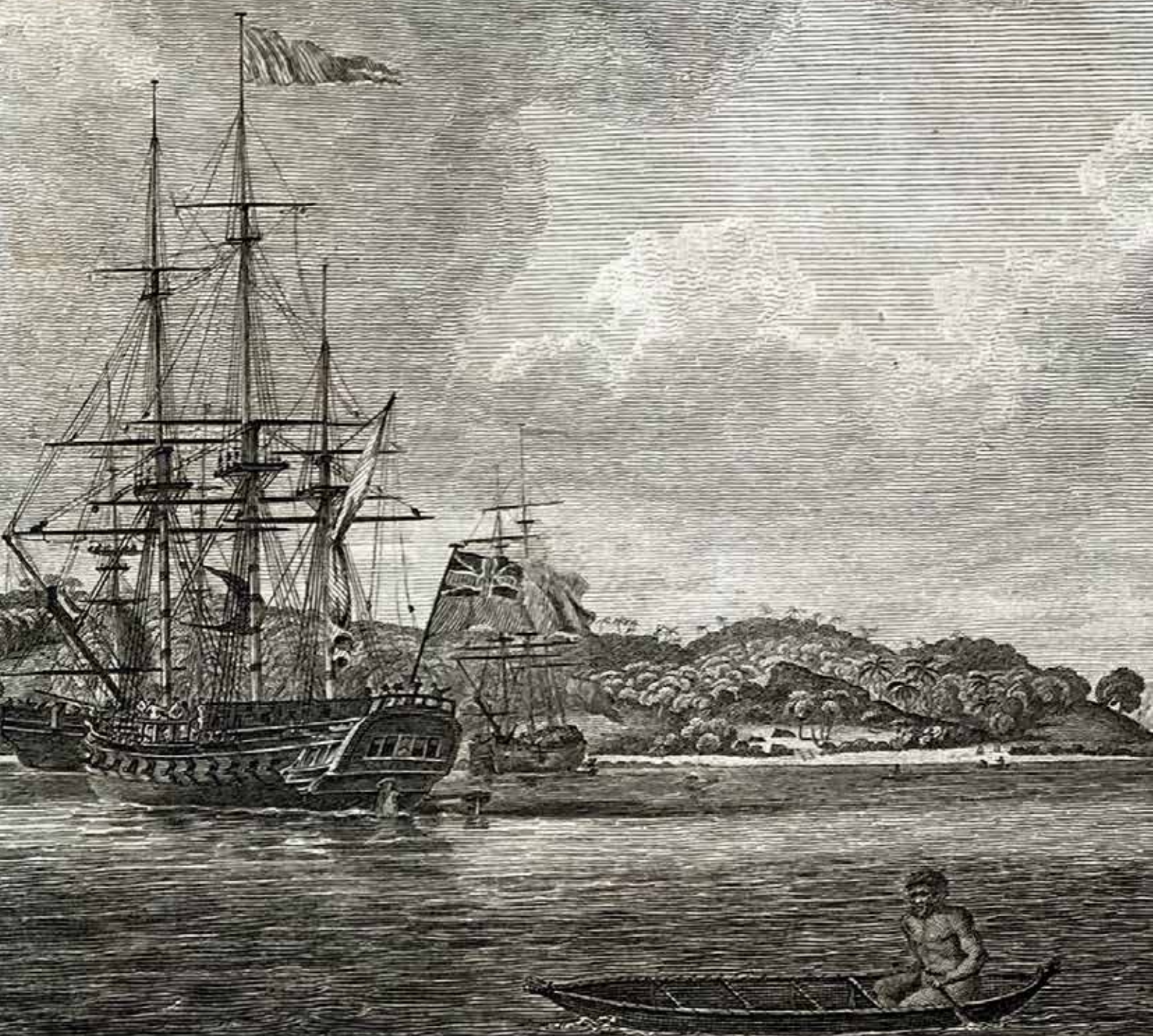


The First, First Families *A Curator's Archive*

An Exhibition Reader



INTRODUCTION

The exhibition *The First, First Families* contains many of the earliest views of Sydney and representations of Aboriginal people from 1788: Australia's true 'first families'. As a site of invasion and ongoing resistance, Sydney has always been a contested place.

As a curator, Ace Bourke has in several major exhibitions, explored the entwined narratives of his own colonial family history, Aboriginal history and his experiences as a curator of contemporary Aboriginal art.

In *The First, First Families* you will see etchings from the earliest published journals based on artwork by leading artists such as Thomas Watling, Nicholas-Martin Petit from the Baudin expedition and Joseph Lycett—published for a European audience fascinated by our Pacific region. Other works relate to Bourke's family including natural history illustrations by sisters Helena and Harriet Scott made in the second half of the 19th century.

When Bourke staged *Flesh & Blood: Stories of Sydney 1778–1998* (1998) at the Museum of Sydney, Augustus Earle's famous portrait of Bungaree was the exhibition's hero image. Bungaree's story was featured as he circumnavigated Australia with Bourke's great great-great uncle, hydrographer Phillip Parker King.

A wealthy collector who owned a painting by Conrad Martens depicting the family home of Bourke's relation David Scott Mitchell, in Cumberland Place, The Rocks, refused a loan request. She wrote saying, his use of Bungaree was 'an insult to Sydney's leading families'. The title of this exhibition is thus a correction of her error.

Bourke explains, 'On my maternal side I am descended from Governor King and on my paternal side, Governor Bourke. Their lives were well documented and illustrated, which gives me a more personal perspective and interest in Australian history. Both had major responsibilities and influence in relation to Aboriginal people.

'When I was staging *Flesh & Blood*, I realised that I, and the general public, had no idea how much new knowledge about Aboriginal history was emerging. Keith Vincent Smith had written the biographies of Bennelong and Bungaree. Generations of Bungaree's family history were being documented and descendants identified. Linguists were piecing together Aboriginal languages. Academics and historians were working with Aboriginal contributors and their family histories and memories. Aboriginal subjects previously presumed to be anonymous, were now being identified, "hiding in plain sight".

For example, people were aware of Thomas Watling's striking etchings of the last known initiation ceremony in Sydney in 1793, illustrated in David Collins' journal (and in this exhibition). But few people actually read the journal where the ceremony is described in detail, and where initiate Nanberry and his uncle/guardian Colebee are identified.

INTRODUCTION

This new information and Keith Vincent Smith's research, was presented in the co-curated *EORA: Mapping Aboriginal Sydney 1770–1850* at the State Library of NSW in 2006.'

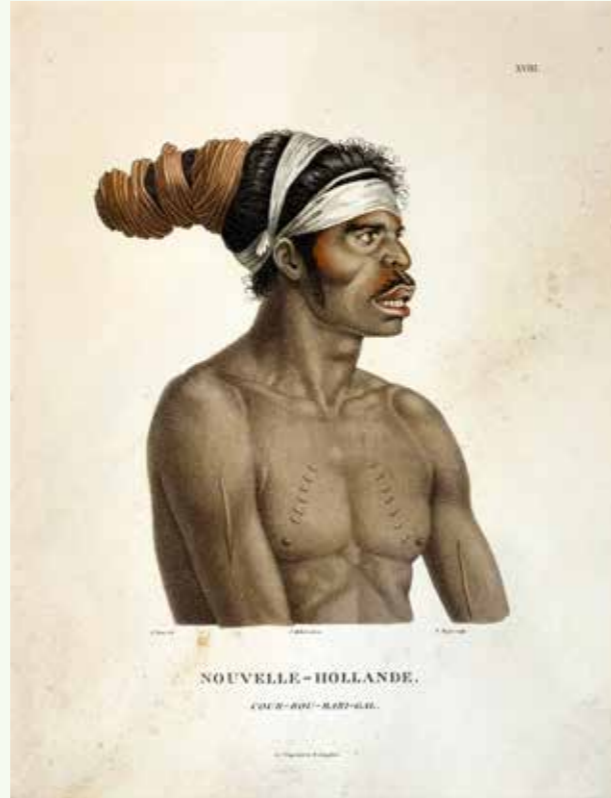
A reviewer of Bourke's curatorial work described his exhibitions as 'exorcising his colonial family history'. Bourke replies, 'The exhibitions are actually my "truth telling"—reconstructions to reveal the real first families and interrogate and face the reality of colonisation and the brutal concept of terra nullius.'

First Nations artists and historians have highlighted how Aboriginal people dedicated their lives to looking after the land, providing healthy diets, bounty and sustainable practices vastly superior to that of the Europeans and the convicts of the First Fleet.

Bourke collected and researched the early etchings from various journals from 1788 onwards. This exhibition, *The First, First Families*, is this collection. Many are not only historically important but wonderful art works in their own right. Bourke has concentrated on images with family associations: from the general to the specific, images of the First Fleet and the first representations of Aboriginal people, to family portraits and now lost family houses.

Bourke honours the invaluable collaboration of Jonathan Jones, Keith Vincent Smith, Belinda Bourke and so many other colleagues.

This exhibition takes place on the land of the Gadigal people of the Eora Nation. We pay respects to the traditional custodians, promising to continue to listen and learn.



Above: Nouvelle-Hollande. Cour-Rou-Bari-Gal J. Barthelemy Rogers after Nicholas-Martin Petit, 1811. No 18. Plate XV111 from First Edition François Péron *A Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Hemisphere* performed by order of Emperor Napoleon during 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804. Hand coloured engraving, 320 x 250mm.

EXHIBITION READER

BY ACE BOURKE

1. *A View of Botany Bay, 1789*

THOMAS MEDLAND (1755–1822), AFTER RICHARD CLEVELLEY (1747–1809). FROM ARTHUR PHILLIP, *THE VOYAGE OF GOVERNOR PHILLIP TO BOTANY BAY*, LONDON. PUBLISHED JUNE 17, 1789 BY JOHN STOCKDALE. COPPER ENGRAVING, 230 X 145 MM

‘This is one of the earliest images of the colony, worked from sketches by an unnamed artist. I don’t think it is historically accurate, as *The Supply* was moored over to the north side near present La Perouse so the ships could see them as they approached the entrance to Botany Bay from the south. P.G. King recorded this in his journal.

I like the feigned, or real indifference of the Aboriginal man fishing in his boat—an indifference which Captain Cook and Joseph Banks also commented on in 1770 in Botany Bay.’

2. *Natives of Botany Bay, 1789*

THOMAS MEDLAND (1755–1822), AFTER RICHARD CLEVELLEY (1747–1809). FROM ARTHUR PHILLIP, *THE VOYAGE OF GOVERNOR PHILLIP TO BOTANY BAY*, LONDON. PUBLISHED JUNE 17, 1789 BY JOHN STOCKDALE. COPPER ENGRAVING, 200 X 250 MM

‘This is perhaps one of the earliest images of Indigenous Australians published in England after the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788. While the bark canoe is realistically portrayed, the three men are depicted as ‘noble savages’, or classical Greek statues, even in their marble-like skin colour. At this time only Aboriginal women used hand lines when fishing from canoes.’¹

3. *Botany Bay, New South Wales, 1825*

FROM JOSEPH LYCETT’S *VIEWS IN AUSTRALIA OR NEW SOUTH WALES & VAN DIEMEN’S LAND DELINEATED IN FIFTY VIEWS, WITH DESCRIPTIVE LETTER PREFS.* J.SOUTER, LONDON 1825. AQUATINT, 315 X 225 MM

¹ This description is from the catalogue of *EORA Mapping Aboriginal Sydney 1770 – 1850*, curated by Keith Vincent Smith and Ace Bourke.’

‘This was aquired as it was an early image of Botany Bay and illustrated the landscape and vegetation. Although beautiful it was an unsuitable site for a settlement. Present day Cooks River is on the bottom left.’

FIRST ENCOUNTERS

COMMENTARY ON KING’S JOURNAL, AS HE DOCUMENTED SAILING INTO BOTANY BAY/KAMAY ON *THE SUPPLY* WITH CAPTAIN PHILLIP ON JANUARY 18TH 1788.

‘Philip Gidley King was Captain Phillip’s Second Lieutenant, and together they had the first British encounters with Aboriginal people, soon after stepping foot on land near present La Perouse. Over the next two days, before the entire fleet arrived, they each had separate encounters. King wrote these up in detail in his journal, which became the official historical account.

Several features stand out for me. The Aboriginal people, although described as having a ‘menacing tone’, also initially directed Phillip to a ‘fine stream of fresh water’.

In my opinion, Phillip showed courage in making contact alone and unarmed, and Phillip’s encounters were indeed more successful than King’s. Phillip was much older (50 at the time), and extraordinarily, was missing the tooth that Aboriginal men removed in initiation. It can be assumed that Phillip carried himself with authority and confidence.

In contrast, King (aged 30) had spears (‘lances’) thrown at him as he retreated from Lance Point. I have never resolved where ‘Lance Point’ is located. It was named by King but never appeared on a map. I feel one day I should travel in a boat “12 miles” from La Perouse up the George’s River as King did and see where it leads me. An academic Peter Torbet believes it to be the present day Tom Ugly’s Point, while others say it is in the suburb of Lugarno.

Proffered trinkets such as beads and looking glasses were ignored by the Aboriginal people, while items of use like coats, clothing and hats were prized. King recounts giving two men a glass of wine which they spat out.

Apart from being younger, perhaps another explanation for King’s lack of authority was that the Aboriginal people “wanted to know what sex we were” and that they “took us for women, not having our beards grown”.

Women, girls and infants appeared—all naked, “in puris naturalibus pas meme la feuille de figeur”, and their men, it was written, “made us understand their persons were at our service”.

“I declined this mark of their hospitality but shewed a handkerchief, which I offered to one of the women, pointing her out, she immediately put her child down and came alongside the boat and suffered me to apply the handkerchief where Eve did the fig leaf, the natives then set up another very great shout and my female visitor returned on shore.”

I am uneasy about aspects of King’s personal encounters and cultural exchanges. He offered alcohol, ordered someone to expose themselves to verify their sex, and pinned a “handkerchief” to the string belt of a young naked woman who he had singled out.’

JOURNALS

‘I feel privileged to be able to read about these first encounters with First Nations peoples in my ancestor’s journal and words. Philip Gidley King kept two journals. I am more familiar with what has been described as a “rough copy which was not intended for publication”. I have the 1980 facsimile *The Journal of Philip Gidley King Lieutenant. R.N. 1787-1790*. It is composed of two notebooks and forms a continuous narrative from late 1786 to April 1790. Additional material is added in 1793 and early 1794.

The “official” journal King kept on HMS Sirius was purchased in 1897 by the Sydney Public Library, which became the Mitchell Library and the State Library of NSW.² The “private” journal, the “rough copy”, was later purchased from the P.G. King estate in 1933.³ According to the Editor’s Preface of this edition, “the ‘official’ journal lacks much of the detail of everyday life.”

Others on the First Fleet had contracts with publishers in London. As was customary at the time, sections of King’s journals were repeated—and usually acknowledged, in other journals.

David Collin’s *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* included King’s material on Norfolk Island and New Zealand.

John White’s *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales* was the first account to focus on the natural history of New South Wales, with drawings from specimens sent back to England.

John Hunter’s *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island* came up for auction a few years ago—Philip Gidley King’s annotated copy. Both were officers on the First Fleet and in competition with each other. Hunter was made Governor in 1795, and King succeeded him in 1800/1801. Their friendship ended when King read Hunter’s journal. Hunter had included material from King’s journal without acknowledgement and King disputed various assertions by Hunter. More seriously, it denied King the chance of having his own material published.

The most readable and famous account was A *Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay* by Watkin Tench. It went on sale in England on 24 April, 1789 and it is assumed he had made prior arrangements with the publisher Debrett. It was quickly reprinted in three English editions before the end of 1789, along with Dublin and New York editions. It was translated into French,

² Call number C115
³ Call number Safe 1/16

German and Dutch. It remains a best seller today, renamed *1788*.

Ten of the fifteen actual First Fleet journals are in the State Library of New South Wales.

Although King and Phillip had the first encounters with Aboriginal people, and King founded the settlement on Norfolk Island, King was never published and resented this. *The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* was assembled from “official papers” and only briefly refers to the first encounters.'

PORT JACKSON

4. Entrance to Port Jackson, c.1879

BASED ON THE LITHOGRAPH BY LOUIS AUGUSTE DE SAINSON (1800-1887). HAND COLOURED ENGRAVING, 130 X 90 MM

'I like this engraving as it illustrates the dramatic entrance to Port Jackson, looking eastwards to Sydney Heads. On January 23rd 1788, Phillip and party returned to Botany Bay after finding one of the “finest harbours in the world”, and orders were given to prepare for the fleet to sail to Port Jackson. It is so surprising Captain Cook and Joseph Banks were not tempted to sail in.

On January 24th there was an extraordinary event that could have changed the course of history. La Perouse's French ships *La Boussole* and *L'Asrolabe* were sighted southward of Cape Solander at the entrance to Botany Bay. Because of unsuitable winds, the British couldn't sail out and the French couldn't sail in.

The next day the First Fleet was finally able to leave Botany Bay at midday and sailed to Port Jackson, arriving at “Sydney Cove” at 7pm on January 25th 1788.

In Phillip's journal he explains his objections to Botany Bay: it was too open and did not “afford a shelter from the easterly winds”; the bay was

too shallow; while there were several sources of fresh water, there was a “very strong objection” to each of them; the ground near the fresh water was in general “damp and spongy” and “would probably be rendered unhealthy”.

Phillip also explains, no doubt choosing his words carefully, why Cook and Banks recommended Botany Bay. Their objectives were very different, and Cook's Endeavour was only one vessel requiring “shelter and refreshment”, not a whole fleet. Also while the “appearance of the place is picturesque and pleasing, and the ample harbour it afforded, of botanical acquisitions, made it interesting to the philosophical gentleman engaged in that expedition” more than this being necessary in a place “where the permanent residence of multitudes is to be established”.

There are various theories about the foundation of the convict settlement, including as an imperial outpost in the Pacific region. Phillip explained, it was a “place for the banishment of a certain class of criminals” because of the “necessary cessation of their removal to America”.'

SYDNEY COVE / WARRANE PORT JACKSON

5. View of the Settlement on Sydney Cove, Port Jackson 20th August, 1788

PUBLISHED IN JOHN HUNTER, *AN HISTORICAL JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS AT PORT JACKSON AND NORFOLK ISLAND*. OCTOBER 18 1792 BY J. STOCKDALE, LONDON. 200 X 260 MM

6. The Founding of Australia. By Captain Arthur Phillip RN Sydney Cove, Jan 26th 1788 by Algernon Talmage, 1937

OFFSET LITHOGRAPH, 660 X 51 MM

'This print is of the commissioned “history” painting by Algernon Talmage on the 150th

Anniversary of the landing of the First Fleet in Sydney Cove/Warrane. It was unveiled at the Royal Academy's Exhibition of 1937 in London, and then presented to the Tate Gallery. The State Library of New South Wales has a smaller original sketch in their collection, and another large version hangs in a side foyer of the NSW State Parliament building.

P.G. King, who is second to the left of the flagpole wrote, “The next day at daylight, the English colours were displayed on shore and possession was taken for His Majesty whose health, with the Queens, Prince of Wales and Success to the Colony was drank, a feu de joie was fired by the party of Marines and the whole gave 3 cheers”. Aboriginal people are not present in this image and trees have already been cut down. The following day the troops and convicts landed. There are reports there was an orgy after so many months at sea.

In 1963, a committee of enquiry determined that the actual site was beside Customs House in Loftus Street, Circular Quay. In 1988 the sandstone plinth, flagstaff and flag were “renovated” and a new plaque added marking the “bicentenary of the founding of the colony of NSW”. This insubstantial memorial is largely ignored. Now however, historians argue that a First Fleet sailor identified the site as lying on the west side of the cove, while other sources maintain the landing was near the bottom of Bethel Steps, The Rocks, behind the south end of the present Overseas Passenger Terminal.

While this day, like Federation, requires recognition, it should not constitute an “Australia Day”. It naturally remains “The Day of Mourning” for Aboriginal people who are still not recognised in the Australian Constitution. Aboriginal sovereignty has never been ceded and “Australia” was acquired unlawfully under international law and the law of Nations.

According to historian Henry Reynold's, in his book *Truth Telling*, the British claimed

sovereignty over the eastern half of the continent on the assumption there was no pre-existing sovereignty, either because land was empty or because local tribes were perceived as being too scattered and disorganised to have exercised any recognisable form of government.

All the land became the property of the Crown as seemingly there were no prior proprietors. So there was no need to make a treaty. Very soon however, settlers realised the hinterland was not empty and locals had a form of proprietorship and sovereignty.

Reynolds also quoted the under Secretary James Stephen, who later wrote a memo to his Minister Lord Glenelg in 1835: “The Crown did not exercise sovereignty over the interior of Australia, nor did it have title to the land. Both belonged to the present proprietors and rulers of the country. The law as proclaimed by Arthur Phillip in January 1788 was little more than an ambit claim with no juristic substance. And the Aboriginal people had rights and above all were assumed to be there in occupation of their land. There was no terra nullius”.'

LA PEROUSE IN BOTANY BAY / KAMAY

'On February 1st 1788, Captain Phillip informed King that he was appointed Superintendent and Commandant to “settle” Norfolk Island, and King began to prepare to depart on February 15th. The next day, however, King was instructed to visit La Perouse in Botany Bay on behalf of Phillip and to offer assistance. King spoke French and was received very politely. La Perouse was a highly regarded navigator and had already covered much of the Pacific. There was a degree of explorer's camaraderie and mutual interests, but also a degree of espionage in these encounters. Years later, King also had a relationship and correspondence with the Frenchman Baudin, who came to Sydney in 1802 when King was Governor. He was one of

the few that would have observed both of these famous French scientific expeditions.

Under the direct patronage of the King of France, La Perouse “could not think of any article that he stood in need of”. King, who stayed overnight on board, gave a full description of what he saw which included all the various specialists and the latest instruments and technology.

King was given papers to be sent to London and the French Ambassador. Undoubtedly, other Englishmen visited over the next 6 weeks, but King was one the last Europeans to see La Perouse and his ships. They all disappeared, seemingly without a trace, despite expeditions that searched for them for the next 200 years. Finally, it was ascertained that both ships were wrecked on the reefs of Vanikoro in the Solomon Islands and any survivors presumably murdered. In 1826, some artifacts were found and identified as belonging to the *L’Astrolobe*, and a shipwreck examined in 1964 was formally identified in 2005 as the *La Boussole*. King Louis XVI, on the morning of his execution on 21 January 1793, asked, “any news of La Perouse?”

I first visited La Perouse on the northern shore of Botany Bay one Sunday in 1959, aged 12, where La Perouse had erected a stockade. I saw my first Aboriginal carving, and the demonstration and selling of boomerangs and artifacts. Aboriginal people had barely been mentioned in my Australian history education so far—indeed they were even overlooked by my history lecturer at ANU years later.

La Perouse today is just a suburb of Sydney, but retains its First Nations community and history. It had long been part of an Aboriginal network and pathway stemming from the south coast. It was made up of locals and migrants, many of them living in shacks, which were far enough out of the city at the time to be tolerated by the colonisers.

The community had an economic resource from the activities of fishing, boats and craft items. It is a microcosm of post-1788 Aboriginal/colonial

history. Initially there was privately negotiated charity, welfare distribution and rations; then from 1880, the experience of living under the "Aborigines Protection Association", the segregationist "Aborigines Protection Board", which was soon replaced by the assimilationist "Aboriginal Welfare Board". It became an Aboriginal Reserve in 1895, which gave some security of tenure, and by 1895 missionaries had built a church. It grew when the last remaining Aboriginal people living in the city were removed—for example, from the Boatshed at Circular Quay. The 1887 census showed 64 residents in La Perouse. Later, like the suburb of Redfern situated beside Central Station, both locations became key Aboriginal communities, especially for any First Nations people drawn to the city. The Aborigines Progressive Association (APA) declared "The Day of Mourning" on 26 January 1937 to oppose the celebration of the 150th year arrival of the First Fleet. I, of course, was entirely ignorant of this entire history.'

7. *View of Port Jackson in New Suoth (sic) Wales, c.1790*

POSSIBLY AFTER THOMAS WATLING, T. MILTON ENGRAVER. ENGRAVING, 250 X 200 MM

This image was first issued in a smaller format in 1790 on the title page of John White’s *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*. It was later copied and issued in John Hamilton Moore’s *A New and Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels* in 1793.

8. *View in Port Jackson, c.1789*

GEORGE VOGEL (1767–1810), PUBLISHED IN THE GERMAN EDITION OF ARTHUR PHILLIP, *THE VOYAGE OF GOVERNOR PHILLIP TO BOTANY BAY*, J. STOCKDALE, LONDON, 1790. COPPER ENGRAVING, 230 X 165 MM

'European observers were fascinated how masterfully Aboriginal Australians could

maintain balance in their simple canoes, which were usually made from the inner bark of the stringybark tree. Women could simultaneously look after a child, fish, keep a fire burning and cook a meal. Initially there was considerable interest in Aboriginal people but they were increasingly relegated to the margins.'

9. *A Stone Axe. A Basket of the Bark of a Tree. A wooden Sword. c.1789*

ENGRAVER T. PRATTENT, PUBLISHED IN ARTHUR PHILLIP. *THE VOYAGE OF GOVERNOR PHILLIP TO BOTANY BAY*. J. STOCKDALE, LONDON, 1789. COPPER ENGRAVING, 270 X 200 MM

10. *A Family of New South Wales, c.1792*

WILLIAM BLAKE, FROM A SKETCH BY GOVERNOR KING. FROM JOHN HUNTER’S *HISTORICAL JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS AT PORT JACKSON AND NORFOLK ISLAND* (LONDON 1793) COPPER ENGRAVING, 280 X 200 MM

'This image is described as being “from a sketch by Governor King”—strange as he was not yet governor! It was published in John Hunter’s journal in 1793, but King did not become governor until 1800.

King was in London between December 1790 and March 1791. He took the first Aboriginal vocabulary to England, one that had mostly been compiled by David Collins and Arthur Phillip. King also visited the artist William Blake and it is thought he gave him at least one of his sketches. This probably formed the basis of Blake’s *A Family of New South Wales*.

Keith Vincent Smith comments, “Despite the Europeanised figures and features given to the Aboriginal family, this engraving of a watercolour attributed to Philip Gidley King is full of ethnographic interest. The man carries a bark shield, fishing gear and woomera. The woman’s child perches on her shoulder, clinging

to her hair. She has a net bag slung around her neck, her fishing line and shell hook in one hand and fish catch in the other, while the son carries four barbed spears and a firestick.”⁴

In *European Vision of the Pacific*, art historian Bernard Smith comments, “There is no finer pictorial expression of the idea of the noble savage.”

In Clinton Nain’s diptych *Two Natives Dancing* (1998), there is similarity in style, the physiques in both being rather muscular.'

11. *Two Natives Dancing, 1998*

CLINTON NAIN, PHOTOGRAPH (DIPTYCH), 450 X 640 MM

NORFOLK ISLAND, 1788

12. *Norfolk Island, c.1802*

VIEW OF SYDNEY, ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF NORFOLK ISLAND, BASED ON THOMAS WATLING, ENGRAVER W.LOWRY, PUBLISHED MAY 25TH 1798, CADELL AND DAVIES, STRAND. HAND COLOURED COPPER ENGRAVING, 210 X 255 MM

'Philip Gidley King lived on Norfolk Island for 7 years, excluding a visit to England. He had two sons to a convict Ann Inett, who were educated in England. Ann Inett when freed, came to Sydney where she ran an inn, married, and returned to England a wealthy woman. King returned from his trip to England married to his cousin Anna Josepha, with whom he had several children. One son became the famous Australian hydrographer Phillip Parker King, and I am descended from the second child, Anna Maria.

With the rich soils of Norfolk Island, the settlement was quickly self-sufficient and even began to supply pork and grain to Sydney. The island earned its shocking reputation for cruelty towards convicts after King departed.

⁴ Keith Vincent Smith, *Bennelong: The Coming in of the Eora, Sydney Cove, 1788-1792*. United Kingdom: Kangaroo Press, 2001.

One of the reasons for settling on Norfolk Island was that Captain Cook had seen flax growing on the island years before and had witnessed what Maoris could achieve and weave with the plant in New Zealand. King however had no luck with the flax, so he proposed the idea of kidnapping several Maoris who could share their expertise. Consequently Huru and Tuki were kidnapped in the Bay of Islands and brought against their will to Norfolk Island in May 1793. It is a dark and fascinating story that illuminates the largely untold history of the early relationship between New South Wales and New Zealand.

Huru and Tuki lived with the Kings in the rudimentary Government House. Naturally they were disturbed by their capture, though King promised to return them. Unfortunately, as the sons of a high priest and a chief, in addition to flax being “women’s business” and of a different variety to their own, they knew very little about it.

For King, they drew on the floor the first Maori map of the North and South Islands, imbued with mythological information. Reproductions of “Tuki’s Map” are in the National Archives, UK, and the University of Otago, New Zealand. King also compiled a dictionary of Maori words.'

13. Untitled / A Chest of New Zealand, c.1773

ARTIST UNKNOWN, FROM THE SANCTIONED EDITION OF THE ACCOUNTS OF CAPTAIN COOK'S FIRST VOYAGE, NO. 15. FROM HAWKESWORTH, *AN ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGES UNDERTAKEN BY THE ORDER OF HIS PRESENT MAJESTY FOR MAKING DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE*. COPPER ENGRAVING, 220MM X 180 MM

'As King was quite an accomplished artist (like many others of the time), images of Huru and Tuki may exist and I hope one day they will emerge. In their absence I aquired this image of a chest (from Captain Cook’s voyage) because of the beautiful Maori carving and designs.'

14. Bludgeons, used as weapons by the New Zealanders, and called patoo-patoos, as seen on the side, the edge, and the end), c.1773

ARTISTS JAMES COOK (1728–1779) AND JOHN FREDERICK MILLER (1759–1796), FROM THE SANCTIONED EDITION OF THE ACCOUNTS OF CAPTAIN COOK'S FIRST VOYAGE, NO.14.FROM HAWKESWORTH, *AN ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGES UNDERTAKEN BY THE ORDER OF HIS PRESENT MAJESTY FOR MAKING DISCOVERIES IN THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE*. COPPER ENGRAVING, 230 X 190 MM

'As these images are from Cook’s voyages, they are my oldest etchings. They seem to be successive images 14 and 15 from Hawkesworth’s book.'

I was particularly interested in an image of a patoo (patu), which is a very valued and symbolic Maori weapon carved from greenstone. When King returned Huru and Tuki to the Bay of Islands in 1793, as promised after several months, a Maori Chief presented to him amongst many other items, two greenstone patoos, and drew him into a chiefly relationship that King honoured. King supplied them with axes, carpenter’s tools, spades, knives, maize seeds, peas, potatoes and garden seeds. Pigs but not the goats survived the journey, and these gifts created a mini agrarian revolution. In time, potatoes for example were supplied to Sydney from New Zealand.

The patoos stayed in the King family for several generations. They subsequently were handed on to the Mitchell Library, then the Australian Museum, and finally to the Norfolk Island Museum. In 1993 there was a “celebration” on Norfolk Island marking 200 years since Huru and Tuki were returned to New Zealand, and the patoos were presented back to the visiting Maoris, which included some descendants of Huru and Tuki. Apparently it is customary to return gifts after death, but in this instance, it was decided to donate the patoos back to the Norfolk Island Museum. They were accepted by a King descendant and are in the museum today, where I have seen them.

In my research for my earlier exhibitions I always wondered about the reference to “kidnapped Maoris” on Norfolk Island. It was satisfying to finally learn of the story and understand the significance of it in relation to the early colony of Sydney, and the relationship with New Zealand and colonisation. I was very relieved King returned them! It was very emotional according to various reports, as King had apparently “come to love them as his sons”.

King was aware of the commercial possibilities of New Zealand (for example of flax, timber and whaling), always mindful of any career opportunities for himself, along with the idea possibly becoming the first governor of New Zealand.'

1795

15. Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang, 1795

1-8 IMAGES, JAMES NEAGLE (1760–1822), AFTER THOMAS WATLING, FROM DAVID COLLINS, *AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH COLONY IN NEW SOUTH WALES*, LONDON, PRINTED FOR T. CADELL JUN.AND W.DAVIES, 1798. ENGRAVINGS. 170 X 250 MM (EACH)

'A late January/early February 1795 initiation ceremony at Wogganmagully (Farm Cove). 'Yoo-long Erah-ba-diang' translates to “tooth hurting place”—an element of the initiation ceremony. This is regarded as one of the last known ceremonies in the Sydney area. It was staged near the present Botanical Gardens. David Collins observed the ceremony (except when told to leave at particular points) and there is a very detailed account in his journal. Consequently, it is possible to identify several of the key participants including Nanbarry, one of 15 initiates, as the one losing a tooth, and his “guardian”/uncle Cadi Colebee.'

16. Bennelong/Ben-nil-long, c.1798

JAMES NEAGLE, FROM DAVID COLLINS, *AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENGLISH COLONY IN NEW SOUTH WALES*, LONDON, PRINTED

FOR T.CADELL JUN. AND W.DAVIES, 1798. HAND COLOURED COPPER ENGRAVING, 100 X 135 MM

'Given Bennelong’s smart attire, this was after Bennelong’s extraordinary visit with Yemmerrawanne to London with Arthur Phillip. They sailed in December 1792. Bennelong had been kidnapped so Phillip could form a relationship of sorts, and surprisingly, he and Phillip reconciled to enjoy a fascinating father/son relationship, with Bennelong very welcome at Government House.

Bennelong was an extraordinary man that straddled both worlds miraculously well, although he paid a heavy price.

In April 1790, when King was in Sydney from Norfolk Island before sailing to England, he walked with Phillip and Bennelong between Prospect and Rose Hill. In his journal, King described Bennelong as “very intelligent” and one who could provide “much information”. King described his features in detail and wrote that he is “a very good natured fellow” who had “a good deal of humour”, and was an amusing mimic. King described him dancing, with the vociferations “Woroo Woroo” (which meant “go away”), “which were seen when first we came here”.'

PHILIP GIDLEY KING, 1800

17. Portrait of Philip Gidley King

FROM 1886 *PICTURESQUE ATLAS OF AUSTRALIA*. WOOD ENGRAVING, 145 X 110 MM

'Philip Gidley King (1758–1808) was the third governor of NSW from 1800 until 1806. Like most of the governors he was a product of his time. I think he was rather like an early Governor Macquarie, in that he was "entrepreneurial". As the Sydney settlement consolidated, expanded and the economy diversified, he also looked to Asia and the Pacific. He embarked on major building and construction programs, only

inhibited by lack of resources and labour. The population grew from 5,000 to 8,600. With his wife Anna Josepha they founded orphanages, church schools and women's refuges.

Like all the others, he failed the Indigenous people. He regarded Aboriginal people as "the true proprietors of the soil", however believed "the settler is not to suffer his property to be invaded or his existence endangered by the natives". King was responsible for a truly horrific event. He put a price on the head of Pemulwuy, a successful freedom fighter, and in time he was killed. King sent Pemulwuy's head to Joseph Banks who encouraged and traded in body parts. This is the event I am most horrified about, and, if only possible, in most need of a necessary "exorcism".

The only image of Pemulwuy I know of is in James Grant's *The Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery* (1803), which is very rare. The book is more valuable whole, so individual prints are hard to find.'

18. *Nouvelle-Hollande. Cour-Rou-Bari-Gal J. Barthelemy Rogers after Nicholas-Martin Petit, 1811*

NO 18. PLATE XV111 FROM FIRST EDITION FRANÇOIS PÉRON *A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY TO THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE* PERFORMED BY ORDER OF EMPEROR NAPOLEON DURING 1801, 1802, 1803 AND 1804. HAND COLOURED ENGRAVING, 320 X 250MM

19. *Nouvelle-Hollande. Y-Erran-Gou-La-Ga J. Barthelemy Rogers after Nicholas-Martin Petit, 1811*

PLATE XIX FROM FIRST EDITION FRANÇOIS PÉRON *A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY TO THE SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE* PERFORMED BY ORDER OF EMPEROR NAPOLEON DURING 1801, 1802, 1803 AND 1804. HAND COLOURED ENGRAVING, 320 X 250 MM

'The French explorer Nicolas Baudin was in Port Jackson for several months in 1802. Governor Philip Gidley King and he formed an unlikely

friendship, facilitated by similar maritime experiences and King speaking French. I was asked to write about their relationship by artist and curator Jonathan Jones for his recent exhibition *untitled (transcriptions of country)* (2021-22), on the Baudin expedition.

The French were extraordinarily well equipped and many specimens of flora and fauna were taken back to France, with wonderful drawings and paintings made by Charles-Alexandre Lesueur and Nicolas-Martin Petit.

I like Petit's representation of Aboriginal people more than any other "colonial" artist. They are realistic—neither caricatures nor romanticised.'

20. *Te Pahi, Chief of the Bay of Islands, c.1886*

J.R.ASHTON (1851–1942), ENGRAVING, 160 X 115 MM

'Te Pahi was an enlightened Maori Chief from the Bay of Islands who was familiar with the story of Tuki and Huru and their return to New Zealand from Norfolk Island by P G King. He was aware of King's own ambitions in the Pacific and shared his interest in commercial opportunities. In late 1805 Te Pahi came with his sons to Norfolk Island and then Sydney seeking King, interested to see how the settlement could benefit him. They stayed with King in Government House and visited Macarthurs and others, looking at wool and investigating agriculture practices and technological advances. In Parramatta he also met Samuel Marsden, known in Australia as the "flogging parson". Marsden subsequently turned out to be a very influential missionary in New Zealand and is still a well-known name there today. Some historians say Te Pahi's visit laid the foundation for the subsequent settlement of New Zealand.

King struck a medallion celebrating Te Pahi's visit to Sydney (November 27th 1805 to February 25th 1806), and this is in pride of place today in the Te Papa Museum in Wellington, New

Zealand. King gave Te Pahi a pre-fabricated house and sent tradesmen with him to erect it on his return to the Bay of Islands.'

21. *Old Government House, Parramatta, 1924*

WILLIAM HARDY WILSON (1881–1955), FROM *OLD COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN NEW SOUTH WALES AND TASMANIA* (SYDNEY, 1924), CONSISTING OF 50 COLLOTYPE REPRODUCTIONS OF HIS DRAWINGS EXECUTED BY MAX JAFFE IN VIENNA. 250 X 320 MM

'Both the King and Bourke families spent considerable time in Old Government House, and I admire the handsome prints of Hardy Wilson. Both families complained about the smells at First Government House, Sydney Cove, and it was always a relief to be in the fresher and possibly less political environments of Parramatta. Bourke actually set in motion the plans and building of the current rather ugly Gothic Government House.

My great great great grandmother Elizabeth Bourke died there five months after arriving from Ireland. She is buried in St John's Cemetery, Parramatta, in a neglected grave. I was rather offended that Elizabeth was part of the "ghosts of Old Government House" tours.'

22. *Subiaco, 1924*

WILLIAM HARDY WILSON (1881–1955), FROM *OLD COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN NEW SOUTH WALES AND TASMANIA* (SYDNEY, 1924), CONSISTING OF 50 COLLOTYPE REPRODUCTIONS OF HIS DRAWINGS EXECUTED BY MAX JAFFE IN VIENNA. 325 X 250 MM

'This house, originally named The Vineyard, was built by John Verge, by 1836 for my great great great grandparents Hannibal and Anna Maria Macarthur, and was described as "the finest house in the colony". One of the first vineyards had been planted there, near present day Parramatta.

Hannibal (a name I grew up thinking was ridiculous) was the nephew of John Macarthur who was famous in relation to the Australian wool industry. Hannibal assisted John's wife Elizabeth in running their huge enterprises when the increasingly erratic John was either in England or too problematic. Hannibal made a good marriage to Governor King's daughter Anna Maria.

The house was very grand, on the bend of the Parramatta River, had was recorded as having peacocks on the lawn, a "negro" butler and an Indian cook. They had 11 children and I am descended from son George Fairfowl Macarthur, later a head master of The Kings School and a vicar at St Marks, Darling Point. The Vineyard operated as a de facto government house, and entertained many famous visitors including Charles Darwin, who visited on January 27th 1836. He was very impressed by the house as it "would be considered a superior one, even in England", as well as the "pretty daughters"—who apparently exclaimed "Oh we are *Australians* and know nothing about England!"

Conrad Martens painted The Vineyard, and in its last years, Max Dupain photographed it.

Hannibal was a director of the Bank of Australia and was bankrupted when it failed in the 1840s.

The house then became a convent renamed Subiaco. However, by the 1950s Subiaco was surrounded by factories and then owner Rheem decided to demolish the house. The site became a car park. This was a defining moment for the National Trust which had been formed in 1945. Although unsuccessful, the campaign to save the house increased the membership and galvanised the Trust's Historic Buildings Committee into identifying and listing buildings of heritage significance. Bits of Subiaco are scattered all over Sydney: the Doric columns and other pieces, for example, are at the University of New South Wales.'

JOSEPH LYCETT, 1825

FROM JOSEPH LYCETT'S *VIEWS IN AUSTRALIA OR NEW SOUTH WALES, & VAN DIEMEN'S LAND DELINEATED IN FIFTY VIEWS, WITH DESCRIPTIVE LETTER PREFS.* J SOUTER, LONDON 1825

23. View of the Heads at the entrance to Port Jackson, New South Wales, 1824

HAND COLOURED AQUATINT, 200 X 280 MM

24. Elizabeth Farm, 1825

HAND COLOURED AQUATINT, 210 X 280 MM

25. North view of Sidney, New South Wales 1825

HAND COLOURED AQUATINT, 180 X 280 MM

26. Newcastle, New South Wales, 1824

HAND COLOURED AQUATINT, 200 X 280 MM

'I love the work of Joseph Lycett, one of the most talented and prolific of the colonial artists. Always living beyond his means, he was transported to Australia for forgery in 1814. He re-offended in Sydney and in 1815 was sent to Newcastle (originally called "Kings Town" after Philip Gidley King) for three years hard labour in the coal mines. Luckily his artistic ability was recognised and encouraged by the commandant Major James Wallis.

Lycett became an artist in the "special employ" of Governor Macquarie. He travelled quite widely but may have painted subjects unsighted. He painted many Aboriginal subjects but I don't like his rather stiff drawings of humans. However I love his landscapes—although "Europeanised"—and his skies, which I think

are quite "Australian". His botanical drawings are excellent. I became quite obsessed with him, and all of these Lycett images are aquatints from his *Views in Australia*, which he published after his return to England in 1822. Unfortunately, despite the European interest in the Pacific region, his publication was not a financial success and he re-offended once more. He was sentenced to transportation again and rather than endure this, cut his throat.

I adore the green colour of *View of the Heads at the entrance to Port Jackson, New South Wales* (1824), and I think it is one of Lycett's best works. This was also where Phillip and his party investigating Port Jackson as an alternative to Botany Bay, spent the night. Hence the enduring name "Camp Cove". My great great grandfather Hannibal Macarthur's large "summer" house is visible.

Elizabeth Farm built by John and Elizabeth Macarthur can be visited by the public, and there is a family association as John's nephew was Hannibal Macarthur.

North view of Sidney, New South Wales (1825), is one of my favourite images. When I was preparing for my *Flesh & Blood* exhibition I was mentored by Elizabeth Ellis at the Mitchell Library, where we examined particular family collections. She commented that by this time, the 1820s, the framework for modern Sydney had emerged.

There is a long family association with Newcastle. I grew up there, and another great great grandfather E.C. Merewether (of the Australia Agriculture Company) married Augusta Mitchell whose family owned vast tracts of Newcastle.'

1828**27. Explanation of a View of Sydney, Exhibiting in the Panorama, Leicester Square, c.1829**

AFTER ARTIST AUGUSTUS EARLE, ENGRAVER UNKNOWN, HAND COLOURED ENGRAVING, 260 X 420 MM

'This image, exhibited in London, illustrates how Sydney had grown by the late 1820s. Bungaree is on the road (No 19). This was the Sydney that Richard Bourke and his family would soon arrive in to become the governor from 1831 to 1837.'

1831**28. Richard Bourke, 1829**

REPRODUCTION FROM A LITHOGRAPH IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF AUSTRALIA, 210 X 135 MM

'Richard Bourke, the eighth governor of NSW, had a distinguished career in the army and an earlier posting in 1825 as Lieutenant-Governor for the Eastern district of the Cape Colony in South Africa. Presumably it was thought he had learned something about indigenous people, but he was as naïve as everyone else. He thought the Bible was a civilising agent. In NSW he was a good and fair administrator, but as a Whig he always faced opposition from the dominant Tories. The colony greatly expanded in his time and this was of course at the expense of Aboriginal people, who were driven off their traditional lands. He was a Protestant Irishman but believed in ecumenicalism and a national and non-discriminatory education system. He supported freedom of the press and reinstated trial by jury.'

29. Batman signing his Treaty with Victorian Aborigines, 1836

G.R. ASHTON, FROM *1886 PICTURESQUE ATLAS AUSTRALASIA*, WOOD ENGRAVING, 160 X 250 MM

'Batman had no authority to make his spurious treaty with the Aboriginal people on June 6th 1835. Even the governor at this time had no such authority and Bourke issued a proclamation negating it. The British Government was moving

towards the realisation that treaties were necessary and the Treaty of Waitangi was signed with the Maoris in New Zealand in 1840. Sovereignty in Australia was never ceded and Bourke's actions reinforced the idea of terra nullius, that all land was vacant and owned by the Crown. This was only overturned by the Mabo ruling in 1992.'

30. Governor Bourke's Statue, 1886

J.P. ASHTON, FROM *1886 PICTURESQUE ATLAS AUSTRALASIA*, WOOD ENGRAVING, 115 X 150 MM

31. Sir Richard Bourke's Statue, c.1835

T & E GILKS, HAND COLOURED LITHOGRAPH, 90 X 150 MM

32. Sir Richard Bourke, c.1925

BLACK AND WHITE PHOTOGRAPH, 135 X 80 MM

'This was the first public statue in NSW, paid by public subscription by a grateful population! It was sculpted by Edward Hodges Baily (1788–1867), who had also made Viscount Horatio Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square London. It was unveiled in 1842 by Governor Gipps.

Strange as it may seem, it became a "destination" for Sunday outings and was painted by leading artists like Conrad Martens and George Peacock. It was situated in a beautiful position with harbour views, in front of the yet to be built State Library of New South Wales, and was moved to its present position beside the library in 1925.

Recently the appropriateness of various statues has been the legitimate subject of debate and reassessment, including Cecil Rhodes, slave traders and Confederates in the USA. In Australia it began with the statue of Captain Cook in Hyde Park, with him falsely described as discoverer of Australia.

I personally believe Bourke's statue should remain where it is for its historical importance as the first public statue in NSW and consequently Australia, and as a reflection of its citizen's desires at the time. I do believe however that as with many historical statues, plaques should be updated to reflect contemporary attitudes and expand the contextualisation of each work.

In Bourke's case, it is stated on the statue that he "threw open the unlimited wilds of Australia to pastoral enterprise". I would add an accompanying plaque: "This was at the expense of Aboriginal people who were dispossessed catastrophically from their traditional lands, perpetuating the myth of "terra nullius".

In 1832 the Aboriginal Maraat (Maroot) requested a small allotment at Botany Bay to erect a hut and support himself by fishing and selling fish. Bourke granted him a "small Settler's grant", impressed by his desire "to assume industrious habits" and believing that a "Trade or Calling ought to be carefully encouraged". This is probably the first land ever to be granted back to an Aboriginal person.'

33. *Bourke's Parrakeet, c.1884*

ALEXANDER FRANCIS LYDON (1836–1917), COLOUR PRINTED ENGRAVING, 25 X 155 MM

'The parrot was sighted by explorer Sir Thomas Mitchell in NSW in 1835 and named, like the town of Bourke, after then Governor Sir Richard Bourke.'

SCOTT SISTERS & THE MITCHELL FAMILY

'As the end of the 19th century approached, the influence of my various colonial families had waned as they were absorbed into the growing middle class. I have other interesting ancestors, but no artworks to include or represent them.

One outstanding individual was David Scott Mitchell (1836–1907). He was the brother of my great great grandmother Augusta who married E.C. Merewether. David lived at 17 Darlinghurst Road. The terrace house, since demolished, was bursting with an extraordinary collection of over 40,000 items including manuscripts, maps, books and paintings. He understood the value of collecting primary sources which would continue to reveal more information, particularly about Aboriginal history. This collection was donated to the state—on the condition that they built a library. In his last years he could look across Woolloomooloo to follow the progress, but he died in 1907, before the Mitchell Library/State Library of New South Wales opened in 1910.

David's father, James Mitchell, was a most entrepreneurial businessman and doctor, and his mother was wealthy. David, who became reclusive, remained close to his cousin Rose Scott, the sophisticated, well-known feminist, social activist and suffragette. Other first cousins were Harriet and Helena Scott, prominent natural history illustrators, who worked with their father Alexander Walker Scott. He was a dedicated entomologist and his daughters assisted him in his collecting. When they were teenagers, the girls and family moved from Sydney in 1846 to the isolated Ash Island in the Hunter River estuary, surrounded by unspoilt native vegetation. As women, they were not paid fairly for their outstanding work. Only now are they receiving the attention and appreciation they deserve, thanks to a series of exhibitions at the Australian Museum. The sisters illustrated *Australian Lepidoptera and their Transformations* written by their father Alexander W Scott and published in Australia in 1864.'

34. *Catocala fusca, Catocala albo-fuscoata, Catocala Cabbalistica, Spanocal atrata, c.1893*

HARRIET SCOTT (1830–1907), ENGRAVER E. THOMAS. LITHOGRAPH WITH ORIGINAL HAND COLOURING (PLATE 18), 400 X 300 MM

35. *Ophideres Atkinsoni. Phojopsyche eximia, c.1893*

EDMUND THOMAS (1827–1867) AND HARRIET SCOTT (1830–1907). LITHOGRAPH WITH ORIGINAL HAND COLOURING (PLATE 11), 300 X 400 MM

36. *Coequosa tringularis (Double-headed hawk moth), c.1890*

HELENA SCOTT (1832–1910), ENGRAVER ALLAN & WIGLEY. LITHOGRAPH WITH ORIGINAL HAND COLOURING (PLATE 10), 400 X 300 MM

'All of these images are from *Australian Lepidoptera and their Transformations*. The artist Conrad Martens was a family friend and the Scott's illustrations are sometimes embellished with his influences, like the South Head Lighthouse in this case.'

Note: All artwork sizes listed are 'image size', and include print titles where applicable.

COVER IMAGE: THOMAS MEDLAND (1755–1822), *A VIEW OF BOTANY BAY*, 1789, AFTER RICHARD CLEVELEY (1747–1809). FROM ARTHUR PHILLIP, *THE VOYAGE OF GOVERNOR PHILLIP TO BOTANY BAY*, LONDON. PUBLISHED JUNE 17, 1789 BY JOHN STOCKDALE. COPPER ENGRAVING, 230 X 145 MM.



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A CURATOR'S ARCHIVE**

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