

IMAGINING NED



**Bendigo
Art Gallery**

Bendigo Art Gallery
42 View Street
Bendigo, Victoria 3550
Australia

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Foreword

During its recent past, Bendigo Art Gallery has successfully presented a diverse program that has included international exhibitions. This has attracted visitors from Melbourne and across Australia, providing significant social and economic benefits for our region.

When we set out to develop *Imagining Ned*, first and foremost in my mind was that this exhibition was absolutely ideal for Bendigo and, indeed, north-central Victoria. Bendigo is technically on the fringes of 'Kelly Country' and it was our geographical proximity to this area as much as our fascination with the collision of art and history that formed the basis of this compelling exhibition.

I am grateful to our exhibition lenders, specifically Arterreal Gallery, Art Nomad, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Benalla Art Gallery, Liam Benson, Canberra Museum and Gallery, Mars Drum, Joy Chambers-Grundy and Reg Grundy, AC, OBE, Edwina Corlette Gallery, the Estate of Adam Cullen, Michael Reid Sydney, Heide Museum of Modern Art, Dr Garry Helprin, Museum Victoria, Christian Saap, Rebecca Hossack and Matthew Sturgis, Ann McAlpin, Martin Browne Gallery, Museum of Contemporary Art, National Gallery of Australia, National Gallery of Victoria,

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OAM.

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and our event sponsors, Beechworth
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Beechworth.

The mythology surrounding the story
of Ned Kelly and his 'gang' is not new
to us. However, it is the interpretation
by each new generation of artists,
writers and indeed performing artists
that reacquaints us with the past and
helps us to understand why the Kelly
story continues to resonate in Australia
today.

Karen Quinlan
Director, Bendigo Art Gallery



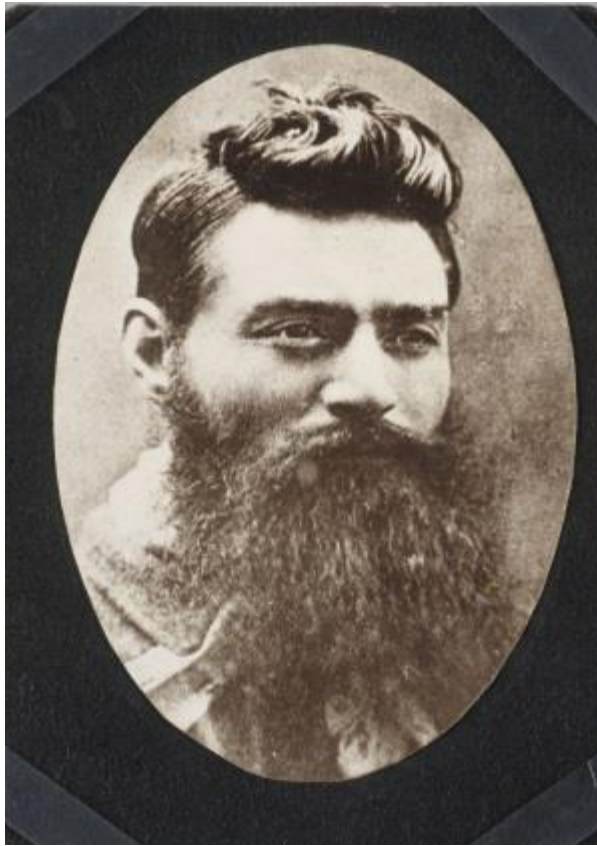
One man's life

The narrative of Ned Kelly has long been public property. The circumstances of his short life and violent death enthralled and appalled Australians in his own time, and the stories surrounding Ned and the Kelly Gang have been kept alive by subsequent generations. With universal themes of poverty and oppression, violence, love and politics, the tale of one man's experience in rural Victoria has become internationally known, while the story of Kelly, the outsider, has also captured the imagination of artists, writers and filmmakers the world over. Although most Australians know something of the story of Ned Kelly, others have made it their life's work to continue to unearth fresh information about this aspect of Australian history, breathing new life into the story of Ned, and retelling and reinventing this now iconic figure. Understanding pivotal moments in the life of this individual allows us to stand before the artworks in this exhibition armed with a deeper understanding of the motivation of their creators, and to imagine the protagonist from the perspective of the artist.

Ned and his immediate family regarded his father, John 'Red' Kelly, with love and respect, despite his failures with property and his

increasing issues with alcohol. Transported from Tipperary in Ireland to Tasmania, Red served his time and then, like so many before him, headed to the mainland to seek his fortune. Times were hard and the work was physically demanding for former convicts attempting to make a living from the land. Red met Ellen Quinn, a young migrant from Ireland, they eloped, and the story of Ned began. Born in 1854 at the time of the Eureka Stockade, Ned was their second surviving child and eldest son. Red tried his luck at gold mining in Kilmore and then Bendigo for a time, returning with only modest earnings.¹ Red and Ellen's attempt at farming in Beveridge, just north of Melbourne, failed, and when the extended family ran into trouble with the law Red anxiously moved the family on to Avenel. More peace keeper than protester, Red was known to keep his head down and avoid skirmishes. The family settled into the new community, where Ellen was remembered as a great horsewoman who would ride out to help anyone in trouble, but also as a woman with a fiery temper when provoked.

Times were tough for the family, but Ned and two of his sisters at least had a brief opportunity for schooling in



Avenel. They were remembered as being 'well behaved' and it was in this quiet setting that Ned first came to public attention.² He was on his way into town when he saw a local boy, Dick Shelton, lose his footing and plunge into Hughes Creek. Ned acted swiftly, diving in and pulling the young boy to safety. The Shelton family were overjoyed and acknowledged this by presenting young Ned with a long green silk sash.³ Given that the Kelly family had been severely deprived during the drought and that Ned was in the lock-up for being unable to

pay a fine, a financial reward would perhaps have been a more practical expression of their gratitude. But Ned treasured the sash, and wore it on special occasions for luck throughout his life.

The boyhood of Ned Kelly was short-lived. Ned became the man of the family at age 12 when Ned passed away, likely due to alcoholism. His mother and the seven children relocated to Greta, close to Glenrowan, and schooling became a thing of the past. It was a time of reunion with relatives, but the



THE CAPTURE OF NED KELLY.



KELLY IN GUARD'S VAN.



NED KELLY'S ARRIVAL IN MELBOURNE.

challenges they faced continued. The home they shared with their extended family was burnt to the ground by a vengeful uncle, whose advances had been rejected by Ellen. Everything they owned was gone, the children were separated, and Ned was set to work running small mobs of horses and sheep. During this time he acquired skills that would stand him in good stead – frontier skills that would help him survive in the bush. When Ellen and Ned had saved enough, they reunited the family and took on a selection of 88 acres near Greta; this move ushered in the next phase of their battle with the seasons, officials and large squatters.⁴

Poverty was a constant burden for many at this time and petty crime was commonplace as people struggled to survive. The police force was stretched, with vast distances to be covered, and severe punishments were dealt out. There was also the perception that the troubles between the Irish and English had travelled to, and continued in, this continent. It was against this backdrop that known fugitives and bushrangers, who made fools of the police and who stole from mail coaches and the well-to-do, became heroes to many ordinary people. Stories of bushrangers, the

Robin Hoods of their times, would have been familiar to Ned as a boy, who would also have been raised with tales of Irish oppression. Ned was introduced to the outlaw Harry Power, possibly by his Uncle Tom Lloyd.⁵ It's likely Red Kelly would have been wary of any contact with Harry, but Ellen was not of the same mind. Fourteen-year-old Ned was 'apprenticed' to Harry for a time, and although the arrangement didn't work out – Harry was glad to see the back of him when Ned opted to return home – it laid the groundwork for Ned's introduction to a less than lawful alternative to survival.

In hindsight, the cumulative troubles for the extended Kelly family began with seemingly minor skirmishes with the law, ranging from accusations of wild riding in town and selling sly grog to travellers, to stealing saddles and cattle. A feud with a neighbour resulted in a sentence of three months hard labour in the Beechworth Gaol for 15-year-old Ned, and later an accusation of horse stealing led to a brutal beating at the hands of police and another term in prison, this time in Beechworth and Pentridge.⁶ His punishment included solitary confinement, gruelling physical work in quarry gangs, and imprisonment in a prison hulk. Ned was aged 19 when he

Hoadley's Chocolates Ltd, *Early Australian Scenes* 1930s, No.30 The capture of Ned Kelly, No.26 Kelly in guard's van, No.27 Ned Kelly's arrival in Melbourne, ink on card; Private collection, Victoria. Photo: Ian Hill

was released. He found paid work, but the activities of the entire family were now under scrutiny.⁷

A key moment in Ned's history was the Fitzpatrick affair. The young Constable Fitzpatrick was keen to make an arrest and had called at the family home in Greta in search of Dan Kelly, who was accused of horse stealing. There are various versions of the story, some claiming that Constable Fitzpatrick, who knew the family well, assaulted Ned's sister and that Ellen then hit him with a spade.⁸ There was a struggle, with Fitzpatrick sustaining a flesh wound on his wrist, which he later claimed occurred when Ned tried to shoot him (although Ned always maintained he was not present). Bandaged by Ellen and sent on his way, Fitzpatrick stopped off for a few drinks at a local shanty before reporting the incident to police. A trial ensued and although the evidence was contradictory at times, a point on which Ned was relying, Ellen was convicted, sentenced to three years hard labour, and, with her youngest child, sent to prison. The perceived injustice enraged Ned, and the betrayal by Fitzpatrick, at one time quite familiar with Ned, increased the impact and significance of this episode. Now a fugitive with a

reward of £100 on his head (for the attempted murder of Fitzpatrick), Ned endeavoured to bargain with police: to give himself up in return for the release of his mother and infant sister, but no deal was to be made.⁹

From that moment on, Ned found himself firmly on the wrong side of the law. He retreated to the bush with his brother Dan, where they planned to raise funds to appeal against Ellen's sentence. Through his network of supporters, he would have been well aware that bands of heavily armed police had been sent to track them down, and the stories of the likes of Ben Hall, the 'gentleman bushranger' who, years earlier, had been gunned down by police without firing a shot, may well have increased Ned's anxiety and his determination to go deep into hiding.¹⁰

A deadly escalation then occurred at Stringybark Creek. Ned and Dan Kelly, who had been joined by friends Joe Byrne and Steve Hart, decided to lie in wait for one of the groups of police who were on the hunt for them. The ambush went terribly wrong, and tragically three policemen were killed. Again, the circumstances around this event have been hotly debated, with both sides presenting their versions and the reasons for the



clash, ranging from self-defence to cold-blooded murder. Whatever the truth, the violence associated with the Kelly Gang led to huge media coverage, with all attention focused firmly on Ned and Dan. The Governor of Victoria hastily passed the *Felons' Apprehension Act*, which meant that the Gang could be apprehended or shot by any person at any time, and that anyone assisting the Gang in any way could be jailed.¹¹ The 'Kelly Outbreak', as it was labelled, was discussed in parliament. It was

at this time that Ned began drafting the Jerilderie Letter. Ned sought to have his Letter, expressing his outrage and indignation at the injustice of his experience, made public by having it printed in a newspaper. He also provided another handwritten copy to a parliamentarian. The Letter never reached its destination, only becoming public in 1930.¹²

At this time of crisis, rather than opting to vanish over the border, Ned and the Gang plotted to stage a major

robbery and to share the resulting funds with their loyal supporters. People must have been astonished when in December 1878 Ned and the Gang successfully executed their plan to hold up the bank in Euroa.¹³ A whole homestead was taken hostage and the bank safe pillaged, all achieved with 'no violence, few threats and left most of the prisoners and hostages thinking highly of the Kelly Gang'.¹⁴ Later, in February 1879, the Gang made a raid against Jerilderie in New South Wales, adopting a highly ambitious plan that demonstrated great audacity: they took over the police station, impersonated officers of the law, and finally robbed the bank. Lines of communication were cut and documents detailing the bank loans held by numerous small land holders were seized by Ned and deliberately destroyed. On both occasions Ned addressed the people gathered, taking advantage of the opportunity to explain his situation and offer his opinions on the actions of the police. He left Jerilderie to the sound of applause.¹⁵

On the run for more than a year, the Gang were like ghosts, disappearing into the bush and relying on loyal supporters or members of the 'Greta

mob', as they were known, for assistance and supplies. Reported sightings and rumours abounded. Aboriginal trackers were brought in to assist with the search, and the police were under considerable pressure to track down the outlaws and put an end to the mockery that was being made of the force. There was a sense that northern Victoria was under siege and completely lawless, and now the colony of New South Wales had also been affected. The stature of the Gang continued to rise, in part due to Ned's relentless campaign to inform the public in any way he could that they were 'police-made criminals', supporters of the poor farmers and enemies of a corrupt system.¹⁶ Although the copies of the Jerilderie Letter had been suppressed, the media continued to play a role in the escalation of the story of the Kelly Gang, publishing various articles and cartoons, some of which mocked the police pursuit. Songs were written in the spirit of rebellious Irish ballads, and supporters wrote letters to newspapers defending the Gang's actions against the establishment. The police attempt to quash the groundswell of support through strident measures appeared to have the opposite effect.¹⁷

Poor Ned Kelly

WORDS & MUSIC
by
BILLY BLINKHORN



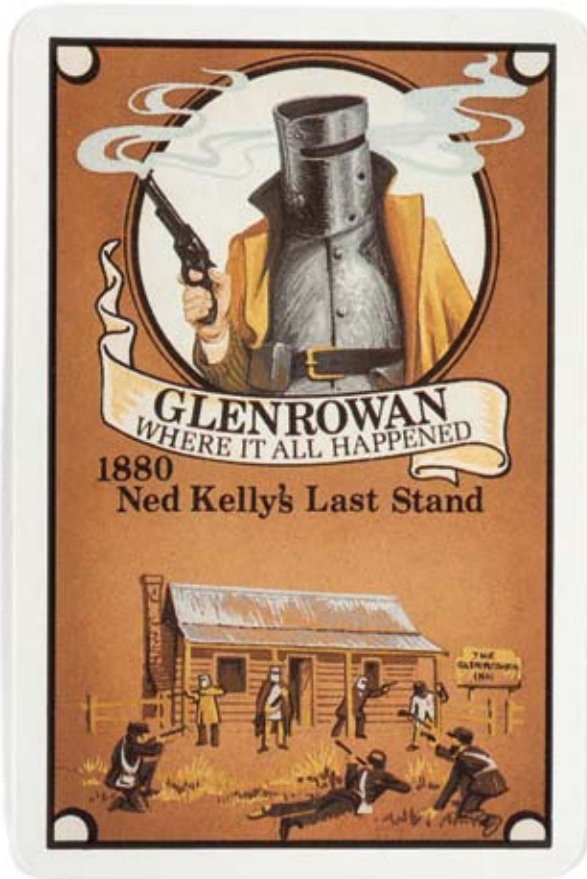
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It was around this time that the design for the now-iconic armour – made from implements of the land, the farmer's plough – was conceived. At this time also, secret meetings were held with sympathisers and plans were made to ambush the police in Glenrowan, and then plunder the banks in Benalla in order to fund the beginnings of a republic.¹⁸ Ned and Joe drew up a 'Declaration of the Republic of North-eastern Victoria', a manifesto that was distributed via handbills.

The siege at Glenrowan was the ultimate escalation of Ned's exploits. Firmly cementing the legendary status of the Gang in Australian folklore, it also marked the end of the Kelly Outbreak. Joe and Dan first rode to Woolshed Valley to murder Aaron Sherritt, a close associate and childhood friend of Joe's, following reports of his betrayal and subsequent association with the police. Ned and Steve went on to Glenrowan and dismantled part of the railway line in order to derail the police train. Passers-

by were bailed up and, together with sympathisers and their children, were held inside the Glenrowan Inn. Some accounts relate that the atmosphere was actually quite festive, with music, drinking and dancing. Hours passed, and Ned regaled the prisoners with his version of events, while the Gang waited for the police train to arrive.¹⁹

Ned's decision to release the local school teacher, John Curnow, to enable him to care for his sick wife, thwarted the Gang's grand plan. Although promising to keep quiet, Curnow instead signalled the train driver and prevented the derailment. The police, along with a number of journalists who had accompanied them, flocked to the inn. The massive gun battle that ensued resulted in a number of the hostages being injured or killed, including children. It's likely that Ned managed to get word to supporters gathered nearby, his phantom army, to urge them to turn back and return to their homes, before he then attempted to save the other Gang members. It was to no avail. During the shoot-out, Joe was killed and Ned wounded severely, despite their heavy (and cumbersome) armour. Having captured the now bullet-ridden Gang leader, the police set fire to the building. The large group

of onlookers and journalists who had gathered included a priest, who was appalled that the two men inside were to be burnt alive. He ran into the building, only to discover that Dan and Steve were already dead, believed to have committed suicide in the face of a hopeless situation.²⁰ The looting and souveniring of the site began almost immediately, news of the event having spread rapidly thanks to the new technology of the telegraph. Meanwhile photographers captured images of the bodies of Gang members.²¹

Ned was transported to Benalla, then quickly to Melbourne amidst fears that an uprising from his followers was possible. Ned's loving cousin Kate Lloyd bade him a sad farewell, an event also observed and reported by the media. In the lead-up to his trial, initially begun in Beechworth and then moved on to Melbourne, disquiet over the handling of the siege by police increased and there was further talk of an uprising. The details of the trial itself have been investigated several times over by various historians and have been the impetus for numerous articles, books, plays and even re-enactments. Discussions have centred on the poverty of the family, which resulted in the engagement of a



poorly equipped and inexperienced defence counsel. This was in spite of the family's attempts to delay the trial in order to raise funds for better legal representation. The way the trial was conducted has also been questioned. Public interest in the trial was enormous. In constant pain and crippled from his considerable injuries, Ned was finally convicted of the murder of Constable Lonigan and sentenced by Justice Redmond Barry to be hanged. The transcript of the dialogue that took place at the

conclusion of the trial between Justice Barry and Kelly demonstrates Ned was expecting this decision, and he used the opportunity in court to again try to convey his side of the story, and indeed that of his family's.²²

As he awaited his execution, Ned continued to speak in his own defence, about the Fitzpatrick incident and events at Stringybark Creek, dictating letters to officials including the Governor. The groundswell of support from the public manifested itself in the form of

a petition, with some reports placing the number of signatures gathered in excess of 34,000 (although it may have been as high as 60,000, depending on sources).²³ The surviving pages of the Petition for Reprieve are now in the collection of Public Record Office Victoria. Crowds took to the streets in Melbourne in support of Ned, with various public meetings attracting thousands of supporters. But the petition, along with a call at that time for a Royal Commission, was dismissed.

After moments with his family and visits from the prison chaplain and the priest who had baptised him, Ned Kelly was led from his cell to the gallows of the Old Melbourne Gaol on the 11 November 1880 and hanged until dead. In a gruesome finale, his face was then shaved and a death mask made for paid public display, and his body given over to science, decapitated, before later being buried in the prison yard.²⁴ It would be more than 130 years before the majority of his remains would be returned to his descendants for a proper burial.²⁵

As Ned had hoped prior to his death, a Royal Commission was finally held, in 1881, to investigate the circumstances that led to the Kelly Outbreak and the actions and activities of the

police. It took more than six months to conduct, with evidence from 64 witnesses, although none of these were members of the Kelly family.²⁶ The media and the public followed the process closely, and the content of the Commission's report provided ample ammunition to condemn the actions of the police of the day. Changes to careers and resignations resulted.

Significantly, the long-term impact of the Kelly Commission was the establishment of the tradition of public accountability and self-examination for the police force, which continues today.²⁷ Although the process did not exonerate Ned, it did however subtly shift the balance of power at the end of this story. Ned Kelly died as a result of the life he led, and the circumstances he inherited. Time continues to allow interpretations of his captivating tale to unfold.

Leanne Fitzgibbon

Endnotes

- 1 Ian Jones, *Ned Kelly: a short life*, Thomas C Lothian, Melbourne, 2003, p. 11.
- 2 Jones, p. 16.
- 3 Peter Fitzsimons, *Ned Kelly: the story of Australia's most notorious legend*, Random House Australia, Sydney, 2003, pp. 22–3.
- 4 Jones, pp. 23–5.
- 5 Jones, p. 29.
- 6 Fitzsimons, pp. 68–72.
- 7 Jones, pp. 58–9.
- 8 Jones, p. 102.
- 9 Jones, pp. 97–106.
- 10 Fitzsimons, p. 13.
- 11 Fitzsimons, pp. 212–13.
- 12 Alex McDermott (ed.) *The Jerilderie Letter*, Mackays of Chatham, 2001, Melbourne, indent page
- 13 Justin Corfield, *The Ned Kelly Encyclopaedia*, Thomas C Lothian, Melbourne, 2003, p. 142.
- 14 Corfield, p. 146.
- 15 Fitzsimons, p. 350.
- 16 Jones, p. 175.
- 17 Jones, pp. 180–1.
- 18 Corfield, p. 184.
- 19 Corfield, p. 187.
- 20 Corfield, pp. 189–90.
- 21 Jones, p. 245.
- 22 Jones, pp. 275–9.
- 23 Corfield, p. 389.
- 24 Jones, pp. 288–9.
- 25 'Ned Kelly Remains Returned', *ABC Radio National*, 18 January 2013.
- 26 Corfield, pp. 414–5.
- 27 Jones, p. 299.





SELF PORTRAIT AS NEARLY AGED FIFTY
(THERE'S A RED IN EVERY LAND)
BY C. F. [unclear] 2015

Imagining Ned

The moment the Kelly Outbreak¹ began, its story and characters have attracted an unwavering fascination in Australia. One-hundred-and-thirty-five years have passed since Ned Kelly's last stand at Glenrowan, in June 1880, yet the significance of, and interest in, this story has endured. Most Australians have at least a rudimentary knowledge of the Kelly Gang, and new generations are being taught about this aspect of Australia's colonial history in schools, at both primary and secondary levels.

This exhibition and the accompanying catalogue explore the story of Ned and present a selection of works of art by artists who have taken their inspiration from the narrative. From Sidney Nolan, one of Australia's most celebrated artists, to the acclaimed writer, Peter Carey, and overseas-born artists Guan Wei and Vipoo Srivilasa, the story of Ned maintains its fascination for artists – and some would argue its relevance – and continues to be reinvented by new generations of artists working across a diverse range of media.

From the outset of the Ned Kelly phenomenon, the likenesses of Ned Kelly and members of the Kelly Gang were illustrated in an array of publications such as newspapers,

magazines and books. As Stephen Gaunson notes: 'Kelly's outbreak... has always been a visual story, for its timing struck at the dawn of profound technological advancement in the printed press'.² Ned Kelly's enduring popularity – as bushranger, bank robber and man of the people – was undoubtedly assisted by the myriad of publications that displayed illustrations and gave detailed descriptions of Kelly events, to the extent that in his own lifetime Ned Kelly was a household name, with the public clamouring for news and glimpses of the iron-clad outlaw. It is not surprising therefore that the Kelly story was one of the first to be transposed onto moving image. The 1906 film *The Story of the Kelly Gang*, directed by Charles Tait, has been recognised by UNESCO as the world's first feature film.³ It is believed that the film originally ran for approximately 70 minutes, although today, through age and the inherent fragility of the medium, much of the film has been lost. The remaining fragments have been restored and preserved for future generations. The fact that the world's first feature film elucidates the story of the Kellys is extremely telling: it is clear confirmation that this is a story ideally suited for creative interpretation

Clayton Tremlett, *Self-portrait as Ned Kelly aged fifty (There's a Ned in every crowd)* 2015, linocut on paper.
Courtesy of the artist

and dramatisation. The screening of the film was hugely popular across Australia, and particularly in Victoria, with standing room only in many theatres. In 1907 the film was banned in the Benalla region by the Victorian Chief Secretary, being considered inappropriate for the area at the centre of the Kelly story.⁴

Since that first film, innumerable films and television series have been produced about the Kellys, including one in 1970 starring Mick Jagger, which was ultimately assessed as being a critical and popular failure. More recently, in a 2003 adaptation, Heath Ledger, Naomi Watts and Geoffrey Rush – all highly acclaimed Hollywood actors – starred in a well-received blockbuster version. It is interesting to see the shift in the interpretation of the legend of Ned Kelly over the century: from a story based on the undeniable 'facts', to a romantic dramatisation with a greater focus on audience enjoyment and perception than on factual integrity, and from thief and murderer, to popular hero and voice for the oppressed underdog. This change is almost certainly due to the evolving role of cinema over this period: from a new untested medium, to one wholly integrated into everyday life,

with its own set of mores. Yet, this is also a consequence of society's changing attitude to the Kelly story, and the developing awareness of human history being comprised of a multiplicity of viewpoints rather than a single authorised narrative.

Sidney Nolan's Ned Kelly works are unquestionably the best known and most substantial interpretations of the Kelly story but Nolan did not simply happen across the story of Ned – his grandfather had been one of the policemen who pursued Kelly at Beechworth in the 1870s, and he grew up listening to stories of Ned and the Kelly Gang.⁵ From an early age Nolan was captivated by the story, reading all the available literature and travelling to the iconic sites to learn the 'truth' behind the legend.⁶ The time in Australia's history when Nolan was working on his first Kelly series also has some bearing on his choice of Kelly as subject. Nolan's first Kelly series was realised immediately following the Second World War and, while Australia's men and women had returned from the war largely triumphant, the post-war optimism that was to characterise the early 1950s had not yet arrived. A sense of helplessness and lack of direction or drive were widespread in Australia's

Sidney Nolan, *Kelly in the bush* 1945, enamel on cardboard. Collection, The Nolan Collection at Canberra Museum and Gallery is managed on behalf of the Australian Government





young male population, Nolan included. The figure of Ned – a young man aged only 25 leading a group of faithful supporters to throw off the shackles of the British oppressors – was a noble and even patriotic subject.

Working within the frameworks of modernist abstraction – popular internationally at the time – Nolan created an iconography of Kelly and 'Kelly country' which remains readily identifiable today. Nolan's Ned is pared back to a simple black square with a slit, with Nolan ultimately removing Ned Kelly's individuality and converting him into a device designed

to represent the universality of the human condition. Yet, during the first display of these works in 1948, each was accompanied by quotations from three different sources: the official report into police conduct, newspaper reports and J.J. Kenneally's 1929 book, *The complete inner history of the Kelly Gang and their pursuers*.⁷ Each of these stories essentially elucidates the so-called facts of the Kelly story. Thus, Nolan presents his viewers with a paradox: while the works portray Ned as the 'everyman', they also firmly locate him, with the addition of more or less contemporaneous biographical

Sidney Nolan, Kelly 1955, enamel on composition board,
Collection of Joy Chambers-Grundy and Reg Grundy AC OBE. Photo: Ian Hill
Reproduced courtesy of the Sidney Nolan Trust/Bridgeman Images

and related material, within the social, political and historical context of nineteenth-century Australia.

During the mid-1950s Nolan's close friend and fellow 'Angry Penguin', Albert Tucker, also completed a body of work inspired by the Kelly story. Tucker's Kelly works are altogether darker than Nolan's and were created a decade later, when Tucker was living in London and, according to his biographer, was 'haunted by Australia'.⁸ It was at this time he began painting Australian scenes, with *The metamorphosis of Ned Kelly* the first of his Kelly paintings. This work depicts his friend Nolan as the wild-riding Kelly and directly references a photograph Nolan had made of a saddled horse carcass for a commission for the *Brisbane Courier Mail* to illustrate the effects of drought.⁹ That Tucker referred to Nolan as Ned Kelly was certainly not new; in fact he had been calling Nolan 'Ned' for many years. This work ultimately marked a turning point in Tucker's career, signalling his realisation that he not only drew great satisfaction from creating works inspired by Australia but that his works about his home country also helped him to gain recognition from critics, collectors and curators.¹⁰ During his exploration of Australian scenes,

Tucker produced his first 'antipodean head' – a motif which was to become critical to his work over the ensuing years. This antipodean head came to represent a series of essential Australian types – including Ned Kelly.

While Nolan was developing the first iteration of his Kelly series, the renowned New Zealand-born poet and playwright, Douglas Stewart, was writing his play *Ned Kelly* (1942). A play in verse, this work was an immediate hit when broadcast on radio and quickly became recognised as one of the most significant pieces of literature about Ned Kelly. One of the central concepts in Stewart's work was the notion that Australia was a country that bred great heroic character, but that this heroism often had wide-ranging and destructive consequences.¹¹ Stewart's play was the first of many outstanding literary works written on Ned Kelly and the Kelly Gang. Peter Carey's novel *A true history of the Kelly Gang* is considered to be one the most successful pieces of writing relating to Ned, with Nathanael O'Reilly claiming that the popularity of Carey's story 'repositioned the Kelly narrative at the centre of Australian popular culture and created a commercial and cultural environment conducive

to the production of further revisions of the narrative'.¹² That Peter Carey was a highly regarded Booker Prize-winning novelist added credibility and 'respectability' to his account of Kelly's hapless/heroic life.

The fascination with Ned Kelly is not solely limited to those artists of Anglo-Saxon origin whose ancestors arrived in Australia in the mid-nineteenth century: artists born overseas who arrived in this country in their early adulthood are also unable to escape the lure of this polarising tale, with Guan Wei (born China 1957, arrived Australia 1989) and Vipoo Srivilasa (born Thailand 1969, arrived Australia 1997) being two fine examples. In the work of each of these artists the hybridity of culture is fundamental to their artistic output;¹³ they are able to reinvent a widely known story and iconography, in this instance, the iron-clad bushranger. In works such as *Ned Kelly encounters the troops in the Mystic Mountains* (2003), Wei places the figure of Kelly into readily recognisable Chinese landscapes, employing traditional pen-and-ink techniques. Srivilasa, on the other hand, uses blue-and-white colouring on his ceramic sculptures to evoke the history of porcelain and its links to international trade, porcelain being

one of the most traded items through history. Srivilasa's Ned in *Networking* (2013) firmly locates Kelly within contemporary culture: the base on which he stands has all the symbols of today's social networks – Instagram, Facebook, Pinterest and Twitter. Kelly also appears to be holding a satellite phone or two-way radio, with this humorous work suggesting that even a bushranger on the run needs to be contactable!

These reinventions of the Kelly myth effectively remove the story from its specificity of time and place to reposition it as a universal narrative on the human condition. It is critical to note that the Ned Kelly type adopted by each of these artists is that devised by Sidney Nolan – the abstracted black-masked figure. Nolan, although of course himself used the masked figure as a device to tell a much larger story. When we examine contemporary work that investigates the Ned Kelly myth, we need to keep in mind earlier representations of this subject in our reading of the work. That is to say, the works by artists such as Guan Wei and Vipoo Srivilasa are not only interrogating the story or myth of Ned Kelly but they are also creating a discourse around Australian art history and specifically Sidney Nolan's representations of Ned.

Albert Tucker, *The metamorphosis of Ned Kelly* 1956, synthetic polymer paint on composition board, Private collection, courtesy Lauraine Diggins Fine Art Melbourne.
© Barbara Tucker. Courtesy of Barbara Tucker and Sotheby's Australia. Photo: Ian Hill





Throughout the last century a common thread appears to have united the work of those artists who have engaged with and retold the Kelly story, this thread being the utilisation of the Kelly story to construct an autobiographical narrative. Nolan himself alluded to the biographical nature of his Kelly works, although he steadfastly refused to elaborate further. Liam Benson and Clayton Tremlett are two contemporary artists who have intentionally placed themselves at the centre of the Kelly story. For his work *Self-portrait as Ned Kelly aged fifty (There's a Ned in every crowd)* Tremlett spent many months growing his beard to fit the popular perception of Ned. This performative element of the work encourages the viewer to look beyond the physical similarities between Tremlett and Ned and to consider what the outcome might have been had Kelly not been hanged aged a mere 25. Perhaps he would have gone on to lead a great uprising of the people – a latter-day Robin Hood? Or would he have remained an outlaw and spent the rest of his life on the run? The viewer is encouraged to consider the injustice of the death penalty (a discussion particularly pertinent in recent months with the case of the two Australians

on death row in Indonesia), while also pondering exactly what the artist means by 'there's a Ned in every crowd'. Is he suggesting there's an unsung revolutionary hero in every crowd? Or alternatively, everyone knows a criminal? Fundamentally, however, Tremlett urges us to consider how Ned would have been treated today.

The contemporary performance artist Liam Benson has also grown a 'Ned' beard for his new series of work, which comprises performances documented through photographs. *Ned Kelly Redgum – hypercolour* forms part of a series of works due to be exhibited in mid-2015 and titled *Noble Savage*. Benson has painted his face in a camouflage design – taken from the bark of the well-known Australian eucalypt tree – weaving together ideas of history, culture and the natural environment.¹⁴ The singular Australian landscape, with its odd flora and fauna, is considered integral to our national identity, yet Benson's camouflage confuses the viewer by suggesting militarism and war. The overarching series title gives clues about the artist's intention for a reinterpretation of colonial Australian history through the eyes of Indigenous Australians. It can be inferred that this

reinterpretation would offer us insight into the true nature of the settlement of Australia as an *active invasion*, as opposed to a *passive colonisation*.

While much is made of the landscape in representations of the Kelly story, Indigenous histories are fundamentally missing. Freddie Timms, a Gija man from the Kimberley region, began painting depictions of Ned during the late 1990s and early 2000s. Despite the geographical remove between the Kimberley and regional Victoria, the Kelly story has formed part of the Dreamings for Gija people for more than 70 years. Timms's Ned is depicted in the Warmun style developed by Rover Thomas in the 1970s – bold ochre colours and shapes outlined in fine white ochre dots. It is not so great a leap to conclude that the Indigenous people of the Kimberly feel a connection to Ned's story – the struggle of an outsider to gain respect and status in a society closed to him because of race and poverty.

The concept of the outsider is also evident in the work of Chilean-born Australian artist Juan Davila, who, in his work *The sentimental history of Australian art*, questions the canon of Australian art and those it chooses to acknowledge – and to exclude. Central to Davila's painting is the

figure of an Indigenous man covered in designs associated with Papunya Tula, the Western Desert art movement of the 1970s. Indigenous art comprises a multiplicity of styles and media, yet only a small proportion of these are acknowledged as part of Australian art (and was even smaller at the time that Davila painted this work). The colour palette he has chosen echoes that of Nolan, while he uses text to refer directly to the artists Arthur Boyd, Peter Booth and Roy Lichtenstein. Davila also gives a nod to gay subculture with his reference to Tom of Finland, one of the best-known creators of homoerotic art during the mid-to-late twentieth century. By juxtaposing Tom of Finland with the names and/or stylistic signs of Australia's best-known artists he calls into question the legitimacy of the accepted art elite and he invites his audience to ponder why particular images are considered more authentic than others.¹⁵

Adam Cullen has often been viewed as the bad boy of Australian art; in fact he took pride in cultivating this image. Cullen was also interested in representing other bad boys – criminals and bushrangers. In common with many artists, Cullen found great appeal in the outsider nature of Ned

Kelly, identifying with him and his circumstances. Cullen's representation of Ned was different from that of Nolan: in Cullen's paintings Kelly is not an austere abstracted figure; rather, he is a vibrant and very human individual. Cullen depicted Kelly both with and without his armour and incorporated bold colours such as deep red and blue. Furthermore, Ned is often represented in a single portrait without a background or further context, reinforcing the singularity of Ned himself. The artist lightens his subject matter by ascribing obscure and humorous titles to the works, a case in point being *Edward's bag of fruit*.

It is not possible to examine artists' engagement with the story of Ned Kelly without concluding that this is an aspect of Australian art history dominated by male artists; this exhibition itself includes only two works by female artists – Pamela Irving and Mars Drum. The masculine appeal of Ned Kelly is readily comprehensible: despite the privations of his childhood and run-ins with the law, Ned was a figure who stood up and fought for what he believed in; he built strong ties with his community and cared for his family following the death of his father. Nineteenth-century Australia was indisputably a society dominated

by white men, which means there is little room in the Kelly story for female protagonists, although there are two who appear significant, albeit on the periphery – his mother, Ellen, and his sister, Kate. The contemporary artist Mars Drum has sought to engage with the story of Ned from a female perspective, with her photograph *Ned and Burka at Pink Lake* placing Ned in an entirely new locale: he is removed from the majestic (albeit mythologised) Australian landscape of Nolan's series and is depicted on the highly recognisable Pink Lake of the Wimmera region. The narrative of Ned and the woman in a burqa – two masked figures – is one of intimacy. Many connections can be drawn between the iron-clad Ned and the burqa-clad woman, most specifically, between their headdresses, with both characterised by a slit to enable sight and both intended for 'protection'. While Ned, a nineteenth-century character, is an outsider because of his bushranger status, the burqa-clad woman represents a contemporary outsider. She like Ned is defined by her dress, in that in Australian society she is sometimes simultaneously perceived as a member of an oppressive culture and as an object to be feared (a potential terrorist). Yet Drum's intimate

portrait allows the viewer to begin to transcend the specificities of their costumes to experience their humanity – the act of holding hands while walking through a sublime landscape evokes great empathy.

The story of Ned Kelly continues to fascinate Australians, as evidenced by the multiplicity of works of art that have been created over the last century. His narrative encapsulates some of the most profound ideas facing humankind – love, loss, betrayal, law and order, and much more. Since the late nineteenth century, a multiplicity of interpretations of the Kelly story have emerged in cinema, literature and the visual arts. Each of these versions of the narrative offers insight into society, the arts and, perhaps more importantly, the motivations and personal drive of the artists themselves. While this exhibition is by no means an exhaustive interrogation of Ned Kelly's story and the resultant artworks, we hope to offer the viewer greater understanding of the significance of Ned and his ongoing influence on Australian art history.

Tansy Curtin



Endnotes

- 1 Many historians have elected to use the term 'outbreak' to apply to this period in Australia's history. This terminology immediately draws connections between the Kelly incidents, implying that they are inextricably linked. Furthermore, this term also implies that the social and political climate of late 19th-century Australia is integral to the length and breadth of this outbreak.
- 2 Stephen Gaunson, *The Ned Kelly films: a cultural history of Kelly history*, Intellect Ltd, Bristol, 2013, p. 4.
- 3 It is important to note there is a fragment of an earlier 1906 Kelly film, *The Perth Fragment*, which is considered the earliest transposition of the Kelly story into moving image (Gaunson, p. 12).
- 4 AJ Peacock, *Prohibition of performance*, <<http://www.nedonline.imagineering.net.au>> (in Gaunson, p. 12).
- 5 Brian Kennedy, 'Foreword', in *Sidney Nolan's Ned Kelly*, National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 2002, p. iv.
- 6 Andrew Sayers, 'Kelly's words, Rousseau and sunlight', in *Sidney Nolan's Ned Kelly*, National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 2002, p. 3.
- 7 Sayers, p. 3.
- 8 Janine Burke, *Australian gothic: a life of Albert Tucker*, Vintage, Sydney, 2002, p. 340.
- 9 Burke, pp. 340–1.
- 10 Burke, p. 341.
- 11 Ivor Indyk, 'Douglas Alexander Stewart', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, 2012, viewed 20 February 2015, <<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/stewart-douglas-alexander-15726>>.
- 12 Nathanael O'Reilly, 'The influence of Peter Carey's *True history of the Kelly Gang*: repositioning the Ned Kelly narrative in Australian popular culture', *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 40, no. 3, 2007, p. 1.
- 13 Brett Farmer, 'Migratory hybridity in the work of Vipoo Srivilasa', *Journal of Australian Ceramics*, April 2014, p. 34.
- 14 Liam Beson, unpublished artist's statement, 2015.
- 15 Pam Hansford, 'Davila's pornography plot against fine art', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25 September 1985, p. 14.

List of works

Liam Benson, Australia 1980

Ned Kelly Red Gum:

Hypercolour, 2015, type c print,
50 x 50 cm; Courtesy of the artist and
Arterreal Gallery, Sydney

Arthur Boyd, Australia 1920–1999

Ned Kelly, c1954, glazed
and coloured terracotta,
71 x 42.4 x 49.6 cm; National Gallery
of Australia, Canberra, purchased
with the assistance of James Agapitos
OAM and Ray Wilson OAM 2007

Alec Brierley, born England 1911, arrived Australia 1913, died 1988

Untitled (Original illustration for *An
Illustrated History of the Kelly Gang*) pen
and ink on paper, 18 x 24.5 cm, c1978;
Collection of Ann McAlpin, Victoria

Peter Carey, Australia 1943

Secret history of the Kelly Gang,
1998–99, bound manuscript, pages
431; Manuscript Collection, State
Library of Victoria

Adam Cullen, Australia 1965–2012

*Unforgiven (Ned Kelly and Constable
Fitzpatrick)*, 2011, synthetic polymer
paint and ink on canvas,
183 x 182.5 cm; Private collection,
Melbourne

Ned Kelly with horse, c2011, synthetic
polymer paint and ink on canvas,
200 x 270 cm; Christian Saap, Sydney

Edward's bag of fruit, 2011, synthetic
polymer paint and ink on canvas,
183 x 183 cm; Private collection,
Melbourne

Ned Kelly (armour), 2011, synthetic
polymer paint and ink on canvas,
183 x 152 cm; Courtesy of the Estate of
Adam Cullen and Michael Reid, Sydney

Kelly at Glenrowan, 2011, synthetic
polymer paint on linen, 91 x 91 cm;
Art Nomad, Brighton Victoria

Ham Darroch, Australia 1972

Gang, 2013, casein on steel, timber,
60 x 104.5 x 27 cm; Private collection,
Melbourne

Mars Drum, Australia 1965

*Ned and Burka on the Pink Lake
IV*, 2015, type c print, 62 x 47 cm;
Collection of the artist, Dimboola

Juan Davila, born Chile 1946, arrived Australia 1974

Sentimental history of Australian art, 1982,
synthetic polymer paint on canvas,
202 x 263 cm; Museum of
Contemporary Art, Sydney, gift of Loti
Smorgon AO and Victor Smorgon AC
1995

Chevalier Fortunino Matania, born Italy 1881, arrived Great Britain 1902, died 1963

Ned Kelly Gang, c1930s, pencil and ink,
17.7 x 22.8 cm; Collection of Leigh
Olver, Victoria

HaHa (Regan Tamanui), born New Zealand 1972, arrived Australia 1996

Ned, 2004, stencil print,
53 x 21 cm; National Gallery of
Australia, Canberra, Gordon Darling
Australia Pacific Print Fund 2007

Ned's head, 2004, stencil print,
128.5 x 59 cm; National Gallery of
Australia, Canberra, Gordon Darling
Australia Pacific Print Fund 2007

Pamela Irving, Australia 1960

Ned Kelly and his China plate, 1993,
glazed earthenware,
a. 46 x 26 x 26 cm (variable),
b. 15.6 x 13.2 x 14 cm; Bendigo Art
Gallery, gift of Richard Cambridge
Printers 1995

Norman Lindsay, Australia 1879–1967

[*Ned Kelly*], 1944, pen, ink,
pencil and wash on paper,
36.6 x 21.7 cm; Manuscript Collection,
State Library of Victoria

[*Dan Kelly*], 1944, pen, ink,
pencil and wash on paper,
36.6 x 21.7 cm; Manuscript Collection,
State Library of Victoria

[*Shack interior: stage design for
Douglas Stewart's play Ned Kelly*],
1944, watercolour and ink on paper,
34.4 x 38.3 cm; Manuscript Collection,
State Library of Victoria

From a series of 20 drawings by
Norman Lindsay in the Dolia & Rosa
Ribush Collection. The pen, ink and
wash drawings are character studies
for Douglas Stewart's play *Ned Kelly*,
performed in 1944. This play was
produced by the company, The Dolia
Ribush Players.

**Sidney Nolan, born Australia 1917,
arrived England 1951, died 1992**

*Ned Kelly: 'Nobody knows anything
about my case but myself'*, 1945,
enamel on cardboard,
64 x 76 cm; Heide Museum of Modern
Art, Melbourne. Purchased with
funds provided by the Friends of the
Museum of Modern Art at Heide and
the Heide Circle of Donors 1998

Constable Fitzpatrick and Kate Kelly,
1945–46, enamel on cardboard,
63.3 x 76.0 cm; National Gallery of
Victoria, Melbourne, purchased with
funds donated by Roderick Carnegie
1968

Untitled (Death of Ned Kelly), 1946,
monotype and enamel on paper,
29 x 23.5 cm; Heide Museum of
Modern Art, Melbourne, bequest of
Barrett Reid 2000

The chase, 1946, enamel on
composition board,
90.5 x 121.3 cm; National Gallery of
Australia, Canberra, gift of Sunday
Reed 1977

The camp, 1946, enamel on hardboard, 89.7 x 121.5 cm; Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, purchased 1978

Kelly in the bush, 1946, enamel on cardboard, 63.6 x 76 cm; The Nolan Collection at Canberra Museum and Gallery is managed on behalf of the Australian Government

Kelly, 1946, enamel on cardboard, 63.5 x 76.1 cm; The Nolan Collection at Canberra Museum and Gallery is managed on behalf of the Australian Government

Kelly at the mine, 1946–47, enamel on composition board, 89.4 x 121 cm; Heide Museum of Modern Art, Melbourne, purchased from John and Sunday Reed 1980

Ned Kelly writing his will, 1946–47, enamel on composition board, 63.2 x 75.5 cm; National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 1967

Searching woman passenger, 1947, charcoal on paper, 31.1 x 24.6 cm; Heide Museum of Modern Art, Melbourne, bequest of John and Sunday Reed 1982

Dancing, Violet Town, c1947, charcoal and crayon on paper, 30.9 x 24.4 cm; Heide Museum of Modern Art, Melbourne, bequest of John and Sunday Reed 1982

Ned Kelly, 1955, oil on hardboard, 30.5 x 21 cm; Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney, bequest of Beatrice Moresby through the National Art Collection Fund in memory of her mother 1987

Kelly crossing the bridge, 1955, enamel on composition board, 91.5 x 71.4 cm; National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, purchased 1976

Kelly with horse, 1955, oil on composition board, 122 x 91.3 cm; National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, presented by the Government of Victoria in celebration of the National Gallery of Victoria's 150th Anniversary 2010

Kelly on horseback, c1955, monotype on paper, 31.5 x 25 cm; Heide Museum of Modern Art, Melbourne, gift of Sir Sidney Nolan 1984

Kelly, 1955, enamel on composition board, 81.5 x 100 cm; Collection of Joy Chambers-Grundy and Reg Grundy AC OBE

After Glenrowan, 1955, enamel on composition board, 91 x 71 cm; Private collection, courtesy of Sotheby's Australia

Kelly, 1955, oil and enamel on composition board, 63.5 x 77.5 cm; Private collection, courtesy of Sotheby's Australia

Crossing the river, 1955,
enamel on composition board,
70.8 x 91.1 cm; Private collection,
courtesy of Sotheby's Australia

Kelly and policeman, 1964, oil
on hardboard, 152 x 122 cm; Art
Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney,
purchased with funds provided by
Bond Street City Freeholds Ltd 1987

Kelly, 1964, oil on board,
122 x 122 cm; Private collection, Sydney

Crossing the river, 1964, oil on
composition board,
121 x 151.5 cm; Private collection,
courtesy of Sotheby's Australia

River-bank, 1964, oil on composition
board, 121 x 151.5 cm; Collection
Denis Savill and Ann Clarke, Sydney

Kelly at the river, 1964, synthetic
polymer paint on composition board,
152.5 x 122 cm; Private collection,
courtesy of Sotheby's Australia

Portalegre Tapestry Workshop,
Ned Kelly, early 1970s, wool,
296 x 415 cm; Art Gallery of New South
Wales, Sydney, Margaret Hannah
Olley Art Fund 2001

Portalegre Tapestry Workshop,
Glenrowan, early 1970s, wool,
310 x 400 cm; Benalla Art Gallery

Shot (Kelly), c1991, enamel spray on
board, 91.5 x 122 cm; The John Suta
Collection, Victoria

**Vipoo Srivilasa, born Thailand 1969,
arrived Australia 1997**

Networking, 2013, cobalt pigment on
porcelain, 38 x 16 x 16 cm; Courtesy of
Edwina Corlette Gallery, Brisbane

Charles Tait, Australia 1868–1933

The Story of the Kelly Gang, 1906, the
world's earliest surviving Feature Film,
Courtesy of Mad Dog films

**Freddie Timms, Australia c1946, Gija
country**

Ned Kelly, 1996, casein on arches
paper, 105 x 74 cm; Collection
Rebecca Hossack and Matthew Sturgis

Ned Kelly, 2000, natural ochre pigment
on canvas, 122 x 135 cm; Private
collection, NSW

Clayton Tremlett, Australia 1964

Self-portrait as Ned Kelly aged fifty
(*There's a Ned in every crowd*),
2015, linocut on paper, 100 x 135 cm;
Courtesy of the artist

Albert Tucker, Australia 1914–1999

Metamorphosis of Ned Kelly,
1956, synthetic polymer paint on
composition board, 96 x 129 cm;
Private collection courtesy of Lauraine
Diggins Fine Art, Melbourne

King Kelly and his legions, 1957, oil,
PVA, foil collage and cardboard on
composition board,
96.2 x 130 cm; Heide Museum of
Modern Art, Melbourne, gift of
Barbara Tucker 2009

Surrender at Glenrowan, 1959, synthetic polymer paint, PVA and oil on canvas, 156 x 122 cm; Heide Museum of Modern Art, Melbourne, gift of Barbara Tucker 2005

Armoured figure, 1955, oil on composition board, 80.5 x 63 cm; Heide Museum of Modern Art, Melbourne, on loan from Barbara Tucker 2000

Guan Wei, born China 1957, arrived Australia 1989

Searching for the real Ned Kelly, 2004, synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 180 x 306 cm; Courtesy of the artist and Martin Browne Contemporary, Sydney

Secret histories No.2, 2005, synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 127 x 159 cm; Courtesy of the artist and Martin Browne Contemporary, Sydney

Ned Kelly encounters the troopers in the Mystic Mountains, 2003, ink on rice paper, 70.5 x 173 cm; Collection of Dr Garry Helprin

Robert Whitaker, Great Britain 1939–2011

Untitled [Mick Jagger at Euroa Hotel] 1969, digital print, 40 x 50 cm

Untitled [Mick Jagger in the bush] 1969, digital print, 50 x 40 cm



Untitled [Mick Jagger in Ned's armour] 1969, digital print, 50 x 40 cm

Photographs taken during the filming of *Ned Kelly*, 1969; Reproduced courtesy of the Robert Whitaker Archive

Adam Cullen, *Unforgiven (Ned Kelly and Constable Fitzpatrick)* (detail) 2011, acrylic and ink on linen. Private collection, reproduced courtesy of the Estate of Adam Cullen and Michael Reid Art Gallery

Artefacts and ephemera

Central Register of Male Prisoners, 1850–1948, ink on paper, gelatin silver prints, 22.5 x 55 x 49 cm; Collection of the Public Records Office Victoria

Snider-Enfield rifle belonging to Ned Kelly, 1867–80, metal, brass and wood, 123.3 cm; Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria

Michael Wellsmore, Australia 19th century

Album of news clippings and photographs concerning Ned Kelly, 1880–1912, gelatin silver print; Manuscript Collection, National Library of Australia

Letter written by Joe Byrne at the dictation of Ned Kelly [known as the Jerilderie Letter], 1879, ink on paper, 58 pages; Manuscript Collection, State Library of Victoria

Suit of armour worn by Ned Kelly, 1880, steel and leather, breastplate: 59.2 x 50 cm; backplate: 57.5 x 55 cm, fauld or lappet: 11–21 (irreg.) x 44.5 cm; helmet and visor: height 33.5 cm, diameter 24 cm; left shoulder plate: 28 x 27.5 cm, right shoulder plate: 25.4 x 26.5 cm; Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria; Right shoulder plate purchased with funds from the Sundberg Bequest and the Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts 2001. Ned Kelly shoulder plate, left: on loan from Museum Victoria.

Charles Nettleton, born England 1826, arrived Australia 1854, died 1902

Ned Kelly the day before he was hanged, 1880, gelatin silver print, 15 x 11 cm; Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria

Maximillian Ludwig Kreitmayer, born 1831 Bavaria, arrived Australia 1857, died 1906

Death mask of Ned Kelly, 1880, plaster, 28.5 x 55 cm; Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria, gift of the School of Historical Studies, Monash University 2001

Cartes de visite: re-enactment of Ned Kelly's capture, Kelly armour, 1880, albumen silver print, 10.2 x 6.6 cm & 6.2 x 10.3 cm; Victoria Police Historical Collection

'Reward' poster, 1880, print on paper; Victoria Police Historical Collection

Petition for Reprieve: Pages from the petition for the reprieve of the death sentence for Edward Kelly, 1880, ink on paper, 34.7 x 21.7 x 10 cm; Collection of the Public Records Office Victoria

Journal des Voyages et des Aventures de Terre et de Mer [Journal of voyages and adventures of land and sea]

Une histoire de bandits en Australie [A history of bandits in Australia], 28 October 1883, ink on paper; Private collection, Victoria

New York Detective Library

Ned Kelly and his bushmen: A story of robber life in Australia, 6 February 1892, ink on paper; Private collection, Victoria

Regal Postcard Company

Postcard of the Kelly Gang, c1906 (from original photograph, 1880), print, 9 x 14 cm; Private collection, Victoria

Colonial Picture Combine/Arras Press

The Gang reading the government proclamation; Ned Kelly at bay; Ned Kelly shoots Constable Fitzpatrick; Capture of Ned Kelly; Ned Kelly in armour, 'The Story of The Kelly Gang, the Great Australian Drama, Introduced by the Colonial Picture Combine', c1906; Private collection, Victoria

Hoadley's Chocolates Ltd

Early Australian Scenes 1930s, No.1 Ned Kelly at bay, No.3 Examination in gaol, No.26 Kelly in guard's van, No.27 Ned Kelly's arrival in Melbourne, No.30 The capture of Ned Kelly, No.33 Kelly in dock, ink on card; Private collection, Victoria

Carreras Ltd

Series of 25 highwaymen, 1924, 9. 'Ironclad' bushranger Kelly, ink on card; Private collection, Victoria

Ned Kelly 1855–1880; (Ned Kelly line drawing); Glenrowan, where it all happened, 1880, Ned Kelly's Last Stand; Ned Kelly, playing cards, n.d., Private collection, Victoria

'Wanted' flyer, 1965, off-set print, 20.5 x 12.5 cm; Victoria Police Historical Collection

Notated script, *Ned a new Australian musical*, 2014–15, ink on paper, 2014–15, Collection Groaning Dam Productions

Original score, *Ned a new Australian musical*, 2014–15, ink on paper, 2014–15, Collection Groaning Dam Productions

Concept development, *Ned, a new Australian Musical*, 2014–15, digital prints, 2014–15, Collection Groaning Dam Productions

Books

All Private collection, Victoria, unless specified

Billy Blinkhorn, *Poor Ned Kelly*, 1939, J Stanley Johnstone, Sydney

CH Chomley, *True Story of the Kelly Gang of Bushrangers*, c1900, Wyatt and Watts, Melbourne

EH Earnshaw, *The Boys Book of Bushrangers*, 1947, The Australian Boys Series, Robert Dey, Son & Co, Sydney

WH Fitchett, *Ned Kelly and his Gang*, 1938, Fitchett Brothers, Melbourne

WH Fitchett, *Ned Kelly and his Gang, Bushrangers: men with a price on their heads*, nd, Southdown

Eric Lambert, *Kelly*, 1964, Frederick Muller Ltd, London

Hilary Lofting, *'Bail Up' Ned Kelly Bushranger*, 1939, New Country Press, Sydney

Look and Learn, *The Australian Robin Hood*, 1970, IPC Magazines Ltd, London

JJ Keanneally, *The Authentic Story of Ned Kelly in Pictures*, 1955, Standard Newspapers, Melbourne

John Meredith, *Six Authentic Songs from the Kelly Country*, 1955, Bush Music Club, Sydney

The Rover, *See Ned Kelly Outlaw from the Outback*, 1971, DC Thomson & Co, London

TV Week, 11 October 1980

Charles E Taylor, *The Girl who helped Ned Kelly*, 1929, United Press, Melbourne

Unknown author, 'First Episode Kelly Gang Strip Serial', *The Australian Boy Fortnightly Magazine for Boys*, 1954, Melbourne

Unknown author, *Ned Kelly and the Days of Bushrangers*, compilation, nd

Valient and Knockout, *Famous Fighters: Ned Kelly*, 1963, Fleet Way Publications, London

Charles White, *Australia Bushranging: The Kelly Gang*, 1921, NSW Bookstall Co, Sydney

Charles White, *The Kelly Gang: Australian Bushranger*, c1920, NSW Bookstall Co, Sydney

Henry H Neary, *The Kellys Australia's Famous Bushrangers*, nd, C Merritt, Sydney; Bendigo Art Gallery, Study Collection

Douglas Stewart, *Ned Kelly: A Play*, 1943, Angus and Robertson, Sydney; Bendigo Art Gallery, Study Collection

Alec Brierley, *An Illustrated History of the Kelly Gang*, 1978, Unicorn Books, Melbourne; Collection of Ann McAlpin, Bendigo

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