. But his pictures tell stories that in subtle ways undermine many of the more conventional histories the British invented *apropos* their occupation of Australia.

Augustus Earle (1793–1838)  
*Waterfall in Australia* c.1830  
oil on canvas; 71 x 83.2 cm  
T272 NK9
Children in the Australian Colonies

Robert Holden

An Infant Colony or 'A New Child of Empire'—how often were emotive terms like these used to describe lonely outposts at Sydney Cove and throughout the Australian colonies? The wood engraving, Britannia Fostering the Infant State of Van Dieman's Land (c.1820s), depicts a majestic Mother smiling benignly down at two children, one white and one Aboriginal. We imagine Britain as the Mother and the convict colonies her children, drawing nourishment and maternal care from halfway across the world. The imaginative stimulus of this image could also inspire us to consider the role and position that actual children, rather than metaphorical ones, played in the foundation years. Yet where were these children? From the pictorial evidence, it seems that the Australian colonies were very often infant settlements without infants! Or at least white children are conspicuous by their absence. They were certainly not remarkable enough to grace the topographical plates in lavish volumes like The Present Picture of New South Wales (1811). The exotic fauna and flora easily usurped any more mundane depiction of young colonials and the only unruly intrusion into these otherwise regimented panoramas of Sydney Cove are the Aborigines.

Thus the first family that is depicted in our earliest printed records, the first family brought stage-centre, is a full-page illustration of Aborigines in Governor Hunter's An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island of 1792. The engraving of A Family of New South Wales depicts a native group with the father striding manfully in the lead bearing weapons. Behind him, typically, comes the mother carrying not just hunting gear and the day's catch, but also an infant atop her shoulders! We see this statuesque family interpreted through philosophical and aesthetic ideals as the epitome of 'noble savages'. At the time, this expectation was an alluring part of a sailor's landfall in the Pacific and a well-timed quote from a forgotten English book of 1788 voices these ideals:

Our commerce, our wealth, our customs, our arts, nay even our knowledge, all conspire ... to destroy that equality of condition, that unconscious dignity of virtue, that amiable plainness of manners, which flourished in the early ages of the world ... Let us suppose this state of natural simplicity and equality still to exist in some favoured Island in the hospitable bosom of the Pacific Ocean.¹

But if the First Fleeters saw these 'children of nature'² in such an idealised way, then how did the Aborigines see these white strangers? By virtue of a remarkable account we can actually step ashore with the very first white child to disembark from the Fleet. This was the seven-year-old son of one of the marines, most likely Edward Munday, who

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²
vented ashore at Botany Bay on 23 January 1788, before Sydney Cove had been chosen as the site for final settlement. This white child disembarked from the *Charlotte* and was 'chaperoned' by Captain Watkin Tench, who wrote:

I had at this time a little boy, of not more than seven years of age, in my hand. The child seemed to attract their (the Aborigines') attention very much, for they frequently pointed to him and spoke to each other ... I advanced with him towards them, at the same time baring his bosom and shewing the whiteness of the skin. On the cloaths being removed they gave a loud exclamation, and one of the party, an old man ... with great gentleness, laid his hand on the child's hat, and afterwards felt his cloaths.

What remains so significant about this meeting was that it was a child who acted as the intermediary between two cultures. In this extraordinary face-to-face, the world of late eighteenth century white childhood met the timeless world of Aboriginal tribal life. In the eyes of white commentators it was a meeting between two worlds of childhood—their own civilised world meeting that of these 'children of nature'. Regrettably, no-one attempted to capture this momentous event in a drawing. Like so many turning points in history only recognised after the event, it forever relies on a verbal rather than a pictorial record.

Perhaps the earliest exception to this graphic lacuna which excludes, or at least overlooks, the presence of white children in the infant settlements is found in the ink and wash drawings by the Spanish visitor to Sydney Cove, Fernando Brambila. Some of his drawings from 1793, now held in Madrid collections, depict bucolic scenes and pastimes with neat Arcadian sentiment. But look beyond this charm—in one drawing of Parramatta is probably our very first scene of European innocence at play (White settlement as well as Aboriginal life was capable of being viewed in an equally pre-lapsarian way.) The young white revellers almost certainly include the children of marines and their wives who made the long voyage on the First Fleet.
Until recently, these young voyagers have been the most neglected part of the First Fleet’s complement. Now they have been restored to their place in our history and their small presence swells the total number of people disembarked in 1788 by almost 50. We can now identify 20 children born to convict mothers or to the wives of the marines on the First Fleet during a protracted voyage of almost nine months. There were also two elite young voyagers on the Fleet. Both were seven or eight years old on embarkation and they accompanied a high-ranking uncle or father to the colony. The most surprising travellers, however, were three children still under 14 at their embarkation who had been sentenced to seven years’ transportation. These three are a diametric contrast to any elite young travellers. The presence of child convicts has hitherto been submerged in the mass of adult suffering which more readily engaged historical interest.

In this context we can cite a broadside (c.1830) which centres on this adult distress from an unusual emotional perspective. This is *The Convict’s Child*, an ephemeral English printing at the opposite end of the market from lavish colour-plate books. This sentimental ballad recounts the distress of a convict father separated from his infant child by transportation. Although the emphasis is upon adult suffering, the document also highlights the usually forgotten fate of children whose families were broken apart by the convict exile of a parent or parents. In their own way such children were a ghostly presence in the colonies; a constant reminder of a family never likely to be reunited:

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The convict ship lay near the beach,
The morn was drear and dark,
And many a wretched felon stood
Awaiting to embark.
One felon stood among the rest.
His eye look’d fierce and wild!
He held an infant in his arms
'Twas alas! his only child...

They tore the infant from his arms,
Then dragged him from the shore,
He wildly gazed around the beach,
But saw his child no more.
The vessel sail’d—the convict fell—
In dying anguish wild...7
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It is by looking at children that we can give back to their convict parents an emotional, a social and ultimately a human dimension.

The anguish of convict exile and the near impossibility of family reunion encouraged new liaisons in Sydney Cove.
More than one report stressed the fertility of the colonial women:

women who were supposed to be past child-bearing, and others who had not been pregnant for fifteen or sixteen years, have lately become mothers.  

Another First Fleet journal reiterated this claim: 'Women who certainly would never have bred in any other climate, here produced as fine children as ever were born'. Whatever the reasons for this fecundity, within a decade of foundation we can read eyewitness accounts of an infant settlement maturing beyond all expectations:

There were at this time [1797], in the town of Sydney, three schools for the education of children, and on the breaking up for the Christmas holidays, the Governor was gratified with the sight of 102 clean and neatly dressed children, who came with their several masters and mistresses, and paid their respects to his Excellency, who examined the progress of the elder scholars. It moreover appeared, that the town of Sydney contained no less than 300 young People, very few of whom were born in Britain; and it was much to be desired that they might not be corrupted by wicked examples.

By 1804 it was hardly an exaggeration to describe the colony as 'an extraordinary place for children'. Before the end of the 1820s, currency lads and lasses (the first white generation of native-born children) were beginning to assert an independent nationalism and it was reported that they were 'warmly attached to their country'. But perhaps the most surprising observation at much the same time was Lady Darlings's declaration that certain convict children had been banned from polite society for too long. And even more significant than this concession from the Governor's wife was the example of a former convict's child, herself elevated to glory in the most ambitious family portrait painted in the colony. Again, this milestone occurs towards the end of the 1820s when Augustus Earle painted Mrs Piper and Her Children (Mitchell Library collection).

Here was the very epitome of the classic reversal of fortune offered by the colonies. Mrs Piper, the child of convicts, now resided, if not reigned, in more luxury than the Governor himself. In a little over one generation the position of some children in the colony thus progressed from an unconsidered place in the provisioning of the First Fleet to a validation, even an ennobling, as part of the finest family in the land! In comparison with Earle's portrait of Eliza, Wife of Governor Darling, and Her Children (1825), the Piper family portrait utterly overshadows its vice-regal rival in its sheer size and opulence.

Between the modest Britannia Fostering the Infant State of Van Diemen's Land and the grandiose statement in paint which is Mrs Piper and Her Children, there is an immense gulf of sentiment and purpose. Not one of these attributes is more remarkable than the monumental pride in the self-made family which distinguishes the Piper family portrait. Who could have foreseen that either the first generation of white Australians—let alone the metaphorical infant settlement founded in 1788—would have grown so lustily? Who could have foreseen that a veritable Young Australia was truly in the making?
NOTES


5. The young voyagers have been identified as Alexander Ross, the son of Major Robert Ross, and James Campbell, the nephew of Captain Campbell.

6. The three children sentenced to transportation were John Hudon, Elizabeth Hayward and George Youngson.


9. See also Chapter 11 of Alan Frost's Botany Bay Mirages: Illusions of Australia's Convict Beginnings (Melbourne: MUP, 1994).


14 Ann Piper (1791–1872) was the daughter of convict parents from the First Fleet. Her liaison with Piper began around 1805 on Norfolk Island, when Ann could hardly have been 14 years old, and was not formalised by marriage until 1816. This meant that four sons born before that date were illegitimate.

The scale of the Pipers' entertaining was prodigal—many visitors would have been expected to come face to face with Augustus Earle's portrait in the Pipers' so-called 'naval villa'. The portrait is equally significant for its celebration of a decade of family life, of bonds that held in an environment supposedly inimical to long-term relationships.
Notes on Contributors

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MICHELLE HETHERINGTON is the curator of The World Upside Down: Australia 1788-1830, an exhibition that grew out of her research into the Rex Nan Kivell Collection. She has a background in Fine Arts, majoring in Sculpture, English Literature, Art History and History, and has worked at the National Library of Australia since 1991. She has been the Library's Curator of Exhibitions since 1998.

ROBERT HOLDEN has honours degrees in English and Fine Arts, and has had an extensive career in libraries. He has curated many notable exhibitions, some of which have toured nationally and internationally. His book, Cover Up: The Art of Magazine Covers in Australia (1995), was acclaimed and he has recently published Orphans of History: The Forgotten Children of the First Fleet (2000), addressing an aspect of Australia's colonial past that has previously been overlooked.

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RICHARD NEVILLE is Curator of Pictures Research at the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. His interest in colonial imagery evolved while completing his masters at the University of Sydney. He has published and lectured widely on nineteenth-century Australian art, and has curated a number of exhibitions on the subject for the State Library, including Faces of Australia: Image, Reality and the Portrait (1992) and A Rage for Curiosity: Visualising Australia 1788-1830 (1997). Most recently he curated a display of the work of colonial portrait painter, Joseph Backler.
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MICHAEL ROSENTHAL is Senior Lecturer in Art History at the University of Warwick in the United Kingdom. He has studied art history at the universities of London and Cambridge, and in 1994 was a Harold White Fellow at the National Library of Australia. His research topic while at the Library was Home and Away: The British and Australia, 1770–1840. A specialist in British culture, c.1660–1840, his publications include British Landscape Painting (1982), Constable: The Painter and His Landscape (1983), and most recently The Art of Thomas Gainsborough: A Little Business for the Eye (2000).
The World Upside Down: Works on Exhibition

Victor-Jean Adam (1801-1866)
*Baie Jervis, Nouvelle Hollande, les marins de l'Astrolabe partagent leur pêche avec les naturels*
plate 34 of *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe*
*Atlas historique* by Jules Dumont d'Urville (1790-1842)
Paris: Tastu, 1833
hand-coloured lithograph; 19.4 x 29.4 cm
U1743, NK3340

George S. Allen
*Chart Shewing the Track of the Waaksamhey'd Transport from Port Jackson in New South Wales to Batavia in 1792*
London: J. Stockdale, 20 September 1792
map; 20.1 x 23.2 cm
NK2456/87

Augustus Theodore Alt (1731-1815)
*Early Sydney* 1796
pen and wash drawing; 13.1 x 22.6 cm
R10128

George Barrington (1755-1804)
*Barrington's History of New South Wales Including Botany Bay and its Dependencies; to Which is Added Barrington's Voyage to New South Wales with the Life, Trials, &c. of the Author*
London: M. Jones, 1810
F489a

Ferdinand Bauer (1760-1826)
*Stewartia serrata* c. 1804
gouache; 44.2 x 29.1 cm
R4747

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832)
*Panopticon Versus New South Wales, or, The Panopticon Penitentiary System, and the Penal Colonization System, Compared*
London: 1812
F531

John Thomas Bigge (1780-1843)
*Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry of the Colony of New South Wales 1826*
[annotated extract concerning the arrival of the Astrolabe in 1826]
MS4083

*Bigge's Commission from George III 1822*
MS2815, A40001733

William Staden Blake (c. 1748-1822)
*After Thomas Watling (b. 1762)*
*A View of the Town of Sydney in the Colony of New South Wales Taken from the Rising Ground near the Court House on the West Side of the Cove*
London: 1 June 1802
aquatint, plate mark 33.3 x 48.8 cm
U1130, NK4854

John Boyne (1750-1810)
*Landing at Botany Bay*
London: E. Hedges & H. Humphrey, 16 November 1786
hand-coloured etching; 40 x 54 cm
U7154, NK1247

William Bradley (c.1758-1833)
*Plan of Norfolk Island*
London: J. Stockdale, 21 December 1792
map; 23 x 21.2 cm
NK2456/60

Richard Browne (1776-1824)
*The Emu* 1820
watercolour; 33.5 x 26.5 cm
R4872

Richard Browne (1776-1824)
*Membra* c.1819
watercolour; 27.3 x 21.8 cm
R8949

Richard Browne (1776-1824)
*The Mountain Pheasant* 1819
watercolour; 38.1 x 29.2 cm
R9603

Richard Browne (1776-1824)
*Wambella* c.1819
watercolour; 28.9 x 23.9 cm
T2792, NK149/E

Sophia Campbell (1777-1833)
*Sydney Barracks* 1817
from her sketchbook (28 pencil drawings & watercolours) 1817-1825
watercolour; 22.8 x 57.8 cm
R7208

John Carmichael (1803-1857)
*Sydney from Woolloomooloo Hill* 1829
plate 4 of his *Select Views of Sydney, New South Wales*
Sydney: A. Hill, 1829
engraving; 21.1 x 26.3 cm
S2785

Margaret Catchpole (1762-1819)
*Broadsheet describing a stolen horse, 24 May 1797*
from the Papers of Margaret Catchpole (1797-1917)
MS4211/4
Margaret Catchpole (1762–1819)
Examination of the Voluntary Confession of Margaret Catchpole, Spinster, 27 May 1797
from the Papers of Margaret Catchpole (1797–1917)
MS4211/6

Margaret Catchpole (1762–1819)
Letter to her uncle and aunt, 2 September 1811
from the Papers of Margaret Catchpole (1797–1917)
MS4211/9

John Chapman (fl. 1792–1823)
An Exact Portrait of a Savage of Botany Bay
London: Published as the Act directs, 15 February 1795
hand-coloured engraving; 19 x 12.5 cm
U4108 NK3226

John Heaviside Clark (c. 1770–1863)
after John Eyre (b. 1771)
New South Wales, View of Sydney from the East Side of the Cove No. 1
London: J. Booth, 4 June 1810
hand-coloured aquatint; plate mark 41.2 x 55.5 cm
U1524 NK264C

John Heaviside Clark (c. 1770–1863)
after John Eyre (b. 1771)
New South Wales, View of Sydney from the East Side of the Cove No. 2
London: J. Booth, 4 June 1810
hand-coloured aquatint; plate mark 41.2 x 55.5 cm
U1525 NK264D

David Collins (1756–1810)
An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales from its First Settlement in January 1788 to August 1801... 2nd edition
London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1804
F390

Convict uniform and two caps c. 1802
wool and leather
A4000.1407

The Convict's Child
London: c. 1830
broadsheet; 26 x 20 cm
F1332a

Convicts, New South Wales: 1. Return of the Number of Applications made to the Land Board... from 1826 to 1828... for Convicts as Servants
London: Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1830
NK1470

Jacques Louis Copia (1764–1799)
Pêche des Savages du Cap de Diemen
plate 4 of Atlas pour servir a la relation du voyage a la recherche de la Perouse
Paris: c. 1800
engraving; 24 x 39.3 cm
U2045 NK2085

Charles Henry Theodore Costantini (b. 1803?)
[View of the Gates and Residence of the Pilot at Macquarie Harbour Taken from the Bar]
c. 1830
pen and wash; 23 x 46.7 cm
R135

Edward Dayes (1763–1804)
after Thomas Watling (b. 1762)
[Natives Under Rock in Bad Weather] c. 1797
watercolour; 8.1 x 13 cm
R292

Edward Dayes (1763–1804)
after Thomas Watling (b. 1762)
[A Scene by Moonlight] c. 1797
watercolour; 8.3 x 13.2 cm
R291

Edward Dayes (1763–1804)
probably after Thomas Watling (b. 1762)
[View of Sydney on the South Side of Norfolk Island] c. 1797
watercolour; 17.3 x 24.6 cm
R289

Donaldsons, Foveauxs, Halls and Palmers Gts [Grants] Surry Hills c. 1820s
manuscript map on tracing linen; 36.3 x 68.4 cm
F182

Edward Donovan (1768–1837)
An Epitome of the Natural History of the Insects of New Holland, New Zealand, New Guinea, Otaheite, and Other Islands in the Indian, Southern, and Pacific Oceans...
London: F.C. & J. Rivington, 1805
NK378

Edward Duncan, engraver (1803–1882)
after William John Huggins (1781–1845)
Hobart Town on the River Derwent, Van Diemen's Land
London: W.J. Huggins, February 1830
hand-coloured aquatint; plate mark 39.5 x 53.3 cm
U2894 NK277

Benjamin Duterrau (1767–1851)
[Portrait of Eliza, Lady Arthur] c. 1832
oil on wood panel; 24.7 x 20 cm
R10

Benjamin Duterrau (1767–1851)
[Portrait of Governor Arthur] c. 1832
oil on wood panel; 24.6 x 20.3 cm
R15
Augustus Earle (1793–1838)

A Bivouack of Travellers in Australia in a Cabbage-Tree Forest, Day Break c.1838
oil on canvas; 118 x 82 cm
T276 NK14

George William Evans (1780–1852)

A Geographical, Historical and Topographical Description of Van Diemen’s Land: with Important Hints to Emigrants and Useful Information Respecting the Application for Grants of Land...
F861

John Eyre (b.1771)

A West View of Sydney in New South Wales c.1808
watercolour; 55.2 x 76.5 cm
T1998 NK156

John Grant (b.1776)

Letter to Grant from Robert Campbell, 27 May 1807
from the Papers of John Grant (1769–1810)
MS737

Edward Smith Hall (1786–1860)

Reply in Refutation of the Pamphlets of Lieut-General R. Darling...
London: B. Franklin [i.e. R. Robison?], 1833
bound subsequent to publication in Mr Wentworth’s Impeachment of Lt. General Darling &c. &c., c.1829–1835
F1308/F1660

Robert Havell, engraver (1769–1832)
after James Taylor (1785–1829)
The Entrance of Port Jackson and Part of the Town of Sydney, New South Wales
London: Colnaghi & Co., 1823
hand-coloured aquatint; part one of a three part panorama; 47.8 x 65 cm
S1972

Robert Havell, engraver (1769–1832)
after James Taylor (1785–1829)
The Town of Sydney in New South Wales
London: Colnaghi & Co., 1823
hand-coloured aquatint; part two of a three part panorama; 47.8 x 65 cm
S1973
Robert Havell, engraver (1769–1832) after James Taylor (1785–1829)
Part of the Harbour of Port Jackson, and the Country between Sydney and the Blue Mountains, New South Wales
London: Colnaghi & Co., 1823
hand-coloured aquatint; part three of a three part panorama; 47.8 x 65 cm
S1974

R. Havell & Son, engravers after George William Evans (1780–1852)
The Grave of a Native of Australia
London: J. Murray, 1 February 1820
hand-coloured aquatint; 22.5 x 28.7 cm
S420

R. Havell & Son, engravers after George William Evans (1780–1852)
South West View of Hobart Town, Van Diemens [sic] Land
London: 1 March 1820
hand-coloured aquatint; 35 x 54.8 cm
S3963

James Heath, engraver (1757–1834) after Edward Dayes (1763–1804)
A View of the Governor’s House at Rose Hill in the Township of Parramatta
London: Cadell & Davies, 25 May 1789
engraving; 20.5 x 24.3 cm
S44

William Heath (1795–1840)
New Panorama, a Startling Interogation [sic]
London: T. McLean, April 1829
hand-coloured etching; 23.4 x 36.2 cm
U7173 NK1614

Hobart Town Courier 18 October 1836 Supplement
Hobart: J. Ross
MS6153

Edouard Jean Marie Hostein, lithographer (1804–1886) after Louis Auguste de Samson (1801–1887)
Hobart-Town, vue prise d’un ravin au nord, Van Diemen
Paris: Tastu, 1833
hand-coloured lithograph; 21 x 33.6 cm
U1866 NK3340

Alexander Huey (fl.1809–1818)
[Portrait of Rear Admiral William Bligh] 1814 watercolour on ivory; 11.5 x 8.4 cm
R11322

John Hunter (1737–1821)
Birds and Flowers of New South Wales Drawn On the Spot in 1788, 1789 & 1790 1788–1790 sketchbook of 100 watercolours; 22.8 x 18.5 cm
NK2039

John Hunter (1737–1821)
An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island: with the Discoveries Which Have Been Made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean Since the Publication of Phillips’s Voyage ...
London: J. Stockdale, 1793
F152

John Hunter (1737–1821)
Plan of Port Jackson New South Wales
London: J. Stockdale, 10 August 1780
map; 25.8 x 40.8 cm
NK2456/125

Richard Johnson (1753–1827)
An Address to the Inhabitants of the Colonies Established in New South Wales and Norfolk Island 1792
London: 1794
NK386

George Johnston (1764–1823)
Proclamation
Issued by Major George Johnston on the day after the deposition of Governor William Bligh, proclaiming the cessation of martial law in the colony
Sydney: 27 January 1808
broadside; 30.5 x 21 cm
NK8908

Francis Jukes, engraver (1746–1812) after Edward Dayes (1763–1804)
A View of Sydney Cove, New South Wales
London: F. Jukes, 30 April 1804
hand-coloured aquatint; plate mark 43.8 x 62 cm
U3852 NK270

King family
Annotated copy of John Hunter’s An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island 1793 c.1800
MS8572

Louis Leborne, lithographer (1790–1863) after Louis Auguste de Samson (1801–1887)
Vue des defrichements au pied de mont Wellington, Ile Van Diemen
Paris: Tastu, 1833
hand-coloured lithograph, 22.2 x 33 cm
U1869 NK3340

Thomas Lempriere (1796–1852)
SW View of Macquarie Harbour c.1827 pen, ink and watercolour; 21.9 x 17.3 cm
R137

Charles Alexandre Lesueur (1778–1846)
Plan de la ville de Sydney Capitale des colonies Anglaises, aux terres Australes
Paris: l’Imprimerie de Langlois, 1802
map; 14.8 x 20.9 cm
F307

Letterbook concerning the convict ship Coromandel, 6 September – 26 November 1803
from Convict Records, 6 September 1803 – 22 May 1877
MS1668/8

John William Lewin (1770–1819)
Birds of New South Wales, with Their Natural History
Sydney: G. Howe, 1813
GMM 598 299HLEW

John William Lewin (1770–1819)
[Scene in Australian Bush] c.1810 sepia wash drawing; 22.5 x 17.5 cm
T2223 NK6066

John William Lewin (1770–1819)
[Spotted-sided Finch (Zonaeginthus guttatus)] 1800 watercolour; 29.2 x 20.2 cm
R3853

John William Lewin (1770–1819)
[View of Sydney Looking South] c.1811 watercolour; 32.4 x 58.5 cm
T1626 NK4234

Licence to Keep a Public House, 29 September 1825
from Echoes of Bushranging Days 1821–1862.
nine volumes of bound manuscript letters, statements and official documents
MS3251

John Linnell (1792–1882)

*Portrait of Eliza, Wife of Governor Darling*
1825
oil on wood panel; 30.3 x 24.5 cm
R9878

John Linnell (1792–1882)

*Portrait of Ralph Darling, Governor of New South Wales, 1825–1831*
1825
oil on wood panel; 30.3 x 24.9 cm
R9877

Joseph Lycett (c. 1775–1828)

*Arthropodium fimbriatum, Australia* c. 1820
watercolour; 17.7 x 27.9 cm
R5680

Joseph Lycett (c. 1775–1828)

*Arboregenes Feeding from Beached Whales* c. 1817
in his *Drawings of the Natives and Scenery of Van Diemens Land* 1830
watercolour; 17.7 x 27.9 cm
R5680

Joseph Lycett (c. 1775–1828)

*The Residence of John McArthur Esqr., near Parramatta, New South Wales*
plate 15 of his *Views in Australia*
London: J. Souter, 1 April 1825
hand-coloured aquatint; plate mark 23.2 x 33 cm
U631 NK380/13

Joseph Lycett (c. 1775–1828)

*South View of Parramatta, N.S.W. 1820*
watercolour; 37.5 x 56.2 cm
T1631 NK6416/A

Samuel Marsden (1764–1838)

*A Sermon Preached at St. John's [on the Death of Ellis Bent, Judge Advocate of New South Wales] 1815*
MS1936

Thomas J. Maslen

*The Friend of Australia, or, A Plan for Exploring the Interior and for Carrying on a Survey of the Whole Continent of Australia*
London: Hurst, Chance, 1830
F1379

Peter Mazell

*Spotted Opossum*
plate 15 in *Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* by Arthur Phillip (1738–1814)
London: J. Stockdale, 1789
hand-coloured copper engraving; 26.5 x 19 cm
U4763 NK4198

James Meehan (1774–1826)

*Plan of the Town of Sydney in New South Wales*
31 October 1807
map; 33.3 x 40.6 cm
F105B

Mrs Macquarie's earrings c.1820
gold earrings; 5.7 cm long
A40002020

Armand-Marc, Comte de Montmorin-Saint-Herem (1745–1792)

*Letters 1791*
[concerning the English settlement at Botany Bay]
MS6846

Alexis Nicolas Noel, lithographer (1791–1877)
after Louis Auguste de Sainson (1801–1887)

*Vue de George's Street a Sydney*
plate 32 of *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe: Atlas historique* by Jules Dumont d'Urville (1790–1842)
Paris: Tastu, 1833
hand-coloured lithograph; 21 x 31.8 cm
U1741 NK3340

John Oxley (1783–1828)

*A Chart of Part of the Interior of New South Wales*
London: A. Arrowsmith, 4 June 1825
coloured map on three sheets, dissected and mounted on linen; 132.7 x 97.2 cm
RM1935

John Oxley (1783–1828)

*Journals of Two Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales undertaken by Order of the British Government in the Years 1817–18*
London: J. Murray, 1820
F748

Thomas Frye Palmer (1747–1802)

*A Narrative of the Sufferings of T.F. Palmer and W. Skirving during a Voyage to New South Wales, 1794, on Board the Surprise Transport*
2nd edition
Cambridge: J. Deighton and J. Nicholson, 1797
F255

Alphonse Pellan

[Nouvelle-Hollande, Baie des Chiens Marins, camp de l'Uranie, sur la Presqu'ile Péron] 1818
watercolour; 19.2 x 27.3 cm
T219 NK5346/A
George Perry (fl.1810-1811)
Arcana, or, The Museum of Natural History ... 
London: J. Stratford, 1811 
GMM 570.5ARC

Arthur Phillip (1738-1814)
The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay: 
with an Account of the Establishment of the Colonies of Port Jackson & Norfolk Island ... 
London: J. Stockdale, 1789 
GMMq 994.4PHI

E. Piper, lithographer after Nicholas-Martin Petit (1777-1804)
Bidgee Bidgee, a Native of New South Wales, a Well Known Character at Sydney, Speaks Very Good English and Mimicks the Manners of Every Officer and Person in the Colony 
London: G. Riley, 18 August 1803 
hand-coloured mezzotint; plate mark 26.5 x 21.5 cm 
U4194 NK10861

E. Piper, lithographer after Nicholas-Martin Petit (1777-1804)
Mackabarang, a Native of New South Wales, a Frequent Visitor in the Colony, Known by the Name of Broken Bay Jack 
London: G. Riley, 18 August 1803 
hand-coloured mezzotint; plate mark 26.5 x 21.5 cm 
U4195 NK10860

Port Jackson Painter (fl.1788-1792)
[Aboriginal Hunting Implements and Weapons] 
c.1790 
watercolour; 30 x 46.3 cm 
T2132 NK144/F

Port Jackson Painter (fl.1788-1792)
Five Half-length Portraits of Aborigines c.1790 
gouache; 38.5 x 55 cm 
T2129 NK144/C

Walter Preston, engraver (b.1777) 
after Richard Browne (1776-1824)
Newcastle in New South Wales with a Distant View of Point Stephen, Taken from Prospect Hill 
Sydney: A. West; 30 November 1812 
engraving; plate mark 28.2 x 41.4 cm 
S1965

Walter Preston, engraver (b.1777) 
after John Eyre (b.1771)
View of Part of the Town of Parramatta in New South Wales Taken from the North Side of the River 
Sydney: A. West, 30 November 1812 
engraving; plate mark 26.6 x 44 cm 
S1955

Walter Preston, engraver (b.1777)
after George William Evans (1780-1852)
Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land 
London: R. Ackermann, 1828 
hand-coloured aquatint; plate mark 37.4 x 64.4 cm 
S4485

The Remarkable, Affecting and Interesting Life and Dreadful Sufferings of Poor Unhappy Elizabeth Watson 
London: J. Carnach, 1827 
broadside; 50 x 37.6 cm 
S6894

Remission of Sentence for Jane Kilson from Convict Records, 6 September 1803 - 22 May 1877 
MSL668/10

John Rotton 
Letter to his brother Richard, 7 July 1823 
from the Letters of John Rotton, 1821 & 1823 
MS9248

Philip Slaeger, engraver (1755-1815) 
after John Eyre (b.1771)
View of Part of the Town of Parramatta in New South Wales, Taken from the North Side of the River 
Sydney: A. West, 30 November 1812 
engraving; plate mark 26.6 x 44 cm 
S1955

Charles Hamilton Smith 
after Edward Dayes (1763-1804)
Rose Hill, Botany Bay c.1820 
watercolour; 20 x 29.3 cm 
T2047 NK2766/B

The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser 8 June 1830 
Sydney: G. Howe, 1803-1842 
F383

Watkin Tench (c.1758-1833)
A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales: Including an Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony ... 
London: 1793 
NK2389

George Thompson (fl.1794)
Slavery and Famine, Punishments for Seditious, or, An Account of the Miseries and Starvation at Botany Bay 
London: J. Ridgway, 1794 
F199

unknown artist 
[The Capture and Death of Lieut. Robert Mears and Some of His Men and the Rescue of the Two Survivors by Captain Haggard] c.1900s 
5 watercolours, 6 x 21.5 cm or smaller 
T2265-T2269 NK1444/1-5

unknown artist 
[Convict Uprising at Castle Hill, 1804] 1804
View in South West Bay, Goulburn Island, Watering Party Attacked by Natives
by Phillip Parker King (1791-1856)
London: J. Murray, May 1825
hand-coloured aquatint; 9.9 x 16 cm
S1415

unknown engraver
Britannia Fostering the Infant State of Van Diemen's Land c.1820s
wood engraving; 9.5 x 20.8 cm
S3432

unknown engraver
I Exports Natives and Imports Exotics from Botany Bay c.1810s
hand-coloured etching; 10.7 x 10.4 cm
U7176 NK1670

unknown engraver
Jerboa
London: F.P. Nodder & Co., 1 August 1793
hand-coloured etching; 18.5 x 11.5 cm
U4826 NK3219

unknown engraver
Natives Pursuing Kangaroos in the Neighbourhood of Sydney, New South Wales c.1820
hand-coloured wood engraving; 5.6 x 21 cm
U1536 NK1350

unknown lithographer
after Thomas Mitchell (1792-1855)
Donohoe c.1830
lithograph; 18.5 x 25.7 cm
S8015

Thomas Watling (b.1762)
Skink c.1795
watercolour; 17.8 x 27.6 cm
R9935

Weekly Return of Public Labour at Parramatta and Castle [Hill] from the 3rd to the 7th June 1805
handwritten sheet; 25.8 x 40.5 cm
NG085

William Charles Wentworth (1790-1872)
A Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of the Colony of New South Wales
and Its Dependent Settlements in Van Diemen's Land...
London: G. and W.B. Whittaker, 1839
F771

William Westall (1781-1850)
Chasm Island, Native Cave Painting 1803
watercolour; 26.7 x 37.2 cm
R4356

William Westall (1781-1850)
Port Bowen c.1802
watercolour; 36 x 77.5 cm
R4970

V Woodthorpe (fl.1794-c.1802)
Entrance of Parramatta [i.e. Parramatta] River
in Account of a Voyage to New South Wales by George Barrington (1755-1804)
London: M. Jones, 25 March 1803
hand-coloured stipple engraving; 8.2 x 14.8 cm
U1509 NK1752/6

V Woodthorpe (fl.1794-c.1802)
Sydney
in History of New South Wales by George Barrington (1755-1804)
London: M. Jones, 24 December 1802
hand-coloured stipple engraving; 8.1 x 14.8 cm
U1506 NK1752/3

Writ of Habeas Corpus, 16 March 1830
from Convict Records, 6 September 1803 - 22 May 1877
MS1668/8
Peter Mazell

**Spotted Opossum**

plate 15 in *Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* by Arthur Phillip (1738–1814)

London: J. Stockdale, 1789

hand-coloured copper engraving; 26.5 x 19 cm

U4763 NK4198

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Contributors to this volume of essays are Michelle Hetherington, Richard Neville, Sasha Grishin, Deborah Oxley, Patricia R. McDonald, Michael Rosenthal and Robert Holden.