

Australiana

MAY 2008 Vol. 30 No. 2





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The Australiana Society
www.australiana.org
info@australiana.org

ABN 13 402 033 474

Australiana
PO Box 2335 BONDI JUNCTION NSW 1355
Tel 02 8239 2225 or 0404 051 999
info@australiana.org

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Cover: Example of how tiles could be used to decorate Spanish-style verandahs, courtyards and outdoor areas are featured in a 1920s trade catalogue distributed by the Sydney firm, Indent Trading Company Ltd: Casa Gonzalez, *Algunos modelos de fuentes y otros elementos de ceramica Sevillana*, Sevilla Spain, c 1927, 16 x 25 cm. Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection, Historic Houses Trust of NSW

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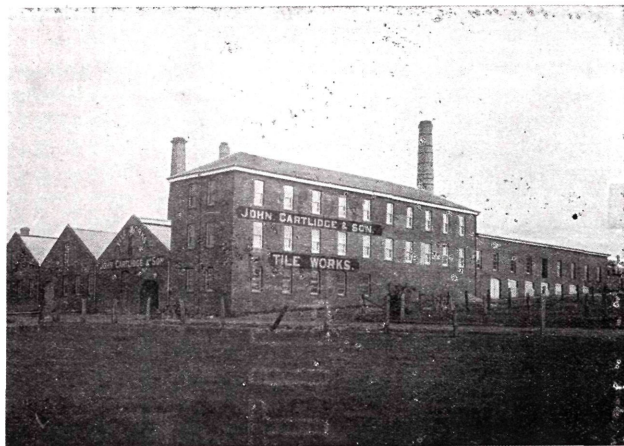
Paving our homes: John Cartlidge & Son's *Designs for tessellated and encaustic tiles*

A stroll around the older suburbs of Australia's state capital cities reveals how common it is to find tessellated tiles on the verandahs and entrance paths of our houses, particularly those built between the 1870s and 1920s. Perusing the reference books in our libraries suggests that almost all must have been manufactured in England. The contribution of Australian makers is almost totally absent.

However, the recent acquisition by the Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection at the Historic Houses Trust (HHT) of an impressively produced trade catalogue by John Cartlidge & Son from the Melbourne suburb of Malvern, entitled *Designs for tessellated and encaustic tiles*, indicates that Australian companies may have had a greater role.



1 & 2. Selected pages of a trade catalogue from Maw & Co, one of England's largest tile manufacturers in the second half of the 19th century: *Maw & Co's patterns: geometrical and roman mosaics, encaustic tile pavements and enamelled wall decorations*, Broseley, Salop, c 1880, 38 x 27 cm. Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection, Historic Houses Trust of NSW



Telephone, No. 15 Malvern Ex.

Australian Steam Pipe and Tile Works.
HIGH STREET, MALVERN, VICTORIA.

Oct 26 1916

Demo from

JOHN CARTLIDGE & SON,
MANUFACTURERS OF

Geometrical and Roman Mosaics, Encaustic Tile
Pavements on the Newest Patent Principles.

To the *Malvern*
City Council

Agricultural Drain Pipes, Garden Boarders, and Flooring Tiles.

3

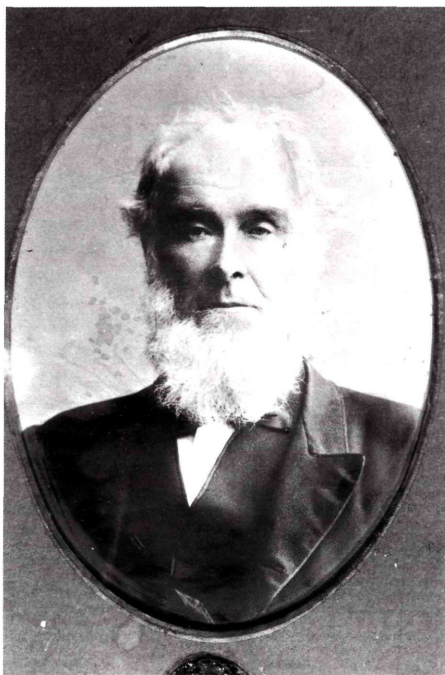
Michael Lech

Although encaustic floor tiles were made in Europe as far back as the 13th century, their modern production began in 1830s England. Samuel Wright and Herbert Minton attempted to revive their manufacture, primarily for ecclesiastical commissions: both repaving of old churches and new paving for Gothic Revival structures. Encaustic tiles were usually dark red, infilled with clay of a lighter colour, often buff, in one of a number of ornamental motifs. These tiles were sometimes referred to as 'inlaid' and were usually accompanied in paving designs by single-coloured geometric tiles.

Use of tiled pavements spread from churches to houses of the aristocracy and to public buildings like town halls, museums and railway stations. These tiled surfaces were admired for their hard-wearing, decorative and easy-to-clean qualities and advocated by many commentators. In his influential *Hints on household taste* Charles Eastlake favoured their use for private residences, stating 'there can be little doubt that the best mode of treating a hall-floor, whether in town or country, is to pave it with

3. [John Cartlidge & Son letterhead], 1916, courtesy City of Stonnington Archives. The Malvern tileworks is depicted on the letterhead

4. [Henry Atkinson Cawkwell], 1880s, courtesy City of Stonnington Archives



4

encaustic tiles.⁷¹ Illustrating Eastlake's comments were a number of colour plates of tile pavement designs available from one of the growing numbers of English producers, Maw & Co (represented in the HHT collection by a c. 1880 catalogue).

The Cartlidge catalogue includes 39 different colour designs for tiled pavements, the price per yard and

instructions for ordering and preparation of tile foundations. The head office and factory was in Malvern and show rooms were at Robert Gardner and Son's premises in central Melbourne on Lonsdale Street. The tiles in the catalogue are a combination of encaustic and cheaper geometrics in a multitude of shapes,

JOHN CARTLIDGE & SON—THE AUSTRALIAN ROMAN MOSAICS TILE WORKS.

The Australian Roman Mosaics Tile Works,

MALVERN, VICTORIA.



ESTABLISHED 1864.

ESTABLISHED 1864.

MANUFACTURERS OF

GEOMETRICAL & ROMAN MOSAICS ENCAUSTIC
TILE PAVEMENTS,

ON THE NEWEST PATENT PRINCIPLES,

AGRICULTURAL DRAIN PIPES,

GARDEN BORDERS, Etc.

JOHN CARTLIDGE & SON, Proprietors.

GOODS FORWARDED TO ANY RAILWAY STATION IN THE STATE.

Head Office and Works: MALVERN.

Tile Depot and Show Rooms: Messrs. R. GARDNER & SON,
315 Lonsdale Street, MELBOURNE

TELEPHONE 2157.

SANDS & McDougall LIMITED, PRINTERS, MELBOURNE.

all single-coloured, mainly buff, red, black and brown with splashes of more expensive blue.

The company also produced agricultural drain pipes and garden border tiles, but these are not illustrated. The catalogue was printed in Melbourne by Sands & McDougall and is undated but probably c. 1905-15 and would most likely have been issued selectively to architects, builders and building supply distributors.

The owner of the company, John Cartlidge (c. 1863-1943), emigrated from Stoke-on-Trent, the pottery hub of England, where his family had been involved in the tile-making industry.

The British census for 1871 lists his father, Samuel, as a 'tile maker' and his half-brother, also Samuel, as a 'potter'. John Cartlidge arrived in Melbourne around 1875 and with his half-brother Samuel worked for Malvern tile manufacturer, Henry Atkinson Cawkwell (c. 1821-1894), for at least 15 years. When Cawkwell died, John Cartlidge purchased the company and remained in business for over 30 years, closing around the end of 1925.

Little else is known about the company apart from a handful of archival documents held by the City of Stonnington Archives concerning land transfers to and from Cartlidge

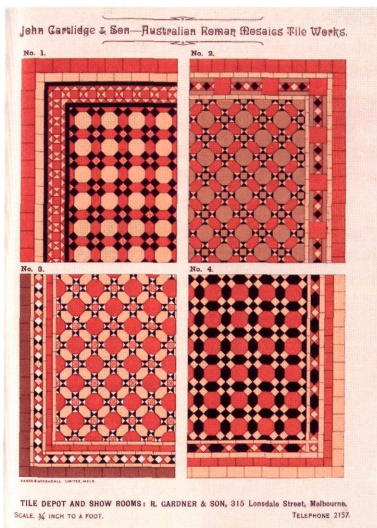
and a letter of complaint from a local resident about pollution from the tile factory. No marked tiles are known to exist and there is no indication of how widely John Cartlidge & Son's wares were distributed.

Henry Cawkwell is a little better known, again thanks largely to the City of Stonnington Archives. A prospectus from Cawkwell's company, also known as the *Australian Tile Works* or *Australian Mosaic Tile Works*, claims a founding date of 1855, though he was definitely in business by 1865 according to Baillière's Victorian gazetteer and road guide², making him one of Australia's earliest producers of encaustic and tessellated tiles.

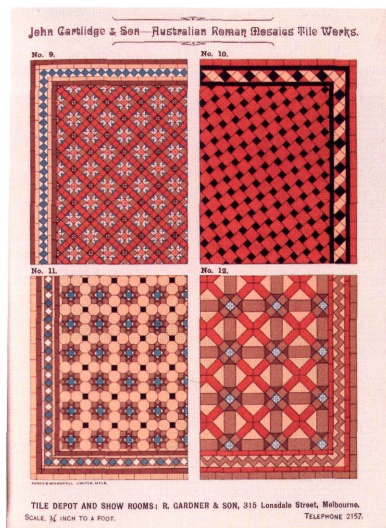
Cawkwell built up a successful business, winning awards for his tiles and other wares at the Victorian Intercolonial Exhibition of 1875 and the Melbourne International Exhibitions of 1880 and 1888/89. A handful of commissions are known, including the entrance foyer of the former Victorian Railways Head Office building in Spencer Street Melbourne, installed in 1893.³

A photocopy of a c. 1881 Cawkwell trade catalogue held by the City of Stonnington Archives provides fascinating comparison with the Cartlidge catalogue. Despite being published around 30 years apart, there is a strong correlation between the two catalogues: the first eight tile designs (two pages) are identical, while a number of the remaining paving patterns show strong similarities. The major change is that Cawkwell had just 22 compared to Cartlidge's 39 tile designs.

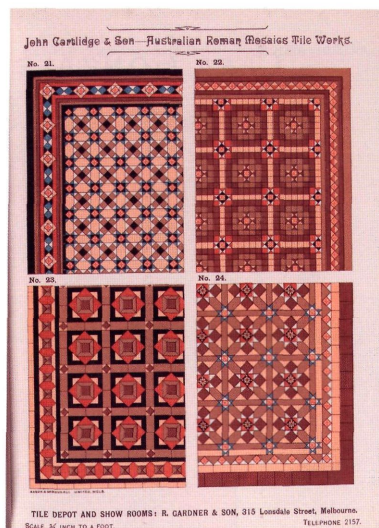
So does the increased number of designs mean that John Cartlidge & Son enjoyed a degree of success over the life of the company? Or does the similarity of designs and the fact Cartlidge did not move into the manufacture of new product lines mean that the company struggled to find new ideas and a new or diversified market, ultimately leading to its closure – Because no company records survive, some speculation is required. Prior to an increase in the tariff on



6



7 8



imported wall and floor tiles in 1925, John Cartlidge & Sons' sales may have been suffering from overseas competition. Of course, the cause of the company's closure may have simply been due to a shortage of clay supplies – or the owner deciding to reap the benefits of rising land values in the Malvern area by selling off the business.

The full-colour, handsomely-produced Cartlidge catalogue compares favourably to similar English catalogues of the period and must have been a source of pride to the owners of the company. It is more sophisticated than one of the few other Australian paving tile catalogues known to exist, produced by the Australian Tesselated [sic] Tile Company⁴ of Mitcham Victoria in 1914, a company established by E E Walker, another former Cawkwell employee. The latter catalogue, which is also held by the HHT, comprises cut-outs of encaustic and tessellated paving patterns from unknown sources, possibly English catalogues, which were obviously copied by the Australian Tesselated Tile Company.

Although many of John Cartlidge and Son's competitors were foreign,

particularly English, a number of Australian companies also produced encaustic and tessellated tiles. However, it is difficult to determine the exact number of Australian manufacturers as post office directories of the period use the generic term 'Tile Makers' to cover all types: roof, garden, paving, etc. In addition, a number of potteries advertising or listing paving tiles were probably producing what today would be called paving bricks.

Nevertheless, we know that Angelo Tornaghi was making encaustic tiles in Sydney from the late 1860s.⁵ In Victoria, the Hoffmann Brick Tile and Pottery Company of Brunswick employed 28 hands by 1908 in their tile department principally to produce tessellated floor tiles,⁶ and at the 1888/89 Melbourne International Exhibition, four Victorian makers displayed encaustic or mosaic tiles. The four exhibitors were Henry Cawkwell, W Train & Co of South Melbourne, G Newham of Malvern and the Australian Brick & Tesselated Tile Co.

Certainly by the early 20th century, a number of companies were producing paving tiles. Even a cursory look at *Building* magazine in the 1910s

5–9. John Cartlidge & Son, *Designs for tessellated and encaustic tile pavements*, Malvern Victoria, 1905–15, 31 x 25 cm, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection, Historic Houses Trust of NSW

9





Decoración de jardines, patios y vestíbulos con cerámica sevillana.

LÁM. I

10

10-11. Two examples of how tiles could be used to decorate Spanish-style verandahs, courtyards and outdoor areas are featured in a 1920s trade catalogue distributed by the Sydney firm, Indent Trading Company Ltd: Casa Gonzalez, *Algunos modelos de fuentes y otros elementos de cerámica Sevillana*, Sevilla Spain, c 1927, 16 x 25 cm. Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection, Historic Houses Trust of NSW

and '20s shows advertisements for three Sydney makers: Fowler Potteries,⁷ Bakewell Brothers⁸ and Central Brick & Tile Co.⁹ However, it is likely that many local brickworks and potteries produced simple unglazed geometric or tessellated pavers but did not possess the technology to make encaustic tiles.

By the 1920s, encaustic tiles were less fashionable and many suburban Australian homes were paved more

simply with geometric tiles of just two or three colours. New housing styles such as Spanish Mission also had an effect on the type and design of tiles used. Companies like Sydney's Indent Trading Company Ltd imported Spanish tiles into Australia to satisfy the demand for tiled courtyards, fountains and ornamental niches that were typical features of this architectural style. However, stiff tariff protection on imports of tiles, especially after 1925, helped Australian manufacturers dominate the local paving tile industry.

In 1932, Oscar Zieman, of Sydney tile importer and buyer Zieman, Parker and Graham Limited, stated that 'plain tessellated floor tiles, Spanish and Moravian multi-coloured floor tiles are mostly obtained from the Australian manufacturers'.¹⁰ In 1936, it was estimated that approximately 90% of all unglazed floor tiles used in Australia were manufactured locally.¹¹ Bakewell Bros was

one local company that took advantage of tariff protection to produce Moravian-style tiles in NSW.

However by the 1930s the use of paving tiles had largely retreated from the front of Australian homes to bathrooms and other wet areas inside the house. New houses were increasingly built with verandahs and entrance paths paved with stone, brick or especially concrete.

The interest in Australia's encaustic or tessellated tile makers has been limited possibly because the subject sits uncomfortably between architectural history and writings on Australian pottery and decorative arts. The similarity in design among tile makers and the fact that many tiles lack makers' marks may also have discouraged research in this area. Of course, geometric paving tiles are of single colours and only assume their decorative quality through the patterns in which they are laid. Encaustic and tessellated tiles certainly do not have the cachet of

patterned glazed tiles, which can be very decorative, highly collectable and are the subject of most research internationally.

The Australian Tessellated Tile Company, however, was at least one Australian manufacturer of patterned glazed tiles whose work has been almost wholly ignored but was championed throughout the first half of the 20th century by George and Florence Taylor's *Building* magazine.¹² The history of this subject in Australia is not helped when writers have jumped to conclusions such as tile historian Willem Irik's incorrect assumption that no glazed tiles were produced by Australia's major tile manufacturers.¹³

The re-emergence of the John Cartlidge & Son catalogue should help to remove any assumption that Australia had an insignificant tile industry. Although European and North American reference books will remain central to any study of the subject, the Australian experience should not be ignored. Nor should unmarked encaustic and tessellated tiles in Australian homes always be assumed to be foreign-made.

The Cartlidge catalogue provides primary evidence of available tile paving styles at the beginning of the 20th century and offers a starting point for the further detailed study of the Australian tile industry. It also raises the question: how many verandahs in Australia's older suburbs were, and perhaps still are, fitted with tessellated tiles by John Cartlidge & Son or other Australian manufacturers? The catalogue is not just an item of nostalgia for a lost Australian industry, but perhaps a reminder of how much more there is to learn about the history of Australia's built environment.

12-13. From a trade catalogue featuring tiles manufactured by Bakewell Bros Pty Ltd of Erskineville Sydney: Arthur H Dillon Pty Ltd, *Modern designs in flooring tiles*, Sydney, c 1938, 14 x 23 cm. Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection, Historic Houses Trust of NSW

CASA GONZALEZ

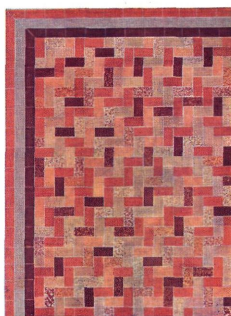
SEVILLA - MADRID - BARCELONA - CORDOBA - HUELVA



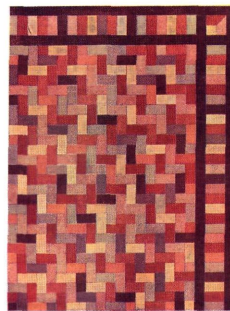
Tejaroces con imágenes religiosas. - - Chimentas y pedestales.

L.A.M. 8

11



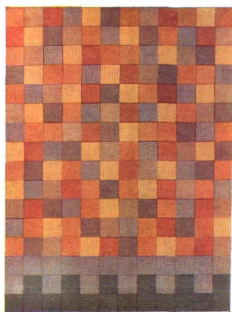
"BEULAH" Pattern
Bakewell Bros Pty Ltd
Erskineville, N.S.W. Actual Size of Tile:
2" x 1".



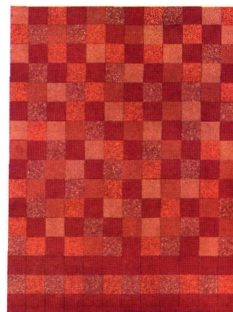
"IDEAL" Pattern
Bakewell Bros Pty Ltd
Erskineville, N.S.W. Actual Size of Tile:
2" x 1".

12

13



"CARLTON" Pattern
Bakewell Bros Pty Ltd
Erskineville, N.S.W. Actual Size of Tile:
2" x 2".









"AUTUMN" Pattern
Bakewell Bros Pty Ltd
Erskineville, N.S.W. Actual Size of Tile:
2" x 2".



“more, please”

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Special thanks to Di Foster and the City of Stonnington Archives for assistance with this article.

Michael Lech is Assistant Curator, Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection of the Historic Houses Trust of NSW, located at the Mint in Macquarie Street, Sydney. The collection is open 9-5 Monday to Friday and the catalogue is available online at library.hht.net.au. To make an appointment to view special items, call 02 8239 2233 or email library@hht.net.au.

NOTES

- 1 Charles L. Eastlake, *Hints on household taste in furniture, upholstery and other details*, 2nd ed., Longmans Green and Co., London, 1869, p 44.
- 2 Robt P. Whitworth (compiled by), *Bailliere's Victorian gazetteer and road guide: containing the most recent and accurate information as to every place in the colony*, F.F. Bailliere, Melbourne, 1865, p 236.
- 3 Unidentified newspaper article: 'A Master's Art', January 1973, in the City of Stonnington Archives, *Henry Cavekewell, family history file*.
- 4 The company was originally known as *Australian Brick & Tesselated Tile Co*, but changed its name in 1895 to *Australian Tesselated Tile Company*. Although the correct English-language spelling is 'tessellated', there is only one 'l' in the company name.
- 5 See: Roslyn Maguire, 'Angelo Tornaghi's tiles', *Australiana*, vol 28, no 4, November 2006, pp 15-20
- 6 Gregory Hill, *The Potteries of Brunswick*, Shepparton Art Gallery, 2000, p 44
- 7 *Building: the magazine for the architect, builder, property owner and merchant*, Sydney, 12 August 1914, p 172
- 8 *ibid.*, 12 January 1920, p 143
- 9 *ibid.*, 11 October 1924, p 122
- 10 *Tariff Board's report and recommendation on flooring and wall tiles*, 20 January 1933, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Papers, vol 3, 1932-34, p 825
- 11 *Tariff Board's report: tiles, viz: flooring and wall, including glazed, ceramic, mosaic and enamelled*, 20 October 1936, Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Papers, vol 5, 1937, p 761
- 12 See for example: *Building: the magazine for the architect, builder, property owner and merchant*, Sydney, 12 August 1933, pp 33-34
- 13 Willem Irik, 'Ceramic tiles exported to Australia c1870-c1910, part two', *The World of Antiques & Art*, Dec 2001-June 2002, 62nd edition, p 150. Up to the 1930s, two Australian makers produced commercial quantities of glazed ceramic tiles: Australian Tesselated Tile Company of Mitcham Victoria and R Fowler Ltd of Marrickville Sydney. Transfer-printing on ceramics was also practised at the beginning of the 20th century by Australian companies like Bakewell Bros and Bendigo Pottery: it is unknown, however, if any of these firms produced transfer-printed tiles in anything more than odd job lots. See Marjorie Graham, *Printed ceramics in Australia*, the Australian Society for Historical Archaeology, Occasional paper no.2, Sydney, c 1979.

By Appointment... John Devereux

AUSTRALIAN'S FIRST PROFESSIONAL
STRINGED INSTRUMENT MAKER



Musical instrument makers and repairers were a key group supporting musical performers and the development of music in Australia.

Melbourne's John Devereux was one of the first, as curator Michael Lea reveals.

1. Medallion awarded to John Devereux at the 1866 Intercolonial Exhibition, Melbourne. Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, 2004/125/1, purchased with assistance of Robert Albert AO, 2004

Michael Lea

In recent years Australian instrument makers have earned a reputation for producing high quality instruments played by some of the world's leading musicians. Greg Smallman's classical guitars with their innovative design and wonderful sound are played by classical guitar master John Williams. Wayne Stuart's pianos have been played by Gerard Willem and Simon Tedeschi. The first

commercially available digital musical instrument, the Fairlight was designed and developed in Sydney and promoted by Peter Gabriel, Steve Winwood and Stevie Wonder to name a few. Going further back into the 20th century AE Smith, regarded by many as Australia's finest violin maker, was honoured for the quality of his violins by the likes of Yehudi Menuhin and Isaac Stern.

But Australian instrument makers go back further, and in terms of a European tradition of instrument

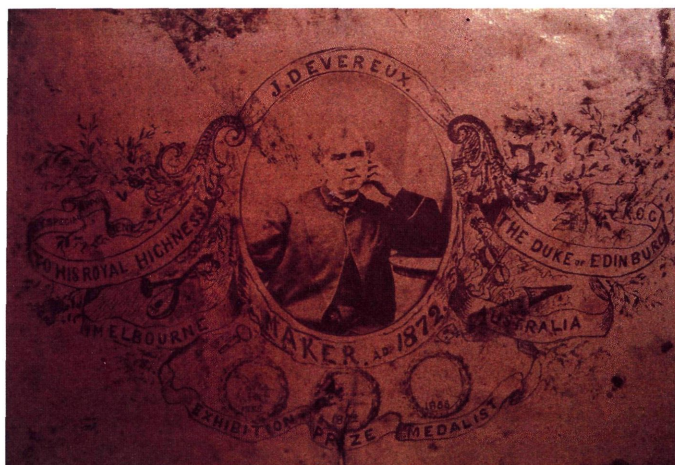
making, well into the 19th century. Today many of these makers are largely forgotten or at best have a small amount of information surrounding their names. One such group were the makers of bowed string instruments such as the violin.

Such forgotten or invisible makers are important in the context of being part of a broader musical community that was developing in Australia. They provided a service for many musicians, both amateur and professional, not only by making instruments but



2. 1860s label featuring Devereux's portrait. Photo courtesy Barry Buckley

3. 1872 label showing an older Devereux after receiving royal patronage. Photo courtesy Barry Buckley



through their maintenance and repair, allowing music-making in the colonies to continue. They were an integral part of the music-making scene, especially during the 19th century when Australia was far more isolated and spare parts for instruments, including something as basic as spare strings, could take many months to import.

Although there are several early references to violin makers or repairers in the colony, it is not until the 1850s that more substantial information concerning this group of instrument makers begins to emerge, shedding light on who might be Australia's first professional violin maker. There have

been two main candidates for this title, William Dow and John Devereux.

Current research based on primary sources suggests that Devereux rather than Dow can lay claim to this title.¹ But this has not always been the case, as several secondary sources over the years have published incorrect information that has been sadly replicated without thoroughly checking the claims. William Henley's *Universal Dictionary of Violin and Bow Makers*, seen by many as an authoritative source, is one of the prime culprits.

The son of John and Sarah Devereux, John Devereux (jnr) was

born in London probably around 1815 based on the ages given in the London census data of 1841 and 1851.² While living in London, he married the 19-year-old Mary Ann Kennedy about 1834. They had two sons, John Robert and Henry, who died as an infant. The 1841 London census gives 25-year-old Devereux's profession at the time as a 'plasterer', which was also the profession of his father.

Sometime between 1841 and 1851 when the next London census was done, Devereux had a major career change and is recorded as a 'musical instrument maker'. Devereux apparently worked for another violin maker in London, Bernhard Simon Fendt and his son. Some examples of his London work survive, double basses rather than other types of bowed string instruments such as violins, violas or cellos.

Devereux's London period is full of questions. How long did he work in Fendt's business? Did he just specialise in basses there? Did he receive his training with Fendt or elsewhere? Based on the quality of his surviving work from this period it seems fairly certain he did receive training as a professional maker with someone.

Around 1853 or 1854 he left London with his wife and surviving son for Australia. According to the death certificates of Devereux, his wife and his eldest son, who all died in Australia, their respective periods of having lived in the Colony of Victoria sets a date of their arrival in Australia as 1854.³

What motivated Devereux to take the hazardous voyage from England to Australia at this time? There could be several possible factors working together, both pushing him from London and pulling him towards Australia.

Devereux's employer, Bernhard Simon Fendt & his son William both died in 1852. Uncertainty of whether

the business would continue may have prompted Devereux to look for alternative employment. London at this time had a bountiful and varied community of musical instrument makers. The level of competition would have been an important factor to consider if a business was to continue or indeed to be established. The opportunity of a new beginning in Australia where prospects of success were high due to a variety of factors, including less competition, may have been far more appealing.

The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations opened at the Crystal Palace, London in 1851. It stimulated great interest in the creativity, achievements and wealth of the British colonies as well as that of other countries. It also gave a strong indication of the amount of competition at home. Fendt, Devereux's employer, exhibited a double bass, among other instruments, which won a medal. It is tantalising to ponder if Devereux worked on this bass and whether this stimulated his later interest in entering a series of exhibitions in Australia.

The gold rushes in Victoria and New South Wales were another powerful force pulling people to Australia from all over the world and by 1854 it was in full swing. The population of Victoria had increased from 77,000 in 1851 to over 200,000 in 1854.⁴ It is unknown if Devereux worked at the diggings and earned money to establish his business in Melbourne but he possibly had connections with people in gold-mining centres such as Ballarat, Bendigo and Kyneton.⁵ Regardless of whether he actually panned or dug for gold, it is likely he realised there would be great wealth generated in the colony that could benefit his trade.

Another compelling reason for Devereux's move to Australia suggested by Alan Coggins⁶ is that contaminated drinking water at the communal Broad Street pump caused a major cholera epidemic in London in 1854. This

seemingly mysterious outbreak caused a huge number of deaths. The *Argus* newspaper in Melbourne on 10 November 1854 reported over 4,000 deaths from the outbreak since it began on 31 August. The water pump at the centre of this outbreak in Soho was very near Fendt's workshop, and the 1851 census shows Devereux also living nearby.

Arriving in Australia in 1854, Devereux quickly adapted to his new environment, using its natural resources and changing his designs to adapt to its climate. This is an important factor in Devereux's development as a maker, his desire to achieve success in his new home and the basis for his significance to Australian instrument making. Aware of the difficulties of the competitive free market, he needed to try to mark himself as an individual having a unique style while maintaining strong European traditions that customers would demand even in a new land.

His three main innovations included the use of native timbers such as Australian cedar, although he also made many instruments using traditional European timbers such as spruce and maple. Secondly, he began using in all his instruments what was described as a tension bar, running internally through the body between the top and end blocks. This was to strengthen the instruments and stop them twisting in a harsh Australian climate. Thirdly, he used (and it is claimed, invented), lockable tuning pegs on some of his instruments, again as a response to changes in Australia's climate to prevent the strings slipping and going out of tune.⁷

Devereux not only adapted to his new natural environment but also to the prevailing economic environment of his new home by actively establishing himself as an instrument maker through the gentle art of self-promotion. This he achieved primarily through the use of his own image on instrument labels and his steadfast confidence in entering several major



4. Double Bass by John Devereux, Melbourne, c.1856. Powerhouse Museum, Sydney 2007/97/1, purchased with the assistance of the Australian Government through the National Cultural Heritage Account and supporters of the Powerhouse Museum Foundation and the Pinchgut Opera, 2007

colonial exhibitions. Rather than simply advertising in newspapers, these alternative methods helped to expand his reputation and business, not to mention his public profile. However, he seems to have leaped at other opportunities even when repairing

5. Viola by John Devereux, Melbourne, 1869. Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, 2003/36/1, purchased with assistance of Robert Albert AO, 2003



instruments. Although he often included a 'Repaired by...' label as other makers have done, in at least one double bass he repaired, he fitted an internal tension bar. Apart from strengthening the instrument, this bar was signed by Devereux and had a layer of lacquer applied over the top to try to preserve the inscription, suggesting he wanted to make sure others were aware that this was his idea.⁸

Devereux, like other makers, identified his instruments by using several styles of label inside those he made and repaired. Some labels are completely hand-written, others utilise the relatively new medium of photography and incorporate his photographic image. For instrument makers this is a unique form of self promotion found at this or any other time. With hindsight it is extremely fortunate he did, as it has left a lasting image of what this man actually looked like.

The images used on the labels show Devereux at two different stages of his life and career. The earlier image, possibly taken from a larger group portrait dating from the early 1860s, shows Devereux with a very serious and earnest expression, early in his Australian career. In the later image found in Devereux's instruments from 1872, he is noticeably older and by this stage had received several accolades. The portrait shows Devereux looking more confident and with a wry smile, musing on his success perhaps.

From the 1850s Melbourne, spurred by the examples set by the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition and 1855 Paris Exposition Universelle, organised a series of local exhibitions of trade, produce and industry. With the aim of promoting the wealth of the colony of Victoria, these exhibitions allowed companies and individuals to show off their wares and compete for awards, which in the relatively new colony could help to give them a competitive advantage in the growing market place.

Devereux seized on this opportunity, exhibiting in several of these

exhibitions. This provides a good although partial public record of Devereux's professional life and an indication of the kind of instruments he was making and the materials he used. Short of a workshop diary ever being found, these newspaper reports are one of our best sources of information regarding his career.

The last week of November 1856 saw the opening in Melbourne of an exhibition, organised by the Victorian Industrial Society, to display 'Colonial Manufactures, Produce and Works of Art'. Only two awards were given for musical instruments at this exhibition – a gold medal for the best organ, and a silver medal for 'The best musical instrument of any other category.'⁹

The Argus newspaper on 1 December published a list of prize winners which includes the earliest entry found relating to Devereux's professional work in Australia:

A large silver medal was awarded to Mr Devereux of Collingwood, for a double bass, a copy of Gaspar de Sarto, with improved bar. The same gentleman also exhibited...[words unreadable] ... eminent professors.¹⁰

Conditions at this exhibition stipulated that 'Prizes will be awarded for those articles only which are the produce of the Colony of Victoria' and that 'No person can compete for a prize unless the article exhibited has been constructed by himself, or under his immediate direction on his own premises.'¹¹ Although imported items could be exhibited, they were ruled out of the prize medals, the emphasis being on local production. These conditions, together with his award, confirm Devereux had made an instrument in Australia by this time.

A double bass by Devereux recently acquired by the Powerhouse Museum and dating from about 1856 includes a tension bar and has an Australian cedar back. This appears to be the earliest surviving Australian instrument by Devereux, although

there is no direct evidence to suggest this is the very instrument exhibited in 1856.

By 1861 Devereux was firmly established in Melbourne and applied for space in August that year to exhibit in the Victorian Exhibition.¹² He exhibited five instruments in all, four of them made from native timbers. It seems that only certificates rather than medals were awarded, and Devereux received a certificate for an Honorary Mention, which was the third level of awards given.¹³

Around this time, Devereux was commissioned by HB Gover to make a quintet of instruments comprising two violins, a viola, a cello and a double bass. Gover was an accomplished musician and teacher working in Melbourne from the 1850s. His name appears as one of the bass players in the orchestra formed to play at the 1854 Victorian Exhibition, so he would have been very interested to hear of the arrival in town of the bass-making Devereux. Gover's name appears as an exhibitor in 1866 at The Inter-Colonial Exhibition held in Melbourne.¹⁴

A photo, possibly dating from 1861, records the commissioning of these instruments and their construction from mainly Australian timbers.¹⁵ The group photo includes both Devereux and Gover as well as students. Written on the reverse is the claim that these instruments were the first to be made in Australia. We know from other surviving instruments made in Australia by Devereux that this is not the case, although a second inscription on the photo points to some ambiguity in that the claim may be for the first *quartet* commissioned, or the first *four string* double bass made entirely using colonial timber. The cost of these instruments was £95, a significant sum.

By 1862 Devereux had moved from Collingwood to Marion Street, Fitzroy. Just down the street from his home, a small religious group known as the Christian Israelites or Wroeites after their founder John Wroe, had

6. Violin by John Devereux, Melbourne, 1869. Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, H9177, gift of EA & VI Crome, 1976



established a new church. Although there was some controversy relating to their founder and against their members in Melbourne in the early 1860s, Devereux was commissioned in 1862 to make several instruments for them. A bass from this time is still in the possession of the church and bears a large hand-written label mentioning the instrument as specially made for the church. The label also features florid decoration throughout done either by Devereux, possibly his wife Mary Ann or son John Robert.¹⁶

Continuing his quest for notoriety, Devereux entered yet another exhibition. The 1866 Intercolonial Exhibition of Australasia was a much grander affair than the 1861 exhibition and turned out to be a high point of

Devereux's career. He exhibited a number of instruments, winning an award at the highest level for them – a large medallion plaque (referred to as a gold medal) now in the Powerhouse Museum's collection. The official record of the exhibition includes comments by the exhibition jurors:

In 1861 Mr Devereux exhibited a case of violins, violas, violoncellos and double basses and obtained a certificate. The Jurors have taken practical means of ascertaining the quality of a collection of similar instruments on the present occasion, and congratulate the colonies in possessing so talented a stringed instrument maker, his specimens being admirable in every respect.¹⁷

As mentioned, HP Gover also exhibited an array of instruments, made from Australian timbers, that specifically include tension bars. This is probably the set he commissioned from Devereux in 1861, as they are also described as having tension bars, which was a key feature of Devereux's work and first mentioned in 1856.

This was the beginning of a period of prosperity for Devereux, and many of his surviving instruments date from around this time. The accolades however, did not stop with winning a gold medal. In 1868 Devereux's instrument labels appear with the inscription 'By Appointment to HRH the Duke of Edinburgh.' The two violins in the Powerhouse Museum's collection dating from 1869 and 1871 and the 1869 viola all have hand written labels, without any photo of Devereux, but with this inscription on them.

Recent research shows that there was indeed truth behind Devereux using this acknowledgment, as reported in *The Argus* newspaper.¹⁸ It would enable Devereux to use Royal Patronage to boost his reputation within the bustling colony.

His Royal Highness Prince Alfred the Duke of Edinburgh visited Australia in 1868 on a royal tour. The second son of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, the Prince was apparently a great lover of music and an amateur violinist. His other claim to fame was that he was the target of one of the first political assassination attempts in Australia, at Clontarf in Sydney.

During 1868 while the Prince was in Melbourne, Devereux managed to obtain an audience with him and showed him one of his violins. We are fortunate that the press ensured that minute details of a royal tour were reported. *The Argus* newspaper report from 1868 testifies:

Mr John Devereux of Fitzroy had an interview with His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, before his departure from the colony, and presented him with a

beautiful violin of his own manufacture. His Royal Highness expressed himself much pleased with his present and listened attentively to Mr Devereux's instructions relative to the pegs of the instrument, an invention of the maker. These are ingeniously constructed so as to prevent the slips which pegs of the old-fashioned pattern were liable to. The presentation fiddle is a copy of an old Italian instrument and was made out of a very handsome piece of sycamore wood. It is fitted with a chin-holder, which enables the performer to shift his hand without fear of the instrument slipping away.

Another invention is a tension bar in the inside, running from block to block, thereby strengthening it greatly and preventing it getting out of tune, changes of weather not affecting it in the slightest degree.

His Royal Highness was pleased to appoint Mr Devereux as his instrument maker in the colony, and promised that the necessary appointment should be forwarded from home. Mr Devereux received the gold medal at the late Inter-colonial Exhibition, for samples of his exceptional industry.¹⁹

In 1872 Devereux exhibited a number of instruments in the Victorian Exhibition. *The Argus* mentions several of the more prominent Victorian makers represented in this exhibition and remarks:

Mr John Devereux shows four violins, concerning which it is sufficient to say that his name is a guarantee for their quality. At present we do not know how these are to be judged.²⁰

Later it was reported that Devereux had won a silver medal for these. Apart from the four violins mentioned, the official catalogue states he also exhibited a viola and a cello.

Until now Devereux's professional life seemed to be going fairly well but in 1874 two tragic events occurred. In February 1874 Devereux's son, John Robert, aged 29 and described as a musician, committed suicide by stabbing himself in the stomach – the verdict of the inquest recorded that the victim was 'of unsound mind'.²¹ Then on Christmas Day the same year Devereux's wife Mary Ann died after being ill for about 12 months with cancer.

Trying to piece together Devereux's life after these bad events is difficult. The following year, 1875, there is a hospital admission at the Kyneton gold diggings of a John Devereux of similar age to the instrument maker, but further research needs to confirm if this is the same John Devereux.

1875 heralded the opening of another Melbourne exhibition, the 1875 Intercolonial Exhibition, but Devereux did not exhibit. However, it seems to be the first year William Dow, who is often reported as being Australia's first violin maker, is mentioned as an exhibitor and maker.

From this time, what could be called Devereux's late period, the occasional instrument still surfaces but not with the frequency of earlier years, possibly suggesting his output had slowed.

Based on various sightings of instruments, EA Crome and others suggested that Devereux had an apprentice. Whether this was his son or was a Richard Gilmore, whose labels state he was Devereux's apprentice, is unclear. However, a violin by Gilmore dated 1877 states that he was Devereux's apprentice and also that it is the fourth violin he made.²² Gilmore seems to have had some instrument-making skills as he made and exhibited a set of bagpipes in the 1875 Intercolonial Exhibition. Gilmore died of alcoholism at the age of 45 in 1884 but was described as a musician rather than instrument maker on his death certificate.

John Devereux died in the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum on 9 August 1883 and according to his

death certificate was aged 73. This figure puts his year of birth as 1810. In reality, if the ages in the 1841 and 1851 census are correct, he would be a little younger, so was probably about 68 when he died. The cause of death was 'Inanition', a 19th century medical term describing inactivity possibly caused by a combination of starvation and exhaustion often due to some other disease such as TB.²³ The certificate also suggests that by this time important information regarding parts of Devereux's life was becoming unknown, such as his wife's name and whether he had had any children.

Devereux's life remains full of unanswered questions yet his reputation as an instrument maker survives both through his instruments and through the public record. His

importance as Australia's first professional bowed string instrument maker is slowly being revealed and new information about him provides details of a largely overlooked part of the Australian music community during the 19th century.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author gratefully acknowledges information supplied by Alan Coggins, Alex Grant and the late Barry Buckley. This article is dedicated to the memory of Barry Buckley (1938-2006).

Michael Lea is Curator, music and musical instruments at the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney

Grave of John Robert Devereux and Mary Ann Devereux, Melbourne General Cemetery. Photo Michael Lea



NOTES

- 1 A. Coggins & M. Lea, 'Making it Down Under', *The Staid*, July 2004, pp 712-717.
- 2 All London census data and death certificates of Mary Ann Devereux, John Robert Devereux and Richard Gilmore sourced by Alan Coggins.
- 3 A shipping record confirming their arrival date in Australia has so far not been found. Some secondary sources suggest incorrectly that Devereux arrived in 1864.
- 4 See La Trobe University papers <http://calisto.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe56/tl-gt2.html>.
- 5 Based on letters and newspaper reminiscences from descendants of people who had known Devereux. Information supplied by Alex Grant.
- 6 Personal correspondence from Alan Coggins, 3/11/2006.
- 7 *The Argus*, Melbourne, 15/1/1868, p.5 col. b.
- 8 Meeting with Ben Puglisi, Melbourne, August 2004.
- 9 *The Argus*, Melbourne, 25/11/1856, p.7 cols d & e.
- 10 *The Argus*, Melbourne, 1/12/1856, p.5 col. a.
- 11 *Ibid*.
- 12 *The Argus*, Melbourne, 20/8/1861, p.6 col. f.
- 13 *The Argus*, Melbourne, 7/12/1861. First and second class certificates were also awarded.
- 14 Later in the 1870s Gover was quite prominent, performing organ concerts in Melbourne, teaching students a variety of instruments and organising concerts for his pupils. In 1871 he argued in favour of the development of a music department at the University of Melbourne, which was eventually established in 1891.
- 15 Personal correspondence from Alex Grant, Melbourne, 31/5/2004.
- 16 Meeting with Barry Buckley of Melbourne, 18/7/2003.
- 17 *Inter-colonial Exhibition of Australasia 1866-1867 Official Record*, Blundell & Co., Melbourne, 1867, p.378.
- 18 A.Coggins & M. Lea, 'Making it Down Under', *The Staid*, July 2004, p.716.
- 19 *The Argus*, Melbourne, 15/1/1868, p.5 col. b.
- 20 *The Argus*, Melbourne, 6/11/1872 Supplement p.4 col. a.
- 21 Inquest Proceedings - John Robert Devereux, 27/2/1874, No:186, Public Record Office of Victoria (VPRS 24/P0000/304); report of the inquest in *The Argus*, 28/2/1874, p.7 col. e.
- 22 Personal correspondence from Alan Coggins, 18/7/2007.
- 23 Personal correspondence from Dr Ted Kremer, 22/11/2006.



1 William Westall (1781–1850), *An Ambush by Aborigines on two Europeans in the bush*, pencil and watercolour, 19 3/4 x 23 5/8 ins (50 x 60 cm). Reproduced courtesy Anthony Spink, London

Recent William Westall picture discoveries

The voyage of HMS Investigator, commanded by Matthew Flinders, which sailed from England in the summer of 1801 to circumnavigate Australia between December of that year and the autumn of 1803, has been well researched.¹ The contribution of the young landscape and figure artist on board, William Westall (1781–1850), has also received substantial coverage.² However fresh items have appeared in recent decades attributed to the hand of that artist and stemming from the Investigator voyage. In discussing Westall's art associated with the voyage, I will concentrate on the emergence of these significant pictures.



2

2 Attributed to William Westall (1781–1850), *Mountainous landscape*, oil on canvas, 56 x 83 cm, unsigned. Reproduced courtesy Chris Deutscher, Deutscher-Menzies

Richard J. Westall

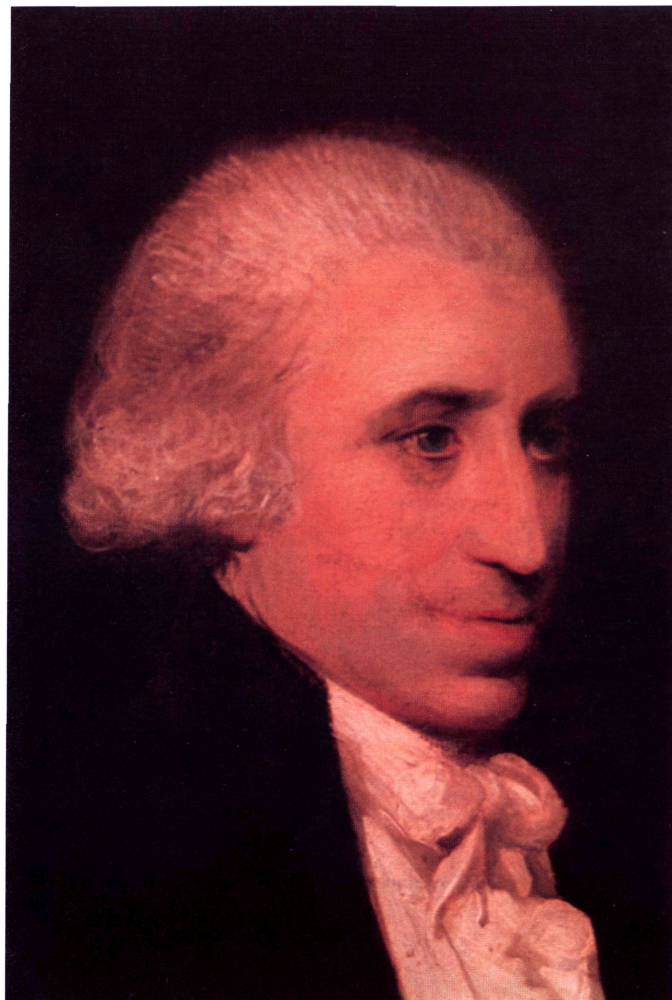
William Westall's Australian artistic output can be considered as five aspects:

1. the drawings and sketches which he drew on the journey
2. the coastal profiles or seascapes which he recorded during the voyage
3. the watercolours which were completed either on the expedition or on Westall's return to England
4. nine oil paintings which he completed for the Admiralty between 1807 and 1812, and
5. the engravings completed for Flinders' account of the journey.³



Apart from Australia, he briefly visited South Africa in 1801, Timor in 1803, China (1803/4), India⁴ (1804) and St Helena (1804). Following his return to England in 1805, Westall visited Madeira (1805), where the *Investigator* had called in 1801, and Jamaica (1806).

Research into the production of nine oil paintings for the Admiralty (1807–1812) has given some new insights into the influences that led to their production. Westall's subsequent life and career is not covered here, except to mention that he exhibited at



3 Richard Westall (1781–1850), *Benjamin Westall* (1765 - 1836), oil on canvas, private collection. Benjamin is the artists father

the Royal Academy and the British Institution throughout his life and was substantially associated with the publication of topographical views.⁵

The most interesting new discovery is a painting which the London art dealer Spinks had in the 1980s (plate 1). This pencil and watercolour picture 19 3/4 x 23 5/8 inches (50 x 60 cm) was described as *An Ambush by Aborigines on two Europeans in the bush*, although only one European appears to be present. Anthony Spink wanted my opinion and kindly provided me

3 with a photograph of this painting.

Although unsigned, there is no doubt that this is a William Westall painting depicting the episode on 21 January 1803 when Mr Whitewood, the master's mate on *Investigator*, was speared after his approach to Aborigines was misunderstood. This was followed by the fatal shooting of an Aborigine. Westall drew a sketch of the dead man (*Westall's Drawings* 102, *Blue Mud Bay: body of a native on Morgan's island*). There is every indication that the watercolour Spinks owned had probably been completed by Westall whilst on the *Investigator*. It is striking, not only for the scene of the attack, but for the beautifully executed drawings of the trees towering over the scene, which is totally portrayed in shades of brown.

Why was this painting never publicised? Clearly the subject matter may have caused problems. It was perfectly in order for pictures of a dead Aborigine, killed probably by master carpenter John Aken against the orders of Flinders, to be known, but officials may have wanted to cover up the hostility of Aborigines and their successful ambush of a European on the expedition to Australia. It is nonetheless a very important historical painting and among Westall's most accomplished Australian subjects. I do not know how the painting came into the possession of Spinks but members of the family were disposing of his Australian works in the 1970s.

In 1983, Bernard Smith suggested that Chris Deutscher, then director of Deutscher Fine Art of Carlton, Victoria, send me a photograph of another painting which bore 'some similarities with Westall's work' (plate 2). They were unable to identify positively either the artist or the location of the picture, purchased from an unidentified London dealer. The unsigned oil on canvas, 56 x 83 cm, is entitled *Mountainous Landscape with Shelter in foreground (Small temple or lookout structure on top of mountain in background)*. In a subsequent letter

Chris Deutscher advised me that 'the canvas and stretcher certainly appear to be early 1800s'.

I replied that the painting 'is almost the same size as some of the Admiralty oils and is similar in a number of ways. The log is similar in execution to a tree in his (Westall's) painting *Part of King George III Sound on the South Coast of Australia (New Holland)* which is engraved in the Flinders' account of the voyage. The trees are very like the ones found in some of the drawings illustrated in *Westall's Drawings*. It is quite possible that Westall painted this picture for himself at the time of his Admiralty commissions'. I suggested a credible location might be a view directed towards Mount Westall, in which case the 'temple' must be a lookout.

I am not aware what attribution Deutscher finally put on this painting but I would now suggest that John Glover be another possible attribution.⁶ It would be interesting to know whether the unidentified dealer who sold the painting was Spinks.

Following the spearing incident, HMS *Investigator* sailed to Timor. A watercolour by Westall entitled *The Island of Timor 1808* was sold by Sotheby's, London on 28 January 1971. It is 8 x 12 in (20.3 x 31.7 cm) and signed W. Westall 1808. It appears as a colour reproduction in *Outlines of Australian Art* by Daniel Thomas.⁷ Thomas notes that Westall was in Coupang in March–April 1803 and that his views of Timor were engraved in London for the *Naval Chronicle* after Westall's drawings (1806 & 1808), but he suggests that this watercolour was probably painted for Westall's exhibition in April 1808. This seems feasible, although without seeing the original I would query the date of 1808 and suggest the written figure 3 might have been mistaken for an 8. Christie's South Kensington sold another view of Timor by Westall signed with initials on 6 June 1988 (7 x 10 ins, 18.4 x 27.3 cm). Neither of these two views were used by the *Naval Chronicle*.

March 26. 1812.
 Mr W. Westall presents his
 compliments to Mr Croker, and
 informs him, that the pictures
 which have been engraved are
 not yet ready to send in to
 the Admiralty as one of them
 is very much injured. Mr W.
 is at present very much occu-
 -pied in preparing for the
 approaching Exhibition, in a
 month Mr W. will take care
 that they shall be sent.
 24 Prate Place Camden Town

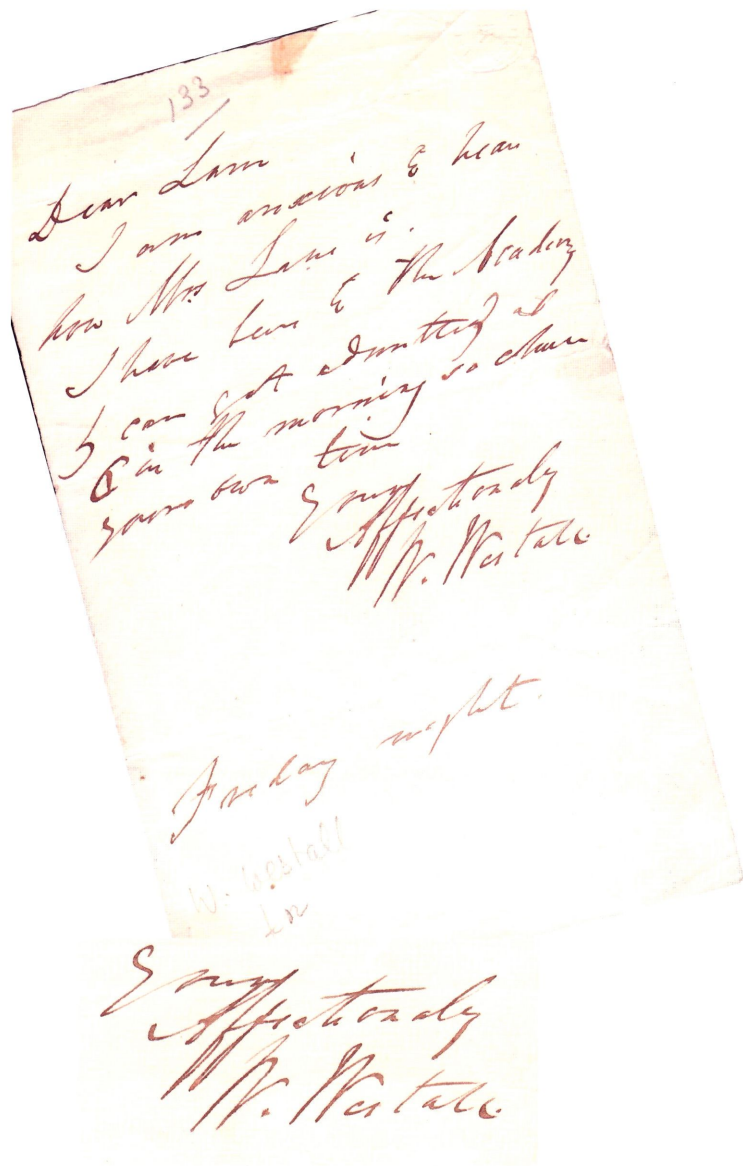
J. W. Croker Esq.
 Admiralty

4 William Westall, letter to John Wilson Croker, Secretary of the Admiralty 1809–1830, dated March 26th 1812, 24.5 x 19.7 cm, private collection

Christie's sold a small watercolour (4 x 7 7/16 in, 10.2 x 18.9 cm) by Westall of *Port Jackson* on 28 May 1987 – the original of the *Naval Chronicle* engraving published on 30 November 1809. A colour reproduction (actual size) of this scene is reproduced.

Christie's sold (24 May 1990) a delightful watercolour seascape by Westall, probably of the Queensland coast signed and dated 1802. Its provenance was my father's cousin Mrs McN. Lester. A label on the backboard read: '*Investigator* in full sail off a hilly

coastline, and to its left the *Lady Nelson*, which acted for a while as the *Investigator's* tender.' The vessels were together between 21 July and 18 October 1802 and the view is not among those engraved for Flinders. Another view of Queensland, taken from the shore, in pencil (18 x 26 cm) and signed, appeared at a sale by Phillipson & Neale on 22 December 1986. A final illustration of interest was executed on Westall's return from India. It is entitled *St Helena - Lot and his Daughters* signed and dated 1804 12 x 17 1/4 in (31.8 x 43.8 cm).⁸



5 William Westall, autograph letter, 18.8 x 11.6 cm

Following William Westall's return to England in early 1805, he was elected as a Fellow of the Linnean Society in December of that year,⁹ before he departed to revisit Madeira, perhaps because his original drawings of the island in 1801 had been lost when he almost drowned there when the *Investigator* called. After Madeira he

sailed to Jamaica where he is known to have drawn several studies of trees and some panoramic views similar to his coastal profiles of Australia.¹⁰

In 1805 and 1806, views of New South Wales and Madeira by Westall were exhibited at the Royal Academy,¹¹ then again shown together at the British Institution in 1807. In 1808

Westall organised an exhibition of his foreign views.

Westall had sent his Australian work from India in 1804 in the custody of Lieutenant Robert Fowler, who arrived in England in August 1804 and handed them over to the Admiralty. Sir Joseph Banks wrote to the Admiralty on 22 August (ADM 1/4378, No 27): 'I have been informed ... that the Drawings of Mr Westhall (sic) are by no means in a secure state they having been damaged by water ... and not yet sufficiently freed from the effects of salt water. His Elder Brother Mr Westhall Royal academician, wishes much to be allowed to examine them & put them in a secure state which he thinks he can do'. The drawings were transmitted to Richard Westall after Admiralty approval.

In a letter to the *Investigator's* naturalist Robert Brown, Banks commented that Westall's 'finished drawings were all spoiled in the Wreck'. Banks sent the drawings back to the Admiralty stating that they were 'now in a situation to be preserved if kept in a dry place.' Although a list of the drawings was mentioned, it has unfortunately not been located.¹²

On Matthew Flinders' return after his imprisonment on Mauritius, substantial work depicting scenes from the voyage to Australia was carried out. Richard Westall and Banks campaigned on William Westall's behalf to persuade the Admiralty to commission pictures. On the basis of two oils exhibited, William was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy in 1812. Westall completed a total of nine oil paintings, now owned by the British Ministry of Defence.¹³

Comparison between Westall's original drawings in Australia and his finished oil paintings reveal contemporary artistic pressures. Richard Westall had succeeded in establishing himself at this period among the leaders of style in fashionable London.¹⁴ He was particularly praised by a leading connoisseur of the picturesque, Richard Payne Knight.¹⁵ Furthermore,

in 1807 he exhibited four paintings depicting scenes from the life of Nelson which were ranked as 'among the most interesting in the whole Exhibition' in the *St. James's Chronicle* of 7-9 May 1807.

An indication of the appreciation William had of Richard's influence is noted by Joseph Farington on 30 April 1808 when he recorded that William had taken lodgings away from Richard so that 'he should be seen as an artist distinct from his brother'.¹⁶ Farington also reported on 28 April 1811: 'Westall (Richard) took his brother Wm Westall into the Exhibition room yesterday to touch upon His picture which had been injured, but Turner & Calcott finding Him so employed wd. Not allow Him to proceed'.¹⁷ Although it is not clear which 'Him' Farington is referring to, it appears that Richard's influence on his brother may have gone beyond advice. The painting in question was of Rydal Lake not Australia.

Farington on 14 April 1809 records that William's brother in law William Daniell had claimed Westall's drawings in Madeira had not been used as engravings because 'He placed Convents where there are none, & made other alterations so unsatisfactory in respect of fidelity as to cause' the plan for engravings to be abandoned. Daniell said that William Westall's drawings were made subject to his 'notions of what is picturesque'. Further, Daniell suggested that considering the time Westall was absent from England, he had made 'but few drawings' and Westall 'did not think of what might be interesting to the Topographer but only what would, in His opinion "come well" (picturesque)'.¹⁸

This tension between Westall's need to be accurate and his notion of the picturesque is at the heart of his Australian work. It is clearest in his oil paintings which were for the Royal Academy as well as the Admiralty. For Jeffrey Auerbach, they are 'especially important because they are so clearly at odds with his written description' of Australia as being a 'barren land'.¹⁹

Through 'picturesque devices', he conveyed an impression of Australia which defied his own opinion.

The Royal Academy paintings are fine pictures and they achieved for William Westall his Associate of the Royal Academy status, setting him on his artistic career. They demonstrate perhaps a compromise between his independence of mind and the prevailing constraints of the day.

Richard J Westall is a direct descendant of William Westall. He has been researching the lives of William and Richard Westall for some 25 years. Now retired and living in Surrey, Richard worked mainly in the fields of penal policy and mental health.

NOTES

- Two recent books are Juliet Wege, Alex George et al (eds) *Matthew Flinders and His Scientific Gentlemen*, Western Australian Museum, Perth, 2005, & Marion Body, *The Fever of Discovery*, New European Publications, 2006.
- Thomas Perry & Donald Simpson, *Westall's Drawings*, Royal Commonwealth Society, London 1962; Rex & Thea Reinits, *Early Artists in Australia*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney 1963; Richard J. Westall, 'William Westall in Australia' *Art & Australia* Vol 20 No 2, Summer 1982 pp 252-6; Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2nd edition 1985; Elisabeth Findlay, *Arcadian Quest*, National Library of Australia, Canberra 1998 and Richard J. Westall, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 2002. See website www.bradonpace.com/westall on both Richard & William Westall.
- Matthew Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis 1801-1803*, G & W Nicol, London 1814 2 vols & atlas. Nine engravings after W. Westall ARA FLS and 28 land profiles. On his sublime oil painting 'View of Sir Edward Pellew's Group, Gulph of Carpentaria' exhibited in the Turner to Monet exhibition at the National Gallery of Australia in 2008, see www.nga.gov.au/exhibition/turnermotone/t/Detail.cfm?IRN=164552.
- Richard J. Westall, 'The Westall Brothers', *Turner Studies* Vol 4 No 1 Summer 1984 (Tate, London) and Richard J. Westall *William Westall in India*, Marg publications, Mumbai Vol XLVII No 4 June 1996 pp 94-96.
- Some 700 of Westall's book illustrations are listed in Richard J. Westall, 'William Westall - A Catalogue of his Book illustration', *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review* Vol XIII no 12 issue 152, December 1986, Oxford.
- 1767-1849.
- Daniel Thomas, *Outlines of Australian Art: The Joseph Brown Collection*, Macmillan Sydney 1973.
- Iolo Williams, *Early English Watercolours*.
- Westall applied for membership on 4 June 1805, and was elected on 3 December 1805.
- See R. Westall, *National Library of Australia News* (Canberra, December 2007). For the panoramas see William Westall boxes at the Witt Library, Kings College, London.
- See n. 9
- I am indebted to *Library Notes*, Royal Commonwealth Society July 1965 for this information.
- A possible tenth oil is mentioned above.
- The catalogue of Richard Westall's own exhibition in Pall Mall in 1814 (which can be seen at the British Library) indicates the proprietors of his pictures included Richard Payne Knight, Thomas Hope, the Earls of Oxford, Carlisle & Harrowby, Lord Byron, Samuel Rogers, the Prince Regent, D'Israeli and William Daniell among many others.
- Analytical Enquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805 ed) in which Knight wrote p. 304: 'Some of the most interesting and affecting pictures that art has ever produced, are taken from similar events (tragedies taken from common life), and are treated in similar style; such as Mr West's General Wolfe, Mr Westall's Storm In Harvest, and Mr Wright's Soldiers Tent; in all of which the pathos is much improved, without the picturesque effect being at all injured, by the characters and dress being taken from familiar life.'
- The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London 1982.
- Ibid.*
- Ibid.*
- 'The picturesque and the homogenisation of Empire', *British Art Journal* (London) Vol V No 1, Spring/Summer 2004.

John Clarke Jnr, Andrew Lenehan and James Templeton,

CABINET MAKERS OF CASTLEREAGH ST, SYDNEY

John Clarke Jnr is the subject of a biographical entry in *Australian Furniture Pictorial History and Dictionary 1788-1938* by Kevin Fahy and Andrew Simpson, published in 1998. Since this publication, further research has revealed the location of his Castlereagh Street premises, more precisely identified when he conducted his cabinet making business from those premises, and revealed the location nearby of the cabinet making premises of James Templeton, which Andrew Lenehan occupied before purchasing and moving to Clarke's premises. This article dealing with this research is based on an idea first discussed with the late Kevin Fahy AM, to whose memory this article is dedicated.

Michel Reymond

JOHN CLARKE JNR

On 17 June 1825 John Clarke Jnr (1801-54) arrived at Sydney from London on board the *Harvey*.¹ Two years later his father John Clarke Snr, his wife Susannah, and John Clarke Jnr's four brothers, William, James Richard, Charles George, and Edward Thomas, also arrived in Sydney.² Two of these brothers would later be described as cabinet makers.³ Four months before his father's arrival, he was described as a builder, when he married the widow

Charlotte Webster at Scots Church, Sydney, on 19 May 1827.⁴

Listed in the 1828 census as a builder with his place of residence in George Street, Sydney, he became a 'cabinet maker' sometime between then and April 1829, when he was described as 'Mr John Clarke, Cabinet Maker, George-street', Sydney.⁵

On 29 October 1830, he purchased a property on the western side of Castlereagh Street, just three doors from King Street, known as 'No. 22' Castlereagh Street, later described in its title as allotment 23 of section 35 (plate 1).⁶ At the time of his purchase, he was described as 'of Sydney ... Cabinet Maker'.⁷ John

Tawell, who sold him the property, had earlier purchased a larger one which he later subdivided into two allotments, selling the second one to Clarke for £500.⁸

Tawell (1784-1845) was born at Aldeby, Norfolk, England, became a Quaker and went to work for a London linen draper. Later, in 1807 he became a traveller for a firm of druggists. Forging a bank note in 1814 issued by a Quaker banker at Uxbridge, he was apprehended, charged and sentenced to 14 years transportation.

Upon his arrival in Sydney in 1815, Governor Macquarie set him to work in the Rum Hospital because of his knowledge of drugs and chemistry. For his assiduity and good conduct he was freed after three years. He then set himself up as a chemist and druggist in Hunter Street, later moving to larger premises in Pitt Street where he expanded the business to include groceries. His business prospered and he later sold it for a reputed £14,000, investing the proceeds in city properties and mortgages.⁹

In April 1828 Tawell announced he was moving to 'No. 22 Castlereagh Street'¹⁰ having in the previous month sold the other half of his Castlereagh Street property known as 'No. 21' (allotment 24 on plate 1) to George Sippe for £450.¹¹ Soon afterwards in January 1829, Samuel Lyons held a sale of the valuable books, wines and other goods 'on the Premises of Mr J Tawell No. 22 Castlereagh Street'.¹² This was probably due to Tawell's decision to revisit England with his family; they departed in March 1829, returning in

[Opposite page]

Plate 1 Plan of Section 35, City of Sydney, Council of City of Sydney archives

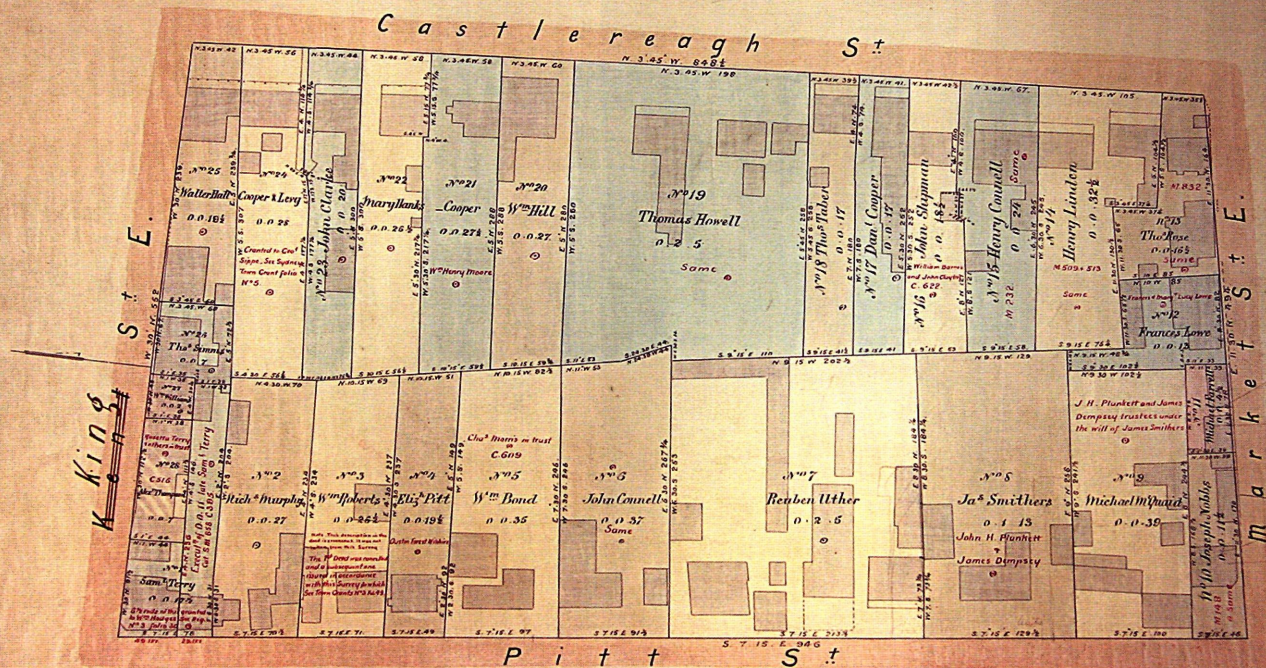
SECTION 35.

Within the Metropolitan Sewerage District, Dedicated with Act 43 Vic No 32

Inclosed 8th July 1880

50 fath = 1 inch

Castlereagh St



Pitt St

Market St



a) Old Court House b) Andrew Lenehan's Premises

Plate 2. Photo No. 6 in Panorama from the Steeple of St James Church, King Street, Sydney: The American & Australasian Photographic Company, n.d. (1871), Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW

July 1830 before departing again in November 1831 and returning once more in July 1834.¹³

Upon his return in July 1830, Tawell seems to have occupied his residence at 22 Castlereagh Street, which may have remained vacant while he was abroad. On 25 September 1830, Mr Bodenham auctioneer announced that an early date would be fixed for the auction sale of a number of Tawell's properties including:

That unique Cottage residence with a good garden and in excellent repair, No 22, Castlereagh-Street, nearly opposite the Court-house,

and particularly adapted to the residence of a Barrister, Proctor, Solicitor, Conveyancer, and other professional gentlemen; now in the occupation of Mr John Tawell.¹⁴

It appears Clarke then negotiated with Tawell to purchase this property, as a sale was completed on 30 October 1830 on very favourable terms to Clarke: £50 cash payable to Tawell with the balance of £450 being financed by Tawell to Clarke as a one-year loan, which Clarke repaid one year later when he was described as 'of Sydney' 'Cabinet Maker'.¹⁵ All this suggests Tawell and Clarke knew one another before October 1830. Clarke may have been Influenced to move here by its location (**plate 1**), the attractiveness of the house and its garden, given he had a young stepdaughter by his wife's previous marriage and a baby daughter born in July 1829.¹⁶

There were no Sydney directories for the years 1829–31. In the directory published for 1832, Clarke is recorded as 'Clarke, J, Upholsterer, Castlereagh-street'.¹⁷ In the subsequent Sydney directories for 1833 to 1837 he appears as 'Clarke, John, Cabinet-maker and Upholsterer, 22, Castlereagh-street, Sydney'.¹⁸ No directory appeared for 1838, and the next one published in 1839 does not record him.¹⁹

Earlier, in July 1834 from 'No. 22 Castlereagh Street', he applied to purchase ten acres of Crown land (now known as Clarke's Point, Woolwich) on the Lane Cove River being 'desirous of making the abovementioned piece of land his future residence'.²⁰ At this time it would seem he was planning to move to this area with his family and probably cease his business activities from his Castlereagh Street property. On his ten acres, he built a stone house called *Viewforth*, most likely completed by 1836, and described later as

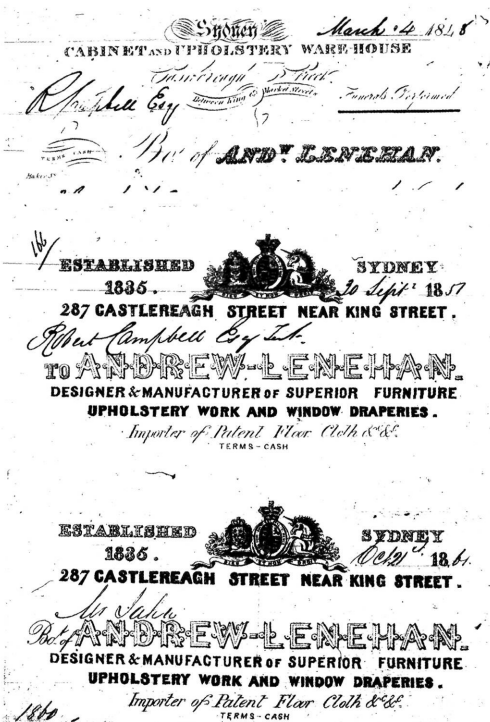
'consisting of five good rooms, with kitchen and servants rooms attached' located 'on the point opposite Cockatoo Island' with the ten acres 'fenced in, [with] a garden and two convenient wharves, and a boat house'.²¹ It was here in August 1838 that two of his brothers were married.²² In January of the following year he was described as of 'the Parish of Hunters Hill' 'Cabinet Maker', a description repeated in 1844.²³ His residence here with his family was confirmed in the 1841 Census when he was described as living in a stone house with his wife and two children.²⁴

After 1837 he ceases to be listed in any directory until he reappears in 1851 as living in Balmain.²⁵ This suggests he had leased his Castlereagh Street property to tenants, probably as early as 1837 or 1838. There are no detailed street listings for the city of Sydney until 1845, when they show that two tenants occupied his Castlereagh Street property which then consisted of two 'houses'.²⁶ After 1838 and prior to 1845 he continued to be described in documents as 'Cabinet Maker' suggesting he may still have been working but probably not from Castlereagh Street.²⁷ In December 1839 while living at *Viewforth* he wrote to the Colonial Secretary from '22 Castlereagh Street' requesting the title deeds for his Castlereagh Street property.²⁸ Although a response and the title deeds were sent to him he apparently did not receive anything, for he wrote again in July 1840 making the same request.²⁹ This time there was no address on his letter and he requested that a reply be sent 'To the Care of Mr Milne Upholsterer, Castlereagh Street'.³⁰ All this suggests his Castlereagh Street property was by this time already tenanted.

In May 1847, Clarke sold his Castlereagh Street property for £880 to Andrew Lenehan of 'Castlereagh Street' 'Cabinet Maker'.³¹ Lenehan also purchased the adjoining property (allotment 23 on **plate 1**) for £900 in September 1849.³² Subsequently Lenehan redeveloped both of these properties and an adjoining one facing King Street (allotment 26 on **plate 1**) into his new furniture factory and show rooms.

Plate 3.

Invoice - Andrew Lenehan, James Arthur Dowling, Billheads & Curiosities, CY 1795, Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW



Between about 1845 and 1850, Clarke was described in documents as 'of the Parish of Hunters Hill' 'Gentleman' suggesting he had by this time retired from his previous occupation.³³ In 1849 he let his ten acres 'opposite Cockatoo Island' to Henry Ferris, a Sydney merchant, for a term of five years, and it is likely he then moved from *Viewforth* to Balmain, where from 1851 he was listed as a cabinet maker.³⁴ He died on 17 April 1854 at his residence *Bankside Cottage*, Balmain, when it was said 'He was much respected through life and his loss will be deeply regretted by all who knew him'.³⁵ Two years later his wife died on 2 October 1856 at *Stephen Cottage*, the residence of her son in law.³⁶

JAMES TEMPLETON AND ANDREW LENEHAN

On 31 August 1835 James Templeton arrived at Sydney from Liverpool on board the *Jane Goudie*; the Templeton family had a previous association with

the furniture trade in Dublin.³⁷ On board the same ship was Andrew Lenehan, who would later marry Susannah Templeton, likely a close relative of James Templeton.³⁸

Within two months of his arrival, Templeton established his cabinet making business in George Street.³⁹ From there he moved in January 1837 'to more extensive premises in Castlereagh Street'⁴⁰, opposite the old Court House (**plate 2**)⁴¹, which he subsequently purchased (part of allotment 19 on **plate 1**).⁴² He stayed there until he sold his business to Lenehan in May 1841, completion of which did not occur until 1 September 1841.⁴³ Templeton thereafter retired from cabinet making but retained ownership of his Castlereagh Street properties until his death on 28 April 1862 following a fall from his carriage while out driving.⁴⁴ No known examples of his work have so far been identified.

Sydney Rate Books, which show Lenehan as the owner and occupier of a 'Warehouse, Workshop & house' at 66 Castlereagh Street.⁶⁵ The directories for the years 1858/9 through to 1866 show Lenehan three doors from King Street at 179 Castlereagh Street.⁶⁵

Fahy & Simpson illustrate a number of labels with no street number in 'Castlereagh Street'. When compared to the labels which have numbers, it is possible to see similarities between the two, such as lettering, style, layout etc, suggesting these un-numbered labels were printed at various times, probably when the street numbers were in the process of change - where that process was known to be occurring but was taking a long time to happen.

Set out below is a suggested summary of dates for the labels:

1835-41	Most likely employed at James Templeton's workshop in Castlereagh Street
1841-43	Label at page 82 of Fahy & Simpson
1844-47	Label 271 Castlereagh Street, and for a brief period Label 271 Castlereagh Street and 133 King Street
1848-52/3	Label 287 Castlereagh Street
1853/4	Transition to Label 66 Castlereagh Street, for a brief period Label 112 Castlereagh Street
1855-57	Label 66 Castlereagh Street
1858-66	Label 179 Castlereagh Street

Be careful in dating Lenehan furniture solely on the basis of a particular label. His workshop was still using old invoice forms long after the street address had changed; the first and third invoices in (plate 3) are examples of this use⁶⁶. If he was using old invoice forms in this way, he may equally have used old (earlier) labels on later-made pieces of furniture.

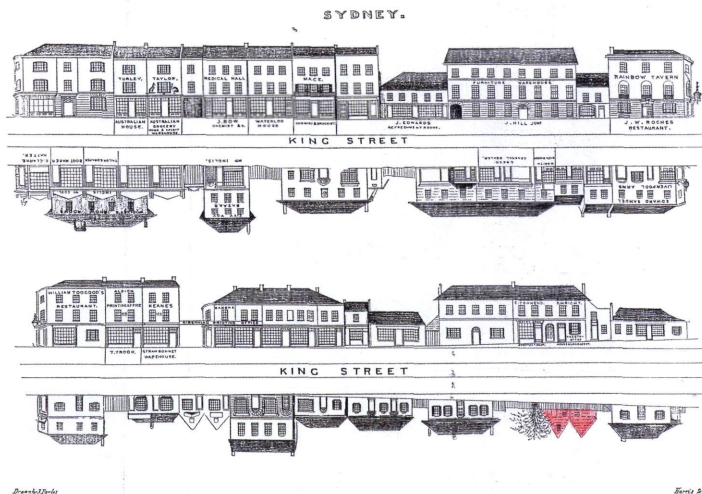


Plate 5. Fowles' Sydney in 1848 - opposite page 26

STREET NUMBERS

No study has been made and no history written on how and when street numbering in the city of Sydney came about, nor when and why it changed at various times during the 19th century.

Numbering was probably first adopted some time after Sydney's first postmaster was appointed in 1810.⁶⁷ By the 1820s the street numbers in this part of Castlereagh Street (which were both odd and even numbers on the same side) would remain the same until at least 1840.⁶⁸ Thereafter, there appear to have been at least three changes: the new numbers adopted in the early 1840s, which were changed around 1853-54, and again around 1857-58.⁶⁹ A further change occurred around 1880.

As has been seen with Lenehan after he moved to Clarke's property, the fact that the street numbers changed did not necessarily mean he had moved.

LENEHAN'S WORKSHOP

From 1844 the various rate book descriptions of Lenehan's premises seem to show he was continuously expanding: shop and dwelling (1844), shop and dwelling + workshop (1845), shop and dwelling + two workshops (1848), workshop and house (1852), warehouse, workshop and house (1855/56)⁷⁰. This probably reflected both an expansion in city building activity as well as his own business.

Lenehan expanded further in 1863, adding extensions to his buildings off King Street. The *Empire* of 21 May 1863 described 'the new extensions' built to the designs of William Weaver, architect.⁷¹ They were in 'immediate proximity' and connected to Lenehan's 'extensive premises in Castlereagh-street comprising his lofty showrooms, containing the most *recherché* specimens of London, Parisian, and other foreign manufactures and also admirable proofs of the skill and taste of our colonial artisans, and of the extraordinary beauty and value of the indigenous woods of New South Wales'.

The same description claimed that there were 'constantly employed cabinet-makers, turners, carvers, and gilders, decorators, French polishers, joiners, chair and bedstead makers, upholsters (male and female) and workers in every other industrial branch of his most comprehensive enterprise, the rapid and successful growth of which rendered it necessary to greatly increase the area of its operations'.⁷²

This description in the *Empire* was part of a review of new buildings recently completed in the city centre. This expansion probably contributed to Lenehan's subsequent financial difficulties; by November 1863 he had appointed trustees to sell all his assets to pay his creditors.⁷³ In June of the following year his trustees sold his



a) Lenelan's 1863 buildings b) Moffitt's New Building 1871

Plate 6. Photo No. 7 in Panorama from the Steeple of St James Church, King Street, Sydney. The American & Australasian Photographic Company, n.d. (1871), Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW

Castlereagh and King Street properties for £11,000 to William Moffitt, bookseller of Sydney.⁷⁴ At the time of this sale those properties were described as 'three houses in King Street', together with Lenelan's 'Upholstery Establishment with yard' in Castlereagh Street and an 'adjoining parcel of land with a Cottage thereon' to the north of his 'Establishment.'⁷⁵ Moffitt allowed Lenelan to stay until he left around 1868.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

When John Clarke Jnr commenced his Castlereagh Street cabinet-making business, he little knew that the next decade would see NSW enjoy an unprecedented economic boom. The colony's population would increase from 35,960 in 1828 to 118,918 by 1841.⁷⁶ It was the golden decade for merchants and middlemen. Driven by wool exports, which alone quadrupled between 1830 and 1835, the boom saw a flood of

British capital pour into the colony along with almost unlimited credit; four new banks alone were formed during this decade where only one existed before.⁷⁷ Some of Sydney's finest and grandest houses were built, *Elizabeth Bay House*, *Tusculum*, *Lyndhurst*, *Subiaco* and *Burdekin House* to name but a few.

Like all booms, it ended in a bust in 1841–43 followed by a recession, the economic effects of which would last until the discovery of gold in 1851. Some idea of the effect of the bust and resultant recession can be seen in the spectacular bankruptcy of Hannibal Macarthur; he went bankrupt in 1849 owing nearly £250,000, a sum which in 1849 would have purchased over 277 properties in Sydney's central business district at an average price of £900 each.⁷⁸

Against this background there is no record of whom, if anyone, Clarke may have employed in his Castlereagh Street business. William and James Richard, two of his brothers, were described in 1839 as cabinet makers 'of the Parish of Hunters Hill',⁷⁹ but are not listed in any directory between 1832 and 1850; they may have worked for him for a time.

He seems to have made few improvements to his Castlereagh Street

property which was described in 1845 as consisting of just two houses.⁸⁰ This part of Castlereagh Street does not appear to have developed in the same way as George, Pitt and Elizabeth Streets did, as illustrated in Fowles's *Sydney in 1848*. Castlereagh Street does not appear at all in that publication. However, Fowles drew an elevation depicting the buildings in King Street between Castlereagh and Pitt Streets (**plate 5**). The two buildings (coloured red) shown to the left of the tree in this drawing are probably on the property next to Clarke's (allotment 24 on **plate 1**).⁸¹ Coupled with the buildings described in the 1845 and 1848 rate books, it suggests that the character of this part of Castlereagh and King Streets did not change substantially during the period 1830–48.

This is to be contrasted this with what appears to be the large amount of building activity which seems to have occurred in this area after 1851 in the period 1851–65, as can be seen in the description in the Empire of 21 May 1863. Lenelan appears to have commenced making alterations and extensions to his buildings in 1848/49 and again around 1855, with further extensions in 1863. This expansion coincided with an increase in

the colony's population from 178,668 in 1851 to 350,860 by 1861.⁸² A photograph taken in 1871 from the steeple of St James's Church, King Street, Sydney, shows Lenehan's former 'Upholstery Establishment' (plate 6). It is the three-storey Norwich Union building facing the street, behind which a long building stretches back some distance, at the rear of which is a separate building running parallel to Castlereagh Street. This was the 'Upholstery Establishment'; to its right can be seen the 'new building'⁸³ built by Moffitt in 1871, adjacent to the Colonnade Hotel on the corner of King and Castlereagh Streets. The building shown on the extreme left in this photo is thought to be where Lenehan started his business in 1841. As this photo shows, single storey cottages continued to exist in this part of Castlereagh Street well into the 1870s.

CONCLUSION

JOHN CLARKE JNR

This research concludes that John Clarke Jnr's cabinet making business commenced in Castlereagh Street in October 1830 and ceased by 1837. It suggests his Castlereagh Street paper label belongs to the period 1830-37.

Clarke does not appear to have advertised in local newspapers in the period 1829-37, although he is recorded in local directories. This may suggest he did not need to advertise in order to attract business because he developed, for example, a boutique-type business with an established clientele. It may also indicate his business was more diversified and did not rely solely upon furniture cabinet making. His paper label suggests a number of other related activities as does his previous occupation of builder.

Judging by his ability to pay off his considerable borrowings against land, his business must have prospered. Apart from his initial loan borrowings for his Castlereagh Street purchase, he is not recorded thereafter as borrowing any money for any of his subsequent land dealings.⁸⁵ This may indicate a conservative approach to borrowing

and carefulness with money even during boom times.

The fact he moved from Castlereagh Street with his young family to his newly built stone house at Woolwich, most likely by 1836,⁸⁶ and ceased to be recorded in any directories after 1837 until he reappeared in 1851, may also suggest his 'cabinet making' activities were concentrated in areas other than furniture making, perhaps of the kind indicated on his paper label. This may explain why in the past 40 years only two pieces of his labelled furniture have been found; a work table and a merchant's counting house clerk's desk (sometimes confusingly described as a library desk).⁸⁷ By contrast, numerous pieces by two of his contemporaries, Joseph Sly and Andrew Lenehan, have turned up over the same period. Although Sly and Lenehan both started around 1835 and continued in business for longer periods, this does not readily explain why so few pieces by Clarke have appeared.

What this research establishes is that John Clarke Jnr's paper label is the earliest known paper label of any Australian colonial cabinet maker so far known. It was printed by the Sydney illustrator and wood engraver William H Wilson, who arrived in Sydney in 1828, whose story is told elsewhere.⁸⁸

JAMES TEMPLETON AND ANDREW LENEHAN

This research shows that after Templeton moved to Castlereagh Street, he sold his business to Lenehan who continued to occupy Templeton's premises until he moved to Clarke's property after he purchased it in May 1847. It also suggests, in the absence of more detailed newspaper research and any new unseen labels, a revised dating regime for Lenehan's so far known Castlereagh Street paper labels.

Michel Reymond is a Sydney solicitor and founding member of the Society, with a long-standing interest in researching Australian heritage.

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- Chronicle* The Morning Chronicle
- Empire* Empire Sydney Journal of News
- SG* Sydney Gazette
- SMH* Sydney Morning Herald
- TA* The Australian

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- LPI Land & Property Information Service, Department of Lands, Queen's Square, Sydney
- SC Supreme Court of New South Wales Probate Division, State Records

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- Reynolds Peter Reynolds, 'From Adolphus Street to Gladstone Park - Balmain - Part 5 - Section 11' *Leichhardt Historical Journal*, 21 May 1997, pp 27-30

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- Dir 1* *New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory 1832-1837*
- Dir 2* *New South Wales & Port Phillip General Post Office Directory 1839*
- Dir 3* *New South Wales General Town Directory and Advertiser 1843*
- Dir 4* *Low's City of Sydney Directory 1844/45 and 1847*
- Dir 5* *Ford's Sydney Commercial Directory 1851*
- Dir 6* *Waugh & Cox Directory of Sydney and its Suburbs 1855*
- Dir 7* *Post Office Sydney Directory 1857*
- Dir 8* *Sands & Kenny Sydney Commercial and General Directory 1858/59, 1861 1863*
- Dir 9* *Sands Commercial and General Sydney Directory 1864*
- Dir 10* *Sands' Sydney Directory 1865-68*

NOTES

- 1 Reynolds, p 28
- 2 *Ibid* n 1
- 3 Deeds dated 17 January 1839, Book No.232 & 234, LPI
- 4 *SG* 23 May 1827, p 2
- 5 Census 1828, State Records; *SG* 16 April 1829 p 4 col.2.
- 6 For the purchase see Deed Book D No.140, LPI. For reference to 'No. 22' see note 10. For reference to allotment 23, section 35 see plan in plate 1; this plan can be dated circa 1830-35. It is a copy made in 1880 of the original at LPI.
- 7 Deed Book D No.140, LPI
- 8 *Ibid* n 7. Tawell's 1825 purchase, was not registered, see Deed Book 24 No.284, LPI.
- 9 Information in this and the preceding paragraph is taken from the references cited in *ABR* and entries in *TA* index under Tawell.
- 10 *TA*, 18 April 1828 p 2, col 2
- 11 For reference to 'No. 21' see *TA* under George Sippe, 7 May 1828; for purchase by Sippe see Deed Book B No.362, LPI.
- 12 *TA*, 20 January 1829, p 2
- 13 *TA*, 10 March 1829, p 3, col 1, 20 July 1830, 1 November 1831, p 2, 15 July 1834 p 2 col 1. Tawell returned to England in

- 1840 where he was subsequently hanged for murdering his wife.
- 14 *SG* 25 September 1830 p 2 col. 2; Tawell's address is given as 22 Castlereagh Street in various auction advertisements in *SG* between August & October 1830.
 - 15 Deed Book D No.138, LPI; this loan was paid off with £200 cash and a new borrowing of £250 probably repayable within 1 year; Deed Book D No.681, LPI. The repayment of these loans was never registered, see Vendor's Index, Old System Register, LPI.
 - 16 *Ibid* n 1 p 30 n 58
 - 17 *Dir* 1 for 1832
 - 18 *Dir* 1 for 1833-37
 - 19 *Dir* 2
 - 20 Reel 1110, under John Clarke, State Records
 - 21 Martin & Drake, p 2 and deed Book 16 No 24, LPI. *Viewforth* is also referred to in Deed Book 54 no 357 LPI.
 - 22 Martin & Drake p 2
 - 23 *Ibid* note 3 and Deed Book 6 No. 190, LPI
 - 24 Census 1841, State Library NSW
 - 25 *Dir* 5 p 27
 - 26 CSRB for 1845. At the time of his purchase there was only one house, *ibid* n 80.
 - 27 *Ibid* n 23
 - 28 *Ibid* n 20
 - 29 *Ibid* n 20
 - 30 *Ibid* n 20. Milne is not recorded in any directory around this time.
 - 31 Deed Book 12 No.855, LPI
 - 32 Deed Book 24 No.142, LPI
 - 33 *Ibid* nn 31 & 34
 - 34 Deed Book 16 No.24, LPI and *Dir* 5
 - 35 *SMH* 22 April 1854, p 5, col 5
 - 36 *SMH* 3 October 1856, p 1, col 5; see also Reynolds p 85, note 61
 - 37 Fahy
 - 38 *Ibid* n 37
 - 39 *TA* 13 January 1837, p 3, col 3
 - 40 *Ibid* n 39
 - 41 For history of the old court house see *Bennett*; for its location see plate 2.
 - 42 Deeds Book O No.406 & 407 and Book T No.437, LPI. Templeton's properties are now part of the Skygarden buildings facing Castlereagh Street.
 - 43 *TA* 11 May 1841, p 2, & 4 September 1841, p 1, col 2
 - 44 *SMH* 29 April 1862 p 4 col 5 & *SMH* 30 April 1862 p 4 col 6
 - 45 See descriptions in CSRB for 1848
 - 46 Fahy & Simpson, p 82-83
 - 47 *Ibid* nn 43 & 50
 - 48 Fahy n 4
 - 49 Fahy
 - 50 See references to Andrew Lenihan in *TA* Index 1824-42 and *SMH* Index 1842-44.
 - 51 *Ibid* n 49
 - 52 Fahy n 4 p 41
 - 53 CSRB for the relevant year cited.
 - 54 *Ibid* n 53
 - 55 *Ibid* n 53 & *Dir* 3
 - 56 *Ibid* n 53
 - 57 *Dir* 4, *SMH* 18 October 1844, p 3, *SMH*

- 10 February 1847, p 4, col 3. *Chronicle* 11 January 1845 p 1 col 3 & 6 August 1845 p 1 col 1
- 58 *Ibid* n 53
 - 59 *Ibid* n 53
 - 60 *Ibid* n 53
 - 61 Lenihan advertises at 287: *SMH* 10 July 1848 p 1 col.5 & 17 July 1848 p 2 col.6; *Dir* 5 p 80.
 - 62 Eg Macquarie Ward rate book for 1856 shows the Market to King Street block as even numbers while the King to Hunter Street block has uneven numbers.
 - 63 *Dir* 6 & 7
 - 64 *Ibid* n 53
 - 65 *Dir*'s 8-10. Lenihan's premises were renumbered 181 for the years 1867-68; he left during 1868
 - 66 *Ibid* n 48
 - 67 Isaac Nichols was the first postmaster; *ADB* p 283
 - 68 Based on references to 'no. 22' in 1828 and 1839 and to 'no. 21' under George Sippe in *TA*.
 - 69 A new street numbering system seems to have been adopted after the incorporation of the Council of the City of Sydney in 1842. For the date changes see CSRB around the dates mentioned.
 - 70 *Ibid* n 53
 - 71 *Empire* 21 May 1863 p 2 under 'Private Improvements'
 - 72 *Ibid* n 71
 - 73 Deed Book 85 No. 813 LPI
 - 74 Deed Book 88 No. 952 LP; *ADB* Vol 2 p 242
 - 75 *Ibid* n 74
 - 76 Vamplen p 26; for slightly different figures see Smith p 223.
 - 77 Sykes chapter 2
 - 78 Information in the writer's possession.
 - 79 *Ibid* n 3
 - 80 When he purchased the property, there was only one 'dwelling house'; *ibid* n 14.
 - 81 *Fowles* opposite p 26
 - 82 *Ibid* n 76
 - 83 Referred to as 'the new building' in the Will of William Moffitt 5 June 1872, No. 855 Series 2, SC, State Records. It was built on the 'parcel of land with the Cottage thereon'; Culwullah Chambers at 67 Castlereagh Street now occupies the site of both these buildings.
 - 84 See *SG* & *TA* newspaper index under John Clarke; *ibid* nn 17,18 and 19.
 - 85 Vendor's Index Old System 1825-54 under John Clarke, LPI. His father died in 1837 intestate; as the heir at law he inherited all his father's real estate.
 - 86 The date 1836 is based on his purchase of the land in 1834; the issue of the title deed in early 1835 and the likely commencement of construction of the house in the same year. See also the history of his father's house *The Shipwrights Arms*, Windmill Street, The Rocks in Freeland p 60.
 - 87 Work table illustrated in Craig p 140; counting house desk illustrated in *Sotbeys* p 35.
 - 88 Kerr p 868

Louis Kitz:

a newly identified early Australian goldsmith and silversmith

The Geelong watchmaker and jeweller Louis Kitz is largely unknown to collectors of colonial jewellery, silver and gold ware. While many early silversmiths identified their work by inscribing their names or applying pseudo-hallmarks some, apparently including Kitz, did not.

Until now, no pieces made by Kitz have been identified in public or private collections. Thus none of his pieces were displayed in an exhibition devoted to Geelong silversmiths,¹ and none are illustrated in the comprehensive monographs on Australian jewellers² and silversmiths.³

John Houstone,
Richard A.J. O'Hair and
Carmel S. O'Hair

Despite Kitz's prominent role as a businessman in Geelong and Melbourne,⁴ he has not been the subject of any recent studies.⁵ Thus we have had to piece together information on Kitz from contemporary newspaper articles, with his obituary providing key details of his life.⁶ Other information has been gleaned from an entry on his son John, a student at Geelong Grammar.⁷

Johann Louis Kitz (1820–1887) was born on 3 May 1820 at Hanau, Kurhessen north-east of Frankfurt in Germany, and trained as a watchmaker. He moved to Regent Street, London where he was appointed watchmaker to a large English railway company. He left for Victoria at the time of the first great gold rush, arriving in Melbourne



Plate 1. Johann Louis Kitz (1820–1887), the Sir William à Beckett retirement gold paper-knife in its presentation case, 1857. Private collection



Plate 2.
Johann Louis Kitz
(1820-1887), the
Sir William à
Beckett retirement
gold paper-knife,
1857, detail of the
engraving.
Private collection

L. Kitz, Watchmaker and Jeweller, 68 Moorabool-street, has always on hand a well selected stock of gold, silver, lever and duplex watches. Clocks of every description, bracelets, brooches, earrings; also a large stock of colonial manufactured jewellery well adapted for presents to be sent home. Watches and clocks repaired and cleaned to give satisfaction.¹¹

THE SIR WILLIAM À BECKETT RETIREMENT GOLD PAPER-KNIFE

Recently, an important gold paper knife presentation piece to Sir William à Beckett has come to light (plates 1-3). It is housed in its original shagreen box, which bears the label of Louis Kitz. The paper knife is 18 ct gold, weighs 177 grams and is 28.5 cm long. The plain blade contrasts with an elaborately decorated handle in the Rococo style with leaf scrolls and shell motifs.

The engraving on the knife handle (plate 2) reads:

Presented to
SIR Wm. À BECKETT
By the Attorneys of the
Supreme Court
of Victoria
resident at Geelong
on his
resigning the office
of CHIEF JUSTICE of the COLONY
March 1857

The paper knife and box (plate 1) are in excellent condition, consistent with Bennett's statement that it remained in the family's possession.¹² The inside lid of the box bears a printed round label (plate 3), which states:

Louis Kitz
Watchmaker & Jeweller
68 Moorabool St
Geelong

At the bottom of the label there is a barely legible mark for W.H. Marriott.¹³ The address on the label is contemporary with the 1857 date of the presentation.

aboard the *Barrackpore* in February 1853 with his wife Jane Mortimer (née Jeffrey) and children.

He settled in Geelong as a watchmaker and jeweller, also importing the first quartz-crushing machine into the colony, which was erected and successfully operated at Steiglitz. Kitz served on the boards of several mining companies. He helped pioneer the volunteer defence force in Victoria by starting the first corps of volunteers at Geelong, where Sir Charles Hotham commissioned him as a Captain.

Kitz later became a wine merchant and moved to Melbourne, where he had stores in Bourke and Collins Streets. Subsequently he helped established the cider-making industry in Victoria, which required encouraging fruit growers to grow the appropriate type of apples. Kitz was one of the oldest Masons in Victoria and took a leading role in Masonic matters. He left Melbourne in April 1887 to visit Britain, died on 2 July 1887 in Scotland, and was buried in London.

Kitz had 10 children, and was survived by three sons (Charles William, Paul Julius and Fred) and two daughters (Ellen and Alice). His sons followed him into the wine business, and their L. Kitz & Sons business continued into the early 20th century.

Unfortunately, we have been unable to find a photograph or portrait of Kitz.⁸ We are left only with Ferdinand Hochstetter's diary entry of 6 November 1849, where Kitz is described as 'L. Kitz, watchmaker from Hanau, married, a fat friendly man.'⁹

KITZ'S EARLY WORK AS A JEWELLER IN GEELONG

The *Geelong Advertiser* records Kitz's role as a jeweller in several issues over the years 1853-1868, which are supported by the council rate books.¹⁰ Kitz advertised his business on numerous occasions in the *Geelong Advertiser* as:

SIR WILLIAM À BECKETT

Since he has been the subject of a book,¹⁴ only brief details are given here. Sir William à Beckett (1806-1869) was born in London, the eldest son of William à Beckett, solicitor. He was educated at Westminster School, became a barrister and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1829. He emigrated to New South Wales in 1837 and was appointed acting Solicitor-General for the colony in March 1841, and Solicitor-General in March 1843. He became an acting Judge in July 1844, and in 1846 was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court at Port Phillip. By January 1851 he had become Chief Justice of the newly formed colony of Victoria and later that year was knighted.

À Beckett presided over a number of important trials in Victoria including the barque *Nelson* gold robbers in 1852. In 1855 he presided over the trial of two of the miners charged with high treason arising out of the rioting at Ballarat during the Eureka Stockade. He recommended a conviction to the jury, but they delivered a verdict of not guilty.

À Beckett held strong moral views. Writing under the pseudonym 'Colonus', à Beckett produced a pamphlet that deplored the moral and social effects that the pursuit of gold was producing. He supported the Total Abstinence League while in Melbourne and later in England became vice-president of the United Kingdom Alliance 'to procure the total and immediate legislative suppression of the traffic of Intoxicating Liquors as Beverages'.¹⁵ Due to poor health he retired early in 1857. He returned to England in 1863 and died at London on 27 June 1869. He was married twice (Emily Hayley in 1832, and Matilda Hayley in 1849) and was survived by four sons from his first marriage.

THE À BECKETT PRESENTATIONS

On Sir William's retirement, two different presentations were made at his house. The first occurred on Saturday 14 March 1857 and involved the Geelong attorneys; the second occurred on

Monday 16 March 1857 and involved Melbourne attorneys. Surprisingly, the *Geelong Advertiser* does not report either of these presentations. Only the second presentation is discussed by all the major Melbourne newspapers, on Tuesday 17 March 1857.¹⁶ The *Herald* also describes the first meeting, although the chronology of the two meetings is out of sequence.¹⁷ As this newspaper report is directly relevant, it is repeated in full:

PRESENTATION TO SIR WM. À BECKETT AT GEELONG.

A deputation consisting of Mr. Hamlet Taylor, Mr. E. Sandford, and Mr. R. Garrett waited upon the late Chief Justice Sir W. À BECKETT, on Saturday last, to present an address from the Attorneys of the Supreme Court, resident in Geelong, upon his retirement from office. Mr Taylor read the subjoined address, which was elaborately illuminated on parchment: -
To Sir. William À Beckett, Knight Sir. - We the undersigned Attorneys of the Supreme Court of the colony of Victoria (resident in Geelong) trust you will allow us, on your retiring from the high and responsible office of Chief Justice of this colony, which you have so long and honourably filled, to express our admiration of your great legal attainments, your impartial administration of justices, and the urbanity and courtesy you have ever shewn towards those with whom you have been brought into contact, in the discharge of your public duties.

When we consider the many years you have worked for the public welfare, the arduous duties you have been called on to perform, and the critical positions involved in those duties, our admiration of your talents, justice, and impartiality are raised to the highest degree, - only to be met by the sad reflection that such worth is now lost us.

You carry with you, Sir, into your retirement, our warmest prayers for your health and happiness, and our ardent wishes that you may long live to enjoy those blessings.

Geelong, 10th March, 1857.

The address was accompanied by a testimonial of Geelong manufacture, a handsome paper-knife, composed of Ballarat gold, elaborately chased, and engraved with a suitable inscription.

The irony of this presentation piece is that it was made of Ballarat gold by a champion of the colonial wine industry and awarded to an outspoken opponent of both the pursuit of gold and the consumption of alcohol. Although this irony may have been lost on Sir William à Beckett, the *Herald* reports on his gracious response to the address and the gift of the paper-knife:¹⁸

Sir William à Beckett made the following reply to the deputation:-
Gentlemen, I thank you very sincerely for the kind and feeling terms in which you have addressed me on the occasion of my retirement from my judicial seat on the bench of Victoria. It is impossible not to consider the language you have employed as the expression of something more than a mere compliment, and believe me, therefore, that I have listened to it, from a conviction of its sincere and heartfelt warmth, with far deeper emotion than I can, in this brief reply, express.

It is an additional gratification to me to receive from so influential and respectable a portion of the Attorneys of Victoria, as those resident at Geelong, this distinct and independent tribute of their regards towards me, especially when the address in which it is embodied is presented to me, coming from such a distance, through the medium of a personal deputation.

Allow me to thank you, also, for the elegant and appropriate testimonial by which your address is accompanied. I shall doubtless, find it as useful as it is ornamental, it will help me to explore many a pleasant volume, whose leaves my judicial labours no longer forbid me to open; but should it be idle, it will always be to me a pleasing memento of the past, and a standing memorial of that agreeable page in my own life for

which I am this day indebted to you. Again, thanking you for your kind address, and the uniform courtesy which I have experienced in my intercourses with you, during my frequent visits on the circuit to Geelong. I bid you, with best wishes for your health, happiness and prosperity - farewell.

OTHER RECORDED PIECES MADE BY KITZ

Detailed descriptions in the *Geelong Advertiser*¹⁹ establish that Kitz made several other presentation pieces and awards for a number of well-known Geelong institutions.²⁰ These items are listed in the order that they appeared in the *Geelong Advertiser*, with the hope that this may allow identification of these pieces should they still exist.

THREE SILVER CUPS MADE FOR COMUNN NA FIENNE SOCIETY

On 20 December 1860, the *Geelong Advertiser* reported:

We have been favoured by Mr. L Kitz, jeweller of Moorabool-street, with an inspection of the designs for the three silver cups to be presented by the Comunn Na Fienne, to the successful competitors at the Grand Rifle Match, open to all volunteers in the colony, which comes off at the Butts, East Geelong, on Saturday, the 29th and Monday, the 31st instant. The most valuable of the prizes estimated to cost £34, is a very elegant cup and cover, a volunteer rifleman, standing at ease, surmounting the lid: the body of the cup will be highly ornamented with wreaths of thistles and the impression of the Comunn Na Fienne medal. The other two cups, valued respectively at £22 10 shillings and £8 10 shillings, are to be made after very chaste designs, in the ornamentation of which the thistle and copies of the medal will predominate. No doubt these specimens of colonial work of art will be done full justice to by Mr. Kitz.²¹

GOLD AND SILVER MEDALS FOR NEWTOWN AND CHILWELL FIRE BRIGADE

On 25 January 1861, the *Geelong Advertiser* noted in 'The Fine Arts' section:

During the past month several works in gold and silver have been turned out of hand by the silversmiths of Geelong, highly creditable to the arts. Three beautiful silver cups were manufactured by Mr. Louis Kitz, of Moorabool-street, as prizes to be given by the Society of Comunn Na Fienne, for rifle shooting; they were of the most elaborate design and exquisite finish. Also, from the same establishment, gold and silver medals for the Newtown and Chilwell Fire Brigade.²²

SILVER BUGLE MADE FOR THE GEELONG VOLUNTEER RIFLE REGIMENT

On 1 April 1861, the *Geelong Advertiser* reported:

We have inspected the magnificent silver bugle manufactured by Mr. Louis Kitz, which upon the breaking up of the encampment and return of the Geelong Volunteer Rifle Regiment to head quarters, will be presented on parade by the ladies of Geelong, as a grateful acknowledgement to the gentlemen composing the regiment for their taking up arms to defend the colony, should the necessity for doing so arise. The bugle has been tried by one experienced in the instrument, who has pronounced it to be of fine tone.²³

KITZ'S CAREER CHANGE TO VIGNERON

Although the exact circumstances and date for Kitz' career change to vigneron are unknown, we know that he became interested in promoting and selling Geelong-made wines by the late 1850s and early 1860s. From Ebenezer Ward's accounts of his tours of the vineyards of Victoria in 1864,²⁴ we learn that the winemaker Mr Niffenecker had his best wines stored

'in Mr. Kitz's cellars in Geelong'²⁵ and that the Ceres vineyard was occupied by Mr Alwin Seidel, but 'now the property of Mr. Kitz of Geelong.'

By late 1864 Kitz ran two different advertisements over several months in the *Geelong Advertiser*²⁶ to let customers know that (i) he was selling off his jewellery stock²⁷ and (ii) he was selling Ceres Wine to the public.²⁸ By early 1868, C.K. Pearson advertised that he had taken over the jewellery business from Kitz.²⁹ Kitz became a champion of the nascent colonial wine industry and moved to Melbourne where he set up wine stores.³⁰

ANOTHER MISSING PIECE: THE AWARD TO KITZ FOR PROMOTING COLONIAL WINE

A remarkable dinner meeting of the Vignerons of Geelong was held at the Wheat and Sheaf Hotel in January 1862. Two different newspaper reports describe how this dinner was the first in the Colony of Victoria in 'which nothing but colonial food and colonial-made beverages appeared on the table'.³¹ Both reports detail the wines on offer that evening.

At the end of the evening Kitz was presented by Alex McKenzie with a silver cup worth around £40, manufactured by himself in recognition of the work he had done in promoting the sale of colonial wine. His obituary notes the details of the engraving on the 'valuable silver cup' as:³²

Presented to Louis Kitz, Esq., by the wine-growers of Geelong district, in token of their esteem for his laudable exertions in promoting the colonial wine-trade. Geelong, 24th January, 1862.

CONCLUSION

Kitz was a true pioneer, who made significant contributions to the early colony of Victoria, firstly as a goldsmith, silversmith, watchmaker and jeweller in Geelong and later as a champion of the nascent colonial wine industry. It is unfortunate that the following important items appear to be

lost or unknown: a photograph or portrait of Kitz, and the items he manufactured as a silversmith which are described in contemporary newspaper articles, particularly the early awards including his own award in recognition for his work promoting Geelong wines. Even what would have been widely available ephemera associated with his business as a wine merchant (such as wine labels and advertising) are uncommon. It is hoped that this article will stimulate interest in Kitz and his businesses and bring further items to light.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article could not have been written without the help of many people. We would like to thank Ruth Dwyer and Thomas Darragh for generously sharing details on Kitz, especially references to the *Geelong Advertiser* and the *Argus*, which greatly sped up our research. Several people helped confirm the lack of extant Kitz pieces including Veronica Filmer (Geelong Gallery), John Sharples, Terry Lane (formerly National Gallery of Victoria), John Szasz and other members of the Silver Society of Australia. Finally, we wish to thank the librarians from the Rare Book Collection of the University of Melbourne and State Library of Victoria and the Geelong Heritage Centre.

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- 2 A. Schofield, K. Fahy, *Australian Jewellery: 19th and early 20th Century*, David Ell Press, Balmain NSW, 1990; K. Cavill, G. Cocks, J. Grace, *Australian Jewellers, Gold and Silversmiths, Makers and Marks*, CGC Gold, Roseville NSW, 1992.
- 3 J.B. Hawkins, *19th Century Australian Silver*, Antique Collectors' Club, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1990; J.B. Hawkins, *Australian silver, 1800-1900*, National Trust of Australia, Sydney, 1973; K. Albrecht, *19th century Australian gold and silver smiths*, Hutchinson Australia, Richmond, Vic. 1969.
- 4 His prominent role as a Melbourne businessman has been recognised by the naming of Kitz Lane in the city of Melbourne.
- 5 Kitz is briefly mentioned in the following books: D. Dunstan, *Better than Pommard! a history of wine in Victoria*, Australian Scholarly Publishing & Museum of Victoria, Kew Vic. 1994, p 17; I. Wynd, *Barnabool: land of the*



Plate 3. W.H. Marriott (printer), paper label for Louis Kitz, c. 1857. Private collection

Richard A.J. O'Hair is Professor of Chemistry at the University of Melbourne and has published over 150 scientific papers. He has been an avid coin collector since the age of 11 and has published several numismatics articles, winning the Ray Jewell Award for his article on the convict hulk token of George Barrington. **Carmel O'Hair** is his daughter, a student and budding young numismatist whose interest in the Australian gold rush was sparked by a school project on the Ballarat goldfields. **John Houstone** is a retired solicitor who has written many articles on Australian silver of the 19th century. Professor O'Hair can be contacted at the School of Chemistry, Bio21 Institute of Molecular Science and Biotechnology, Building 102, 30 Flemington Rd, University of Melbourne, Victoria 3010.

- maggie, Barnabool Shire*, Torquay Vic. 1992, pp 57-58; F. Strahan ed., *The Core of the Apple: The Memoirs of George McGowan, Cider Maker 1892-1982*, Archives Board of Management, University of Melbourne, 1982, pp 74-75.
- 6 His detailed obituary can be found in both the *Herald* 4 July 1887, pp 2, 3 and *Geelong Advertiser* 5 July 1887, p 4.
 - 7 J.J. Corfield & M. Collins Perse, *Geelong Grammarians: A Biographical Register*, Geelong Grammar School, Corio Vic., 1996; Volume 1: 1855-1913, p 91.
 - 8 The State Library of Victoria, the Royal Historical Society of Victoria and Picture Australia do not have portraits of Kitz.
 - 9 T.A. Darragh, 'Ferdinand Hochstetter's Notes of a Visit to Australia and a Tour of the Victorian Goldfields in 1859', *Historical Records of Australian Science*, 2001, 13, 383.
 - 10 Geelong Council rate books show that Kitz operated his shop in Moorabool St from 1854-67. He appears at this address as a watchmaker and jeweller in the first *Geelong Commercial Directory and Almanac* for 1854.
 - 11 *Geelong Advertiser*, 1 April 1861, p 1.
 - 12 J.M. Bennett, *Sir William à Beckett. First Chief Justice of Victoria 1852-1857*. Federation Press, Leichhardt NSW, 2001, p 101.
 - 13 The *Geelong Directory* for 1858 lists W. H. Marriott as an engraver in Moorabool St.
 - 14 J.M. Bennett, *Sir William à Beckett. First Chief Justice of Victoria 1852-1857*. Federation Press, Leichhardt NSW, 2001, p 101



L. KITZ, Watchmaker and Jeweller, 68 Moorabool-street, has always on hand a well-selected stock of gold, silver, lever and duplex watches. Clocks of every description; bracelets, brooches, earrings; also a stock of colonial manufactured jewellery, well presents to be sent home. Watches and clocks repaired and refaced.

Plate 4:
(left) Kitz's ad that he ran for some time when he was advertising his business.
Geelong Advertiser
13 December 1860

(below) Kitz's ad that he ran when he was advertising his business was closing down.
Geelong Advertiser
13 December 1864

**MR. L. KITZ,
WATCH-MAKER & JEWELLER,
68 MOORABOOL-STREET,
IS NOW SELLING OFF his splendid
Stock of WATCHES and JEWELLERY at the
English cost price. Persons about purchasing will save
20 per cent by making their purchases now.**

15 *Australian dictionary of biography*, Melbourne University Press; Melbourne: Volume 3: 1851 – 1890; 1969, p 10-11

16 *The Age*, 17 March 1857, p 5; *The Argus*, 17 March 1857, p 4; *Herald*, 17 March 1857, p 6.

17 For an irate letter 'Geelong presentation to Sir W. à Beckett' from a Geelong attorney questioning why the Geelong meeting was not discussed first, see *Herald*, 19 March 1857, p 6.

18 *Herald*, 17 March 1857, p 6.

19 *Geelong Advertiser*, 20 December 1860, p 2; 25 January 1861 p 2; 1 April 1861 p 3.

20 W. R. Brownhill, *The history of Geelong and Corio Bay, with postscript 1955-1990* by I. Wynd, Geelong Advertiser, Geelong, 1990.

21 The Comunn Na Fienne Society was founded in December 1856, and eventually 'languished and died' during the two World Wars (ref 20, pp 260-263). During its heyday, the Comunn Na Fienne Society was very active in promoting a range of activities,

including school examinations, sporting activities, shooting, musical and elocutionary competitions. While several struck Comunn Na Fienne Society medals are known (Museum Victoria has a piece, which can be viewed at their website http://www.museum.vic.gov.au/coins/1865/comunn_na_fienne_medal.html), none of the items Kitz made have yet surfaced. The Geelong Heritage Centre has copies of handwritten contemporary accounts of the Comunn Na Fienne, which confirm that Kitz was chosen to manufacture the prize cups.

22 The Newtown and Chilwell Fire Brigade was founded in 1859, and eventually disbanded on 1 July 1932 (ref 20, pp 244-251). This volunteer fire brigade was actively involved in a range of activities including competitions that demonstrated their fire fighting skills. For early photographs of the men of the fire brigade see: G. Seaton, *Model borough: an introduction to old Newtown and Chilwell*, City of Newtown, Newtown, 1983. The records and memorabilia of the Newtown and Chilwell Fire Brigade appear to have been dispersed.

23 The Geelong Volunteer Rifle Regiment was founded in 1854 as a rifle corps, and eventually transformed into the Geelong Artillery (ref 20, pp 634-639).

24 E. Ward, *The Vineyards of Victoria, as Visited by Ebenezer Ward in 1864*, Sullivans Cove, 1980, p 39.

25 Brownhill's book on the history of Geelong confirms that Kitz had cellars in Geelong (ref 20, p 256).

26 See for example *Geelong Advertiser*, 17 December 1864 and 7 February 1865.

27 The advertisement reads in part: 'Mr L. Kitz, watch-maker and jeweller 68 Moorabool Street, is now selling off his splendid stock of watches and jewellery at the English cost process. Persons about purchasing will save 20 per cent by making their purchases now.'

28 The advertisement reads in part: 'Ceres Nursery Wines: These celebrated Wines are now offered to the public by the proprietor, Mr L. Kitz, at such low prices as to make them come within the reach of every person. Samples at Chamber of Commerce Cellars, and at Mr Kitz', 68 Moorabool St.'

29 *Geelong Advertiser*, 1 February 1868, in the trade notices section.

30 Sands & McDougall directories for Melbourne reveal that Kitz had set up shop in Melbourne in 1869, but is also listed in Geelong. By 1870 he is listed as a 'colonial wine merchant' with addresses at 50 Bourke St East and cellars at 118 Collins St West.

31 The relevant part of the *Argus* report of 28 January 1862 reads: 'At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. Alexander MacKenzie handed a handsome silver cup to the chairman stating that it has been subscribed for by the winegrowers of the district, to be presented to Mr. L. Kitz, as a token of their gratitude to him for the efforts he had made to introduce colonial wine as a common beverage. The chairman then, in a few very appropriate remarks, presented to Mr. Kitz with the cup, value about £40; for which Mr Kitz made a suitable acknowledgement.' The relevant part of the *Geelong Advertiser* report of 25 January 1862, p 3 reads: 'The dinner seemed to have been in part got up for the purpose of presenting Mr. Louis Kitz with a testimonial from the vigneron of the Western District in expression of the appreciation of the services rendered in promoting the sale of colonial wine. The goblet, which was manufactured by Mr. Kitz himself, is of very elegant design and was presented by Mr. Alexander MacKenzie on behalf of the vinegrowers of the Barabool Hills and surrounding district and upon receiving Mr. Kitz made an appropriate response.'

32 *Herald* 4 July 1887, pp 2, 3 and *Geelong Advertiser* 5 July 1887, p 4.



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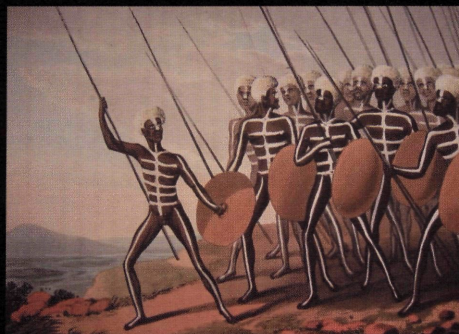
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