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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Norman H. Hardy: Book Illustrator and Artist

MAX QUANCHI

ABSTRACT

Norman H. Hardy is not a well-known historical character, so an element of salvage exists in bringing his art and book illustration to a wider audience. His short career as an artist with the *Sydney Mail* and the 68 paintings in *The Savage South Seas* in 1907 open up a wider discourse concerning the links between art and photography, between visitation and recording in the field, between art and journalism, and between popular imagination and the publishing practices for illustrated travelogues. Hardy's paintings of Papua, Solomon Islands and New Hebrides reached a wide audience and provide a close-up, intimate record of Indigenous life in the islands, as well as hinting at complex encounters between Islanders and traders. The visual evidence in *The Savage South Seas* also contributes to debates about the motivations of early 20th-century Euro-American travellers, authors and purchasers of books on the Pacific and provides yet another citation of notions of faraway lands and people in the Pacific as perceived by distant readers and audiences.

Key words: art, colonialism, travel, British Empire, photography

In 1907, A. & C. Black of London published *The Savage South Seas*, with 68 paintings by Norman H. Hardy (1864–1914). *The Savage South Seas* offered a colourful, detailed and intimate gallery of full-page illustrations by Hardy, an established book illustrator of empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The text, based on Hardy's reminiscences, was by E. Way Elkington.¹ These two names are not well known in the

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Acknowledgements: I would like to acknowledge Kathleen Hawkes, who made a substantial contribution to discussions on the early drafts of this essay, several anonymous peer reviewers, and colleagues who heard earlier versions of this paper at the 2012 conference of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Pacific Studies and the 2012 conference of the Pacific History Association.

¹ Earnest Way Elkington had wandered around New Zealand as a young Englishman abroad for seven years. In 1898, he travelled home via the USA and was wrongly reported as having just come

published history of the Pacific, and indeed their careers as Pacific experts were short-lived and mostly ignored by subsequent historians of new British possessions of the Western Pacific. *The Savage South Seas* describes the experiences of Hardy during his two short trips in 1895–97 to British New Guinea, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate and New Hebrides (now Vanuatu).² Hardy's illustrations were used by other authors in subsequent years and now, one hundred years later, apart from their artistic qualities, catch our attention because they seem to have a familiarity with black-and-white photographs that appeared profusely in contemporary lantern slides, illustrated newspapers, magazines, reports and travelogues. Hardy's gallery of landscapes, portraits, village scenes and Island life in *The Savage South Seas* therefore invites an exploration of the links between art and photography, between fieldwork techniques and recording, and between market demand and publishing practices for illustrated travelogues. *The Savage South Seas* also contributes to debates about popular notions of savage lands and people in the Pacific as perceived by distant readers and audiences, and because several island groups were the subject of dispute between European powers, it added to popular knowledge of affairs of interest in Australia, New Zealand and Britain. The literary style of *The Savage South Seas* is not noteworthy; however, Hardy's visual record was remarkable and, although he never ventured to the Pacific again, his gallery of Pacific illustrations spread widely and had a far greater impact than might be expected for a single publication. Salvaging Hardy and his Pacific art from obscurity is therefore a worthy project, but his art also needs to be placed in the multiple contexts of colonialism, sub-imperialism, empire, journalism, literature and travel. In the following analysis, Hardy emerges as a key figure in newspaper and travelogue imaging of the Pacific, and *The Savage South Seas* becomes an early 20th-century milestone, less in the visualising of Papua, but certainly for the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu.

A British-born artist and illustrator, Norman H. Hardy spent seven years in Australia. In March 1892, as a 28 year old, Hardy began with the *Sydney Mail*, the *Sydney Morning Herald's* popular illustrated weekend newspaper, at the rank of 'artist', later rising to 'special artist'. When he resigned and returned to England in 1898, he was 'principal artist'.³ While in Sydney, he made two trips to the Islands and published two full-page features in the *Sydney Mail* of sketches done during these visits. The other sketches from these two trips were later worked up as water

from the 'South Seas'. He was listed as a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and wrote *Adrift in New Zealand* (London 1906) and *Canada: the land of hope* (London 1911), and co-authored *The Rich Man's Wife* with Dick Donovan in 1911. *Kansas City Journal*, 7 Dec. 1898, 5; Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English villagers, New Zealand immigrants of the 1870s* (Wellington 1981), 344.

² The New Hebrides was then ruled under the joint French and British Naval Commission of 1889, the British Solomon Islands Protectorate (BSIP) had been under British control since 1893, and British New Guinea had been under British rule since 1884.

³ The *Sydney Mail* noted that Hardy came from England at the same time as Frank Godart, who was attributed with introducing photoengraving to the *Sydney Mail*. It introduced illustrations in 1871, a woodcut of Queen Victoria, and an Illustrated Supplement in 1876. Frank. S. Greenop, *History of Magazine Publishing in Australia* (Sydney 1947), 117–38.

colours and published in *The Savage South Seas*. Halftone printing of photographs on newsprint was introduced in the mid-1890s,⁴ and as Hardy could see the end in sight for newspaper artists, he resigned in 1898, took a cruise to China and returned to England. Hardy changed career in England and became an illustrator of books on empire, the colonial frontier, the Grand Tour and Europe's wonderland, cities and picturesque countryside. He maintained his interest in Australia and the Pacific and provided 12 illustrations for *Australia: peeps at many lands* (London 1911) by Frank Fox, the well-known Australian author and London-based 'imperialist'; 21 illustrations for Frank Wilkinson's book, *Australia at the Front: a colonial view of the Boer War* (London 1901); and all the illustrations for the official government school reader, *The Australian Commonwealth: its geography and history* (London 1912). Hardy's return to England was noted in Australian newspapers, where he was referred to as both a 'semi-Australian'⁵ and an 'English painter'.⁶ He was listed as a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Anthropological Institute. As his fame spread, commissions with authors and publishing houses followed.⁷ He died at 53 years of age during an influenza epidemic in New York in 1914.⁸ Although Hardy had a flourishing career in Australia and England as an artist and illustrator, he is not listed in either British or Australian registers of book illustrators, or as an artist in the *Australian Encyclopedia of Art* or in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, and his work is not held by the Australian National Gallery or the Australian War Memorial. The National Library of Australia holds one work by Hardy, an 1893 watercolour entitled 'Coaching in the Araluen Valley, NSW, 1893'.⁹ In the history of the Pacific Islands, Hardy is also invisible, and historians' attention has not been attracted by him, his paintings or *The Savage South Seas*.¹⁰

4 Hannah Perkins and Max Quanchi, 'To the Islands – photographs of tropical colonies in *The Queenslander*', *History Compass*, 8:1 (2010), 12–13; Max Quanchi, 'The power of pictures: learning-by-looking at Papua in illustrated newspapers and magazines', *Australian Historical Studies*, 35:123 (2004), 37–53.

5 *South Australian Register*, 27 June 1904, 4.

6 C. Roche, Sketchbook, c.1895–c.1910, Wilmington, DE, Winterthur Library, Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, doc. 1180.

7 Hardy also traded in Pacific artefacts collected during his two trips; Rhys Richards has noted that in about 1895, the illustrator Norman H. Hardy acquired at Bukata, Rubiana, a smoke-dried trophy skull of a bush native, with hair, taken in fighting with a hostile tribe. The date may be a few years later, but in 1900 it was purchased and presented by R.F. Wilkins to the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford (item 1900.55.556). Rhys Richards, pers. comm., 2010. In April 1898 Hardy sold artefacts he had previously purchased on Samarai Island. *Launceston Examiner*, 12 Mar. 1898, 3. He also sold to the British Museum wooden figures and decorative charms that he had collected during the 1908 Torday expedition.

8 The only Australian newspaper to report his death was the *Examiner* in Grafton, NSW. Hardy had visited the Grafton Agricultural Show in 1892 and exhibited some of his artwork while on a special assignment for the *Sydney Mail*. *Clarence and Richmond Examiner*, 15 Jan. 1914, 5.

9 The image was published on the cover of the *Magazine of the Australian National Library*, 11:9 (1992).

10 For tracking images into the public domain, see Leila Koivunen, *Visualising Africa in Nineteenth-century British Travel Accounts* (London 2009); T. Jack Thompson, *Light on Darkness? Missionary*

The 68 paintings in *The Savage South Seas* are an important record of Papuans, Solomon Islanders and New Hebrideans and of European activities and concerns in the nascent years of colonial rule and early European permanence (Figure 1). On his visits, Hardy did not have long in each port along the mail run, or copra run, so he depicted several scenes at Port Moresby and Samarai, the two main ports in British New Guinea, but he chose not to sketch Tulagi and Port Vila. In *The Savage South Seas*, his paintings were presented to readers on clay-based paper, with a tissue leaf to protect the image. Opposite each painting was a brief caption or longer annotation by Hardy describing the scene or reflecting on his reasons for including the painting. The paintings are wonderfully colourful and eye-pleasing, and because they have a photographic, documentary quality, appear to be taken straight from life. These paintings and perhaps another 30 that Hardy later worked up as watercolours had a long life, being used immediately by a number of other authors writing about the Pacific. One year after the release of *The Savage South Seas*, J.H.M. Abbott used 12 of Hardy's paintings in his *Peeps at Many Lands: the South Seas, Melanesia* (London 1908), including one painting not published in *The Savage South Seas*. *Peeps at Many Lands: the South Seas, Melanesia* was popular and went on to five editions between 1908 and 1926.¹¹ In the same year, *Women of All Nations: a record of their characteristics, habits, manners, customs, and influence* (London 1908) was published in two volumes, edited by T. Athol Joyce and N.W. Thomas, and included 20 full-page Hardy watercolours.¹² In 1910 Hardy provided illustrations for the anthropologist C.G. Seligman's *The Melanesians of New Guinea* (Cambridge, UK), and in a 1912 French adaptation of Abbott's 1908 book, Fergus MacGregor used 12 paintings in *Un tour en Mélanésie (Nouvelle-Calédonie)*, using ten different Hardy paintings and only two of the 12 originally included in *Peeps at Many Lands*.¹³ Several publishers used a Hardy painting for flypaper or as a cover illustration; he was closely associated with several British anthropologists and lent illustrations, and in one instance provided a

photography of Africa in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Grand Rapids 2012); Max Quanchi, *Photographing Papua: representation, colonial encounters and imaging in the public domain* (Newcastle 2007); Robert Dixon, *Photography, Early Cinema and Colonial Modernity: Frank Hurley's synchronized lecture entertainments* (London 2012).

11 Different Hardy paintings were used for the covers of the editions of *Peeps at Many Lands*: 'A Canoe showing Totoishu New Georgia, Solomon Islands' (from p. 100 of *The Savage South Seas*) and 'Natives of the New Hebrides having a drink' (p. 66 of *The Savage South Seas*). In the 1926 edition, 12 years after his death, eight paintings by Hardy were included.

12 The only Pacific illustration, 'Women of Rennell Island, Polynesia', had not been used in *The Savage South Seas*. T. Athol Joyce and N.W. Thomas, *Women of All Nations: a record of their characteristics, habits, manners, customs, and influence* (London 1908), 64. In revised editions in 1909 and 1911, the Rennell Island illustration was omitted, but three new illustrations by Hardy were included. A paperback edition of *Women of All Nations* was published in 1915, edited only by Joyce, and further editions were published in 1942, 2011 and 2012.

13 The cover of *Tour en mélanésie (Nouvelle-Calédonie): récit de voyage, adapté de l'anglais d'après l'ouvrage de J. H.M. Abbott* (Vincennes 1912) was a canoe and crew surfing a wave: 'Passing the reef, Aoba, New Hebrides' (from p. 182 of *The Savage South Seas*). A Hardy painting of Hanuabada, Port Moresby, appeared earlier as the cover illustration on G. Saint-Yves, *L'Océanie* (Tours 1900).

set of lantern slides for a lecture at the Royal Anthropological Institute.¹⁴ In 1911, Frank Fox used 13 of Hardy's paintings in his compendium *Oceania*. Part one of *Oceania* was subtitled 'The blessed isles of the Pacific'.¹⁵ During Fox's period in England, he was described as an 'imperialist',¹⁶ a member of an informal London club of men with colonial experience, or from the colonies, who promoted knowledge of the empire, publicised events and wrote or spoke regularly on colonial topics. The same term was used to describe men in the USA such as Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, although in Washington the term referred specifically to promoters of a new and radical expansionist policy for acquiring overseas territories.¹⁷ Hardy, with his colonial experience and book on new British possessions in the Western Pacific, could meet with ease with men like Fox and Elkington and Australians like Alfred Deakin, in London for the 1907 Colonial Conference.

The reproduction of Hardy's paintings over a 20-year period suggests they had a role in confirming the reading public's perceptions of the islands as a British success story and site of expansion, noted by Hardy on the opening page as 'wealth both mineral and vegetable waiting for the industry and enterprise of good men to reap'.¹⁸ Hardy went on to claim the New Hebrides was a 'veritable Eldorado'.¹⁹ He did not use the term 'Melanesia', opting to use 'South Seas' or 'the islands' in what he called a 'short sketch of the three most important groups of the South Sea Islands'.²⁰ Hardy warned readers of the imperial competition with France over the future status of the New Hebrides, but *The Savage South Seas* is apolitical, and while pro-Empire and extolling consolidation and economic development, it did not engage in the debate then occurring in Britain over the name change from colonies

14 *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1899, 204. John Guise gave his talk at the institute on 8 Nov. 1898, but how he obtained the lantern slides from Hardy is not known. Hardy did not leave the *Sydney Mail* until Aug. 1898, so the loan must have taken place earlier in the year.

15 Frank Fox, *Oceania* (London 1911), 3–56. (The two larger parts of *Oceania* were on Australia and New Zealand.) The work was republished in 1913 and 1919. Frank Fox (1874–1960) was an established author with books such as *Australia: peeps at many lands* (London 1911), *Ramparts of Empire: a view of the navy from an imperial standpoint* (London 1910), *The Mastery of the Pacific: can the British Empire and the United States agree?* (London 1928) and *The British Empire* (London 1911).

16 Martha Rutledge, 'Fox, Sir Frank Ignatius (1874–1960)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fox-sir-frank-ignatius-6229/text10717> (accessed 20 Apr. 2013). On Empire connections generally, see Gavin Souter, *Lion and Kangaroo: the initiation of Australia* (London 1976). Fox knew Hardy in Sydney, when both worked as journalists, and in London, where they were members of the informal group of men and women with colonial experience and aspirations as experts and authors.

17 Richard H. Immerman, *Empire for Liberty: a history of American imperialism from Benjamin Franklin to Paul Wolfowitz* (Princeton 2010), 10, 140, 142. Bruce Cumings, *Dominion from Sea to Sea: Pacific ascendancy and American power* (New Haven 2009), 137.

18 Hardy and Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, 3–4.

19 *Ibid.*, 12.

20 *Ibid.*, 193. The use of the term 'Melanesia' has been the subject of extensive scholarly debate; see Stephanie Lawson, "'Melanesia": the history and politics of an idea', *Journal of Pacific History*, 48 (2013), 1–22.

to dominions or from colonial to imperial conferences.²¹ The reader primarily had an adventure story, anecdotal, with a pretence of fact and evidence, presented in the easy-reading style of a travelogue.

The text in *The Savage South Seas* was based on Hardy's reminiscences of his travels, written second-hand by Elkington, and this was noted by reviewers when the book was released. A *Sydney Morning Herald* book reviewer also thought Elkington had not satisfactorily linked the images with the text and noted it was 'not in evidence that he is personally acquainted with the Islands while it is undeniably in evidence that his information is sometime wrong and sometimes out of date'.²² Elkington admitted he relied on Hardy for facts, noting in one instance that 'I can only take his word for it, as I was not there'.²³ The purchasers of *The Savage South Seas* in Europe and the USA could have been attracted by the illustrations or by the travelogue-style text about a relatively unknown region. In contrast, by 1907 Australian and New Zealand buyers and readers were very familiar with the western Pacific Islands through the surge of Australasian illustrated magazines, newspapers and books from around 1900. For readers of *The Savage South Seas* or those who saw Hardy's paintings in other publications, the three island groups presented by Hardy were technically within the British empire (as a protectorate, as an Australian territory or under a joint naval commission with the French), so they could easily be absorbed into a discourse, along with earlier British colonies, Fiji in 1874 and Cook Islands in 1888, and more recent possessions such as the Gilberts (1892), Tonga (1900), Ocean Island (1900) and Niue (1903). Hardy did not refer to this widely dispersed British Empire in the Pacific or to ongoing power relations over the fate of Samoa, and readers may not have known that several neighbouring archipelagos and islands were under German, Dutch and French rule. *The Savage South Seas* did not engage in debate about the geographic or anthropological distinctions of the term 'Melanesia' and was neither polemic nor treatise. Therefore, like other illustrated late-19th-century travelogues, *The Savage South Seas* had several audiences: it was a reference work; a re-visited 'album' as viewers browsed repeatedly through a gallery of photographs, engravings and paintings; and a 'good read' to be enjoyed.²⁴

The artistic skills evident during six years working on the *Sydney Mail's* weekly gallery of illustrations meant Hardy was sent, for example, to Melbourne and Auckland to capture in portraits and quick sketches the likenesses of criminals appearing in notorious court cases.²⁵ Immediately upon starting with the *Sydney Mail*, he became its most prominent illustrator, featuring each weekend on the front page of the Illustrated Supplement, with sketches of street demonstrations, picnics in the Botanical Gardens, troopers tracking in the bush, or the formal state welcome or farewell to governors or

21 Nicholas Mansergh, *The Commonwealth Experience* (London 1969), 140.

22 Review of Hardy and Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 Aug. 1907.

23 Hardy and Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, 111.

24 The nexus between illustration and text remains an under-researched dimension in the popularity, longevity and history of illustrated travelogues.

25 For example see the following front-cover portraits by Hardy: *Sydney Mail*, 4 June 1892, 11 June 1892, 25 June 1892.

military men.²⁶ The front-page positioning of a full-page sketch to start the Illustrated Supplement had been established well before Hardy's appointment,²⁷ but his regular, prominent output after 1892 quickly made him one of Sydney's most well-known artists. His painting of 'A camel train on the Paroo' was featured in the 1895 *Sydney Mail* special Christmas issue and given free as a print to all subscribers, and he regularly exhibited watercolours in the Sydney art scene as well as illustrating the first publication of popular poet Banjo Paterson's 'Mulga Bill's bicycle'.²⁸ This double-page layout in the *Sydney Mail* was part of a 16-page feature on cycling, the latest craze in Sydney, and a phenomenon Hardy regularly sketched.²⁹ He also was a prototype for the photojournalist and covered the major events in Sydney's annual cycle of political and military events, attended plays, and regularly sketched portraits, scenes and theatrical ensembles as well as major sporting events, inter-colonial cricket, football and sailing, along with key events on the Sydney and Melbourne racing calendar.³⁰

Beginning in 1871, the *Sydney Mail* had gradually become a heavily illustrated magazine, first with line drawings, sketches, woodcuts, etchings and lithographs³¹ and

26 For example see the 'Illustrated Supplement' of the *Sydney Mail*, 9 Apr. 1892, 30 Apr. 1892, 2 July 1892, 23 July 1892, 20 Aug. 1892, 21 Jan. 1893.

27 For example, see 'The revolution in Samoa', *Sydney Mail*, 17 Sep. 1887; a sketch of the opening of the New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Sydney, *Sydney Mail*, 7 Dec. 1889; or '8 hour demonstration', *Sydney Mail*, 12 Oct. 1889. The separate Illustrated Supplement was abolished in 1893. Illustrations were still grouped but without a banner headline to open the illustrated section of the paper. It continued to be heavily illustrated. For example, in 1895 a special feature on Rockhampton comprised 17 pages and 46 illustrations. *Sydney Mail*, 4 May 1895, 899–915.

28 *Sydney Mail*, 25 July 1896.

29 Hardy did two other sketches of cycling for the July 1896 cycling feature, and the 1896 *Sydney Mail* Christmas supplement again featured cycling: 'In trouble', *Sydney Mail*, 19 Dec. 1896, viii. See also 'Sketches of the cycling carnival', 21 Mar. 1896; 'On the right track', 18 Dec. 1897. Hardy's role as an artist meant he covered the city, rural districts and interstate as well as the day-by-day life of Sydney, such as: poultry, pigeon and dog shows; the industrial wonder of butter factories; flower shows; new tram lines; and 'McGarvie's experiments with snakes'. For snakes, see *Sydney Mail*, 24 Dec. 1892; for scenes inside the butter factory, see *Sydney Mail*, 3 Sep. 1892; for opening the tram to Spithead, see *Sydney Mail*, 30 Sep. 1893.

30 His output as an artist and photojournalist was based on rushing to mining strikes, street marches by the unemployed, ship fires, floods and court cases to quickly sketch the scene for the next weekend's *Sydney Mail*, as well as attending the opening of parliament, cadet camps and military 'reviews' and encampments along with sketching portraits and general activities at events like the New South Wales Rifle Association's annual shooting match.

31 The *Sydney Mail* began in 1860 in opposition to another illustrated weekend news magazine, the *Town and Country Journal*. By 1864, it had an impressive circulation of 10,000. In the early 1900s, it reached a circulation of 40,000. The popular Christmas special issue reached 68,000 circulation, and during World War I, sales exceeded 110,000. Fairfax and Sons, the owners, claimed it had the 'largest circulation' and was the most 'widely distributed illustrated newspaper in Australia'. *A Century of Journalism: the Sydney Morning Herald and its record of Australian life 1831–1931* (Sydney 1931), 672–88. By 1905 a typical edition had 65 illustrations. *Sydney Mail*, 4 Oct. 1905.

later with photographs.³² It maintained a regular coverage of the Pacific Islands in the 1880s, including full-page features on the Pacific well before Hardy published his sketches on Papua and the New Hebrides in 1895 and 1897.³³ This meant a reader in the 1880s and 1890s was seeing the Pacific in full-page illustrated features roughly every five weeks, partly as a picturesque window on tropical lands, partly as a gallery of ‘others’, but also as an eyewitness to recent political and economic development. The regular coverage of the Pacific suggests that Australians were relatively well informed and saw the Pacific as part of a new sub-imperial sphere of interest. For example, the death of Tautafa‘ahau, King George of Tonga, was accompanied by a two-column description of the leadership and funeral arrangements,³⁴ and a full-page montage of etchings on the New Hebrides based on Reverend J.H. Laurie’s photographs included a mission station on Aneityum and a church built by a ‘Sydney-owned sawmilling company’, as well as canoes, houses, slit-gong drums and two picturesque views.³⁵ The following weekend readers were presented with seven portraits of New Hebrideans and two further etchings of houses and petroglyphs.³⁶ One year later, another full-page feature based on Laurie’s photographs included trade stores, roads and a jetty at ‘Fila’ (a misspelling of Vila), a planter’s substantial house with labourers posed in front, and a ‘Mission boy’ and ‘Mission girl’ in European clothing.³⁷ This coverage was of topical interest in an era of colonial expansion and also served as an entertaining glimpse of distant lands and peoples.

In May 1895 Hardy’s career took a new turn when the *Sydney Mail* noted that a page of pencil sketches was ‘by one of our own artists who recently visited the New Hebrides’.³⁸ This full-page feature included four head-and-upper-torso portraits emphasising headwear and hairstyles, and three sketches of men, one pounding

Its main competitor, the *Town and Country Journal*, responded by luring subscribers, for example, with a free stereoscope in 1907.

32 From 1894 to 1901, all the *Sydney Mail*’s etchings, drawings, watercolours and illustrations based on photographs were done by a subsidiary, the Electric Photo Engraving Company. In 1902, the *Sydney Mail* established its own processing and photography department, headed by George Bell, ‘a photographer of outstanding artistry whose standard was something new in this part of the world’. *Sydney Mail*, 28 Dec. 1938, 6. Bell had been to New Guinea in 1887 as photographer for the New South Wales government expedition; see Gael Newton, *Shades of light: photography and Australia 1839–1988* (Canberra 1988), 82, 190 fn. 21.

33 The *Sydney Mail* coverage of the Pacific included illustrations in 1887 of so-called ‘revolutions’ in Samoa and Tonga, the raising of the British flag in the Gilbert Islands (now Kiribati), the death of the king of Tonga and hurricanes and fire walking in Fiji. For Gilbert Islands see *Sydney Mail*, 13 Aug. 1892; for Tonga see 24 Jan. 1891 and 4 Mar. 1893; for Fiji see 9 Feb. 1895 and 14 May 1898; for New Caledonia see 23 July 1892 and 10 Sep. 1892; for New Hebrides see 5 Mar. 1892 and 12 Aug. 1893. The *Sydney Mail* continued with regular illustrated features on the Pacific, increasingly switching to photographs, right through to the 1930s.

34 *Ibid.*, 4 Mar. 1893, 448.

35 *Ibid.*, 5 Mar. 1892, 533.

36 *Ibid.*, 12 Mar. 1893, 595.

37 *Ibid.*, 12 Aug. 1893, 339.

38 *Ibid.*, 11 May 1895, 955.

sago, one launching a small canoe and one using a large leaf as an umbrella. These portraits were not used for *The Savage South Seas* in 1907. The sketches were labelled 'A young Tanna man', 'Filling sacks with copra', 'Type of Aoba man', 'Remarkable type of men at Aoba', 'Off to market with produce', 'Palm leaves used as a sunshade' and 'Native of Sandwich island'.³⁹ When Hardy's full page of New Hebridean portraits appeared in May 1895, it would not have surprised readers already accustomed to seeing Islanders in portraits or in tableaux village settings.

Two years after the New Hebrides feature, Hardy visited Port Moresby and Samarai aboard the Burns Philp steamer the *Titus* in 1897 to report on the gold rushes to Papua.⁴⁰ The *Sydney Mail* reported that Hardy 'was round the New Guinea coast' and had produced 'a series of sketches from his pencil which depict graphically some of the scenes he met with'⁴¹ (Figure 2). The sketches in 1897 included only three portraits of Papuans: 'A girl of Port Moresby', 'A policeman at Port Moresby' and 'Fly River men who will someday cut a road to Mambare'.⁴² These were not used for *The Savage South Seas*. The full-page feature contained 12 vignettes of life amongst the European miners, including sketches on the *Titus* as well as sick and despondent men waiting at Port Moresby and Samarai, captured nicely by Hardy in the caption, 'Too much fever and not enough gold'.⁴³

Hardy also visited the Solomon Islands on the New Hebrides trip, but did not publish any of these sketches in the *Sydney Mail*. On these two Island trips, Hardy followed regular interisland trading routes and visited established anchorages, moorings, ports and smaller harbours. His sketches and paintings in Papua include depictions around Port Moresby, parts of the Aroma coast and Samarai. In the Solomon Islands, his paintings cover Tulagi, Guvutu, Rubiana Lagoon, New Florida, New Georgia and Simbo, and in the New Hebrides, include Malekula, Tanna, Havannah Harbour, Eromanga, Ambryn, Santo and Aoba. This is an impressive itinerary and worth repeating here to emphasise that this coverage was not exceptional around 1900. These were the sites of contact for most visiting photographers, artists and travelogue writers, who were restrained by shipping routes and timetables, with sites commonly determined by plantation managers' hospitality and access to mission stations, government posts, well-used wharves and harbours, and regular copra-collecting anchorages.

The subject matter of Hardy's paintings in the two *Sydney Mail* features and in *The Savage South Seas* is evenly spread over the standard visual categories of the period.

39 'Sketches at the New Hebrides', *ibid.*, 11 May 1895, 962.

40 See Hank Nelson, *Black, White and Gold: gold mining in Papua New Guinea, 1880–1930* (Canberra 1976). Up until it was decommissioned and sold in 1907, the *Titus* also had a regular run through the Solomon Islands and New Hebrides to the Gilberts and Marshalls. Ken Buckley and Kris Klugman, *South Pacific Focus: a record in words and photographs of Burns Philp at work* (Sydney 1986), 18.

41 *Sydney Mail*, 31 July 1897, 240.

42 'Sketches at Port Moresby and Samarai', *Sydney Mail*, 31 July 1897, 234. For the gold rushes to Papua see Nelson, *Black, White and Gold*.

43 *Sydney Mail*, 31 July 1897.

In a study of the Caribbean, Krista Thompson calls such a work an album of repeated images, fantasies and stereotypes, a set of ‘visual icons’,⁴⁴ based on ‘place image’, a term used by Shields, and ‘destination image’, a term with similar usage by Chon.⁴⁵ In a study of Papua, Quanchi used the term ‘Papuan gallery’ to identify a small number of images that were repeated and replicated over several decades,⁴⁶ and all of these terms could be applied to Hardy’s paintings of Papua, Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides. He painted the conventional visual icons or place images of Melanesia and had the same mix of subject matter emphasising Island life, material culture and physical appearance. Scenes of village life were highlighted, with 23 (31%) of the book’s illustrations focusing on pot making, tattooing, fishing, housing construction and body adornment. Portraits form the next biggest subject, with 20% of the paintings, mostly casual poses doubling to illustrate body adornment, jewellery or scarification. Hardy’s gallery has an outwardly ethnographic quality, but his portraiture did not apply T.H. Huxley and J.H. Lamphrey’s popular 1869 photographic grid or anthropometry practice, with its convention of side and front profile portraiture.⁴⁷ Hardy’s view of the Islands is reportage, artistic and touristic rather than ethnographic. Only three portraits are of women. The remaining illustrations include 11 picturesque views of rivers, lagoons and beaches with overhanging trees; eight of canoes; seven of religious sites, ancestral figures and grave sites; and reflecting a late 19th-century Australian sub-imperialist interest in its neighbouring islands, six scenes depicting labourers, shipside trading, trade stores and the buying and selling of Island produce.⁴⁸

These depictions of traders in the act of trading offer a rare insight into relationships, as otherwise little visual evidence of this encounter between Islanders and traders exists. Later, photographers provided a large gallery on work, life and interactions on plantations, at mines and in ports, but Hardy’s intimate vignettes

44 Krista A. Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics: tourism, photography, and framing the Caribbean picturesque* (Durham, NC 2006), 5.

45 Kye-Sung Chon, ‘The role of destination image in tourism: a review and discussion’, *Tourism Review*, 45:2 (1990), 2–9; Rob Shields, *Places on the Margin: alternative geographies of modernity* (London 1991).

46 Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 4, 9, 22.

47 Christopher Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology* (London 2011), 28–9; Frank Spencer, ‘Some notes on the attempt to apply photography to anthropometry during the second half of the nineteenth century’, in Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography 1860–1920* (New Haven 1992), 99–107.

48 For Australian sub-imperialism see Roger C. Thompson, ‘Commerce, Christianity and colonialism: the Australasian New Hebrides Company, 1883–1897’, *Journal of Pacific History*, 6 (1971) 25–38; Roger C. Thompson, ‘Britain, Germany, Australia, and New Zealand in Polynesia’, in K.R. Howe, Robert C. Kiste and Brij V. Lal (eds), *Tides of History: the Pacific Islands in the twentieth century* (Sydney 1994), 71–92; Roger C. Thompson, *Australian Imperialism in the Pacific: the expansionist era, 1820–1920* (Melbourne 1980); Roger C. Thompson, *Australia and the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century* (Melbourne 1988); Max Quanchi, ‘Jewel of the Pacific and planter’s paradise: the visual argument for Australian sub-imperialism in the Solomon Islands’, *Journal of Pacific History*, 39 (2004), 43–58.

are an important supplement to trader's lives, otherwise known only through a few texts and biographies.⁴⁹ For example his 'Johnnie Pratt with his ivory nuts' shows Pratt sitting relaxed in front of his store shed, counting the nuts brought in by his 'boys'. He is shown armed with a knife in a sheaf on his belt, and Hardy added, perhaps stereotypically, a bottle of spirits beside Pratt. Hardy noted in a long caption that Pratt was murdered shortly after.⁵⁰ In 'A trader receiving cocoa-nuts, Aoba, New Hebrides', Hardy captured the strict line of demarcation between the trader on the veranda of his house and the New Hebrideans bringing in the nuts, allocated to contact only at the bottom of the steps (Figure 3). A ubiquitous bottle of spirits is again present. A female companion is included by Hardy, but just visible in the shadows on the veranda, suggesting to audiences the disapproved but common cross-cultural sexual relationships that characterised a trader's life.⁵¹ This type of visual evidence is rare, and Hardy was one of the few to depict traders in the act of trading.

The visual content was even across the three territories, with Papua slightly favoured with 26 out of 68 watercolours and the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu each with 21. The opening image in *The Savage South Seas* is a 'belle', partially clothed and posing coquettishly. Michael Sturma in *South Sea Maidens* and Patty O'Brien in *Pacific Muse* have documented an obsession with 'belles',⁵² but Hardy relied on this stereotype only twice, with a young girl posing in Papua and another standing shyly in the Solomon Islands, although the latter has a background view of a ceremonial or burial site, doubling in this manner as both a voyeuristic and ethnographic image. The opening series of illustrations for each country were carefully chosen. Both the Papua and the New Hebrides sections open with picturesque views, while the Solomon Islands section, then a new British protectorate of interest to Australian and British investors and settlers, opens with four images related to traders and trading. The editors, or Hardy and Elkington, arranged the subject matter carefully, with alternating portraits, canoes, traders and scenes of village life so the reader would not lose interest by seeing consecutive images of the same subject. Overall, the editorial strategy was to ensure that turning every second or

49 For example a rare account of trading in 1885–1886 contains no illustrations of actual trading but does have nine other illustrations. See William Crossan, *An Otago Storeman in Solomon Islands: the diary of William Crossan, copra trader, 1885–86*, ed. Tim Bayliss-Smith and Judith A. Bennett (Canberra 2012). See also Joseph H.C. Dickinson, *A Trader in the Savage Solomons: a record of romance and adventure* (London 1927).

50 Hardy and Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, opposite 74. For Pratt and other traders, see Graeme A. Golden, *The Early European Settlers of the Solomon Islands* (Melbourne 1993); Judith A. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons: a history of a Pacific archipelago, 1800–1978* (Honolulu 1987); Judith A. Bennett, 'Across the Bougainville Strait: commercial interests and colonial rivalry, c. 1880–1960', *Journal of Pacific History*, 35 (2000), 67–82.

51 Hardy and Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, opposite 186.

52 Michael Sturma, *South Sea Maidens: Western fantasy and sexual politics in the South Pacific* (London 2002); Patty O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse: exotic femininity and the colonial Pacific* (Seattle 2006).

third page revealed a visual surprise, a new image of ‘Island life’ to engage the reader’s interest.

A primary focus on Indigenous material culture, lifestyles and physical appearance is noticeable in Hardy’s paintings, as in most illustrated travelogues in this period. It was expected, for example, in volumes for young readers such as the 66 books in the series *Peeps at Many Lands*, by Hardy’s publisher, A. & C. Black. Books aimed at the adult travelogue market also maintained the same focus on vil-
lages, natives, canoes and ritual sites, motivated by the late-19th-century fascination that Euro-American audiences had for people and lands on the far side of the world. Elkington explained this by claiming, ‘people are anxious to find adventure, eager to see new things, to conquer new lands, exploit new industries and gain more knowledge’.⁵³ This phenomenon – evidenced by a series of international exhibi-
tions,⁵⁴ the founding of colonial institutes and colleges, and the popularity of illus-
trated magazines such as *Wide World*, *Le Monde* and *National Geographic* – created an imperial imperative, which coalesced with expanding travel opportunities⁵⁵ and the new science of anthropology.⁵⁶ This created a book market that demanded stories from afar, with photographers and book illustrators validating and enhancing the author’s text. *The Savage South Seas* responded to this popular interest with an exagger-
ated claim that ‘there are no islands in the new world which have been the scene of
greater adventures, more daring exploits and more exciting times than those in the
South Seas’⁵⁷ and introduced an element of salvage anthropology, popular in this
period, by claiming that, in a few years, these peoples, their huts, ceremonies, songs
and superstitions would be gone and that ‘civilization is coming, coming quickly ...
the steady tramp of the ghostly army’.⁵⁸

In the text of *The Savage South Seas*, Hardy is often spoken of witnessing inci-
dents and meeting traders or Pacific Islanders on the beach.⁵⁹ Hardy noted in his cap-
tions that several times he made drawings and ‘did an original sketch’⁶⁰ or was

53 Hardy and Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, 3.

54 Marieke Bloembergen, *Colonial Spectacles: the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the world exhibi-
tions, 1880–1931* (Singapore 2006); James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: photography and the visualization of
the British Empire* (Chicago 1997); Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: a history of colonial cultures of display*
(Wellington 2007); Catherine Hodeir, ‘Decentering the gaze at French colonial exhibitions’, in Paul
S. Landau and Deborah S. Landau (eds), *Images and Empires: visibility in colonial and postcolonial Africa*
(Berkeley 2002), 233–52; Ewan Johnston, ‘Reinventing Fiji at 19th-century and early 20th-century
exhibitions’, *Journal of Pacific History*, 40 (2005), 23–44; Adria L. Imada, ‘Transnational hula as colonial
culture’, *Journal of Pacific History*, 46 (2011), 149–76; and see also Christopher Balme, ‘New com-
patriots: Samoans on display in Wilhelminian Germany’, *Journal of Pacific History*, 42 (2007), 331–
44.

55 See Graham Smith, *Photography and Travel* (London 2013); Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: a new
theory of the leisure class* (Berkeley 1999 [1976]).

56 See Pinney, *Photography and Anthropology*; Edwards, *Anthropology and Photography*.

57 Hardy and Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, 13.

58 *Ibid.*, 15, 16.

59 *Ibid.*, 27, 73, 108, 167.

60 *Ibid.*, 74.

‘sketching at Samarai’, upon which a painting was later based.⁶¹ Although he may have taken along a camera, as just about all other travellers were doing at the time, the text of *The Savage South Seas* does not mention his having a camera or taking photographs. Hardy was familiar with the use of photography in art from his time at the *Sydney Mail*, often sketching or producing watercolours from photographs sent in from interstate or rural New South Wales. The nexus between photograph and art can be seen in the content, composition and framing of his sketches in *The Savage South Seas*; in his annual depictions of the crowds at the Melbourne Cup, based on photographs sent back to Sydney; and in a street scene in Apia painted in 1893 from a photograph of the civil war in Samoa.⁶² A rare annotation in 1894 noted that Hardy had drawn the governor’s arrival at the Clarence River from a photograph provided by a local photographer, James Stick.⁶³ Hardy’s job at the *Sydney Mail* therefore involved copying from photographs as a normal and legitimate step in the process from camera to printed page. For the 68 watercolours in *The Savage South Seas*, Hardy relied on photographs seen prior to his travels to Papua, Solomon Islands and New Hebrides. He would also have seen, and probably acquired, photographs when meeting amateur photographers and residents in the Islands.⁶⁴

The relationship between art and photography, an overlooked field of research,⁶⁵ was paralleled by a blurring of the roles between newspaper artist and membership in the wider art scene. This was demonstrated by regular *Sydney Mail* features on paintings shown at the Royal Academy in London and the Art Gallery of New South Wales, loan exhibitions and purchases by the trustees of the National Gallery.⁶⁶ Both artists and writers were reluctant to acknowledge their own uses of photography or to note if, where and when they took a photograph or later used one to initiate a creative work. Jane Rabb has noted that early writer-photographers kept their camera work so private that researchers often did not know of their subject’s

61 *Ibid.*, 118.

62 ‘The civil war in Samoa – the victors bringing in decapitated heads of rebels’, *Sydney Mail*, 26 Aug. 1893, 442. This was a half-page engraving, based on a Hardy sketch, in turn based on a photograph. The accompanying story appeared on p. 437.

63 *Sydney Mail*, 5 June 1894. In Hardy’s seven years with the *Sydney Mail*, this was the only occasion when the link between an original photograph and the subsequent published sketch, etching or watercolour was noted.

64 For the borrowing, swapping and purchase of photographs while travelling, for example in Papua, see Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 4, 9, 22.

65 For example, the series *Exposures* by Reaktion Books now has 17 titles linking photography with anthropology, archaeology, cinema, literature and travel, but none exploring the relationship with art.

66 One of Hardy’s early full-page cover illustrations for the Illustrated Supplement was ‘In the Sydney Art Gallery’, showing a crowd waiting for an artist’s talk, with paintings arranged along the walls. *Sydney Mail*, 21 Jan. 1893. See also *Sydney Mail*, 6 Oct. 1894, 13 Oct. 1894, 12 Oct. 1895, 20 June 1896, 19 Sep. 1896, 5 June 1897, 12 June 1897. Although they were commercial artists, Hardy and his fellow *Sydney Mail* artists – Frank Mahony, C.H. Hunt, A.H. Fullwood and J.R. Ashton – regularly entered Sydney’s annual art competitions. *Sydney Mail*, 19 Sep. 1891, 6 Oct. 1894, 13 Oct. 1894.

photography.⁶⁷ But Rabb also claims that ‘photography soon allied itself with literature’⁶⁸ and notes that, by the early 20th century ‘writers were increasingly comfortable using photography for subjects, incident, character or image in their works’.⁶⁹

In the art–photography relationship, Alan Trachtenberg has suggested that late in the 19th century ‘artist and photographer were interchangeable terms’⁷⁰ and that a useful relationship existed as ‘many famous painters of the nineteenth century were grateful to photography’.⁷¹ In New Zealand, for example, the well-regarded artist Gottfried Lindauer acknowledged using photographs as a basis for his Māori portraits.⁷² Gordon and Stupples have noted that Lindauer took photographs ‘that would be used to help the painter’s memory, yet others would be painted only from a photograph without the painter having seen the subject at all’.⁷³ This suggests that Hardy may have painted from other travellers’ previously photographed subjects and scenes, or he may have carried a camera, but did not think it important to note this in *The Savage South Seas*. The expansive *Oxford Companion to the Photograph* does not have an entry for art, but does include a three-page entry on literature by Jane Rabb. Graham Clarke has similarly ignored the art–photography relationship,⁷⁴ but John Tagg in his seminal *The Burden of Representation* noted that ‘the history of photography stands in relation to the history of art as a history of writing would to the history of literature’,⁷⁵ later arguing that art had preserved for itself ‘one privileged part of the discursive field of visual culture’.⁷⁶ In *The Disciplinary Frame*, Tagg tackled the ‘practices, protocols and institutional frames’ of art and argued that in the politics of representation and social critique, photography’s contribution ‘folded back over’ the practices of art history. Norman Hardy was aware of the value of photography in art and had attended a lecture on ‘picture writing’ at the Art Society of New South Wales in 1894, on ‘the methods of engraving, the use of camera

67 Jane M. Rabb (ed.), *Literature and Photography Interactions, 1840–1990: a critical anthology* (Albuquerque 1995), xxxix.

68 Jane M. Rabb, ‘Literature and photography’, in Robin Lenman (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph* (Oxford 2005), 367.

69 Rabb, *Literature and Photography Interactions*, xlv.

70 Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: images as history, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York 1990), 175.

71 Beaumont Newhall, *The history of photography: from 1839 to the present day* (New York 1982 [1988]), 82.

72 Briar Gordon and Peter Stupples, *Gottfried Lindauer: his life and Maori art* (Auckland 1985), 17, 25, 33–7.

73 *Ibid.*, 33, 36.

74 Graham Clarke, *The Photograph* (Oxford 1997). Nicholas Thomas has noted that Alfred Gell’s ‘radical rethinking of the anthropology of art’, particularly Oceanic art, was conceptual, contentious and provocative, but Gell largely ignored photography. Nicholas Thomas, ‘Foreword’, in Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: an anthropological theory* (Oxford 1998), vii, xiii.

75 John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: essays on photographs and histories* (Minneapolis 1988 [1995]), 15.

76 John Tagg, *The Disciplinary Frame: photographic truths and the capture of meaning* (Minneapolis 2009), xxv, xxxiv–xxxv.

in illustrated journalism and of lithography',⁷⁷ and in 1901, he illustrated Wilkinson's book on the Boer War, basing his watercolours only on photographs taken by Wilkinson in South Africa.⁷⁸ His watercolours for *Women of All Nations* in 1908 were similarly based on photographs.

635 Hardy's 68 paintings of Papua, Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides therefore contribute archival and material evidence for these privileged fields and theoretical dialogues. We cannot be sure the sketches and drawings in the field or later worked up in London were created artistically by Hardy for exhibition as art or merely for commercial profit as book illustrations. Around 1900, book illustrators
640 were not regarded as artists, and Hardy was seen to be creating images that were not independent of commercial reward and were secondary to text rather than standing alone as works of art. However, Hardy had shown paintings throughout the 1890s in Sydney. One watercolour used in *The Savage South Seas*, 'On the fringe of the primeval forest', appeared in 1905 in the journal *Art and Architecture*,⁷⁹ and while he was
645 employed as an illustrator at the *Sydney Mail* in the 1890s, he had been praised as 'a gentleman who has gained a high reputation in Sydney for his artistic work'.⁸⁰

Hardy's paintings are still offered for sale, and auction houses continue to post his original, signed watercolours from Africa and the Pacific for sale online.⁸¹ Hardy's paintings of travels elsewhere in the world are equally divided between landscapes,
650 village scenes and portraits and include North America, Argentina, China, Queen Charlotte Island, New Zealand, Algeria, British East Africa, South Africa and West Africa, suggesting he copied from photographs of, or made brief visits to, other exotic, 'savage' locations as well as to the Western Pacific. After touring the Congo and Zaire with the famous Emil Torday expedition in 1908,⁸² he provided illustrations in 1910 for Torday's scholarly article in the *Geographical Journal*, 'Land and
655 peoples of the Kasai basin',⁸³ and in 1910 and 1922, he provided 32 watercolours for Torday and Joyce's accounts of the expedition to Zaire.⁸⁴ Later, his line drawings

660 77 'Picture writing', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 Sep. 1894; 'How the *Sydney Mail* pictures are made', *Sydney Mail*, 26 Aug. 1898, 6.

78 *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 Apr. 1901.

79 The full caption is 'On the fringe of a primeval forest, Simbo, Solomon islands'. Hardy and Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, 92. In 1926 it was re-captioned 'In the depths of a Melanesian forest' in John Henry Macartney Abbott, *Peeps at Many Lands: the South Seas, Melanesia* (London 1926), 60.

665 80 *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), 28 Sep. 1900, 6.

81 For example 'Alpine landscape' (undated), set in Germany or Austria, was sold at auction by Litchfield Art House in 2006.

82 The Emil Torday Expedition was in the Kasai Basin, Belgian Congo, from Oct. 1907 to Sep. 1910.

670 83 E. Torday, 'Land and peoples of the Kasai Basin', *Geographical Journal*, 36:1 (1910), 26–53.

84 E. Torday and T.A. Joyce, *Notes ethnographiques sur les peuples communément appelés Babuka, ainsi que sur les peuplades apparentées. Les Bushongo* (Brussels 1910). This edition included 15 watercolours by Hardy. E. Torday and T.A. Joyce, *Notes ethnographiques sur des populations habitant les bassins du Kasai et du Kwango oriental: 1. Peuplades de la forêt. 2. Peuplades des prairies* (Brussels 1922). This included 17
675 watercolours by Hardy, published eight years after his death.

for the publications of the Torday and Joyce expedition were highly praised in the journal *American Anthropologist*,⁸⁵ and J. Edge-Partington praised his art contributions to anthropology in an obituary in *Man*, the journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.⁸⁶ Hardy also provided ten watercolours for Lena E. Johnson's *China* in 1910, and his illustrations appeared regularly in the *Wide World Magazine*, a British monthly publication first published in 1898 and which had a consistent editorial policy of including stories from the Pacific.⁸⁷ In another interesting Pacific connection, he also provided the three watercolours for the English translation of Pierre Loti's *The Marriage of Loti*.⁸⁸ His active career as an illustrator included the use of his art works in 42 or more publications. He also illustrated novels and cheap fiction paperbacks, including eight illustrations for the Australian mining adventure novel *The Lone Star Rush*, by Edmund Mitchell. Hardy's grasp of the essential aspects of Indigenous material cultural and lived experiences was good, demonstrated by the subject matter he sketched and painted, but he had trouble ensuring that editors followed his instructions. A caption for his painting of labourers being transferred to or from a recruiting vessel ended up as 'The Blackbirdies in the Salamans'.⁸⁹

The historical and ethnographic value of the Papua component of Hardy's paintings is reduced by their derivative composition. When thousands of late 19th-century and early 20th-century images of Papua are examined in chronological order, it is clear that photographs from one era were often copied by subsequent visitors, merely borrowing the framing, content and composition of published etchings, engravings, lithographs and photographs they had seen while reading about their coming destinations.⁹⁰ This practice suggests that, in Papua, Hardy replicated images he had seen previously, and indeed a clear link exists between some of his paintings and earlier book, newspaper and magazine illustrations. In the case of Papua, which he was visiting after it had experienced 25 years of documentation and representation in photography and art, some of his paintings are nearly exact copies of previously published photographs. For example, Hardy copied scenes photographed by others well before his visit, including a Papuan woman with a baby in a cradle, the view from the London Mission Society (LMS) mission towards Elevala Island, a tree-house at Koiari and a *dobu* at Rigo.⁹¹ Hardy's watercolour of this

85 Franz Boas, review of Torday and Joyce, *Notes ethnographiques sur les peuples*, *American Anthropology*, n. s., 13 (1911), 478.

86 J. Edge-Partington, 'Norman H. Hardy; d. January 10, 1914', *Man*, 15 (1915), 9–10.

87 Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 216–17. For example Hardy provided six illustrations for a story in Allen Upward, 'The stone of Samerika', *Wide World Magazine*, 8:80 (1905), 148–56.

88 Loti Pierre, *The Marriage of Loti*, tr. Clara Bell (London 1925). These were scenes used by Hardy in *The Savage South Seas*. As Hardy died in 1914, further research is required to establish how permission was gained to reprint his paintings.

89 'The Blackbirdies in the Salamans', as offered for sale for US\$1,600 in 2006 by Sothebys and reduced to US\$600 in 2011. This original watercolour has also been listed for sale as 'The slave boat' and 'Return of the captives'. In 2012, a reproduction was listed at retail for US\$49.99.

90 For a longitudinal study of the imaging of Papua (1880–1930) see Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*.

91 Hardy and Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, 20, 22, 34, 54.

725 totemic structure at Rigo (on p. 54 of *The Savage South Seas*) was copied from a photograph by LMS missionary William Lawes, available as a print in Sydney in the 1880s. Hardy did not visit Rigo.⁹² His view over Elevala was copied exactly from a photograph taken in the 1880s.⁹³ Hardy's painting shows very few stilt houses over the water; by the time of his visit in 1897, the housing on Elevala nearly met the stilt houses on the opposite Konedobu shoreline.⁹⁴ Hardy's 'Tree house in Papua' was a copy of an 1884 photograph by J.W. Lindt, previously seen by a wide audience in a book, in missionary lantern slides and in exhibitions in Australia and England.⁹⁵ In Hardy's defence, he may have painted scenes by copying from earlier photographs, but *The Savage South Seas* still has value as a single readable gallery, based on the artist's understanding derived from the actual experience of visiting the Islands. In the New Hebrides and Solomon Islands, where his visit was prior to the surge of postcards and published illustrated material on those islands, subsequent visitors like the photographer Thomas McMahon in 1917–19 reversed the borrowing by copying some of Hardy's compositions, subject matter and framing for their photographs.

730 The wealthy purchasers of an expensive book like *The Savage South Seas* – with a hard cover, 217 pages and 68 colour plates from the reputable publisher A. & C. Black of London (and co-published in America, Africa and India by Macmillan) – probably had access to a library of Pacific books with which to check Hardy's authenticity. This elite clientele also purchased illustrated magazines, newspapers and travelogues, and attended visiting missionary lantern-slide shows and touring town-hall talks by self-proclaimed experts and adventurers returning from the South Seas. But ordinary folk seeing Hardy's illustrations in a public lending library or a bookseller's window did not have the same comparative frame of reference. The casual reader in a mechanics institute or public lending library may not have made the visual cross-references.

740 92 The *dobu* at Rigo, often wrongly located in captions at Tupeselei, was photographed by Revd G. W. Lawes in 1875. See 'Sacred platform at Tupeselei', Sydney, Mitchell Library, H.R. King catalogue of Lawes photographs for sale in Sydney, no. 70. Also captioned a 'Temple at Rigo', it was often photographed. See two untitled images, London, School of Oriental and Asian Studies, Church World Mission Archives, PA TRA LP 23(a) and 23(b); see two other untitled images, Sydney, Powerhouse Museum, prints vol. 34, 72D/6 and 72D/160. Lindt in 1885 photographed the same structure, captioning it 'Remains of a heathen temple'. J.W. Lindt, *Picturesque New Guinea: with an historical introduction and supplementary chapters ...* (London 1887), 57.

755 93 It was later republished many times; for example *Picturesque Travel under the Auspices of Burns, Philp & Company Limited* (Sydney 1911), 63; Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 121–5.

94 Hardy and Elkington, *The Savage South Seas*, 20.

760 95 Peter Quartermaine, 'Johannes Lindt: photographer of Australia and New Guinea', in Mick Gidley (ed.), *Representing Others: white views of Indigenous peoples* (Exeter 1992), 84–102; Max Quanchi M, 'Tree-houses, representation and photography on the Papuan coast, 1880 to 1930', in Barrie Craig, Bernie Kernot and Christopher Anderson (eds), *Art and performance in Oceania* (Bathurst 1999), 218–30; Max Quanchi, *Photographing Papua*, 135–6, 186–9, 193. The Lindt tree-house photograph was also reproduced, for example, as an engraving in Hugh H. Romilly, *Letters from the Western Pacific and Mashonaland, 1878–1891*, ed. Samuel H. Romilly (London 1893), 287.

770 The 68 paintings, preserved in a green leather, hardcover book, are impor-
tantly historically because of their materiality, as they may be touched, turned and
returned to as many times as the book reader wishes.⁹⁶ They are not evidence
locked away in archives. They were, and continue to be, revisited in libraries by
readers seeking understanding and evidence against which truth claims could be eval-
uated. Hardy's paintings in *The Savage South Seas* demonstrate some of the geographic
restrictions on travelling artists in the Western Pacific, and as a result of replication
775 from photograph to art work, *The Savage South Seas* highlights the problem of prove-
nance for some, or perhaps many, of the illustrations that editors and publishers
included in books around 1900, increasingly being illustrated with as many as 50 to
100 photographs, engravings and art works. As an illustrated travelogue, *The Savage
South Seas* is a unique archive, easily accessed and repeatedly consulted in libraries,
and this gives Hardy's paintings a much higher value than, for example, the images
collected by ethnographers who arrived after him, but whose photographs we did
780 not see for another hundred years.⁹⁷ The brief history of *The Savage South Seas* pre-
sented here suggests that historians can find new insights in the visual evidence as
well as in the text. We can learn much from the visual evidence about the context,
related discourses and bricolage of processes, ideas, motivations and ideologies that
underpinned popular interest in illustrated publications about faraway lands and pos-
sessions.⁹⁸ *The Savage South Seas* went to four editions in 1907 when it first appeared, so
785 it was a minor best seller, held today in 171 libraries worldwide. It did not engage in
the controversies of the time concerning anthropology, nature and nurture, colonial
policy towards subject peoples, the dominions or the relationship between Britain
and its colonies, and it promoted a nostalgic looking backward rather than forward
790 into the future worlds of Pacific territories. But it was popular. Hardy's portraits,
scenes and picturesque compositions are therefore historically significant as a well-
dispersed and often copied record of European fascination with distant worlds,
even if some readers could already distinguish a generic, stereotypical familiarity.

800 96 Elizabeth Edwards, *The Camera as Historian: amateur photographers and historical imagination, 1835–
1918* (Durham, NC 2012); Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (eds), *Photographs Objects Histories:
on the materiality of images* (London 2004).

805 97 John Layard's Vanuatu photographs from 1912 were not published until 2010. Haidy Geismar
and Anita Herle, *Moving Images: John Layard, fieldwork and photography on Malakula since 1914* (Honolulu
2010).

810 98 This movement is already under way in Pacific History. See the special issues on photography in
Pacific Studies, 20:4 (1997) and *Journal of Pacific History*, 41 (2006); Anne Perez Hattori, 'Re-mem-
bering the past: photography, leprosy and the Chamorros of Guam, 1898–1924', *Journal of Pacific
History*, 46 (2011), 293–318; Antje Lübcke, 'Two New Hebrides mission photograph albums: an
object-story of story-objects', *Journal of Pacific History*, 47 (2012), 187–209.