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The Australian paintings of Marianne North, 1880–1881: landscapes ‘doomed shortly to disappear’

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Abstract: The 80 paintings of Australian flora, fauna and landscapes by English artist Marianne North (1830-1890), completed during her travels in 1880–1881, provide a record of the Australian environment rarely presented by artists at that time. In the words of her mentor Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, director of Kew Gardens, North’s objective was to capture landscapes that were ‘doomed shortly to disappear before the axe and the forest fires, the plough and the flock, or the ever advancing settler or colonist’. In addition to her paintings, North wrote books recollecting her travels, in which she presented her observations and explained the relevance of her paintings, within the principles of a ‘Darwinian vision,’ and inevitable and rapid environmental change. By examining her paintings and writings together, North’s works provide a documented narrative of the state of the Australian environment in the late nineteenth-century, filtered through the themes of personal botanical discovery, colonial expansion and British imperialism.

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Introduction

The Marianne North Gallery in the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew houses 832 oil paintings which Marianne North (b. 24 Oct. 1830, Hastings, England; d. 30 Aug. 1890, Alderley, England) (**Fig. 1**) completed during her world travels between 1871 and 1884. The paintings are more or less hung abutted to each other, and occupy all the available space on the gallery walls (**Fig. 2**). The display also includes illustrated panels, doors and architraves that she completed, and a collection of 246 samples of polished timber arranged vertically below the paintings. The gallery, reminiscent of a Greek temple, was funded wholly by North, and designed in collaboration with the architectural historian James Fergusson (1808–1886), and was first opened in 1882 (Hemsley 1881; Anon. 1882).¹ With the completion of more paintings during subsequent excursions there was the need for additional space (Anon. 1883). An extension to the gallery was constructed and the present exhibition of 832 paintings, almost her entire life's output, was finalised in 1885 (Hemsley 1885). The arrangement of the paintings in geographical groupings remains as North personally installed them. North's travels took her to five continents and 17 countries, including Canada, United States and Jamaica (1871–72); Brazil (1872–73); Teneriffe, Japan and United States (1875); Singapore, Indonesia and Sri Lanka (1876); India (1877–79); Singapore, Indonesia, Australia, New Zealand and the United States (1880–81); South Africa (1882); Seychelles (1883); and Chile (1884).



Marianne North

Fig. 1. Marianne North, date not known, reproduced from the frontispiece of *Some Further Recollections of a Happy Life, Selected from the Journals of Marianne North Chiefly Between the Years 1859 and 1869*. James Cook University Library.



Fig. 2. Interior of the Marianne North Gallery, Royal Botanic Gardens Kew. Photo: M. McDonald.

The exhibition mainly includes paintings of plants but also scenes of many of the places she visited. The original catalogue was sub-titled 'plants and their homes' and it was estimated that over 1000 species were represented in the paintings thus providing a sampling of the more distinctive aspects of the world's flora (Hemsley 1882; Anon. 1914). Although the catalogues were funded and supervised by North, identification of the species was provided by the botanists then at Kew Gardens, in particular, William Botting Hemsley, Daniel Oliver, John Gilbert Baker and John Reader Jackson (Anon. 1882).

In addition to her paintings and gallery, North, in later years, worked on what was intended to be a book that detailed her journeys and experiences. However it remained unpublished at the time of her death in 1890; the manuscripts were edited by her sister Catherine Symonds (*née* North) (as Mrs John Addington Symonds), and published as three separate books: *Recollections of a Happy Life Being the Autobiography of Marianne North* in two volumes first published in 1892 and reprinted in 1893 with minor corrections (North 1892, 1893a); and *Some Further Recollections of a Happy Life, Selected from the Journals of Marianne North Chiefly Between the Years 1859 and 1869* first published in 1893 (North 1893b). All were successful publications going into a number of editions and reprints. Many of her paintings are described or alluded to in her books, thus making a clear connection between her travel discourses and the relevance of the plants and scenes that she depicted.

Stimulated by her unique life and public persona, North is one of the most studied women travellers and artists of the Victorian era, with numerous books and papers, both scholarly and non-academic, and a number of these devoted to her life history, activities and creative works (Middleton 1965; Haller 2009). Some research on her has been framed within such broad topics as Victorian values, British imperialist aspirations, gender identity and philosophy (Losano 1997; Carroll 2018). A number of authors have interpreted her writings as a manifestation of the prejudices of imperial conquest, privilege acquired by wealth, and the supposed superiority of the British peoples (Losano 1997; Anderson

¹ *Recollections of a Happy Life*, vol. 2, p. 338.

2003). This present work provides the first investigation of her Australian paintings in a broadly interpreted botanical and ecological perspective.

North's father, Frederick North (1800–1869), was descended from a line of influential and wealthy landowners. He was Cambridge-educated and the occasional Liberal Member of Parliament for Hastings. North's mother died when North was 25 years old, thus leaving her, as the eldest unmarried daughter, to manage the household and to care for her father. North always wrote reverentially of her father (but disparagingly of her mother), and upon his death in 1869 she pledged to pursue a life devoted to the scientific education of the English public through her art as she thought most people were 'woefully ignorant of natural history' (Agnew 2011; Watts 2017).² Among a plethora of influential men and women, the family's circle of friends included the Kew Garden botanists George Bentham and William and Joseph Hooker whom Marianne engaged both socially and in connection with botanical questions; the naturalist Charles Darwin who encouraged her to visit Australia; the anthropologist, geographer and naturalist Francis Galton who remained one of her closest friends;³ the geophysicist, explorer and naturalist Sir Edward Sabine, a long-time family friend;⁴ the physicist John Tyndall, also a long-time family friend;⁵ the artist Robert Dowling who provided a number of painting lessons when he resided with the Norths; the author Elizabeth Gaskell who moved to Hastings to write her last book;⁶ and the artist and author Edward Lear who also lived nearby.⁷ Biographical aspects of North's life can be found in a number of publications, including Anon. (1890, 1914), Moon (1980), Vellacott (1986), O'Connor (1997) and Payne (2016).

Marianne North's place in botanical art and botany

North's historical position in art and botany is ambiguous and does not fall clearly into either category (Sheffield 2001; Gladston 2012). She had some formal training in art and apparently none in botany (Carroll 2018), but had a natural talent for music and illustration, and a family intellectual tradition that encouraged her to interact with leaders in science then active in Britain. Botanical art historians have been dismissive of her style and technique (Blunt & Stearn 1971). Being untrained in the rigors of professional botany, her status as an amateur botanist excuses her to be taken overly seriously in her botanical pursuits with regard to nomenclature and descriptions. She often used common names rather than the botanical name and in her writings described plants in simple layman terms.

Prior to undertaking her world travels, North used watercolours in her earliest illustrations, but once she started to use oils she never returned to watercolours. She wrote that she considered using oils as a 'vice like dram-drinking, almost impossible to leave off once it gets possession of one' (quoted in Moon 1980; Payne 2016). At the time it was unusual for women flower painters to paint in oils (Ryall 2008) and all the paintings exhibited in the Marianne North Gallery are in that medium; her early watercolours are now held in the family collection at Hastings. North appears to have been compulsive about the production of paintings (Brooke 1913), both as a record of her travels, and in her writing, where she used them as descriptive cues for further explanation and context.

The use of oils would have increased the degree of difficulty whilst travelling, as a number of days are required for the surface to dry and transporting wet paintings would have created its own problems. She says nothing in her writings about this challenge or how she dealt with them. Her field technique was described as using the paints 'as they were pressed out of the metal tubes, no turpentine was used for cleaning the brushes, these were merely wiped or squeezed clean with a piece of rag...no attempt is made at over-refinement in any of the works; high finish and minute details would have been impossible under the conditions, and no such details were requisite...the pictures have not even been varnished' (Anon. 1882). North commenced many of her landscape paintings *en plein air* but completed the details upon return to her accommodation. The still life paintings appear to have been completed indoors with the subjects arranged in vases or spread on tables. She mentions in her travels through Western Australia that she used a 'tin biscuit-box half full of damp sand' in which to keep her flower specimens fresh.⁸

North's activities were underpinned by what was termed in the Victorian era as 'nature studies'. These included traditional scientific botany, horticulture, gardening and writing poetry about nature, as well as illustrating plants. These activities were socially acceptable in the strict gender segregation that characterised much of the Victorian era. Botany, because it was associated with a feminine aesthetic tradition became a popular hobby for privileged women, including for leisure-class travellers (Guelke & Morrin 2001). North was an observant and objective documenter, both in her paintings and her writings which overall have a strong theme of botanical and ecological reportage (Standish 2008). Darwin's theories of evolution were at the forefront of scientific initiative at that time, and a significant part of North's approach was to present botanical diversity in an evolutionary context (Carroll 2018); she attempted to demonstrate in her paintings interactions between plants, environment and animals (Kerrigan 2010).

Although North's paintings lack the analytical detail of traditional botanical illustrations, there was enough information for species to be recognised; some were described as new species (Anon. 1914; Goyder et al. 2012;

2 *Recollections*, vol. 1, p. 321.

3 *Recollections*, vol. 1, p. v.

4 *Recollections*, vol. 1, p. 33, p. 184.

5 *Recollections*, vol. 1, p. 34, p. 190.

6 *Recollections*, vol. 1, p. 34.

7 *Recollections*, vol. 1, p. 29.

8 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 152.

Watts 2017).⁹ For her Australian paintings one new name, *Areca northiana* Hill. ex Hemsl., was provided for a palm she depicted in the Brisbane Botanic Gardens (Hemsley 1882; Dowe 2016a, 2016b, 2018). However, publication of the name was nomenclaturally invalid as no description was provided. The palm resembles a juvenile *Dictyosperma album* (Bory) H.Wendl. & Drude ex Scheff., a species reported as growing in the Brisbane Botanic Gardens at that time (as *Areca rubra* hort. ex H.Wendl.) (Hill 1875). The other new taxa named for North include *Crinum northianum* Baker [= *Crinum asiaticum* L.] (Baker 1882) and *Nepenthes northiana* Hook.f. (Hooker 1881), both of which were illustrated when she was in Borneo in 1880–81;¹⁰ *Kniphofia northiae* Baker [= *Tritoma northiae* (Baker) Skeels] (Baker 1889, 1895) was illustrated in South Africa 1882–83; and the genus *Northia* Hook.f. [= *Manilkara* Adans.] (Hooker 1884), with the type species *Northia seychellarum* Hook.f. illustrated when she was in the Seychelles in 1883–84. Despite suggestions by some authors that she had collected herbarium specimens for Kew, there are only a small number presently located there.¹¹ However, there is evidence that she frequently acquired living plants and seeds that she returned to Britain and of which some were successful in cultivation (Baker 1891). There is no evidence that she collected seeds or live specimens of any Australian plants for that purpose.

A significant aspect of her botanical paintings for her was to record a ‘natural world’ that was then deemed to be irreversibly disappearing, primarily through colonial expansion, and industrial and agricultural development. Joseph Hooker contributed the preface to the first edition of the Marianne North Gallery catalogue and wrote that North’s paintings were of ‘the wonders of the vegetable kingdom; and that these although now accessible to travellers and familiar to readers of travels, are already disappearing or are doomed shortly to disappear before the axe and the forest fires, the plough and the flock, or the ever advancing settler or colonist. Such scenes can never be renewed by nature, nor when once effaced can they be pictured to the mind’s eye, except by means of such records as this lady has presented to us, and to posterity’ (Hemsley 1882). North frequently commented in her writing on the impact of colonial expansion on the natural forests and vegetation (Ritchie 1989). For example, when in Illawarra in New South Wales, she wrote that she rode ‘through miles of tall dead trees all ringed or burnt to death purposely by civilised man, who will repent some day when the country is all dried up, and grass refuses to grow any more’.¹² She visited the theme of environmental impact throughout her writing about Australia, and in the process established herself, somewhat by default, as a witness to, and documenter of rapid environmental change, and in some instances impending degradation. Although North deplored the negative environmental impacts that she witnessed, she

accepted it as the price to be paid for ‘civilisation’ and the advancement of society (Agnew 2011).

From a geographical perspective, previous research has examined North’s itineraries and activities in India (Ponsonby 2002; Agnew 2011), Brazil (Siqueira 2015), South Africa (Plug 2014), and Australia and New Zealand (Vellacott 1986). Humphrys (2017) provided a brief account of her visit to the Bunya Mountains in Queensland, Davis (2017) discussed aspects of her visit to Illawarra, in New South Wales, and Dowe (2018) investigated North’s paintings of Australian botanic gardens. A summary of her botanical activities in Australia was provided by George (2009).

Methods

The present research reconstructs North’s travels in Australia from botanical and ecological perspectives with identification of the species she illustrated and relevant observations of landscape and environmental issues as recorded in her published accounts. Primary sources of information examined with regards to her time in Australia include her autobiographical account of her travels and botanising as presented in volume 2 of her book *Recollections of a Happy Life*, which was first published in 1892, two years after her death (the work consulted here was the 2nd Edition, reprinted in 1893 with minor typographical corrections, the addition of a small number of dates, and a few additional footnotes); the paintings themselves from the Marianne North Gallery and from the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew Library, Art and Archives; and the *Official Guide to the North Gallery* (1914, 6th edition), in which the paintings are captioned and provided with numbers; and information contained in some of her surviving correspondence written in Australia to persons in Britain.

Field work was undertaken in retracing North’s travel routes in Queensland, New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania; the locations of her paintings were identified and present-day comparison photographs were taken. Species names and other additions by the author are included in square brackets. The nomenclature of plants and animals follows the Australian Plant Name Index (APNI 2019), the Australian Plant Census (APC 2019), and the Atlas of Living Australia (ALA 2019). Dimensions of the paintings were provided by the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew Library, Art and Archives. North’s paintings figured here are reproduced with the permission of the Director and the Board of Trustees, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. The paintings not figured here but otherwise referred to in the text by their catalogue number can be viewed at the web sites provided in the footnotes or at <https://www.kew.org/mng/gallery/australasia.html>.

The Australian paintings

North had a visionary plan to illustrate the distinctive local floras of the world, and Australia held a unique attraction. The purpose of her work was to educate the public, and with her wealth and social connections, she was able to put her

9 *Recollections*, vol. 1, p. 251; *Recollections*, vol. 2, pp. 305, 336.

10 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 100.

11 Personal communication, William Baker and Tim Utteridge, Royal Botanic Gardens Kew.

12 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 137.

plan into action. North was an energetic, determined and business-like traveller who saw her avocation of painting as ‘work’. Her travel in Australia was able to be planned as communication and transport systems were mostly in place by the 1880s. Because of her privileged social position and wealth, she was readily accommodated within the structure of the various colonial governments, being hosted by governors, premiers, scientists, prominent citizens and wealthy land owners, and with transport, shelter, food and servants made freely available (Losano 1997; Watts 2017).

North, at the age of 49, undertook the trip to Australia on the suggestion of Charles Darwin; she quoted him saying that she should not attempt any representation of the world flora in her Gallery until she ‘had seen and painted the Australian, which was so unlike that of any other country’ (Hopper & Lambers 2009).¹³ Leaving England with the appropriate letters of introduction, she was able to utilise all the support to be given by the colonial governments and citizens of influence. Of additional interest to resolving North’s Australian travels, the newspapers of the time provided an almost running commentary on her activities and movements as she was considered a person of public interest and a minor celebrity. A prelude to her visit was published in Australian newspapers as early as July 1880, a month prior to her arrival. The following extract provides an insight into the expectation of the privileges that North was to receive in Australia:

The object of the visit is thus described in the accompanying letter of Sir Joseph D. Hooker:- “A very accomplished artist, Miss Marianne North, is about to visit these Colonies of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Mauritius, mainly for the purpose of making, at her own cost, accurate paintings of the remarkable trees and plants of these countries, for presentation to the Royal Gardens at Kew. These paintings will complete a series, which already includes several hundreds of views of a similar character by Miss North, in Brazil, the West and East Indies, Japan, North America, and Canary Islands, which she has presented to the Royal Gardens, together with a munificent sum of money for building a gallery for exhibiting the whole series to the public, and which gallery is now being erected.” Sir J.D. Hooker adds:- “I need not observe upon the importance of such aid in relation to the fern trees of Australia, the pines, etc. of New Zealand, and innumerable other trees and plants of these and other colonies; and when it is considered that this lady’s paintings will be National property, and be copied for important works devoted to commercial, educational, and industrial objects, it is not too much to say that the absence of such an aid would be matter of natural regret;” and he concludes, “should the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies consider it expedient to transmit a copy of this letter to the Government of the several Colonies about to be visited by Miss North (she seeks no private introductions), such action would, I feel sure, be most gratifying to that lady, and to the wide circle interested

in her labours, and be of great future advantage to the public, both Home and Colonial.” The Secretary of State does so consider, and expresses his confidence that our Government will gladly afford to Miss North every facility and aid in carrying out her project.¹⁴

North presented herself as a representative of British botanical enterprise, albeit a non-intrusive traveller and a non-collecting collector in contrast to the rapacious activities of many Victorian plant hunters who were then active in Australia and other places of the world (Raby 1996). During the 207 days spent in Australia (1 August 1880, arrival date at Thursday Island, Queensland, to 18 February 1881, departure date from Hobart, Tasmania), she completed at least 80 paintings. Much of her time was taken up by travel by ship, horse, coach and rail, and socialising with colonial government officials, including governors and premiers, or persons associated with them. She also met and interacted with scientists, horticulturists and artists. This suggests that she had a very rapid output and completion rate, considering the limited time available to paint and the conditions under which she sometimes had to work.

An early estimate of the number of Australian plant species that she depicted was about 120 but this did not seek to name all the plants illustrated ‘as specific names have only been given to such as could be identified with ease, or without too great an expenditure of time’ (Hemsley 1886). This current research has identified about 200 species of plants and about 20 species of animals depicted in North’s Australian paintings (Appendix 1). In a summary of the extent of the botanical subjects in the gallery collection, the Australian paintings were described as ‘perhaps, the finest of the collection, very fully illustrating the most striking features of the marvellous Australasian flora’ (Anon. 1914).

All the Australian paintings were originally executed on paper, and only later, a few years after her death, were mounted on a stout backing board for support and preservation. The paper, a medium-weight cotton rag, was prepared with a white ground and sized to prevent oil absorption and was considered to be serviceable, portable and inexpensive (Millard et al. 2011). In 2008, the entire collection of paintings in the Marianne North Gallery was the subject of an interventive conservation program managed by Kew Gardens. At the same time, the gallery building was completely renovated to allow for improved preservation conditions for the paintings into the future (Millard et al. 2011). During the conservation program, every painting was unframed, cleaned and removed from the original mounts. After the making of high resolution photographs (front and reverse), they were remounted and reframed using archival standard materials. Many of North’s original inscriptions on the reverse sides of her paintings were revealed for the first time. For the Australian paintings these have provided additional notes and comments not otherwise recorded, and have added to a better understanding of her *modus operandi*, both in the field and whilst preparing the paintings for hanging in the Gallery.

13 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 87.

14 *The Mercury* (Hobart), 10 July 1880, p. 2, ‘The Mercury’.

Queensland

Destined for Australia, North departed Singapore on *R.M.S. Normanby* on 19 July 1880. Sailing to the north of Java and passing ‘Cape Jacki’ (Jaco Island off the far eastern coast of Timor), they traversed the Arafura Sea and entered Torres Strait.¹⁵ On 1 August, *R.M.S. Normanby* passed Booby Island which is located about 50 km west-north-west of Cape York. Later that day they arrived at Thursday Island, her first landfall in Australia. The following day, 2 August, they departed Thursday Island and sailed south through the Albany Passage. The first botanical observations to be made by North in Australia were from the deck as the steamer passed between Albany Island and the mainland of Cape York Peninsula before entering the open waters of the Coral Sea.¹⁶ She wrote that ‘we were so close to each shore that we saw all the trees perfectly: mangroves, casuarinas [*Allocasuarina littoralis* or *Casuarina equisetifolia* var. *equisetifolia*], brown granite rocks and red sand, with giant ants’ nests like obelisks of the same colour [termite mounds] ... On the other shore [Albany Island] ... low hills dotted with dracaena trees [*Pandanus tectorius*].¹⁷

Upon reaching Brisbane on 8 August (Fig. 3),¹⁸ North was at first accommodated in a hotel, but the following day moved to Government House to be the guest of Joshua Peter Bell, Lady Bell and Georgina Kennedy. Bell was the Colonial Administrator in the temporary absence of Governor Sir Arthur Kennedy; Georgina Kennedy was the Governor’s daughter. Government House was situated adjacent to the Brisbane Botanic Gardens which were then under the curatorship of Walter Hill.¹⁹ North immediately went to work painting in the gardens and in the next few days completed five paintings (Dowe 2018) [paintings 732, 738, 743, 783, 790].²⁰ One painting, in her established format of a landscape across which was placed a feature plant in the foreground, North painted from the rear window of Government House, looking west, with Mt Coot-tha in the far distance and the Government House parterre in the near distance (Fig. 4; painting 738). Kew Director Joseph Hooker, in a letter of introduction to Walter Hill, wrote that North’s object was to paint ‘characteristic specimens of your palms, cycas, tree ferns, araucarias, &c., of which you may be able to furnish the names. Any aid you can afford to Miss North will be very valuable.’²¹ To this end it was reported that ‘Miss North was working hard all day on Monday at the native palms in the Brisbane Botanic Gardens, and which she expressed herself highly pleased’.²²

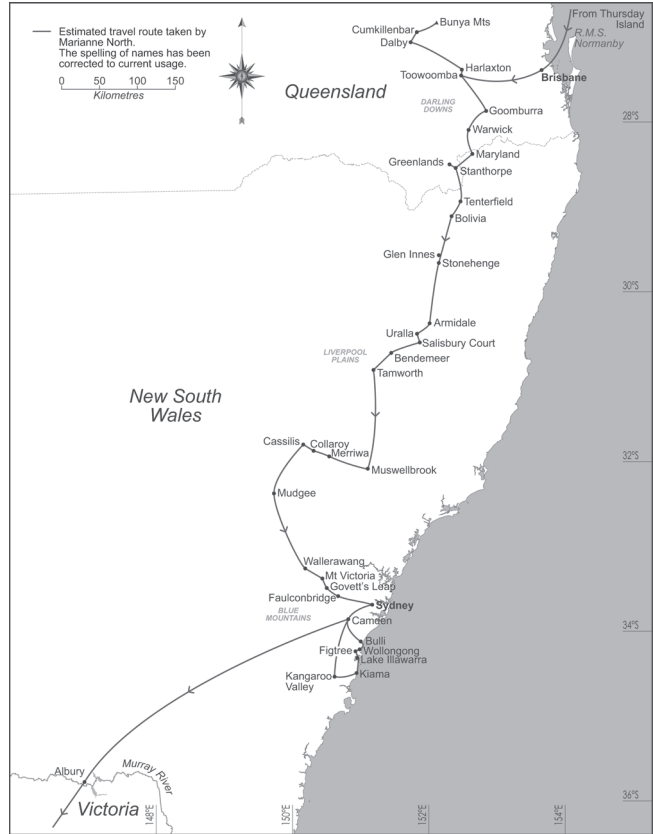


Fig. 3. Map showing the travel route of Marianne North through Queensland and New South Wales, 1880. Prepared by Claire Burton.



Fig. 4. 738. View in the Brisbane Botanic Gardens. Oil on board, 47.1 x 33.8 cm. *Passiflora* sp. [North’s Tacsonia] (vine); *Araucaria cunninghamii* Aiton ex A.Cunn. (left middle ground). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

15 *Brisbane Courier*, 4 Aug. 1880, p. 2, ‘Arrival of the Torres Straits Mail at Cooktown.’
 16 *Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser*, 4 Aug. 1880, p. 3, ‘Arrival of the Torres Straits Mail at Cooktown’.
 17 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 106.
 18 *Brisbane Courier*, 9 Aug. 1880, p. 2, ‘Shipping’.
 19 *Queenslander*, 14 Aug. 1880, p. 197, ‘Current news’.
 20 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/732.html; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/743.html; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/783.html.
 21 *Queenslander*, 14 Aug. 1880, p. 197, ‘Current news’.
 22 *Brisbane Courier*, 10 Aug. 1880, p. 3. [Editorial]

Illustrating the adaptation of birds to a specific manner of fruit manipulation and feeding, North depicted a black cockatoo feeding on the fruit of *Macadamia integrifolia* (Fig. 5; painting 790). In an observation of the great diversity of parrots in Australia, North wrote: ‘No one can have an idea

of parrots without going to Australia ... one great black one with yellow ears and tail [*Calyptorhynchus (Zanda) funereus*] I painted eating the Queensland nut, whose shell is so hard that (like that of the Java kanari tree [*Canarium indicum*]) he alone can crack it with his huge beak'.²³



Fig. 5. 790. *Foliage, Flowers, and Fruit of a Queensland Tree, and Black Cockatoo*. Oil on board, 50.9 x 35.4 cm. *Macadamia integrifolia* Maiden & Betche [North's Queensland nut]; *Calyptorhynchus (Zanda) funereus* (Shaw, 1794) (Yellow-tailed black cockatoo). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

On 14 August, North departed Brisbane for Toowoomba by train, continued on to Dalby and finally to Cumkillenbar Station where she was the guest of pastoralist Samuel Moffat, his wife Maria Susanna Moffatt and their family of five daughters [painting MNS47].²⁴ Her plan was to visit the nearby Bunya Mountains to explore the most westerly rainforest in southern Queensland and paint the forests of *Araucaria bidwillii*. Between Brisbane and Toowoomba she wrote that she travelled 'through forests of gum-trees, with the yellow wattles or acacias [*Acacia* spp.] just coming into bloom, and a few grass-trees [*Xanthorrhoea* sp.] here and there, whose trunks and wiry grass-like heads were blackened by the fires which natives make inside them in order to get a grand blaze at once, but which never really kill them. These trees are called "black boys" all over Australia... Stag's-horn ferns [*Platycerium superbum*] grow on the stumps'.²⁵

North completed her first painting of an Australian landscape on 17 August on the track from Cumkillenbar Station to the Bunya Mountains [painting 737].²⁶ At Bunya Mountains she described *Araucaria bidwillii* with trunks 'perfectly round, with purple rings all the way up, showing where the branches had been once, straight as arrows up to the leafy

tops, which were round like the top of an egg or dome, and often 200 feet above the ground. Only the ends of the branches had bunches of leaves on them, and only a third of the stem had branches left on it. But these grand green domes covered one hundred miles of hill-tops, and towered over all the other trees of those forests' [Fig. 6, painting 767].²⁷ She described the understory as being 'roped together by fantastically twisted lianes, and great creeping roots, like the snake-tree of Jamaica, dracaenas, ferns, and the sandal-wood raspberry'.²⁸ The bird life was also depicted, and North wrote that she 'found many of the trees hung with whip-bird's nests – long hanging pockets of the greenest moss, the entrance often decorated with the feathers of the blue and red parrot' [painting 771].²⁹ She depicted their camp site at Dandabah looking to the north-west across the sedge swamp [Fig. 7, painting 768]. Dandabah Swamp contains the only known population of *Phragmites australis* in the Bunya Mountains (Moravek et al. 2013), and which North depicted in her painting of the camp. This location is now a tourist camping ground and interpretation centre for the Bunya Mountains National Park (Fig. 8).



Fig. 6. 767. *Study of the Bunya-Bunya*. Oil on board, 55.7 x 35.6 cm. *Araucaria bidwillii* Hook. (distance and right); *Cordyline petiolaris* (Domin) Pedley [North's dracaena] (foreground); *Asplenium australasicum* (J.Sm.) Hook. [North's birds'-nest ferns] (epiphytic on tree to left). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

²³ *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 110.

²⁴ Paintings prefixed with MNS are held in the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew Archives, Art and Library.

²⁵ *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 111.

²⁶ *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 114; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/737.html.

²⁷ *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 114.

²⁸ *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 115.

²⁹ www.kew.org/mng/gallery/771.html.



Fig. 7. 768. *Our Camp on the Bunya Mountains, Queensland.* Oil on board, 25.4 x 35.7 cm. *Araucaria bidwillii* Hook. (distance); *Acacia* sp. (middle distance); *Poa labillardieri* Steud. (grass, foreground); *Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud. (sedge, middle ground). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 8. View of Dandabah Swamp (June 2017), with the same view as depicted in Marianne North's painting no. 768. Photo: J.L.Dowe.

The following day North wrote that 'we climbed up to the top of the highest point, and got a grand view over the yellow burnt-up plains, with now and then patches which looked like lakes, and miles of forest-covered tops. I had my first sight of a party of perhaps twenty kangaroos, all hopping down the hill in single file, or feeding in the hollow below. I can fancy no more comical sight than a procession of these strange creatures, proceeding over the long tufted grass in the way I saw them then, using their big tails for balancing-rods' [painting 773].³⁰

On 18 August, North wrote that she 'saw still bigger bunya trees, and great skeleton fig-trees [*Ficus watkinsiana*] hugging some other victim-tree to death, with its roots spreading over the ground at its base like the tentacles of some horrid sea-monster [Fig. 9, painting 781]. We rested an hour at a partial clearing over a wood-shoot, from whence there was a far distant view over the distant Bunya Mountains and the plain below, with scraggy old casuarinas

[*Casuarina* sp. or *Allocasuarina* sp.] and a gigantic fig-tree [*Ficus* sp.] as foreground, with tree-ferns [*Cyathea australis* or *Cyathea cooperi*] and seaforthia palms [*Archontophoenix cunninghamiana*] (the most elegant of the whole family). Birds'-nest ferns [*Asplenium australasicum*] were clinging to the trees, and a kind of dracaena [*Cordyline petiolaris*] - with slender bending stem leaned against them for support. On the ground were violets with grass-like leaves [possibly *Hybanthus enneaspermus* or *Murdannia graminea*], and a few yellow everlastings [*Asteraceae* sp.] but no other flowers. Great piles of saw-dust and chips, with some huge logs, told that the work of destruction had begun, and civilised man would soon drive out not only the aborigines but their food and shelter' [painting 763].³¹ This painting is a view from Carabines Chute (North's 'wood-shoot') looking east to Mt. Garrow, one of the grassy 'balds' that are a feature of the Bunya Mountains (Moravek et al. 2013). North's use of the term wood-shoot would have been unfamiliar to English readers: North often included examples of Australian language and vernacular in her writing.



Fig. 9. 781. *Poison Tree strangled by a Fig, Queensland.* Oil on board, 50.8 x 35.4 cm. *Archontophoenix cunninghamiana* (H.Wendl.) H.Wendl. & Drude [North's seaforthia palms] (left); *Dendrocnide moroides* (Wedd.) Chew (host of strangler fig); *Ficus watkinsiana* F.M.Bailey [North's skeleton fig tree] (strangler fig); *Araucaria bidwillii* Hook. (right); *Cyathea* sp. (right foreground); *Alectura lathami* (J.E.Gray, 1831) (Brush turkey). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

A summary of North's delight and interest in all she saw at the Bunya Mountains was expressed in a letter she wrote to Amelia Edwards: 'Gov & Mrs Bell were most kind & he at once arranged to send me to the Bunya mountains to see the Great Araucarias - his cousins the Moffats sent up tents & took me with 4 of their children for four days there - it was very cold but I saw such wonders I forgot the climate - such gorgeous parrots little woolly native bears, kangaroos &

30 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 115; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/773/html.

31 *Recollections*, vol. 2, pp. 115–116; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/763.html.

wallabies & two dozen hopping over the long burnt up grass - I defy anyone to look at their proceedings without laughing - everything was strange & new'.³²

North and the Moffats departed the Bunya Mountains on 19 August, returning to Cumkillenbar Station passing through forests with scattered *Brachychiton rupestris*. North wrote that 'these curious trees are really like bottles, with a crown of willow-like leaves; the ends of the branches being tipped with ivy-shaped leaves, and the very youngest plants having their lower stems shaped like a radish. They are always found at the edge of the forest, and never more than one or two in a group' [Fig. 10, painting 736].³³ In her painting, North depicted a rapidly moving grass fire thus offering an insight into the fire-ecology associated with open forests in that area. She provided further insight as to how fire was perceived comparatively by both the European settlers and the Indigenous people. She wrote that 'fire came alarmingly near the tents; but the trees are so full of moisture that they never catch fire till after many days of scorching, while the grass blazes up and is out at once ... when by accident the flames come too near, every white man, woman, and child has to take branches and beat it out, while the blacks sit down and sigh. The young grass is stifled by the dense mass of dry tufts above it. The only way of giving it necessary room and air is by burning off the old grass, and its ashes are the best manure for the young shoots'.³⁴ North did not explain whether this fire was accidental or deliberately lit, but on other occasions she wrote that some fires were started by the carelessness of the settlers.

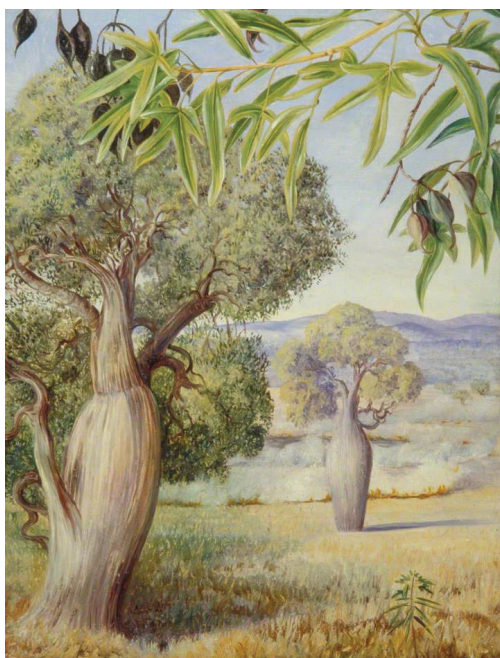


Fig. 10. 736. *The Bottle Tree of Queensland*. Oil on board, 44.8 x 34.3 cm. *Brachychiton rupestris* (T.Mitch. ex Lindl.) K.Schum. [North's bottle-tree]. © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

32 M. North to A. Edwards, 15 Sept. 1880. ABE 254, Somerville College Library, Oxford University.

33 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 118.

34 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 117.

On about 24 August, North departed Dalby and travelled by train to Harlaxton (north of Toowoomba), where she was the guest of the former explorer and then Commissioner of Crown Lands, Francis Thomas [Frank] Gregory (1821–1888). She wrote of 'a glorious view over "the Range," as the hills are called between it and Brisbane. They are covered with unbroken forest, having a peculiar deep bloom on them seen only on masses of the gum-trees. At sunset the view was particularly lovely, when the gray branches and white stems of the near trees were tinted with rose-colour like the sky itself' [Fig. 11, painting 745].³⁵ North's painting is of the view from the veranda of Harlaxton (which survives as a heritage listed building), looking north-east (Fig. 12).



Fig. 11. 745. *Evening Glow Over "The Range"*. Oil on board, 34.4 x 47.7 cm. *Eucalyptus* spp. © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 12. View from Harlaxton (June 2017), showing the same view as depicted in Marianne North's painting no. 745. Photo: J.L.Dowe.

On 29 August, North travelled by train from Harlaxton to Goomburra (North's Gumbara) where she was hosted by pastoralist Edward Weinholt. Here was North's first experience of a large bush fire where she wrote that 'the hills were on fire, and the foreground was black with a fire that was only just over. All that was unburnt was browned by frost and want of moisture. Stunted white stemmed trees were dotted about, and not a flower was to be found' [Fig. 13,

35 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 120.

painting 787].³⁶ North's painting is of the view looking east from Goomburra homestead (**Fig. 14**). The highest feature depicted is locally known as Holmes Pinnacle.³⁷



Fig. 13. 787. *A Bush Fire at Sunset, Queensland*. Oil on board, 25.5 x 35.5 cm. *Macropus* sp. (Wallaby). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 14. View from Goomburra (June 2017), showing the same view as depicted by Marianne North in painting 787. Photo J.L. Dowe.

On 2 September, North crossed the border from Queensland into New South Wales to visit Maryland station then managed by Alfred Greenup. At Maryland, she described the Kurrajong (*Brachychiton populneus* subsp. *populneus*) with 'a rough reddish bark, with bright-green ivy shaped leaves, which made it very conspicuous among the gray gum leaves, with their smooth marble-like trunks. The apple-trees [*Angophora floribunda*] were another exception to the gray leaves, though less bright than the currajong. Their trunks and branches were twisted into the most fantastic shapes, and in their knobby corners water could always be found by tapping' [**painting 779**].³⁸ North later returned to Stanthorpe. Here she visited nearby Greenlands Station [**painting 726**],³⁹ before travelling south to leave Queensland.

36 *Recollections*, vol. 2, pp 120–121.

37 Personal communication, Mary Mannings, Warwick and District Historical Society.

38 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 122; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/779.html.

39 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/726.html.

New South Wales

On about 5 September, North boarded a Cobb & Co. coach at Stanthorpe travelling southward to Tenterfield and towns beyond (**Fig. 3**). During this period, North had little time for painting as the coach made few stops. They passed through Glen Innes, Stonehenge, Bolivia and Armidale until she reached Uralla where she stayed at Salisbury Court as the guest of Mrs. Marsh, widow of Charles Marsh and sister-in-law of Matthew Marsh, absentee owner of Maryland. North's transit through the area was reported in the local newspapers and stated that 'Miss North, a lady known to fame as a sketcher, passed through Glen Innes a few days since'.⁴⁰

North Travelled through the northern tablelands of New South Wales when the region was in drought.⁴¹ In New South Wales, between Tenterfield and Armidale, she wrote: 'The dryness was sad to see. We constantly passed poor dying and dead beasts by the roadside, which were left to be devoured by wild dogs and cats, and afterwards had their bones cleaned by the ants'.⁴²

On 14 September she reached Bendemeer (as Bendemere), where she observed a 'pretty green meadow with a clear river running through it, bordered by casuarina trees [*Casuarina cunninghamiana* subsp. *cunninghamiana*] or "she-oaks," so called from the original native name of shiock, which had been again varied into "he-oaks," "swamp oaks," and even "oaks" alone, all being species of casuarina, a tree as unlike the English oak as it is possible to find. They looked golden in the setting sun, a pretty picture, with the gray native companion-birds [*Grus rubicunda*] stalking in and out of the water' [**painting 728**].⁴³ North's use of the term she-oak for species of *Casuarina* is an example of the persistent adoption of common names for Australian plants given by early explorers and colonists. The origin of the various Australian 'oaks' appears connected to the appearance of the pattern in the wood that resembled the English oaks, however the origin of the specific appellation she-oak remains obscure.

From Tamworth on 15 September, North took a train to Muswellbrook [as Musselbrook], and then a coach to Merriwa, and on to Collaroy on 18 September where she was the guest of stud owner Charles Clive. She observed that 'on the top of a steep hill, from whence he had a view over the rich cleared country dotted with gumtrees, and winding river, bordered with so-called "oaks," to the Liverpool range'

[**Fig. 15, painting 770; painting 769**].⁴⁴ North also painted a possum that was found 'in an old stump', and was pulled 'out by its prehensile tail for me to paint' [**painting 748**].⁴⁵

40 *Armidale Express and New England General Advertiser*, 14 Sept. 1880, p. 6, 'District News.'

41 (<https://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/lookup/1301.0Feature%20Article151988>),

42 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 127.

43 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 128; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/728.html.

44 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 130; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/769.html.

45 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 130; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/748.html.



Fig. 15. 770. *View from Collaroy, New South Wales, Looking Towards the Liverpool Downs*. Oil on board, 50.8 x 35.5 cm. *Eucalyptus nicholii* Maiden & Blakely (foreground); *Casuarina cunninghamiana* Miq. subsp. *cunninghamiana* [North's oaks] (distance); *Platycercus (Platycercus) elegans* (Gmelin, 1788) (Crimson rosella). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

From Collaroy, a buggy was taken to Cassilis on 21 September, and then onto Mudgee where she was the guest of Nelson Lawson, grandson of explorer William Lawson, and his wife [painting 792].⁴⁶ On 22 September, North took a train from Mudgee via Wallerawang to Mt Victoria. Here she observed 'forests of many wonders, the gum-trees having a darker foliage than any I had seen before, the young shoots of a bronze or copper tint loaded with berries of a purple bronze, the younger shoots very blue. Under the tall trees were all manner of flowers; but the waratah [*Telopea speciosissima*], just opening, quite took my breath away with its gorgeousness. It is like a large peony in size and colour, with its petals formed like English honeysuckles, the buds like gray shells. Each head stands on a separate stalk of four or five feet high, with splendid thistle-like leaves' [painting 785].⁴⁷

North arrived in Sydney later that day and was given a tour of the Sydney Botanic Gardens by naturalist George Bennett. She wrote that 'the gardens were lovely, but I longed for the country, and escaped to Camden, thirty miles off, by rail and road—one of the oldest settlements of New South Wales, and certainly the most lovely garden in Australia'.⁴⁸ North rested at Camden for a few days as guest of William Macarthur and his niece Bessie Macarthur, before travelling to Illawarra [painting 603].⁴⁹ The Macarthurs provided her with a buggy and driver to travel to Illawarra for one week commencing on 4 October. In Illawarra, North was the guest

of the Osborne family, wealthy owners of many properties in the district (Griffith 2015). Upon reaching the lowlands, North travelled through the villages and settlements toward Lake Illawarra. She described the descent to Bulli: 'I went through pretty scenery till I reached the top of the Illawarra Mountains, and went down the wonderful bit of road to Bulli. At the top I saw many specimens of the great Australian lily or doryanthes [*Doryanthes excelsa*] [paintings 778, 884],⁵⁰ but they were not in flower. ... There was a fine sea-view, and lower down the road took me through the richest vegetation, quite unlike anything else south of Brisbane. Tall seaforthia palms [*Archontophoenix cunninghamiana*] and cabbage or fan palms [*Livistona australis*], full of flower, many of them of great height. Often one had helped itself up in the world by means of the branches of a giant gum-tree, resting its tired head against the trunk for support, quite 200 feet above the ground in the valley below' [Fig. 16, painting 760].⁵¹



Fig. 16. 760. *White Gum Trees and Palms, Illawarra, New South Wales*. Oil on board, 47 x 34.1 cm. *Eucalyptus pilularis* Sm. (distance); *Eucalyptus botryoides* Sm. (foreground); *Livistona australis* (R.Br.) Mart. [North's cabbage or fan palm] (distance and foreground); *Archontophoenix cunninghamiana* (H.Wendl.) H.Wendl. & Drude [North's seaforthia palm] (distance and foreground) *Pandorea pandorana* (Andrews) Steenis (vine, white flowers, left foreground). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

On 7 October, North passed through the village of Figtree, and wrote that she 'stopped to paint a gigantic fig-tree [*Ficus macrophylla*] standing alone, its huge buttresses covered with tangled creepers and parasites. The village was called Fig-tree village after it, and all the population was on horseback, going

46 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/792.html.

47 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 133; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/785.html.

48 *Recollections*, vol. 2, pp 134–135.

49 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/603.html.

50 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/778.html. This painting, 778, of *Doryanthes excelsa* was one of three paintings of Australian plants that were completed after her return from Australia and based on plants in cultivation in England. The other paintings were of *Doryanthes excelsa*, 884, www.kew.org/mng/gallery/844.html, and *Swainsona formosa*, 718, www.kew.org/mng/gallery/718.html.

51 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 135.

to the races at Wollongong’ [painting 788].⁵² The Annual Wollongong Races were held over two days on 7–8 October in 1880.⁵³ The fig tree illustrated by North was a well-known feature at that time (Gardiner-Garden 1953),⁵⁴ and survived until 1996 when it was removed because of disease.⁵⁵

On 8 October, North arrived at Doondale, one of the Osbornes’ properties. She wrote that the garden ‘was a sight to see: pink and white *Azalea indica* fit for London shows, *Bougainvillea* with three yellow blooms at once in their purple bracts, flame-trees (*Sterculia*) [*Brachychiton acerifolius*], gorgeous Cape lilies, and all our home-flowers in perfection... It had a valley of ferns a mile off and one could see miles of cabbage-palms [*Livistona australis*] below like gigantic Turk’s-head brooms, such as housemaids use to sweep away spiders with’ [Fig. 17, painting 727].⁵⁶ The extensive land clearing in this area caught North’s attention (Fig. 18), and she wrote that ‘the road along the coast to Kiama (pronounced “Kye-aye-mar”) was dreary enough, through miles of tall dead trees all ringed or burnt to death purposely by civilised man, who will repent some day when the country is all dried up, and grass refuses to grow any more’ [painting 716].⁵⁷ The clearing of forests in Illawarra occurred very rapidly and extensively from the 1820s through to the 1880s (Bywater 1980; Fallding & Benson 1985).



Fig. 17. 727. *View at Illawarra, New South Wales.* Oil on board, 25.4 x 35.4 cm. This painting is a view looking south to Broker’s Nose. *Livistona australis* (R.Br.) Mart. © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 18. View of Brokers Nose (September 2017), showing the same view as depicted by Marianne North in painting no. 727. Photo: J.L.Dowe.

On 11 October, North departed Illawarra to return to Camden via Kangaroo Valley, where she observed ‘the zamia or cycad [*Macrozamia communis*] — a most striking plant, with great cones standing straight up from the stem. When ripe the segments turn bright scarlet, and the whole cone falls to pieces, then they split open, and show seeds as large as acorns, from which a kind of arrowroot can be extracted, after washing out all the poison from it. The natives roast and eat the nut in the centre of the scarlet segments. There were no zamias outside that valley, which seemed to have no outlet’ [painting 719].⁵⁸

After a short stay at Camden and a visit to Sydney where she met the natural history illustrator Helena Forde (Olsen 2013), she travelled to Falconbridge in the Blue Mountains to stay with Clarinda Parkes, the wife of Henry Parkes, and her daughter Lily Maria Parkes. Henry Parkes, who was then Premier of New South Wales, was away on business at that time. Falconbridge House, which still stands, is in Sir Henry’s Parade located opposite the main entry to Jackson Park.⁵⁹ At Falconbridge, she wrote that she found ‘twenty-five different species of wildflowers in ten minutes, close to the house, and painted them ... it was far too cold for out-of-doors sketching or dawdling, and I worked on steadily in my room’ [Fig. 19, painting 759].⁶⁰ This painting was one of many in which North depicted mass arrangements of locally collected flowers, with the painting being completed indoors so that the flowers could be appropriately arranged and kept fresh.

52 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 136; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/788.html.

53 *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 16 Oct. 1880, p. 33, ‘Wollongong Annual Races.’

54 *Illustrated Sydney News*, 16 Oct. 1867, p. 3, ‘The big fig tree.’

55 Personal communication, Leon Fuller; Wollongong City Libraries. Figtree, Parish of Wollongong, County of Camden. www.wollongong.nsw.gov.au/library/onlineresources/suburbprofiles/Pages/Figtree.aspx, accessed 31 Aug. 2017.

56 *Recollections*, vol. 2, pp 136–137.

57 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 137; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/716.html.

58 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 137; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/719.html.

59 Personal communication, Richard Morony.

60 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 138.



Fig. 19. 759. *Wild Flowers of the Blue Mountains, New South Wales.* Oil on board, 47.3 x 34.2 cm. Clock-wise from top left: *Diuris punctata* Sm. (mauve orchid); *Philotheca myoporoides* (DC.) Bayly (white flowers); *Dampiera stricta* (Sm.) R.Br. (blue flowers); *Stylidium graminifolium* Sw. (mauve flowers); *Gompholobium grandiflorum* Sm. (yellow flowers); *Pimelea linifolia* Sm. (white flowers); *Tetratheca ciliata* Lindl. (pink flowers); *Grevillea buxifolia* (Sm.) R.Br. (white flowers); *Styphelia tubiflora* Sm. (pink flowers); *Daviesia ulicifolia* Andrews (orange flowers); *Epacris longiflora* Cav. (pink flowers); *Woollsia pungens* (Cav.) F.Muell. (white flowers); *Isogogon anemonifolius* (Salisb.) Knight (yellow flowers); *Helichrysum* sp. (cream flowers); *Boronia floribunda* Sieber ex Rchb. (pink flowers); *Bauera rubioides* Andrews (pink flowers); *Pultenaea canescens* A.Cunn. (yellow flowers); *Philotheca salsolifolia* (Sm.) Druce (mauve flowers); *Patersonia glabrata* R.Br. (blue flowers); *Kennedia rubicunda* (Schneev.) Vent. (red flowers); *Lambertia formosa* Sm. (red flowers); *Comesperma ericinum* DC. (mauve flowers); *Actinotus helianthi* Labill. (white flowers). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

Two more paintings were completed at Falconbridge, and North wrote that ‘the native pear [*Xylomelum pyriforme*] was in both fruit and flower [painting 739].⁶¹ I painted it, and also a pretty little kangaroo-rat which Lily had had as a pet’ [painting 710].⁶² North’s paintings depict a view looking north-east toward Mt Tomah.

On 19 October, North returned to Sydney where she was the guest of the natural historian William John Macleay and his wife Susan Emmeline at Elizabeth Bay House. William was the cousin of the pastoralist and explorer Sir George Macleay. Of Elizabeth Bay House and Sydney Harbour she wrote that ‘the garden was lovely, the bay as blue as an Italian lake, with headlands crossing one another at the end, and three islands covered with woods and small houses’ [Fig. 20, painting 749].⁶³ North’s painting of a view of Sydney Harbour from Elizabeth Bay House was from a window of what is now known as the morning room on the upper floor (Fig. 21). The present-day veranda was not

added to the house until 1892 and the morning room now has the veranda in front of the windows.⁶⁴ Although North noted that there were three islands to be seen from Elizabeth Bay House, there are indeed only two, these being Clarke Island, in the near-distance and Shark Island, in the far-distance. Her third ‘island’ may have been one of the headlands protruding into Sydney Harbour visible from Elizabeth Bay.



Fig. 20. 749. *Two Australian Shrubs, with Sydney Harbour Below.* Oil on board, 47.2 x 43.1 cm. *Pandorea pandorana* (Andrews) Steenis (vine, white flower, left foreground); *Callistemon citrinus* (Curtis) Skeels (centre and right foreground); *Ficus* sp. (right foreground); *Leptospermum* sp. (middle foreground); *Araucaria heterophylla* (Salisb.) Franco (left foreground). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 21. Sydney Harbour from the ‘morning room’ window at Elizabeth Bay House (September 2017), with the same view as depicted by Marianne North in painting no. 749. Photo: J.L.Dowe.

61 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/739.html.

62 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 139; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/710.html.

63 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 139.

64 Personal communications, Melissa Flyte, Elizabeth Bay House.

Victoria

On about 23 October North departed Camden by rail and then took a coach to Albury and then on to Melbourne (Fig. 22).⁶⁵ North did not record the town where the train to coach transfer occurred. She did not complete any paintings during this time of travel, but upon arrival in Melbourne was able to resume painting. She wrote that ‘as we got nearer Melbourne we saw miles of pasture, covered with a kind of coloured dandelion (*Cryptostemma calendulacea*) [*Arctotheca calendula*], whose seed was brought over from the Cape only a few years before and now grew everywhere; but it did no harm, for the cattle ate it’ [Fig. 23, painting 742].⁶⁶



Fig. 22. Travel route taken by Marianne North through Victoria and Tasmania, 1880–1881. Prepared by Claire Burton.



Fig. 23. 742. *Wild Flowers of Victoria and New South Wales*. Oil on board, 35.7 x 25.5 cm. Clock-wise from top left: *Stylidium* sp. (pink flowers); *Campanulaceae* sp. (white flowers); *Platysace* sp. (white/pink flowers); *Diuris* sp. (donkey orchid, yellow flowers); *Epacris longiflora* Cav. (pink/white flowers, behind donkey orchid); *Grevillea* sp. (red flowers); *Epacris longiflora* Cav. (pink/white flowers, foreground); *Platylobium triangulare* R.Br. (vine, yellow flowers); *Arctotheca calendula* (L.) Levyns (North’s *Cryptostemma calendulacea*) (daisy, yellow flowers). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

In Melbourne, from about 26 October, North was the guest of William Campbell and his wife at their city residence on the corner of Collins and Spring streets. Campbell was a wealthy pastoralist, gold entrepreneur and financier, and represented the seat of North-Western Province in the Victorian Legislative Council 1862–82. Although North met with the botanist Baron Ferdinand von Mueller a number of times, it is not known who showed her around the Melbourne Botanic Gardens, as Mueller had vowed never to set foot there following his controversial dismissal as director in 1873 (Vellacott 1986; Maroske 2014). North painted a view of the Melbourne Botanic Gardens from the Eastern Lawn looking toward the Royal Exhibition Building in the far distance, and which, in 1880, had just been completed and opened for the Melbourne International Exhibition (Oct. 1880 - Apr. 1881) (Fig. 24; painting 754). At the Campbell’s second house at Brighton, North painted a view of Brighton Beach as seen from near the residence. This view is looking south with Brighton Beach in the lower right, Green Point in centre-ground, Sandringham (now Trey Bit Reserve) in the left middle-distance, and Mornington Peninsular in the very far distance. The location of the Campbell’s house, where Marianne stayed, according to the 1880 edition of the Sands & MacDougall directory was in Leslie Road (now Grove), Brighton, which runs off Were Street and is two blocks from Port Phillip Bay.⁶⁷ The Jim Willis Reserve now protects the remaining vegetation between the main road (Beach Road) and the shore line. The beach profile has been altered by the

65 *Argus*, 25 Oct. 1880, p. 5, ‘Overland passengers to and from Sydney’.
 66 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 141.

67 Personal communication, Sandra Lanteri, Brighton Historical Society.

placement of a number of groynes along this stretch of the coastline. North wrote that she saw ‘quantities of another less showy variety [*Leptospermum laevigatum*] planted along the edge of the sea to bind the sand the whole shore was lined with it ... I had a delightful drive and scramble round the low cliffs and headlands, finding quantities of long spiral sundews [*Drosera auriculata*] and other treasures’ [painting 752].⁶⁸



Fig. 24. 754. *View of Melbourne, From the Botanic Gardens*. Oil on board, 35.7 x 25.5 cm. Conifer sp. (distance); *Cordyline australis* (G.Forst.) Endl. [North’s *dracaena*] (foreground); *Araucaria* spp. (middle distance); *Xanthorrhoea* sp. (grass trees, foreground). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

On 4 November, North travelled to Fernshaw via Lilydale and Healesville to see the *Eucalyptus regnans* forests. She stayed four days there, and completed seven paintings. The eucalypt forests in this area contain some of Australia’s tallest trees. She wrote: ‘After leaving Healesville I got on the box-seat, and saw the lovely forest as we mounted the steep ascent. The driver said he did not believe any of the trees were 320 feet, and that they could make the Baron [Ferdinand von Mueller] believe anything they liked; but it was a noble forest. The trees ran up like gigantic hop-poles, with thousands of tree-ferns under them, also straight, and thirty feet high, swelling much at the base of their stems, a nice undergrowth of young gums and other shrubs under them again’ [painting 777].⁶⁹ She continued: ‘We found our way under the lace-work roof of fern-fronds [*Cyathea australis* or *Dicksonia antarctica*] to a small stream, which was also arched over by them [painting 774].⁷⁰ Their stems were green with moss and parasites, wire-grass [*Aristida behriana*], ferns, and creepers; over them was a lovely tecomia [*Pandorea pandorana*], with white flowers tipped with deep

red purple, hanging among its glossy green leaves. There was a delicate moss on the ground with flowers like Maltese crosses, and tiny white and purple violets [*Viola hederacea*] without scent. The musk-tree [*Olearia argophylla*] was just coming into masses of white bloom, its leaves magnificent, polished like those of the great American magnolia with white linings’ [Fig. 25, painting 761].⁷¹



Fig. 25. 761. *Musk Tree and Background of Evergreen Beech, Victoria*. Oil on board, 47 x 33.8 cm. *Nothofagus cunninghamii* (Hook.) Oerst. (leaves, background); *Olearia argophylla* (Labill.) F.Muell. ex Benth. [North’s musk-tree] (foreground). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

North explored the Fernshaw area [painting 746],⁷² and on 5 November observed that ‘the leaves of those amygdalina gums [*Eucalyptus regnans*] were much larger and darker in colour than the other sorts I had met with; its young shoots were copper-coloured, and the stems were just peeling off their old bark, showing all sorts of delicate gray and red brown tints. The tree-ferns (chiefly dicksonias) [*Dicksonia antarctica*] were unfolding their golden crowns of huge crooks. Every step brought me to fresh pictures, but it was impossible to give any idea of the prodigious height, in the limited space of my sheets of paper’ [painting 786].⁷³ She continued: ‘A woodman told me that he had often felled trees over 400 feet high. “When they was down you could easily stump them off, and there could be no mistake about that,” he said. The highest the Baron [Ferdinand von Mueller] measured was 365 feet, and I painted that very tree, a white gum [Fig. 26, painting 758]. There are over three hundred of these giant trees. I painted a lyre-bird’s nest wedged between two tree-ferns, four feet from the ground, made of great dry

68 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 142; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/752.html.

69 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 144; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/777.html.

70 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/774.html.

71 *Recollections*, vol. 2, pp 144–145.

72 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/746.html.

73 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 145; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/786.html.

fern-leaves’ [painting 747].⁷⁴ The scene depicted in fig. 26 is a tall *E. regnans* that, according to North, was measured by Baron von Mueller. A very large specimen of *E. regnans* at Mt. Monda near Fernshaw was later, in 1895, named as the ‘Mueller Tree’ by the botanist A. D. Hardy (Mace 1996). However, it cannot be ascertained if the tree depicted by North and the Mueller Tree were the same trees. The Mueller Tree was renamed as the Furnmston Tree in the 1930s, after it was supposedly rediscovered by Harold Furnmston, and as of 1996 was standing. The present condition of that tree is not known.

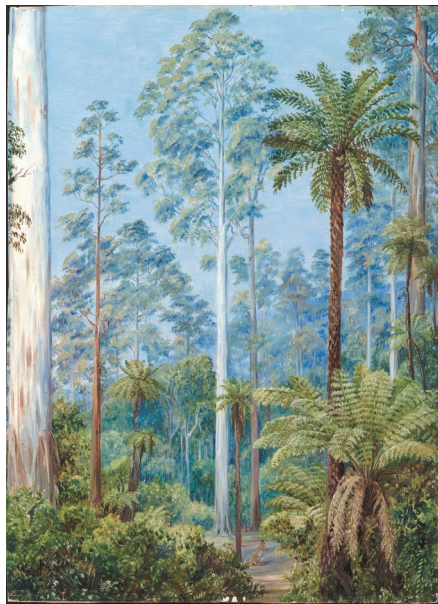


Fig. 26. 758. *Fernshaw, Victoria*. Oil on board, 47.2 x 34.2 cm. *Eucalyptus regnans* F.Muell. (left and centre); *Cyathea* sp. (tall tree fern, middle ground); *Dicksonia antarctica* Labill. (short tree fern, foreground); *Macropus* sp. (Wallaby). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

On about 10 November, North returned to Melbourne. She contemplated the impact that colonisation was having on the environment and wrote that ‘it is curious how we have introduced all our weeds, vices, and prejudices into Australia, and turned the natives (even the fish) out of it’.⁷⁵ It can be speculated that North’s reference to the removal of fish species may relate to the introduction of trout into Australian streams commencing in the 1860s. The trout were able to out-compete the native species and were having a considerable impact on the Australian fish fauna (Cadwallader 1996).

Western Australia

North departed Melbourne on *S.S. Malwa* on 11 November destined for Albany, Western Australia.⁷⁶ She had intended to meet Richard Schomburgk, Director of the Adelaide Botanic

Gardens, but bad weather prevented her landing at Adelaide.⁷⁷ She arrived in Albany on 18 November (Fig. 27).⁷⁸ Here she was hosted by the Australian flower painter Ellis Rowan who was then on an expedition to paint Western Australian flowers (Hazzard 1984). North wrote that Rowan ‘introduced me to quantities of the most lovely flowers - flowers such as I had never seen or even dreamed of before ... so I stayed on at Albany till the carriage came, and found abundance to do. The garden of our little house led right on to the hillside at the back, and the abundance of different species in a small space was quite marvellous. In one place I sat down, and without moving could pick twenty-five different flowers within reach of my hand. The banksias [*Banksia grandis*, painting 784]⁷⁹ were quite marvellous, their huge bushy flowers a foot in length, and so full of honey that the natives were said to get tipsy sucking them. The whole country was a natural flower-garden’ [Fig. 28, painting 750].⁸⁰



Fig. 27. Travel route taken by Marianne North in Western Australia, 1880–1881. Prepared by Claire Burton.

74 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 145; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/747.html.
 75 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 147.
 76 *Argus*, 13 Nov. 1880, p. 6, ‘Shipping intelligence’.

77 *Express and Telegraph*, 15 Nov. 1880, p. 2, ‘Glenelg Shipping’.
 78 *Herald*, 20 Nov. 1880, p. 2, ‘Outports-Arrivals. Albany’.
 79 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/784.html
 80 *Recollections*, vol. 2, pp 148–149.



Fig. 28. 750. *Wild Flowers of Albany, West Australia*. Oil on board, 47.3 x 34 cm. Clock-wise from top left: *Petrophile diversifolia* R.Br. (buds) (white flowers); *Johnsonia lupulina* R.Br. (white flowers); *Isotoma hypocrateriformis* (R.Br.) Druce (mauve flowers); *Dasyopogon bromeliifolius* R.Br. (cream flowers); *Tetrateuca affinis* Endl. (pink flowers); *Stylidium* spp. (pink, white, yellow and blue flowers); *Thelymitra crinita* Endl. (blue buds and flowers); *Cosmelia rubra* R.Br. (red/crimson flowers); *Boronia molloyae* J.Drumm. (red flowers); *Synaphea polymorpha* R.Br. (yellow flowers); *Gompholobium scabrum* Sm. (pink flowers); *Thysanotus* sp. (pink flowers); *Agrostocrinum scabrum* (R.Br.) Baill. (blue flowers); *Anthocercis viscosa* R.Br. (white flowers); *Mirbelia dilatata* R.Br. ex Dryand. (mauve flowers); *Billardiera heterophylla* (Lindl.) L.Cayzer & Crisp (blue flowers); *Kennedia coccinea* (Curtis) Vent. (orange/red flowers); *Xanthosia rotundifolia* DC. (white flowers); *Pimelea rosea* R.Br. (pink flowers); *Petrophile diversifolia* R.Br. (open white flowers). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

Rowan (1905) was later to reminisce about her time with North: ‘I became her devoted admirer, and she became the pioneer of my ambition. A world-wide traveller in search of specimens, her description of her adventures was so vivid, so graphic, so thrilling in its prospects of wider fields that I became infected, stimulated by an example and a result beyond dreams successful. Retiring to my room that night, after my conversation with her, I resolved to do what she had done. I would travel the world in search of flowers rare and wonderful, travel countries inaccessible, as well as those which offered difficulties only imaginary’.

On about 25 November, North departed Albany to travel overland directly to Perth. In the vicinity of Narrikup she observed ‘a group of hakeas [*Hakea cucullata*], like a tall hollyhock with leaves like scallop shells, perfect cups growing close together round and round the stem. Every leaf had a flower or seed-pod resting in it; the flowers were pink, but the chief peculiarity was, that every spike of leaves was gradually shaded downwards—the leaves at the top salmon pink, those next yellow and orange, and so into

brightest green, blue-green, and purplish gray. It is one of the remarkable plants of the world’ [Fig. 29, painting 791].⁸¹



Fig. 29. 791. *West Australian Shrubby Vegetation*. Oil on board, 50.5 x 35.4 cm. *Hakea cucullata* R.Br. [North’s Hakea] (green to pink leaves); *Eucalyptus tetraptera* Turcz. (red capsules); *Hakea cyclocarpa* Lindl. (brown fruits); *Alyogyne huegelii* (Endl.) Fryxell (blue flowers); *Hakea falcata* R.Br. (white flowers). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

On about 27 November, North reached Williams River. Here she observed ‘some sandal-wood (*Fusanus spicatus*) [*Santalum acuminatum*] trees [painting 765],⁸² one of the gums, which has the same scent and qualities as the real sandal-wood; this is exported to India and China to take its place in the manufacture of boxes and other pretty things. It grows to the size of an English apple-tree, and is hung over with a mistletoe [*Amyema* sp.] which mimics its own leaves exactly [painting 734].⁸³ On that day, too, I shall never forget one plain we came to, entirely surrounded by the nuytsia or mistletoe trees [*Nuytsia floribunda*], in a full blaze of bloom. It looked like a bush-fire without smoke. The trees are, many of them, as big as average oaks in our hedgerows at home, and the stems are mere pith, not wood. The whole is said to be a parasite on the root of another tree (probably the *Banksia*)’ [painting 764; painting 766].⁸⁴ Near Bannister, she continued: ‘We passed several hollows filled with the “smoke-plant,” [*Conospermum* sp.] looking like mist on the ground, and many curious rushes [Cyperaceae spp or Restoniaceae spp], sundews [*Drosera* sp.], and bushes of exquisite scarlet grevillea, which looks like polished coral; blue veronicas, with lovely sollyas [*Billardiera heterophylla*] and kennedias [*Kennedia* spp] over them, and plenty of grass-trees [*Xanthorrhoea* sp.], varied by kingia [*Kingia*

81 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 150.

82 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/765.html.

83 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/734.html.

84 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 153; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/764.html; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/766.html.

australis], a still more striking plant, with a crown of balls like drum-sticks on its head. The grass-trees at a distance, and especially when seen with their backs to the light, were wonderfully like the “black boys,” with bits of skin hanging from their shoulders, and wild wigs, their heads so much too big for their bodies, and spears held up high above them. The banksia-trees [*Banksia attenuata*] were then covered with their young leaves and shoots of rich yellow, brown, or white, and the native wigwams of bark or leaves looked picturesque under them [Fig. 30, painting 741].⁸⁵



Fig. 30. 741. *Scene in a West Australian Forest.* Oil on board, 34.3 x 47.4 cm. *Eucalyptus marginata* Donn ex Sm. [North’s jarrah] (tallest trees); *Eucalyptus megacarpa* F.Muell. (white bark, distance); *Banksia grandis* Willd. [North’s banksia-tree] (bottle brush, yellow flowers, middle distance); *Xanthorrhoea preissii* Endl. (grass trees, right foreground); *Macrozamia riedlei* (Fisch. ex Gaudich.) C.A.Gardner (stemless cycad, right foreground); *Kingia australis* R.Br. (thin stemmed grass trees, left middle distance). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

On about 30 November, North arrived at Fremantle as the guest of John and Margaret Forrest. North recalled that he was a ‘former explorer and amateur botanist and then Acting Superintendent of Convicts at Fremantle, and she a plant illustrator and collector for von Mueller’. North continued that ‘the sea at Fremantle was edged with delicate little shrubby plants, then out of flower, but their leaves and twigs had a whitish look [*Acacia cyclops*], and seemed to harmonise with the dazzling white sand in a way that green leaves would not have done’ [painting 753].⁸⁶ This painting is a view looking west from Monument Hill over the mouth of the Swan River with Rottnest Island in the far distance.⁸⁷ North depicted a galah feeding on the flowers of *Eucalyptus marginata* [painting 762]⁸⁸ and also found the kangaroo paws of great interest, and noted that ‘Mrs. Forrest also gave me to paint a bit of the black velvet “kangaroo’s foot” with

yellow satin lining [*Anigozanthos humilis*], from Champion Bay’ [painting 740].⁸⁹

From Fremantle, North travelled to Perth on about 6 December where she was the guest at Government House of Lady Robinson, wife of the Governor Sir William Robinson. Later, on 12 December, with Margaret Forrest, North drove to Newcastle [Toodyay], as word had been received that *Eucalyptus macrocarpa* was in flower.⁹⁰ North wrote: ‘But when I heard that the *Eucalyptus macrocarpa* was to be seen in flower at Newcastle, horses were again ordered for me, and I was sent over there ... we went only too fast through all the forest wonders, and I screamed with delight when the small tree came in sight close to Mrs. H.’s [Mrs Harper] house. Every leaf and stalk was pure floury white, and the great flowers (as big as hollyhocks) of the brightest carnation, with gold ends to their stamens’ [Fig. 31, painting 751].⁹¹ Mrs Harper was the widow of Charles Harper, former barrister and later clergyman in the parish of Newcastle. Mueller (1879–1884), in his *Eucalyptographia*, referred to North’s painting of *Eucalyptus macrocarpa* that he was shown by North on her return to Melbourne. Mueller wrote that the ‘accomplished Miss North prepared, during her recent stay in West-Australia, among the oil-paintings illustrative of indigenous vegetation, also a picture of this Eucalypt for the art-gallery, which she generously provides for the large museum of the Royal Botanic Garden of Kew, under Sir Joseph Hooker’.

The only known herbarium specimen collected by North in Australia is that of *E. macrocarpa* which she acquired from the plant she painted at Toodyay [North’s Newcastle], Western Australia (Maroske 2014). The specimen is now in the National Herbarium of Victoria (Fig. 32). North later wrote of how this specimen found its way there: ‘Baron von Mueller was excited over my paintings of the *Nuytsia* [*Nuytsia floribunda*] and the *Eucalyptus macrocarpa*, which he had named, but had never seen in flower. When I showed him the bud with its white extinguisher cap tied over it, which I was saving for Kew, he said, “Fair lady, you permit I take that” and calmly pocketed it!’⁹² Mueller then incorporated the specimen into his Melbourne herbarium.

An article about North’s interest in *Eucalyptus macrocarpa* appeared in a local newspaper, and stated that ‘during her short sojourn in Newcastle, where Miss North remained only two or three days, she was the guest of Mrs. Harper, in whose garden she was fortunate in meeting with a beautiful specimen of the Dwarf *Eucalyptus* in blossom, with the gorgeousness of which this lady is said to have been particularly struck. The sketch of it will make an interesting addition to her collections.’⁹³

85 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 154.

86 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 155; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/753.html.

87 Personal communication, Anne Brake & Pam Harris, Fremantle Historical Society.

88 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/762.html.

89 *Recollection*, vol. 2, pp 155–156; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/740.html.

90 *West Australian*, 17 Dec. 1880, p. 3, ‘Country letters’.

91 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 156.

92 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 168.

93 *Eastern Districts Chronicle*, 24 Dec. 1880, p. 2, ‘Local Districts and General Topics.’



Fig. 31. 751. *Foliage, Flowers, and Seed-vessels of a Rare West Australian Shrub*. Oil on board, 47.3 x 33.8 cm. *Acacia acuminata* Benth. [North's jam-tree] (far distance); *Eucalyptus macrocarpa* Hook. (foreground). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 32. Specimen of *Eucalyptus macrocarpa* collected by Marianne North in Western Australia. MEL1612940, designated as *Eucalyptus macrocarpa* var. *elachantha*. Reproduced with permission of the Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria.

North and Forrest returned to Perth on about 14 December passing through Guilford where they visited Forrest's brother Samuel Hammersley. Here North noted that 'the great attraction to me was a bush of white grevillea [*Grevillea leucopteris*], which had come from Champion Bay originally

[**painting 780**].⁹⁴ It looked like a gigantic lavender bush, with a woody trunk, and stick-like branches all round, bearing lovely cream-coloured waxy bunches of flowers a yard above the leaves. At night the scent was so disagreeable that everyone killed it, and this plant was the only specimen left. Mrs. F. [Margaret Forrest] had brought me on purpose that I might get a bit and see it growing.⁹⁵

On 16 December, North returned to Perth but soon after continued her travels through the coastal areas to the south. Near Pinjarra she noted that 'we passed through glorious forests of big gums and mahogany trees, and plains of paper-bark trees [*Melaleuca* spp.], with their curious white twisted trunks and velvety green heads, sometimes sprinkled with small white flowers. We saw also the native pears [*Xylomelum angustifolium*], with long bunches of greenish-white flowers, and gray velvety fruit, the younger ones almost rosy, like the winged seeds inside. We passed swamp banksias [*Banksia littoralis*] with twisted gray stems like olives, and miles of grass-trees [*Xanthorrhoea* sp.] and kingias [*Kingia australis*], looking like frosted silver in the mid-day sun ... I found quantities of a lilac satin flower about the size of a primrose, with oily grassy leaves. Picking it made my fingers wet, though it was growing in the driest white sand, among other dry things, and was said to be *Byblis gigantea*, a sort of sundew mentioned by Darwin, but not yet seen in England' [**painting 755**].⁹⁶

On 18 December, North passed through the Waroona area and noted that 'the grass-trees [*Xanthorrhoea* sp.] had a dozen heads of flowers from one trunk, each head bearing its long flower-spike. The zamias [*Macrozamia riedlei*] were on stems or stocks a yard high' [**painting 756**].⁹⁷ From Waroona, North travelled past the Leschenault Estuary to Bunbury. Her transit through Bunbury was reported in a local newspaper article, and stated that 'Miss North, who is on a tour through our Karri forests, for the purpose of taking sketches in that locality. Miss North goes round by Vasse, Lower Blackwood, Donnelly, and the Warren, proceeding thence across the country to Albany'.⁹⁸

Leaving Bunbury North travelled to Vasse and then eastward to Beedelup and finally to Warren River arriving there about 23 December. At Beedelup she noted a 'forest of perhaps the biggest trees in the world ... I spent four delightful hours sketching or resting under those gigantic white pillars [*Eucalyptus diversicolor*], more imposing than the trees of Fernshaw; their stems were thicker and heads rounder than the amygdalina gums [**Fig. 33, painting 782**].⁹⁹ The subject of the painting still stands (as of June 2018) near Warren River on the Old Vasse Road and has become known as the 'Marianne North Tree', an attraction for travellers and

94 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/780.html.

95 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 158.

96 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 159; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/755.html.

97 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 159; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/756.html.

98 *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 22 Dec. 1880, p. 3, 'Doings at Fremantle.'

99 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 164.

tourists (**Fig. 34**). The existing bur on the tree is very similar to that which she depicted.¹⁰⁰



Fig. 33. 782. *Karri Gums, Near the Warren River, West Australia*. Oil on board, 50.8 x 35.1 cm. *Eucalyptus diversicolor* F.Muell. (Karri) (white bark); *Allocasuarina decussata* (Benth.) L.A.S.Johnson [North’s *Casuarina*] (tall shrubs, foreground centre); *Leucopogon verticillatus* R.Br. (low shrub, left foreground); *Macrozamia riedlei* (Fisch. ex Gaudich.) C.A.Gardner [North’s *zamia*] (low cycads, right foreground); *Banksia* sp. (bottle brush, yellow flowers, left middle ground); *Dromaius novaehollandiae* (Latham, 1790) (Emu). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 34. The Marianne North Tree, Old Vasse Road. Photo: A.George.

North spent Christmas Day with the Brockman family at Warren River,¹⁰¹ and on Boxing Day resumed painting [**painting 789**].¹⁰² She observed that ‘one lovely plant grew quite high, with its leaves arranged in stages all the way up like stars of green [*Leucopogon verticillatus*], and tiny strings of flowers or waxy berries under each leaf’ [**painting 757**].¹⁰³ Of this she included a rough sketch in a letter to Joseph Hooker [**Fig. 35**], and which she described as ‘a common but exquisitely graceful plant often growing as tall as myself – the leaves like green stars with delicate pink blossoms or green and white berries under them so -’.¹⁰⁴

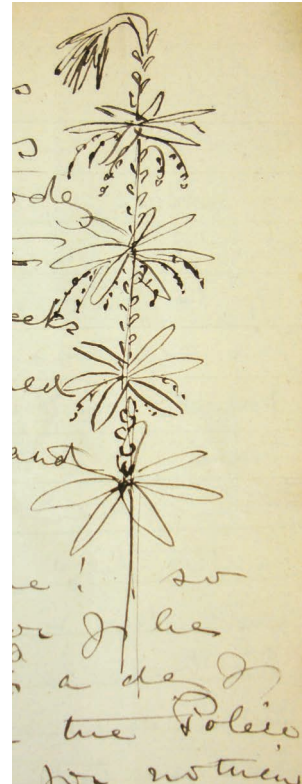


Fig. 35. *Leucopogon verticillatus* R.Br., sketched by Marianne North in a letter to Joseph Hooker, 29 December 1880, Albany, Western Australia. © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

On 27 December, North returned to Vasse where she boarded the steamer *S.S. Rob Roy* to Albany where she stayed another week.¹⁰⁵ This was to be a very productive period, and she wrote that she was ‘hard at work painting, and offended half the good people of Albany by not returning their visits ... the district around is little cultivated, but abounds with rare and beautiful flowering shrubs’ [**painting 729**; **Fig. 36**, **painting 775**; **painting 744**; **Fig. 37**, **painting 772**; **painting 776**].¹⁰⁶

101 M. North to A. Edwards, 7 Feb. 1881. ABE 255, Somerville College Library, Oxford University.
 102 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/789.html
 103 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 165. www.kew.org/mng/gallery/757.html.
 104 M. North to J.D. Hooker, 29 Dec. 1880. Royal Botanic Gardens Kew Archives, Art and Library.
 105 *Herald* (Fremantle), 25 Dec. 1880, p. 2, ‘Shipping’.
 106 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 167; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/729.html; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/775.html; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/744.html; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/776.html.

100 Personal communication, Ellen J. Hickman, Albany.

The latter of this group of paintings is a view from Mt Melville one of the hills between which the town of Albany is nestled (**Fig. 38**). The water in the foreground is Princess Royal Harbour, the thin strip of land on the left is the isthmus to Quaranup, and King George Sound is in the distance and Bald Head is under the *Banksia coccinea*.¹⁰⁷



Fig. 36. 775. *A West Australian Banksia*. Oil on board, 50.9 x 35.4 cm. *Banksia attenuata* R.Br. © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 37. 772. *West Australian Vegetation*. Oil on board, 50.7 x 35.2 cm. *Banksia coccinea* R.Br. (red bottle-brush, centre); *Gompholobium polymorphum* R.Br. (red-flowered vine, right and lower centre). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 38. Albany and Princess Royal Harbour (October 2017), the same view as depicted by Marianne North in painting 772. Photo: A. Pettit.

North considered her Western Australian paintings to be amongst the most important of her Australian works. In correspondence to Amelia Edwards she wrote that ‘the seven weeks I spent in Western Australia was the most interesting of all ... Mr. Brockmans place where I wanted to stay under the greatest giants of all Western Australia - the white gums or “Karri” with stems like polished white marble & branchless for over 200 feet - between 3 & 4 hundred feet high.¹⁰⁸

On 6 January 1881, North departed Albany on *R.M.S.S. Hydaspes* and returned to Melbourne where she stayed only a few days,¹⁰⁹ though enough time to visit Baron von Mueller who recorded their meeting in a letter to Joseph Hooker: ‘This evening I saw Miss North after her voyage to West Australia, and bid her Adieu, as she will start for Tasmania in a few days. Her paintings of W. A. vegetation are grand. I particularly admired your fathers *Euc. macrocarpa*; you probably have this brilliant species at Kew, as I sent seeds repeatedly’.¹¹⁰ North also made an overnight visit to Ellis Rowan at her family’s residence Derriweit Heights at Mount Macedon. Here North painted her son’s pet Koala [**painting 735**],¹¹¹ writing that ‘he was the best of sitters, as his activity came on only at night, when we carefully fastened him into his box’.¹¹²

108 M. North to A. Edwards, 7 Feb. 1881. ABE 255, Somerville College Library, Oxford University.

109 *Australasian*, 15 Jan. 1881, p. 14, ‘Arrivals’.

110 F. Mueller to J. Hooker, 15 Jan. 1881. Correspondence of Ferdinand von Mueller, Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria.

111 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/735.html

112 *Recollections*, vol. 2, pp 168–169.

107 Personal communication, Ellen J. Hickman, Albany.

Tasmania

On 20 January North departed Melbourne on *S.S. Flinders* and arrived in Launceston, Tasmania, later that day (Fig. 22).¹¹³ She travelled on to Deloraine where she was the guest of Reverend John Evans and Mrs Evans, at the parsonage of the Anglican Church of St. Mark. Evans was rector from 1880 to 1886 (Whitefield 1897). An article about her activities was included in the local newspaper and stated that North had ‘been studying and painting the flora of Australia, and intends after leaving Tasmania to take New Zealand, the Sandwich Islands, and California on her way home’.¹¹⁴

With regard to Launceston and Deloraine, North wrote: ‘The country was not in the least attractive to me; it was far too English, with hedges of sweet-briar, hawthorn, and blackberry, nettles, docks, thistles, dandelions: all the native flowers (if there were any) were burnt up. One lovely flower I heard of and was taken a long drive to see. It was — a mullein! [*Verbascum thapsus*] Some of the hills looked like volcanoes, but were not, and beautiful lakes were said to lie beyond them’.¹¹⁵ An article about the paintings that North did near Deloraine appeared in a local newspaper, and stated that ‘one of the Western Tier, with the sylvan-banked Meander and the lovely white blossoms of the sweet-scented *Bursaria* in the foreground [painting MNS54];¹¹⁶ the other, a view of rugged old Quamby Bluff. She also painted a spray of flowering *Banksia*’ [Fig. 39. painting MNS48].¹¹⁷ The first of these paintings is incorrectly labelled in the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew Library, Art and Archives as a scene of Mr Moffat’s Farm, Queensland: the view is correctly of Great Western Tiers and the Meander River where it flows into Huntsman Lake.¹¹⁸



Fig. 39. MNS48. *Banksia of Tasmania*. Collection of the Herbarium, Library, Art & Archives, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew; 1881, oil on paper, 36 x 35.8 cm. *Banksia marginata* Cav. © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

North departed Deloraine on 24 January on the express train for Hobart, and on her arrival was met by Thomas Stephens, Inspector of Schools for Tasmania and an accomplished geologist and geographer. He had organised accommodation at a boarding house for North, but she was soon relocated to Government House where she was the guest of Governor John Henry Lefroy and Lady Lefroy [painting 709].¹¹⁹ Francis Abbott, curator of Hobart Botanical Gardens, took North to see a number of sights near Mount Wellington. Of this she wrote: ‘Before I went to stay at Government House, the Head of the Gardens [Francis Abbott] came and drove me up the Huon road to the shoulder of Mount Wellington; thence we walked to St. Crispin’s Well... after a rest we plunged right into the thick of it, climbing under and over the stems and trunks of fallen trees, slippery with moss, in search for good specimens of the celery-topped pine [*Phyllocladus aspleniifolius*], of which we found some sixty feet high. It was not in the least like a pine, excepting in its drooping lower branches and its straight stem: the leaves were all manner of strange shapes [Fig. 40, painting 715]. We also saw fine specimens of sassafras [*Atherosperma moschatum* subsp. *moschatum*] (which yields an oil rivalling the real American sassafras in value), and the dark myrtle or beech [*Nothofagus cunninghamii*] of Tasmania. Quantities of the pretty pandanus-looking plant they call grass-trees or *richea* [*Richea dracophylla*], really a sort of heath. The whole bunch looks like a cob of Indian corn, each corn like a grain of white boiled rice, which, again, when shed or pulled off, sets free the real flowers — a bunch of tiny yellow stamens, with the outer bracts scarlet [painting 711].¹²⁰ There is also an exquisite laurel, with large waxy white flowers [*Anopterus glandulosa*]. There were many gum-trees, some of them very big, but mostly peppermint [*Eucalyptus amygdalina* or *E. pulchella*] or “stringy-bark.” [*Eucalyptus obliqua*] [Fig. 41, painting 730]. The famous blue gum (*Eucalyptus globulus*) was rare even there: strange that this should be almost the only species known or grown in Europe’ [painting 720].¹²¹ The painting in figure 40 depicts a view of Cathedral Rock from near the Pipeline Track, and was painted during a walk to St Crispin’s Well.

113 *Mercury* (Hobart), 22 Jan. 1881, p. 2, ‘[By electric telegraph.] Mount Nelson’.

114 *Launceston Examiner*, 24 Jan. 1881, p. 2, ‘A Lady Artist.’

115 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 169.

116 Paintings prefixed with MNS are held in the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew Archives, Art and Library.

117 *Launceston Examiner*, 28 Jan. 1881, p. 3, ‘Deloraine.’

118 Personal communication, Elaine Walker.

119 *Mercury* (Hobart), 31 Jan. 1881, p. 4, ‘Fortnightly summary of news for home readers’; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/709.html

120 www.kew.org/mng/gallery/711.html.

121 *Recollections*, vol. 2, p. 171; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/720.html.



Fig. 40. 715. *View in the Forest on Mount Wellington, Tasmania.* Oil on board, 50.7 x 34.9 cm. *Phyllocladus aspleniifolius* (Labill.) Hook.f. [North's celery-topped pine] (left middle ground); *Nothofagus cunninghamii* (Hook.) Oerst. [North's dark myrtle or beech] (centre); *Doryphora sassafras* Endl. (right); *Richea dracophylla* R.Br. (right foreground); *Dicksonia antarctica* Labill. (tree fern, left foreground). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.



Fig. 41. 730. *A Selection of Flowers from Mount Wellington, Tasmania.* Oil on board, 50.7 x 35.2 cm. Clock-wise from top left: *Eucalyptus cordata* Labill. (fruit capsules); *Prostanthera lasiantha* Labill. [North's Tasmanian lilac] (white flowers); *Phyllocladus aspleniifolius* (Labill.) Hook.f. (leaf); *Anopterus glandulosus* Labill. (white flowers); *Telopea truncata* (Labill.) R.Br. (red flowers); *Trochocarpa thymifolia* (R.Br.) Spreng. (pink flowers);

Billardiera longiflora Labill. (purple-blue flowers); Unknown sp.; *Exocarpus cupressiformis* Labill. (red fruit); *Tasmannia lanceolata* (Poir.) A.C.Sm. (black fruit); *Leptocophylla juniperina* (pink fruit); *Ozothamnus ledifolius* (A.Cunn. ex DC.) Hook.f. (pink flowers); *Cyathodes glauca* Labill. (blue/pink/white fruit); *Euphrasia collina* R.Br. (white/yellow flowers); *Pimelea nivea* Labill. (pink flowers); *Bellenden montana* R.Br. (white/pink flowers on long stem); *Drymophila cyanocarpa* R.Br. (white flowers with six petals). © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

North made two excursions to Mount Wellington. On about 28 January she accompanied Judge William Lambert Dobson, when she wrote: 'Another day I scrambled up a staircase of fallen trees and tree-fern trunks, by the bed of a half-dry stream, for 1500 feet, till we reached the first ridge of the mountain... after that I was led by Judge D. and his son to the foot of the basalt cliffs under the top, and was shown many pretty berries and flowers peculiar to the mountain' [Fig. 42, painting 733].¹²² The view depicted was of the Organ Pipes, Mt Wellington, looking north-west from Hall's Saddle, near the site of Red House where North stayed (Fig. 43). The road in the near distance is Huon Road.¹²³ In correspondence to Amelia Edwards, North wrote that she had 'been on two expeditions on that wonderful road & up into the crannies of Mount Wellington. I have already painted some of its more remarkable flowers & berries & trees.'¹²⁴

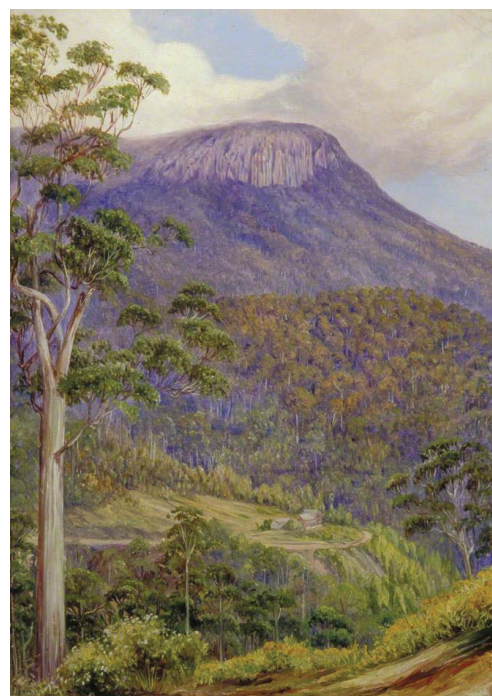


Fig. 42. 733. *View of the "Organ Pipes," Mount Wellington, Tasmania.* Oil on board, 35.6 x 25.4 cm. *Eucalyptus* sp. © Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

¹²² *Recollections*, vol. 2, pp 171–172.

¹²³ Personal communication, Axel von Krusenstierna.

¹²⁴ M. North to A. Edwards, 7 Feb. 1881. ABE 255, Somerville College Library, Oxford University.



Fig. 43. The Organ Pipes, Mount Wellington (July 2015), the same view as depicted by Marianne North in painting no. 733.

On 8 February, North travelled south to arrive at Geeveston, where she commented that the forest was gradually being destroyed by timber cutting and the construction of tramways penetrating deep in the forest. North returned to Ferntree where she rested for one week and wrote that ‘they took me for a ride the next day up the steep hills; then we tied the horses to a fence and walked four miles up a still more beautiful tram-road, and among bigger trees than those at the Geeves. We measured one tree in that valley seventy-six feet round at a yard above the ground, and we heard of a perfect monster we did not see... the finest tree-ferns I had seen in Tasmania grew there; many of them were hung with clematis [*Clematis* spp.], like the English one’ [painting 725].¹²⁵ This painting is a view from Huon Road near Ferntree, looking south to North West Bay down the Browns River Valley.¹²⁶ North stayed at Red House, a boarding house situated on Huon Road opposite Chimney Pot Hill Road at Halls Saddle.¹²⁷ This was North’s last painting to be completed in Australia. On 18 February, North departed Hobart on *S.S. Tararua*, destined for Bluff, New Zealand.¹²⁸

Summary

Many of North’s depictions of Australian landscapes present an unromantic representation of the harsh climatic conditions that some parts of Australia were experiencing in the late 1880s, with drought in parts of eastern Australia and

seasonal bush-fires. She made a number of references to the effects of drought on vegetation and livestock in her writing and included active bush-fires in two paintings.

In contrast to her paintings of landscapes and ‘plant portraits’, her series of still lifes of groups of flowers and fruits are among the most proficient and ‘painterly’ of her Australian works. North provided no clear explanation of how she approached these paintings or the logistics of collecting and keeping the flower specimens fresh but it can be assumed that each still life was executed over a number of days when she was not travelling. She noted the abundance of flowers that were available at certain locations. For example, at Falconbridge in the Blue Mountains she collected 25 species at a single location and completed another of Victorian and New South Wales flowers depicting nine species. In Western Australia she completed five still-life paintings, depicting a total of about 45 species and at Albany wrote that she was able to collect 25 species within hand-reach at a single location. Other still lifes of flowers and fruit included two paintings that she completed in Tasmania, one depicting 23 species from Mt Wellington and the other of eight fruiting Tasmanian shrubs.

With regard to the overall numbers of plants and flowers located and painted, Western Australia was North’s most productive area. There she completed 23 paintings and depicted about 90 plant species. The next most productive state was New South Wales where she completed 20 paintings and depicted about 70 species. Because of her forced pace of travel in New South Wales, that state correspondingly had the highest proportion of landscape sketches which were executed quickly as limited time permitted.

Although the ever-present eucalypts were sometimes maligned and noted as dull and uninteresting by colonial travellers in descriptions of the Australian vegetation, North’s enthusiasm for the great variety in the genus *Eucalyptus* and its relatives caused her to record their diversity and subtle differences. In a letter to Amelia Edwards she wrote ‘I think I know a gum tree when I see it now! & they are wrongly called monotonous, for there are many varieties & the differences between them are very great - but they have one remarkable habit in common, they hate touching one another even with the ends of their knife like leaves - & every tree keeps apart from its neighbour even when their branches interlace across each other, the leaves of the different trees will be found clear of their neighbours’.¹²⁹ Of the Eucalypts, North depicted *Eucalyptus botryoides*, *E. camaldulensis*, *E. cordata*, *E. diversicolor*, *E. globulus*, *E. gomphocephala*, *E. macrocarpa*, *E. marginata*, *E. megacarpa*, *E. nicholii*, *E. pilularis*, *E. regnans* and *E. tetraptera*. In addition, she depicted other myrtaceous trees, including *Corymbia calophylla* and *C. ficifolia*, and *Angophora floribunda*.

North was undaunted at attempting to depict some of the more complex flowers and plants that she encountered. For example, she provided some exceptional paintings of a number of *Banksia* species. This genus was generally

¹²⁵ *Recollections*. vol. 2, pp 174–175; www.kew.org/mng/gallery/725.html.

¹²⁶ Personal communication, Axel von Krusenstierna.

¹²⁷ Personal communication, Irene Schaffer.

¹²⁸ *Mercury* (Hobart), 19 Feb. 1881, p. 2, ‘Cleared out.-February 18’.

¹²⁹ M. North to A. Edwards, 15 Sept. 1880. ABE 254, Somerville College Library, Oxford University.

avoided by botanical artists of the era, apparently being unnerved by the complexity of the flower spikes (Collins et al. 2008). The species she depicted included *Banksia attenuata*, *B. coccinea*, *B. grandis*, *B. ilicifolia*, *B. littoralis* and *B. marginata*.

Species in the ubiquitous Proteaceae she depicted mostly as feature plants included *Adenanthos cuneatus*, *Bellendena montana*, *Conospermum triplinervium*, *Grevillea banksia*, *G. bipinnatifida*, *G. buxifolia*, *G. leucopteris*, *G. wilsonii*, *Hakea cucullata*, *H. cyclocarpa*, *H. nitida*, *Isopogon anemonifolius*, *Macadamia integrifolia*, *Lambertia echinata*, *L. formosa*, *L. inermis*, *Persoonia graminea*, *Petrophile diversifolia*, *Synaphea polymorpha*, *Telopea speciosissima*, *Xylomelum occidentale* and *X. pyriforme*.

Another characteristic Australian genus that she depicted a number of species was *Acacia*, including *A. acuminata*, *A. alata*, *A. cyclops*, *A. dealbata*, *A. elongata*, *A. leuocladia* subsp. *argentifolia* and *A. paradoxa*.

In correspondence to Amelia Edwards, North provided a summary of some of the more characteristic species to be found in moist forest habitats of Victoria and Tasmania: ‘I also had been to stay a week under the big trees of Fernshaw 60 miles from Melbourne - but as far as I can see, they are no rivals to those of America - except in height - which they do not show - & no painting can give them the look of height, if one does not see it in the originals! - You are quite right the trees of Australia generally having their leaves with the knife edge towards the light - so that at noon day the shade is smaller than ours but there is plenty of it in the evening & morning - but it is very wrong to talk of their monotonous grey colour - the variety of tints in the Australian landscapes are very remarkable & there are endless differences even amongst the gums alone. The dark blue green of what they call the Beech, & the bright yellow green of the Sassafras & celery topped pine, makes fine contrasts in all the gullies of Mt Wellington & the tree ferns are very fine - also a small plant they call true grass tree, resembling the pandanus in miniature is very elegant - the flowers are over, but I hope to find one sufficiently out to paint it but as I have seen no good painting of it’.¹³⁰

North provided a number of observations concerning the Indigenous peoples as she travelled in Australia. Although most were brief observations and seemingly off-handed comments, they belie the then widely-held belief that Indigenous people were the lingering remnants of a vanishing peoples and were destined to be inexorably ‘consumed’ by European culture, dispossessed of their land and ultimately rendered extinct as a race. In contrast, North noted the ‘wisdom’ they exhibited in regard to bush-fires and their knowledge of the ‘bush’.

North’s time in Australia was increasingly accentuated by periods of illness mainly as a result of rheumatism and gumboils that were exacerbated by cold weather. She appears to have been slowly succumbing to an increasing

exhaustion and lethargy during the later stages of her travels. Her opinion of Australia was positive and she had an irrepressible enthusiasm for the newness of the scenery and its plants. In a letter to Amelia Edwards, she wrote that ‘there is a great charm to me in the newness of every tree & flower here - in spite of English names - & grass & clover & sheep & thistles &c &c.’¹³¹

North arrived back in England from Australia in early June 1881 to find her gallery completed and ready for the instalment of her paintings. It took another 12 months to finalise and mount the first exhibition which featured all the works that had been completed up to that time, including those that she did in Australia. A critique of the exhibition noted some of her Australian paintings as deserving of special attention, including those of *Nuytsia floribunda*, *Kennedia nigricans*, *Santalum acuminatum*, *Amyema miquelii* and *Telopea speciosissima* (Anon. 1882). The gallery catalogues (to run into six editions) were originally compiled by the Kew botanist William Botting Hemsley and later editions adapted from the earlier editions. In them Hemsley provided a systematic list of all the plants depicted in her paintings. The catalogues, because of their botanical relevance to the places she visited, were distributed to people and organisations outside of England. Ferdinand Mueller, in a letter to Hemsley, wrote that he had ‘received the excellent publication, elaborated by you in elucidation of Miss North’s paintings. This descriptive index must still more heighten the value of the superb collection, prepared under so much toil and at so great an expenditure by that gifted and generous Lady. Will you kindly present my compliments to her and say that I with great pleasure remember her visit and often think of her beautiful pictures’.¹³²

Soon after returning to England from her Australian travels, North took some of her paintings to Charles Darwin at his home in Kent. Darwin later responded in writing and noted: ‘2d August 1881. I am so glad that I have seen your Australian pictures, and it was extremely kind of you to bring them here. To the present time I am often able to call up with considerable vividness scenes in various countries which I have seen, and it is no small pleasure; but my mind in this respect must be a mere barren waste compared with your mind.—I remain, dear Miss North, yours, truly obliged, Charles Darwin’ (North 1893a).

In the years following her Australian visit, North travelled to South Africa (1882), Seychelles (1883) and Chile (1884) where she completed many more paintings. She spent 1885 organising the paintings in her gallery, which had been extended to accommodate the additional paintings, and of which her personal arrangement persists until the present day. In 1886 she retired to a property at Alderley, Gloucestershire, where she remained in persistent ill-health until her death in 1890.

130 M. North to A. Edwards, 7 Feb. 1881. ABE 255, Somerville College Library, Oxford University.

131 M. North to A. Edwards, 15 Sept. 1880. ABE 254, Somerville College Library, Oxford University.

132 F. Mueller to W. Hemsley, 24 July 1882. Correspondence of Ferdinand von Mueller, Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria.

Conclusion

North's contribution to Australian botany and ecology has been generally overlooked by many taxonomists and art historians because of the inability to classify her work as either art or science. She did not 'discover' any new species or systematically collect herbarium specimens in Australia. Only a single specimen collected by her of any Australian plant is extant as a herbarium specimen; a collection of the flowers of *Eucalyptus macrocarpa* which was insistently appropriated by Ferdinand Mueller for the Melbourne Herbarium. Despite some suggestions by researchers that she had collected herbarium specimens for Kew during her world travels, there is only scant evidence of this, and only a small number of specimens have been located there.

By associating North's paintings with the relevant text in her writing, her works offer insights into the Australian environment and the existing attitudes in colonial Australia. By the time that North visited Australia in 1880, there was an increasing awareness of the loss of the natural environment (Mueller 1870, 1871, 1890; Dixon 1892; Tyrrell 1999; Douglas 2014). Her paintings present an unromantic depiction of the environment showing the often harsh climatic conditions of the time, and an understanding of fire, drought, and the interactions and evolutionary implications between vegetation, the environment and animals.

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Appendix 1 Plants, birds, mammals, insects and reptiles depicted in Marianne North's Australian paintings of 1880-1881, as exhibited in the Marianne North Gallery, Royal Botanic Gardens Kew, U.K.*

Plant nomenclature follows the *Australian Plant Name Index*, IBIS database, Centre for Australian National Biodiversity Research, Australian Government, Canberra, <http://www.cpbr.gov.au/cgi-bin/apni>, and that of other organisms follows the *Atlas of Living Australia*, <https://www.ala.org.au/>.

*paintings prefixed with MNS are held in the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew Library, Art and Archives.

Species name	Painting number
PLANTS	
<i>Acacia acuminata</i> Benth.	751, 763
<i>Acacia alata</i> R.Br.	729
<i>Acacia cyclops</i> A.Cunn. ex G.Don.	753
<i>Acacia dealbata</i> Link	725
<i>Acacia elongata</i> Sieber ex DC.	785
<i>Acacia leucoclada</i> subsp. <i>argentifolia</i> Tindale	726
<i>Acacia paradoxa</i> DC.	778
<i>Actinotus helianthi</i> Labill.	759
<i>Adenanthos cuneatus</i> Labill.	729
<i>Agonis flexuosa</i> (Willd.) Sweet	757
<i>Agrostocrinum scabrum</i> (R.Br.) Baill.	750
<i>Allocasuarina decussata</i> (Benth.) L.A.S.Johnson	782
<i>Alyogyne huegelii</i> (Endl.) Fryxell	791
<i>Amyema miquelii</i> (Lehm. ex Miq.) Tiegh.	745
<i>Amyema pendula</i> (Seiber ex Spreng.) Tiegh.	748
<i>Angophora floribunda</i> (Sm.) Sweet	779
<i>Anigozanthos flavidus</i> Redouté	776
<i>Anigozanthos gabrielae</i> Domin	740
<i>Anigozanthos humilis</i> Lindl.	740
<i>Anigozanthos manglesii</i> D.Don	740
<i>Anigozanthos manglesii</i> x <i>A. humilis</i>	740
<i>Anopterus glandulosus</i> Labill.	730
<i>Anthocercis viscosa</i> R.Br.	750
<i>Aralia</i> sp.	783
<i>Araucaria bidwillii</i> Hook.	743, 763, 767, 768, 771, 773, 781
<i>Araucaria cunninghamii</i> Mudie var. <i>cunninghamii</i>	738
<i>Araucaria heterophylla</i> (Salisb.) Franco	749
<i>Archontophoenix alexandrae</i> (F.Muell) H.Wendl. & Drude	743
<i>Archontophoenix cunninghamiana</i> (H.Wendl.) H.Wendl. & Drude	743, 760, 781
<i>Arctotheca calendula</i> (L.) Levyns	742
<i>Areca northiana</i> W.Hill ex Hemsl.	743
<i>Aristotelia peduncularis</i> (Labill.) Hook.f.	711
<i>Asplenium australasicum</i> (J.Sm.) Hook.	732, 767
<i>Astroloma pallidum</i> R.Br.	740
<i>Atherosperma moschatum</i> Labill. subsp. <i>moschatum</i>	711, 725
<i>Atriplex isatidea</i> Moq.	729
<i>Bambusa</i> sp.	732
<i>Banksia attenuata</i> R.Br.	775
<i>Banksia coccinea</i> R.Br.	722
<i>Banksia grandis</i> Willd.	741, 764, 780
<i>Banksia ilicifolia</i> R.Br.	764
<i>Banksia littoralis</i> R.Br.	756
<i>Banksia marginata</i> Cav.	MNS48
<i>Bauera rubioides</i> Andrews	759
<i>Beaufortia decussata</i> R.Br.	729
<i>Bellenden montana</i> R.Br.	730

Species name	Painting number
<i>Billardiera heterophylla</i> (Lindl.) L.Cayzer & Crisp	750
<i>Billardiera longiflora</i> Labill.	711, 730
<i>Boronia floribunda</i> Sieber ex Rchb.	759
<i>Brachychiton populneus</i> (Schott & Endl.) R.Br. subsp. <i>populneus</i>	779
<i>Brachychiton rupestris</i> (T.Mitch. ex Lindl.) K.Schum.	736
<i>Bursaria spinosa</i> Cav.	MNS54
<i>Byblis gigantea</i> Lindl.	755
<i>Callistemon citrinus</i> (Curtis) Skeels	749
<i>Callistemon salignus</i> (Sm.) Colvill ex Sweet	716
<i>Callitris rhomboidea</i> R.Br. ex Rich. & A.Rich.	709
<i>Callitris</i> sp.	737
<i>Caryota urens</i> L.	732
<i>Casuarina cunninghamiana</i> Miq. subsp. <i>cunninghamiana</i>	728, 770, 792
<i>Cephalotus follicularis</i> Labill.	744
<i>Comesperma ericinum</i> DC.	759
<i>Conospermum triplinervium</i> R.Br.	740
<i>Conostylis aculeata</i> R.Br.	744
<i>Coprosma hirtella</i> Labill.	711
<i>Cordyline australis</i> (G.Forst.) Endl.	709, 754
<i>Cordyline petiolaris</i> (Domin) Pedley	763, 767
<i>Corymbia calophylla</i> (Lindl.) K.D.Hill & L.A.S.Johnson	757
<i>Corymbia ficifolia</i> (F.Muell.) K.D.Hill & L.A.S.Johnson	789
<i>Cosmelia rubra</i> R.Br.	750
<i>Cyathea australis</i> (R.Br.) Domin	732
<i>Cyathodes glauca</i> Labill.	730
<i>Dampiera linearis</i> R.Br.	744
<i>Dampiera stricta</i> (Sm.) R.Br.	759
<i>Dasyopogon bromeliifolius</i> R.Br.	750
<i>Dasyopogon hookeri</i> J.Drumm.	756
<i>Daviesia ulicifolia</i> Andrews	759
<i>Dendrocnide moroides</i> (Wedd.) Chew	781
<i>Dicksonia antarctica</i> Labill.	715, 747, 758, 774, 777, 784
<i>Diuris punctata</i> Sm.	759
<i>Diuris</i> sp.	742
<i>Doryanthes palmeri</i> W.Hill ex Benth.	778, 844
<i>Doryphora sassafras</i> Endl.	711, 715
<i>Drosera macrantha</i> Endl.	744
<i>Drosera menziesii</i> R.Br. ex DC.	744
<i>Dryophila cyanocarpa</i> R.Br.	730
<i>Dypsis lutescens</i> (H.Wendl.) Beentje & J.Dransf.	732
<i>Epacris longiflora</i> Cav.	742, 759
<i>Epacris purpurascens</i> Banks ex Sims var. <i>purpurascens</i>	759
<i>Eucalyptus botryoides</i> Sm.	760
<i>Eucalyptus camaldulensis</i> Dehnh.	792
<i>Eucalyptus cordata</i> Labill.	730
<i>Eucalyptus diversicolor</i> F.Muell.	782
<i>Eucalyptus globulus</i> Labill.	720, 725
<i>Eucalyptus gomphocephala</i> DC.	780
<i>Eucalyptus macrocarpa</i> Hook.	751
<i>Eucalyptus marginata</i> Donn ex Sm.	741, 762
<i>Eucalyptus megacarpa</i> F.Muell.	741
<i>Eucalyptus nicholii</i> Maiden & Blakely	770
<i>Eucalyptus pilularis</i> Sm.	760
<i>Eucalyptus regnans</i> F.Muell.	746, 747, 758, 777
<i>Eucalyptus tetraptera</i> Turcz.	791

Species name	Painting number
<i>Euphrasia collina</i> R.Br.	730
<i>Exocarpos cupressiformis</i> Labill.	730
<i>Ficus macrophylla</i> Desf. ex Pers.	788
<i>Ficus watkinsiana</i> F.M.Bailey	781
<i>Gaultheria hispida</i> R.Br.	711
<i>Gompholobium confertum</i> (DC.) Crisp	750
<i>Gompholobium grandiflorum</i> Sm.	759
<i>Gompholobium polymorphum</i> R.Br.	722
<i>Goodenia coerulea</i> R.Br.	744
<i>Grevillea banksii</i> R.Br.	762
<i>Grevillea bipinnatifida</i> R.Br.	755
<i>Grevillea buxifolia</i> (Sm.) R.Br.	759
<i>Grevillea leucopteris</i> Meisn.	780
<i>Grevillea wilsonii</i> A.Cunn.	755
<i>Hakea cucullata</i> R.Br.	791
<i>Hakea cyclocarpa</i> Lindl.	791
<i>Hakea nitida</i> R.Br.	729
<i>Helichrysum</i> sp.	759
<i>Isopogon anemonifolius</i> (Salisb.) Knight	759
<i>Isotoma hypocrateriformis</i> (R.Br.) Druce	750, 755
<i>Johnsonia lupulina</i> R.Br.	750
<i>Jubaea chilensis</i> (Molina) Baill.	603
<i>Kennedia coccinea</i> (Curtis) Vent.	750
<i>Kennedia nigricans</i> Lindl.	766
<i>Kennedia rubicunda</i> (Schneev.) Vent.	759
<i>Kingia australis</i> R.Br.	741
<i>Lambertia echinata</i> R.Br.	729
<i>Lambertia formosa</i> Sm.	759
<i>Lambertia inermis</i> R.Br. var. <i>inermis</i>	729
<i>Leptecophylla juniperina</i> (J.R.Forst.) & G.Forst.) C.M.Weiller	730
<i>Leptospermum laevigatum</i> (Gaertn.) F.Muell.	752
<i>Leptospermum myrsinoides</i> Schldtl.	752
<i>Leucopogon verticillatus</i> R.Br.	757, 782
<i>Linospadix monostachyus</i> (Mart.) H.Wendl.	732
<i>Livistona australis</i> (R.Br.) Mart.	727, 760
<i>Lomandra</i> sp.	716, 792
Loranthaceae sp.	726
<i>Macadamia integrifolia</i> Maiden & Betche	790
<i>Macropidia fuliginosa</i> (Hook.) Druce	740
<i>Macrozamia communis</i> L.A.S.Johnson	719
<i>Macrozamia fraseri</i> Miq.	756
<i>Macrozamia riedlei</i> (Fisch. ex Gaudich.) C.A.Gardner	741, 782
<i>Marianthus candidus</i> Hügel ex Endl.	729
<i>Melaleuca glauca</i> (Sweet) Craven	776
<i>Melaleuca huegelii</i> Endl.	753
<i>Mirbelia dilatata</i> R.Br. ex Dryand.	750
<i>Nothofagus cunninghamii</i> (Hook.) Oerst.	715, 761, 777
<i>Nuytsia floribunda</i> (Labill.) R.Br. ex G.Don	764, 766
<i>Nymphaea gigantea</i> Hook.	783
<i>Nymphaea</i> sp.	732
<i>Olearia argophylla</i> (Labill.) F.Muell. ex Benth.	761
<i>Ozothamnus ledifolius</i> (A.Cunn. ex DC.) Hook.f.	730
<i>Pandanus</i> sp.	783
<i>Pandorea pandorana</i> (Andrews) Steenis	746, 749, 760
<i>Passiflora</i> sp.	738

Species name	Painting number
<i>Patersonia glabrata</i> R.Br.	759
<i>Persoonia graminea</i> R.Br.	744
<i>Petrophile diversifolia</i> R.Br.	750
<i>Philothea myoporoides</i> (DC.) Bayly	759
<i>Philothea salsolifolia</i> (Sm.) Druce	759
<i>Phragmites australis</i> (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud.	768
<i>Phyllocladus aspleniifolius</i> (Labill.) Hook.f.	725, 730
<i>Pimelea linifolia</i> Sm.	759
<i>Pimelea nivea</i> Labill.	730
<i>Pimelea rosea</i> R.Br.	750
<i>Platyterium superbum</i> de Jonch. & Hennipman	732
<i>Platylobium triangulare</i> R.Br.	742
<i>Poa labillardierei</i> Steud.	763, 768, 773
<i>Prostanthera lasianthos</i> Labill.	730
<i>Prunus persica</i> (L.) Batsch.	603
<i>Ptilotus manglesii</i> (Lindl.) F.Muell.	755
<i>Pultenaea canescens</i> A.Cunn.	759
<i>Rhodanthe rubella</i> (A.Gray) Paul G.Wilson	755
<i>Richea dracophylla</i> R.Br.	711, 715
<i>Roystonea regia</i> (Kunth) O.F.Cook	732
<i>Santalum acuminatum</i> (R.Br.) A.DC.	745, 765
<i>Siloxerus filifolius</i> (Benth.) Ostenf.	744
<i>Stylidium graminifolium</i> Sw.	759
<i>Styphelia stomarrhena</i> (Sond.) Sleumer	740
<i>Styphelia tubiflora</i> Sm.	759
<i>Synaphea polymorpha</i> R.Br.	750
<i>Syncarpia glomulifera</i> (Sm.) Nied.	710
<i>Tasmannia lanceolata</i> (Poir.) A.C.Sm.	730
<i>Telopea speciosissima</i> (Sm.) R.Br.	785
<i>Telopea truncata</i> (Labill.) R.Br.	730
<i>Tetratea affinis</i> Endl.	750
<i>Tetratea ciliata</i> Lindl.	759
<i>Thelymitra</i> sp. (1)	742
<i>Thelymitra</i> sp. (2)	742
<i>Thelymitra crinita</i> Lindl.	750
<i>Thysanotus</i> sp.	750
<i>Trochocarpa thymifolia</i> (R.Br.) Spreng.	730
<i>Woolfsia pungens</i> (Cav.) F.Muell.	759
<i>Xanthorrhoea gracilis</i> Endl.	756
<i>Xanthorrhoea johnsonii</i> A.T.Lee	737
<i>Xanthorrhoea preissii</i> Endl.	741, 756, 764
<i>Xanthosia rotundifolia</i> DC.	750
<i>Xylomelum occidentale</i> R.Br.	735
<i>Xylomelum pyriforme</i> (Gaertn.) Knight	739
BIRDS	
<i>Acanthorhynchus superciliosus</i> (Gould, 1837) (Western spinebill)	789
<i>Alectura lathami</i> [J.E.Gray, 1831] (Brush turkey)	781
<i>Grus</i> (<i>Mathewsia</i>) <i>rubicunda</i> [Perry, 1810] (Brolga)	728
<i>Cacatua roseicapilla</i> (Vieillot, 1817) (Galah)	762
<i>Calyptorhynchus</i> (<i>Zanda</i>) <i>funereus</i> (Shaw, 1794) (Yellow-tailed black cockatoo)	790
<i>Dromaius novaehollandiae</i> (Latham, 1790) (Emu)	782
<i>Stagonopleura</i> (<i>Zonaeginthus</i>) <i>bella</i> (Latham, 1801) (Beautiful firetail)	720
<i>Malurus splendens</i> (Quoy & Gaimard, 1830) (Splendid wren)	745
<i>Menura novaehollandiae</i> (Latham, 1801) (Lyrebird)	747
<i>Platycercus elegans</i> (Gmelin, 1788) (Crimson rosella)	770

Species name	Painting number
<i>Psophodes olivaceus</i> [Latham, 1801] (Eastern whipbird)	771
<i>Sericornis citreogularis</i> (Gould, 1838) (Yellow-throated scrubwren) (nest only)	771
MAMMALS	
<i>Aepyprymnus rufescens</i> (Gray, 1837) (Rufous bettong)	710
<i>Cercartetus concinnus</i> (Gould, 1845) (Western pygmy possum)	765
<i>Macropus</i> sp. (Wallaby)	758, 773
<i>Petaurus breviceps</i> (Waterhouse, 1839) (Sugar glider)	746
<i>Phascolarctos cinereus</i> (Goldfuss, 1817) (Koala)	735, 792
<i>Trichosurus vulpecula</i> (Kerr, 1792) (Common brushtail possum: male)	748
<i>Ornithorhynchus anatinus</i> (Shaw, 1799) (Platypus)	792
INSECTS	
<i>Metura elongatus</i> (Saunders, 1847) (Casemoth)	752
REPTILES	
<i>Moloch horridus</i> (Gray, 1841) (Thorny devil)	755

