Captain Sweet's Colonial Imagination:

The Ideals of Modernity in South Australian Views Photography 1866 - 1886

Karen Magee

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Corrections:

Volume 2, Appendix 1, page 70, Catalogue Plate 709.
Should read SLSA B 3937 (not 'private collection').

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Source should read Credit © National Media Museum / Science & Society Picture Library
http://www.scienceandsociety.co.uk/results.asp?image=10253869&itemw=4&itemf=0002&itemstep=1&itemx=8
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ABSTRACT

Captain Samuel Sweet worked as an outdoor photographer in South Australia (including the Northern Territory) between 1866 and 1886. In Australian public libraries, museums and archives his photographs are consulted as objective visual documents. Their more recent appearance in public art galleries ascribes to them the status of art, obscuring the fact that Sweet was a commercial photographer whose subjects and style were directed by the colonial market.

This thesis documents the extent and nature of Sweet's oeuvre, and examines his photographs within the original context of their creation, including Sweet's photography business, photographic practices, the photography market, the man himself and the colonial context in which (and for which) his photographs were created. It analyses his photographs as both images and as material objects, utilising scientific testing.

It argues that, as a commercial photographer, an Englishman and a colonist participating in the creation of a new world, Sweet did not photograph colonial South Australia, but rather the ideal that was being sought in its creation. It identifies Sweet's as the largest visual record of the South Australian colonial process and boom-time, and pinpoints the pitfalls awaiting researchers and viewers who mistake his photographs as simple objective documents or aesthetic objects. It argues that if we are to make better use of Sweet's photographs today – as art objects or research sources – we must first understand them within the full context of their creation.

It concludes that Sweet's photographs mapped an ideal of modernity, rather than reality, onto photographic paper, and that when his work is approached from this perspective, we not only achieve a deeper insight into his work, but also into the world he was picturing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are advised that this document contains images of deceased people.

Unless otherwise stated, all nineteenth century photographs are albumen silver and all places of creation are in South Australia.

ABBREVIATIONS

Collections

AGNSW	Art Gallery of New South Wales
AGSA	Art Gallery of South Australia
NGA	National Gallery of Australia
NGV	National Gallery of Victoria
NLA	National Library of Australia
NPG	National Portrait Gallery
NTLIS	Northern Territory Library and Information Service
Pitt Rivers	Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford
SAM	South Australian Museum
SAMM	South Australian Maritime Museum
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales
SLSA	State Library of South Australia
SLT	State Library of Tasmania
SLV	State Library of Victoria

Newspapers & Periodicals

Adelaide Observer

Brisbane Courier

Clare (SA) *Northern Argus*

Gawler (SA) *Bunyip*

Frearson's Monthly Illustrated Adelaide News (Illustrated Adelaide News before 1880)

Frearson's Weekly Illustrated (est. 1878. Subsumed by Frearson's Monthly Illustrated Adelaide News from 1884)

Kadina Herald

Hobart *Mercury*

Melbourne *Argus*

Northern Territory Times and Gazette

Port Augusta Dispatch

South Australian *Advertiser*

South Australian *Register*

South Australian Gazette and Colonial *Register*

South Australian Government Gazette

South Australian Weekly *Chronicle*

Southern Argus

Sydney Morning Herald (*SMH*)

Wallaroo Times

Archives

ACCA	Adelaide City Council Archives
	C5 City Treasurer's Department S34 Assessment Books C15 Town Clerk's Department Letterbooks S3 Town Clerk's Dockets C40 Corporation of the City of Adelaide S55 Citizens' Rolls
AGSA	Art Gallery of South Australia (general and archival collections)
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NTL / NTLIS	Northern Territory Library / Northern Territory Library and Information Service
PRO	Public Records Office
PSR	SA Government Public Service Review
SAA	South Australian Archives
SAGHS	South Australian Genealogy and Heraldry Society
SAM	South Australian Museum (general and archival collections)
SCSA	Supreme Court of South Australia
SLNSW	Sate Library of New South Wales
SLSA	State Library of South Australia
SRANSW	State Records Authority of New South Wales
TNA	The National Archives of the UK

Publications

ADBO	Australian Dictionary of Biography, online version, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography>.
ADB	Australian Dictionary of Biography, print edition, Melbourne University Press, various volumes and editions.
Boothby's	Josiah Boothby, *The Adelaide almanac and directory for South Australia*, also known as *Boothby's directory 1872-1878*, *Boothby's South Australian directory 1879-1883*, printed and published by J. Williams, Stationer, 1872-1883, later titled *Sands & McDougall's South Australian directory*.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Captain Samuel White Sweet (1825-1886) was a professional photographer who is now recognised as the father of South Australian landscape photography, renowned for his unique style and photographic innovation. Today, the largest holdings of Sweet's photographs are in the State Library of South Australia (SLSA) and National Library of Australia (NLA) where they are predominantly used and regarded as historical documents. However, since the 1980s they have been increasingly collected and exhibited by Australian public art institutions like the Art Gallery of South Australia (AGSA) and National Gallery (NGA) who began to realise their cultural and aesthetic value. This elevation to the realms of fine art is reasonable given Sweet's aesthetic and technical capabilities. However, his photographs were created neither as fine art nor objective documents, and have never been fully considered in the context of their creation or Sweet's original intention and purpose.

To truly appreciate his work, and its historical significance, we need to put Sweet and his photographs in their historical context. Sweet was a commercial photographer and an Englishman participating in a new world in the process of creation. His photographs mapped an ideal of modernity onto photographic paper. Sweet did not photograph colonial South Australia, but rather the ideal that was being sought in its creation. That ideal was unique to South Australia which, unlike the other Australian colonies, was founded on Wakefield's principles of systematic colonisation and the dream of a utopian version of England with none of her vices.[1] When his work is approached from this perspective, we not only achieve a deeper insight into Sweet's work, but also the world he was picturing.

This thesis seeks to address the problem that people today often judge Sweet's photographs by standards that misunderstand the nature of his work. When I first encountered Sweet's work in 2003, as an inexperienced Intern at the Art Gallery of South Australia, I had no background in photography and was relatively new to both art history and Australia. I found it difficult to engage with photographs whose media, subjects and aesthetics were unfamiliar. Yet something about them gripped me - perhaps the realisation that they held stories to which I did not have the key. I was

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[1] Graeme L Pretty, 'Wakefield, Edward Gibbon (1796-1862)', ADBO, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wakefield-edward-gibbon-2763/text3921> viewed 01.09.2014.

aware that, like me, many gallery visitors and library users had trouble making a rewarding connection with Sweet's work. I realised that Sweet's photographs merited thorough research if they were to be made accessible to today's viewers. This thesis presents the findings of research that has focussed on developing a closer engagement with Sweet's work in the context of its creation. It considers Sweet himself, the naval man turned photographer-entrepreneur, and examines his remarkable mastery of the photographic technology of the time. It describes the context in which Sweet worked: the views trade and the colonial values that drove it. It then presents and explains the vision of modernity that Sweet extracted from the raw material of colonial South Australia.

Sweet's work has been little studied from a technical, historical or theoretical perspective. Nor has there been any attempt to locate, identify or survey his work, despite its increasing inclusion in exhibitions and literature on early Australian photography. As a photographer informally described by Gael Newton as 'the grandfather of Australian photography', it is time for Sweet's work to be examined.[2]

There is a significant gap in research and literature concerning Sweet's photographs, his photography business and his life. Without locating and identifying the majority of his extant photographs (and evidence of photographs that may not have survived) it is impossible to determine the nature and extent of his oeuvre or to contemplate patterns in his work in terms of his subjects, style and material practices. All of these things are essential to understanding the work in its own time and space. Like Greg Denning, I believe that 'whatever happened in the past happened with its own uniqueness of time and space'.[3] I cannot interpret Sweet's photographs today unless I first understand them in their own time. Therefore, this thesis explores the original context in which Sweet's photographs were created: as a commercial product for a photography market. It shows how that market was driven by the dominant colonial ideology of appropriation and settlement of territory, exploitation of land for profit, and the establishment of British 'civilisation' and its infrastructures. It argues that Sweet's photography both reflected and reinforced this ideology and, in doing so, he created a vision of the emergence of colonial modernity.

The social, historical and economic contexts within which Sweet's photographs were created include nineteenth century commercial photography, the South Australian colonial views trade, Sweet's family photography business, his photographic techniques, and his photographic style. They also

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[2] Conversation with Gael Newton, Canberra, 2006.
[3] Greg Denning, 'Reading to Write', in Marian Halligan (ed.), *Storykeepers,* Duffy & Snellgrove, Sydney, 2001, p.33.

include Sweet himself, as a man of his time, a Master Mariner and agent of the British Empire, and as a man of enormous talent whose potential was stifled by the British class system. The thesis shows how Sweet's choices of subject, composition and style were all driven by the objectives of an Australian colony about which he was passionate, and by that colony's government (Sweet's biggest customer) for whom his images were an important marketing tool. It reveals precisely *how* Sweet infused his images with his vision of modernity and how, as viewers, we can bridge the barriers of time and change to re-access the original meaning and significance of his work. Finally it explains how Sweet's photographs were used to promote South Australia, influencing visual perceptions of the colony that endured well beyond the nineteenth century.

I will argue that Sweet mapped an ideal of modernity, rather than reality, onto photographic paper. Whilst he visually documented South Australia's economic and social infrastructure as it emerged, during the boom time of its construction, he was a colonialist who created a selective reality, showing only South Australia's progress, prosperity and abundant opportunities, with no interest in social realism. His photographs are a comprehensive visual documentation of colonial progress unmatched by any other South Australian photographer, but they are not an objective record. They are images of the colonial imagination, reflecting only Wakefield's utopian dream, and ignoring the harsh realities that accompanied it.

A convergence of several factors in first decade of the twenty-first century made this the perfect time to examine Sweet's work. These include increased accessibility to the works and to archival material, a maturing of knowledge on early Australian photography that forms a sufficiently solid foundation for further research, as well as current trends in photography discourse. Advances in image digitisation, collection management and access to archival material have made this research possible. Large private collections have recently moved into the public sphere following increased institutional interest in early photography. The first Australian national photography conference was held in 2008 and, in 2012, the first symposium on early Australian and Pacific photography. We have begun to have the measure of Australian colonial photography, as reflected in Ennis's observations regarding Sydney photographers Beaufoy Merlin and Charles Bayliss.

> Early Australian photography reflected the processes of colonisation; it was shaped by local
> conditions and circumstances and in turn responded to them. Merlin and Bayliss's activities were in
> many respects typical of the time, following the lines of European settlement and flows of population

to the goldfields. Their images gave physical occupation a visual form with the documentary and evidential authority of photography being deployed for maximum effect.[4]

This thesis reflects a new era in the appreciation and understanding of early Australian photography and will be the first major research project about early South Australian photography. It will build on existing literature and scholarship, creating a much deeper understanding of the South Australian views trade and providing a context - technological, economic, social and political - within which views photography can be understood. Most importantly it will document and interpret the work of Captain Samuel Sweet who photographed the emergence of modernity in colonial South Australia.

Literature

This brief survey outlines literature currently available about Captain Sweet, early Australian photography and, more specifically, early South Australian photography. It identifies problems associated with existing material and explains how this thesis will address some of them. It also describes a range of literature that has informed the thesis in terms of historical context, photographic technology and research, as well as publications which utilise Sweet's photographs. Key literature that has informed the theoretical framework and main ideas of the thesis is outlined in the methodology. The main literature review is contained within the body of the thesis.

A significant problem is that existing literature on Sweet is piecemeal and prone to gaps and errors, with no rigorous biographical research having been undertaken. There is also limited material within which to place his work in the context of South Australian views photography, and a general geographical imbalance in literature on early Australian Photography. Little attention has been paid to the economic nature of views photography and the influence of commercial transaction on the nature of the image.

Literature about Sweet
Sweet has received increasing attention in literature on early Australian photography in the past decade, although his place in national surveys and exhibitions has not yet demonstrated his importance in the history of Australian colonial photography. This reflects a trend for research and

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[4] Helen Ennis, *A Modern Vision: Charles Bayliss, Photographer, 1850-1897*, NLA, Canberra, 2008, p.5.

publication to be weighted more heavily in the eastern states, with photography from South Australia and Western Australia receiving less attention.

Most material on Sweet derives from a small number of early sources that are limited in their scope and suffer from ambiguities and errors. Repeated reliance on these, through a series of secondary sources, has led to a stagnation of information. Errors and misinterpretations have also been repeated and important questions remain unanswered. What kind of man was Sweet? When and how did his photographic career begin? What drove him to take thousands of photographs of South Australia? And, most importantly for this thesis, what influenced his photographic practice and how do these influences manifest in his work? Without accurate, detailed information about Sweet and his photographs it is not possible to make any authoritative assessment or analysis of his work.

The only publication devoted to Sweet remains Pike and Moore's 1983 *Captain Sweet's Adelaide*.[5] The book compares some of Sweet's Adelaide images with more recent photographs to show how the city has fared. Despite its limited scope, the book contains a brief biography and some details of Sweet's Northern Territory voyages. It has been an invaluable starting point from which to commence more detailed biographical research. Sweet has also been the subject of two journal articles. The first in 1950 by Robertson gives a general introduction to Sweet.[6] The second, by McDougall in 1984, describes some of Sweet's Northern Territory images and provides a very brief biography.[7] McDougall concentrates on visual descriptions of some of the photographs, and on the optimism of Sweet's imagery given the hardship of life on the expeditions.

Sweet is mentioned in three other main types of literature. There are entries for him in biographical dictionaries of Australians, South Australians and Australian artists. He is mentioned in most books on early Australian Photography, although the attention he is given varies. He also appears in some exhibition catalogues, some of which simultaneously serve as important references for early Australian photography, although his inclusion in these is less consistent. In these categories, the most important and useful publications in relation to Sweet are Gael Newton's *Shades of Light*, Helen Ennis's *Intersections* and Julie Robinson's *A Century in Focus*, all of which will be discussed.[8]

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[5] Philip Pike & Julian Moore, *Captain Sweet's Adelaide*, Longwood Media, Adelaide,1983.
[6] E Robertson, 'Captain Sweet - an early SA photographer', *Australian Photo-Review*, December 1950, pp.739-42
[7] Garry McDougall, 'Captain Sweet, Northern Territory Images', *Photofile* 2 No 4, summer 1984, pp.9-10.
[8] Gael Newton, *Shades of Light: Photography and Australia 1839-1988*, NGA and Collins Australia, Canberra,1988; Helen Ennis, *Intersections. Photography, History and the National Library of Australia*, NLA, Canberra, 2004; Julie

The earliest biographical entry for Sweet appears in Loyau's 1885 *Notable South Australians*.[9] Although written during Sweet's lifetime, and probably based on personal contact with Sweet, it contains ambiguities and emphases that have led to misinterpretation and a Chinese whisper effect spreading through later sources. More recent biographical entries on Sweet appear in Australian dictionaries of biography and artists. His presence in respected art reference texts gives some support to the view of him as an important fine art photographer. Daniel Thomas was ahead of the field by including Sweet in his 1976 glossary of artists in *Australian art in the 1870s*.[10] Although very brief, and hindered by inaccurate information, it is remarkable as the first and most effusive assessment of Sweet's photographic style.

> His work has delicacy and wit unique in Australian photography. He notices the surreal in airborne agricultural equipment at Gawler and the shop signs in Adelaide; the symphonic, in iron lace, its shadows and the breathing of lace curtains; the romantic, in a white stone dog guarding a dark garden; and the classical, when he poses railway-line workers symmetrically as statues standing on pedestals or reclining on the iron girders of Murray Bridge.[11]

Thomas's confidence in describing Sweet's work is rare, particularly at a time when so little was understood about the nature of photography of that period. 1976 also marked Sweet's first appearance in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.[12] Sierp's entry has not yet been updated, despite its errors and unfounded assumptions.

The most cited entry for Sweet, in Joan Kerr's *Dictionary of Australian Artists*, is based on several earlier sources, replicating some of their errors but adding useful primary sources from Queensland and Sydney.[13] Kerr's entry forms the foundation for the Design & Art Australia Online entry which, like most existing biographical material, is almost silent on Sweet's work and his most prolific period of photographic practice between 1875 and 1886.[14] This seems odd in publications that include Sweet because of his photography.

Robinson, assisted by Maria Zagala, *A Century In Focus: South Australian Photography, 1840s-1940s*, AGSA, Adelaide, 2007, exhibition catalogue (exhibition dates 09.11.2007-28-01.2008).

[9] George E Loyau, *Notable South Australians*, George E Loyau, Adelaide, 1885, p.104.

[10] Daniel Thomas, Australian art in the 1870s: an exhibition to mark the centenary of the Art Gallery of New South Wales, Trustees of the AGNSW, Sydney, 1976.

[11] ibid.

[12] Allan Sierp, 'Sweet, Samuel White (1825-1886)', ADBO, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sweet-samuel-white-4678/text7739>, viewed 22.01.2013.

[13] Joan Kerr (ed.), *The Dictionary of Artists: painters, sketchers, photographers and engravers to 1870*, OUP, Melbourne, 1992, pp.774-5.

[14] 'Samuel White Sweet', Design & Art Australia Online, <http://www.daao.org.au/bio/samuel-white-sweet/biography/>, viewed 22.01.2012.

The most extensive biographical entry appears in Noye's *Dictionary of South Australian Photography 1845-1915* which was published in 2007 by the Art Gallery of South Australia in conjunction with their exhibition *A Century in Focus: South Australian photography 1840s-1940s.*[15] It draws heavily on Kerr, as well as Newton and Davies & Stanbury, and research by Noye and the Art Gallery of South Australia.[16] It pulls together most existing information, adding more detail about the periods so far overlooked. In keeping with (the late) Bob Noye's original manuscript, it makes no attempt to describe or evaluate Sweet's work. It understandably suffers from the repetition of errors and assumptions that comes from relying on secondary sources and creates some new ones. For example, it asserts that in 1879 Sweet 'also returned to Port Darwin and photographed "many of the building improvements that have recently been made at Palmerston"', citing the *Register* 13 October 1879 which in facts says, 'Some photographs lately taken by a gentleman at Port Darwin have been shown to us by Captain Sweet. They are interesting as they exhibit many of the building improvements that have recently been made at Palmerston'.[17] The point is that curatorial researchers do not have the luxury of endless days in the archives to discover that the gentleman was Paul Foelsche, that he sent the photographs to Sweet who had taught him photography at Port Darwin between 1869 and 1871 and that there is no evidence that Sweet returned to the Northern Territory after 1872. Only the depth of research, such as that undertaken for a doctorate, can correct past errors, fill information gaps, and provide the foundation for a more accurate analysis of Sweet's work.

Literature on Early Australian and South Australian Photography

Sweet is mentioned in most books on early Australian Photography, including some exhibition catalogues. Works like Newton's *Shades of Light* and Robinson's *A Century in Focus* were produced to accompany exhibitions but go far beyond the scope of most exhibition catalogues, acting as milestones in the research and understanding of early Australian photography.[18] Other important texts have incrementally created a history of early Australian photography, including Cato's *Story of the Camera in Australia*, Holden's *Photography in Colonial Australia: The Mechanical Eye*

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[15] RJ Noye, *Dictionary of South Australian Photography (1845-1915)*, AGSA, Adelaide, 2007 on CD-ROM accompanying Robinson, *A Century in Focus*, op. cit., Sweet entry by C Lovitt.

[16] J Kerr op. cit., pp.774-5; Newton, *Shades of Light, op. cit.*; Alan Davies & Peter Stanbury, *The Mechanical Eye in Australia: Photography 1841-1900*, OUP, Melbourne, 1985.

[17] Noye, *Dictionary of South Australian Photography*, op. cit.; *Register*, 13.10.1879.

[18] Newton, op. cit.; Robinson, *A Century In Focus*, op. cit.

and the Illustrated Book, Davies & Stanbury's *Mechanical Eye*, and Ennis's *Intersections*.[19] As well as providing a little more material on Sweet, together these works provide a context in which to understand his photographs. However, most suffer from the problems afflicting the biographical sources already mentioned. In relation to Sweet, they are limited by reliance on secondary and piecemeal sources. There is little explicit acknowledgement of the predominantly commercial nature of photography before the late 1880s. Most publications with a national focus pay insufficient attention to South Australian photography, and few demonstrate any sophisticated understanding of the differences in the style and nature of views photography between different Australian colonies and regions. This is quite understandable as scholarship in the field has only begun to mature in the last decade to a point where more sophisticated lines of enquiry can be pursued.

It is crucial for this thesis that Sweet be understood within the context of the South Australian views trade. It does not make the assumption that Sweet's photographs can be successfully analysed purely as 'Australian'. Indeed, Australia did not exist as a country until 1901. Establishing a clear context for Sweet's work was initially difficult as early photography in South Australia was not well documented until 2007. The late Bob Noye (1932-2002) had produced a twenty-page pamphlet, *Early South Australian Photography,* making a brief mention of Sweet.[20] Noye's incomplete website, archived by the Art Gallery of South Australia (AGSA) is also a useful reference.[21] The first comprehensive overview of early South Australian photography was published by AGSA as a catalogue for their 2007 exhibition *A Century in Focus: South Australian photography 1840s-1940s.*[22] It considerably reduced the gap in literature on early South Australian photography and remains the most thorough attention paid to Sweet in an any publication, with seven of his views discussed in detail. Compared with the disproportionately low numbers of South Australian photographers featured in national surveys, it profiles several views photographers of Sweet's era. Its accompanying CD-ROM of RJ Noye's *Dictionary of South Australian Photography 1845-1915* is an invaluable reference documenting hundreds of South Australian photographers.[23]

The extent to which South Australian photography and Sweet are mentioned in literature with a national focus is improving. The earliest authoritative work on nineteenth century Australian

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[19] Jack Cato, *The Story of the Camera in Australia,* Georgian House, Melbourne, 1955; Robert Holden, *Photography in Colonial Australia: The Mechanical Eye and the Illustrated Book*, Horden House, Sydney,1988; Davies & Stanbury, op. cit.; Ennis, *Intersections.* op. cit.

[20] RJ Noye, *Early South Australian Photography*, published by the author, Saddleworth, South Australia, 1968; Noye Collection of South Australian Photography, AGSA, including a large archive of original research notes and manuscripts.

[21] Photohistory SA website, created by RJ Noye, hosted by AGSA <http://www.artgallery.sa.gov.au/noye/Introset.htm>, 2005, archived 09.09.2005.

[22] Robinson, *Century In Focus,* op. cit.

photography is Cato's 1955 *Story of the Camera in Australia*.[24] Cato devotes six pages each to South Australia and the Northern Territory, with most of his 182 pages devoted to Victoria and New South Wales. Western Australia merits less than a page, indicating the difficulty of researching across vast distances, and exemplifying a pattern of inclusion and exclusion which still exists. Cato places Sweet in his Northern Territory chapter, rather than South Australia, concentrating on Sweet's naval career and Northern Territory trips, giving the briefest overview of his South Australian photographic subjects.[25] Although Cato reproduces two of Sweet's Northern Territory photographs he does not link them to Sweet.[26] Cato erroneously describes Sweet's 'wide popularity amongst a host of friends in every walk of life', having misinterpreted a line from Sweet's obituary stating that Sweet 'was very popular in the position in which he moved'.[27] The obituary pointedly placed Sweet in his own social class and meant that Sweet was popular among his own kind, but not with the higher classes. Chapter Two will explain why this matters. Some of Cato's data, such as studio dates, is also erroneous.

Cato's book broke the ground from which several later publications emerged, fertilised by the rise of interest in early colonial photography during 1980s. Many mention Sweet but few go beyond what had already been written. Davies and Stanbury's *Mechanical Eye* was developed from an earlier 1977 Macleay Museum publication which had made no reference to Sweet and devoted all of nine sentences to the entire history of photography in Adelaide and Perth.[28] The 1985 *Mechanical Eye* was the first significant national publication since Cato and describes Sweet as 'the most important of South Australia's wet-plate photographers'.[29] Unfortunately most of its Sweet entry discusses the advent of dry-plates and Townsend Duryea whose former studio Sweet had photographed.[30] An approximate list of Sweet's studio addresses was a useful starting-point from which to research Sweet's locations more accurately. Other key publications that have helped to build a history of Australian colonial photography include Holden's *Photography in Colonial Australia: The Mechanical Eye and the Illustrated Book* and Willis's *Picturing Australia* which claimed to be the first critical survey of Australian Photography yet makes a passing mention of Sweet.[31] None of these

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[23] Noye, *Dictionary of South Australian Photography*, op. cit.
[24] Cato, op. cit.
[25] ibid., pp.109-110.
[26] ibid., between pp.96-7.
[27] ibid., p.110; *Observer*, 09.01.1886.
[28] Davies & Stanbury op. cit.; Con Tanre, Alan Davies & Peter Stanbury, *The Mechanical Eye: A Historical Guide to Australian Photography and Photographers*, The Macleay Museum, University of Sydney, 1977.
[29] Davies & Stanbury, op. cit., p.80.
[30] ibid.
[31] Holden, op. cit.; Anne-Marie Willis, *Picturing Australia: A history of photography*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1988.

publications have proved as reliable for factual information on colonial photography as Gael Newton's *Shades of Light* – the seminal photographic publication of the 1980s.[32]

Newton, Senior Curator of Photography at the National Gallery of Australia, is an authoritative source on early Australian photography and recognises Sweet as 'one of the best view photographers' of the 1880s.[33] She is the first of the authors mentioned so far to describe Sweet's work in terms of its visual and artistic qualities rather than just its content and the photographer's success – a shift which reflects the growing appreciation of the aesthetic qualities of early photography during the 1980s. *Shades of Light* touches on almost every aspect of Australian photographic practice in the nineteenth century and summarises the nature of the views trade in each of the colonies, particularly those on the eastern coast. The economics of the trade are implied in its discussion but not made overt. Newton examines Australian photography through the themes of available technology, dominant media, styles, markets and individuals. Sweet is mentioned only briefly but South Australian photography is acknowledged and the book provides a foundational summary upon which all later work has built. This thesis relies on *Shades of Light* as an authoritative source and as a starting point for further research.[34]

Helen Ennis's publications, including catalogue essays and *Intersections*, a survey of Australian photography in the National Library of Australia, confirm a growing appreciation of Australian colonial photography as an art – something she relates to improved access to Australian photographic collections, new museums and digitised databases.[35] Like Newton, she discusses the photographs using the language of art and aesthetics, as well as applying contemporary thought and photography theory. Many of the themes and questions raised by Ennis will be relevant to an exploration of Sweet's work. Her seminal work *Intersections* 'explores the connections between photography, history, the user and viewer through essays on particular historical moments and situations, and portfolios of photographs selected from the National Library's Photography Collection'.[36] It includes Ennis's personal responses to and reflections on the photographs – a sign of an increased confidence in understanding and assessing early Australian photography. *Intersections* dedicates one of only four portfolio segments on nineteenth century photographers to Sweet, acknowledging

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[32] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit.
[33] ibid., p.67.
[34] Footnotes available at <http://www.photo-web.com.au/ShadesofLight/default.htm>.
[35] Ennis, *Intersections*. op. cit.; Helen Ennis, *Mirror with a Memory: Photographic portraiture in Australia*, exhibition catalogue, National Portrait Gallery, Canberra, 2000, p.7.
[36] Ennis, *Intersections*, op. cit., p.41.

his prominent position in Australian photography.[37] A one page monograph on Sweet devotes one quarter to brief biographical information (suffering from reliance on secondary sources); one half on the love of order in his work; and the final quarter on his successful negotiation of the 'relationship between what can and cannot be controlled' in his photograph of *Largs Bay Jetty*.[38] Although she reproduces six of Sweet's photographs, the selection is not representative of his œuvre and some of the cataloguing information requires further research.[39]

The power of publications like *Shades of Light* and *Intersections* published by our national institutions should not be underestimated. They are core reading for collection managers and curators throughout the field. They suggest who the key photographers were, how they operated and what their photographs mean. They are also relied upon for factual information about the photographs and their creators. It is to these books that curators may turn for ideas about themes and exhibition proposals. The inclusion of Sweet in these publications places him in the category of photographers whose work is deemed worthy of exhibition as part of 'the canon of Australian art'.[40]

Together, all of these books provide a general survey of Australian colonial photography. Although lacking balance, especially overlooking the central and western states, all of this literature helps to place Sweet's work in the context of his time. However, it leaves an enormous gap in terms of information about his work, his career and the photography market in which he worked, especially in relation to the commercial nature of the photographic transaction and the role of the client in the pictorial content and aesthetic of the image.

The lack of serious consideration of the economics of the colonial photography industry is one of the most significant omissions in the literature surveyed. The majority of views photographs of the mid to late nineteenth century were created by commercial photographers for a commercial market. Until this is acknowledged as the fundamental basis for their production, any examination of their documentary, technical or aesthetic qualities will be unbalanced and incomplete. Geoffrey Batchen has begun to turn this particular tide, introducing an economic approach which conceives early photography as an industry and photographers as workers. His ideas, voiced in his 2008 conference

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[37] ibid., pp.76-81.
[38] ibid., p.76.
[39] ibid.
[40] Andrew Sayers, Forward, in Ennis, *Mirror with a Memory*, op. cit.

paper 'Perplexity and Embarrassment: Photography as Work' have been central to the approach of this thesis and are discussed in the methodology section.[41]

Exhibitions

A survey of catalogues from exhibitions at major Australian institutions demonstrates that Sweet's photographs were rarely included until very recently. Distance, and the weighting of attention to the east, have led to some incongruity between curators' recognition of Sweet as an important photographer in their publications, and the extent to which they have actually exhibited his work.

Sweet has not yet been granted an exhibition of his own. At the outset of this project, only a few exhibitions had been devoted to a single photographer of the period. In 2001 AGSA was one of the first public galleries to show the work of a single nineteenth century photographer, Henry Tilbrook (1848-1947).[42] Since then other solo exhibitions have taken place including Paul Foelsche (1831-1914) and JW Lindt both in 2005.[43] In 2008 the NLA exhibited the work of Charles Bayliss (1850-1897) and most recently the NGV has exhibited the work of Fred Kruger in 2012.[44] The South Australian Museum's 2005 exhibition of Foelsche's Northern Territory photographs, *The Policeman's Eye: The frontier photography of Paul Foelsche* was substantial.[45] Its scale and popularity confirm strong public interest in colonial photography and a fertile climate for research on major photographers of the period. Catalogues from these exhibitions are useful for comparative purposes and to help place Sweet in the larger picture of Australian photography of the period. This thesis will demonstrate that Sweet's significance is such that his work merits a substantial solo exhibition.

The first significant exhibition to include Sweet's work was the NGA's 1988 *Shades of Light*.[46] With the exception of this seminal exhibition, it seems that, although galleries began collecting Sweet's work around this time, they were not initially comfortable with the nature of these photographs as they quietly acquired the status of art whilst resting (for decades) in their Solander boxes. *Shades of*

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[41] Geoffrey Batchen, 'Perplexity and embarrassment: photography as work', presented at the National Photography Conference 'Photographies: New Histories, New Practices', 10.07.2008, Canberra, ACT.
[42] Alisa Bunbury, *The Photography of H.H. Tilbrook*, exhibition catalogue, AGSA, Adelaide, 20.07.2001-04.11.2001.
[43] Philip Jones, *The policeman's eye: the frontier photography of Paul Foelsche*, SAM, Adelaide, 2000; JW Lindt and Grafton Regional Gallery, *The John William Lindt collection: Grafton Regional Gallery*, Grafton, NSW, 2005.
[44] Ennis, *A Modern Vision*, op. cit.
[45] Philip Jones, *The Policeman's Eye: The frontier photography of Paul Foelsche*, exhibition catalogue, SAM, Adelaide, 2005. See also *The photography of Paul Foelsche: centenary exhibition*, exhibition catalogue, Corporation of the City of Darwin, 1970.
[46] Gael Newton (curator), *Shades of Light: Photography and Australia 1839-1988*, NGA exhibition 20.02.1988-22.05.1988, Canberra,1988.

Light, its catalogue and the literature of the 1980s and '90s helped to change this and the frequency with which early Australian photography has been exhibited in the gallery setting has gradually increased. However, it was not until 2000 that Sweet was included in a significant public art exhibition.[47] He was overlooked by the 1997 AGNSW exhibition *Portraits of Oceania*, even though none of the exhibited photographs of Aborigines matched Sweet's Ngarrindjeri portraits in terms of composition, dignity and aesthetic quality.[48] However, the exhibition treated early photographs from the Asia Pacific region with a confidence about their role in the art gallery that only *Shades of Light* had demonstrated at that point.[49]

Three Sweet photographs were included in the Australian National Portrait Gallery 2000 exhibition *Mirror with a Memory* which was 'the first major exhibition to examine photographic portraiture in Australia, from its beginnings in the early 1840s to the present day'.[50] The exhibition included photographers deemed by the gallery to 'have entered the canon of Australian art' as well as images from more vernacular traditions.[51]

Three of Sweet's photographs appeared in the 2003 National Library exhibition, *In a New Light: Australian Photography 1850s-1930s* although none appeared in the catalogue which had a strong eastern bias.[52] The National Gallery of Victoria's 2004 exhibition, *Good Looking: Narrative photographs past and present*, excluded Sweet, focussing heavily on JW Lindt's work which seems over-represented in most exhibitions.[53] Even the Art Gallery of South Australia chose two Lindt photographs of New South Wales Aborigines over Sweet's Ngarrindjeri portraits when it first placed digitised collection images online.[54]

Sweet was well represented in *A Century in Focus: South Australian Photography 1840s-1940s* at the Art Gallery of South Australia in 2007, cementing his place in early Australian photography.[55]

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[47] Helen Ennis (curator), *Mirror with a Memory: Photographic Portraiture in Australia*, National Portrait Gallery exhibition, 04.03.2000-12.06.2000, Canberra.
[48] Judy Annear, *Portraits of Oceania*, exhibition catalogue, AGNSW, Sydney, 1997.
[49] ibid.
[50] Ennis, *Mirror with a Memory* op. cit.; Helen Ennis, *Mirror with a memory*, online exhibition catalogue, <http://www.portrait.gov.au/site/exhibition_subsite_mirrors2.php>, viewed 02.04.2012.
[51] Sayers, op. cit.
[52] Helen Ennis, *In a New Light: Australian Photography 1850s-1930s*, NLA, Canberra, 2003.
[53] Kate Rhodes, *Good Looking: Narrative photographs past and present*, exhibition catalogue, 02.03.2004-16.05.2004, NGV, Melbourne, 2004.
[54] AGSA Website, last updated 23.06.06, viewed 02.09.06, <http://www.artgallery.sa.gov.au/gallery2/main.php?g2_itemId=30>
[55] Robinson, *Century In Focus*, op. cit.

Here Sweet received the most attention paid to him in any exhibition catalogue so far.[56] The NGA's 2008 exhibition *Picture Paradise* covered the entire Asia-Pacific Region, including India and the west coast of America, yet chose Sweet as one of only three Australian photographers to illustrate the catalogue's section on the views and portraiture trade.[57]

Sweet's inclusion in exhibitions is increasing and his work has been proportionately included in NGA exhibitions. However, in other exhibitions with a national focus, his work appears to be underrepresented, as is that of other South Australian and Western Australian photographers.

Academic Research

Academic research has gone only a little way towards building on published material. The only early research in a South Australian university, centred on South Australian Photography, are a 2008 Masters Thesis by Lauren Sutter and a 1994 honours thesis by Susanne Barker.[58] Barker examines the progress of photographic technology and portrait studios in Adelaide in the nineteenth century.[59] Her thesis demonstrates the difficulty in researching photography studios and, with only limited time and resources, vastly underestimates the volume of Adelaide's photography market. It suffers from reliance on newspapers and secondary sources, giving rise to oversimplified descriptions of photographic processes and disproportionate attention to Townsend Duryea – reflecting the limited state of published research on South Australian photography at that time. Barker acknowledges Sweet's distinction as 'one establishment in Adelaide [that] concentrated solely on the sale of views, which appears to be an anomaly when compared to other businesses at the time' but mentions him only briefly and fails to record any of his studios before 1890 (Mrs E Sweet).[60]

Sutter's 2008 Masters Dissertation, 'Capturing the Adelaide Metropolis: the photography of Ernest Gall and Harry Krischock (1860s-1940s)', explores 'the relationship between the rise of the modern city and the role of photography in its representation'.[61] It is not a definitive account of the work of these two Adelaide photographers, but rather 'an analysis of photographic examples in conjunction

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[56] ibid.
[57] Gael Newton, *Picture Paradise: Asia-Pacific photography 1840s -1940s*, NGA, 2008.
[58] Lauren Sutter, Capturing the Adelaide Metropolis: the photography of Ernest Gall and Harry Krischock (1860s-1940s), submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Art History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Adelaide, 2008; Susanne Barker, "Watch the Birdie!" A Study of early South Australian photographic practices, thesis submitted for an honours degree in Visual Arts and Archaeology, Flinders University, Adelaide, 1994.
[59] S Barker, op. cit.
[60] ibid., p.19 and Appendix.
[61] Sutter, op. cit., p. iv.

with a larger social enquiry'.[62] Sutter considers the role the photographs (taken between 1889 and 1940) played in 'coming to terms with the flourishing Adelaide metropolis'.[63] The photographs are from a later period than Sweet but Sutter notes three important gaps in literature, which my own survey confirms. The first is that little of the history of Australian photography features in international texts.[64] The second is that Adelaide 'as an artistically documented space has been little discussed, and its abundance of photographers working in the early years of its development remain largely unknown'.[65] The third is 'South Australia's lack of visibility in the general Australian photographic discourse, with Sydney and Melbourne remaining focal points for most research', whilst acknowledging the important shift created by AGSA's 'landmark exhibition', *A Century in Focus*.[66] Sutter's is the first in depth consideration of 'early South Australian photography in terms of the expanding modern city' as a way of understanding 'the social context of living in an isolated settlement town at [a time of] great industrial upheaval'.[67] She reminds us that 'In Australia, the transition from small settlements to bustling cities occurred rapidly' and identifies the importance of images of Adelaide for 'a viewing public trying to come to terms with the heightened fervour of city life'.[68]

The most significant piece of academic research in relation to Captain Sweet is by Melbourne-based Tim Smith whose PhD thesis on Paul Foelsche (1831-1914) includes an analysis of Sweet's Northern Territory photographs in relation to those of Foelsche and Joseph Brooks.[69] Smith establishes Sweet's importance to Foelsche by providing inspiration and assisting 'in shaping Foelsche's photography'.[70] He also raises the influence of the picturesque in Sweet's work. Smith provides the most comprehensive and well-researched history of early photography in the Northern Territory to date, including a description of Sweet's Northern Territory photography.[71] Smith also notes the imperative for views photography of this era to 'present a well-ordered society, one in which colonisation can be regarded as having brought structure and purpose to the land', observing that 'Foelsche accordingly presented a wholly optimistic view of the developing colony'.[72] His research is also notable for overcoming the obstacles of distance by spending considerable time in

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[62] ibid., p.2.
[63] ibid., p.iv.
[64] ibid., p.3.
[65] ibid., p.1.
[66] ibid., p.10, with reference to Robinson, *Century In Focus*, op. cit.
[67] ibid., p.12.
[68] ibid., pp.14 & 35.
[69] Timothy Smith, The Policeman's Eye: The Photography of Paul Foelsche, Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy University of Melbourne August 2011, Faculty of Arts, The University of Melbourne.
[70] ibid., p.155.
[71] ibid., pp.160-163, 175-180.
[72] ibid., p.335.

the Northern Territory and by examining all of Foelsche's photographs in South Australian Collections. Smith's thesis, and collabration with Smith himself, have informed my analysis of Sweet's Northern Territory photographs. Samantha Wells's thesis 'Negotiating Place in Colonial Darwin: interactions between Aborigines and whites, 1869-1911' has also also been helpful.[73]

With the exception of Smith, and to a lesser extent Barker and Sutter, Sweet is rarely mentioned in theses or dissertations and there remains an enormous gap in research on early South Australian Photography, Views Photography and important South Australian photographers like Sweet, Townsend Duryea (1823-1888), George Freeman (1842-1895), E.G.Tims (1843/44- after 1882), Bernard Goode (c.1834-1897), HR Perry (c.1846-1936), and Henry Davis (1831/32-1878). Very little is known, for example, about Henry Davis whose views rivalled Sweet's until his death in 1878.

However, Julia Peck's thesis 'The Making of the Australian landscape: Photographic contributions to the construction of a nation from New South Wales and Victoria 1870-1917' raises a number of issues that are pertinent to any examination of views photography in Australia. She provides 'a theoretical framework and discursive interpretation of commercial photographic practices in New South Wales and Victoria' with a specific focus on six photographers working between 1870 and 1917.[74] This period saw the colonies of Australia joined as single country by federation and Peck's main argument is that views photographs taken during the colonial period were instrumental in 'establishing a sense of place and making Australia familiar' as well as serving more nationalistic purposes following federation.[75] Peck makes the important point that research 'into the photography from South Australia, Queensland and Western Australia is now needed to assess whether the photography from New South Wales and Victoria was typical of all Australian photography from this period'.[76] She speculates that regional variations are likely due to differences in landscapes such as greater crop production in Queensland and more fern-tree gullies in Victoria.[77] However, she does not question whether differences might arise from other factors, such as population and economic variations or the differences in the principles upon which each colony was founded.

Unfortunately Peck draws no clear conclusions about the commercial nature of the views trade and its operation upon photographic representations of the colonies in question. She also states that

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[73] Samantha Wells, Negotiating Place in Colonial Darwin: interactions between Aborigines and whites, 1869-1911, thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Technology, Sydney, 2003.
[74] Julia Peck, The Making of the Australian landscape: Photographic contributions to the construction of a nation from New South Wales and Victoria 1870-1917, PhD thesis University of Wales, Newport, 2008, p.iv.
[75] ibid.
[76] ibid., p.353. Peck notes that the Northern Territory was part of South Australia but she does not mention Tasmania.

'Qualitative (formal or stylistic) interpretations about the material made by these photographers are not particularly relevant if one is seeking to understand the importance the photographs had within the life of the colonies (and in Britain), nor do they assist in understanding their symbolic content or the social function they performed'.[78] Peck follows with the contradictory statement that the market required prints 'in good condition or of seductive quality'.[79] My own view is that the aesthetic (formal and stylistic) qualities of views photographs are essential to understanding their social, economic and political functions in Australia and Britain. Seductive photographs sell better, reach a wider audience, and have a greater impact on the way the colony they depict is envisioned. The seductiveness of an image relies heavily on its style.

Peck raises the importance of considering the materiality of photographic culture but limits her consideration to the format in which images were made available, namely in albums, postcards and half-tone reproduction.[80] There is no consideration of the physical composition of the photograph itself or of the allure of albumen silver photographic prints, perhaps because Peck's study includes reproductions in other media (postcards and half-tone). She touches on the absence of Indigenous subjects in landscape photography as one element of a 'visual expression of settler nationalism' and their 'systematic displacement from the land in photographic form' and mentions the unsuitability of the bush as a photographic subject.[81] Both issues will be addressed in my study.

Another interesting point raised by Peck is the invisibility of Australian views photographs (1870-1917) in Britain 'especially in published or exhibition format'.[82] Peck's British-based study found limited holdings of Australian views in British collections, commenting that 'to leave such material hidden as a shameful part of Britain's colonial rule is not an adequate response'.[83] This raises questions about the use of Australian views photographs in British histories of photography, especially at a time when colonial histories are being re-explored through photography. For example, the European-based Photographs, Colonial Legacy and Museums in Contemporary European Culture project (PhotoCLEC), initiated in 2010 and ongoing, examines 'the role of the photographic legacy of colonial relations in the identity of a fluid and multi-cultural modern Europe and its global relations'.[84] Led by Elizabeth Edwards, it considers the use of colonial photography in

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[77] ibid., p.353.
[78] ibid., p.23.
[79] ibid.
[80] ibid., pp.iv & 34.
[81] ibid., pp.4, 36, 351, 352.
[82] ibid., p.xxxv.
[83] ibid., p.10.
[84] PhotoCLEC website, <http://photoclec.dmu.ac.uk/content/about>, viewed 20.01.2013.

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museums in The Netherlands, Norway and the UK, 'as major and influential vectors of public history'.[85]

Peck observes a 'lack of curatorial confidence' in relation to the material' as a result of 'modern academic approaches'.[86] She suggests that 'it is difficult for gallerists to argue that 19th century Australian photography is 'art' or 'important' because it was commercial and prolifically produced'.[87] Peck also cites Australia's lack of sufficiently spectacular scenery as another reason for lack of curatorial engagement with the views trade.[88] These are all important issues which require further consideration. Having raised the question of whether Australian views trade photographs are art, Peck tackles the related issue of the difference between a photographic 'view' and a 'landscape' photograph.[89] Some of the points she raises will be helpful in relation to Sweet, including the notion of authorship in commercially produced images.

Peck's thesis adds considerably to what is now understood about the views trade and several of her ideas and findings will be helpful in relation to Sweet. However, Peck covers a period that embraced enormous changes, not only in Australian political structure, but in photographic technology. This must be borne in mind when comparing her findings to Sweet's work all of which was created before the advent of gelatin silver photographic paper and the hand-held camera.

In addition to these theses there is also some postgraduate research which, whilst not especially helpful in relation to Sweet, does add to the current body of knowledge on early Australian photography, such as Gaskin's thesis on the relationship between photography and painting in nineteenth century Australia and Reader's work on the carte-de-visite as a photographic medium.[90]

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[85] ibid.
[86] Peck, op. cit.
[87] ibid.
[88] ibid.
[89] ibid., pp.16-25.
[90] William Gaskins, On the Relationship Between Photography and Painting in Australia, 1839-1900, PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1991; Warwick Reader, The Democratic Image: the carte-de-visite photograph in Australia 1859-1874, Master of Letters Thesis, Australian National University, 1995.

Other literature

Texts on colonial photography, whether they mention Sweet or not, provide useful contexts and ideas which can be applied to an understanding of his work. For example, Maxwell's *Colonial Photography & Exhibitions* helps to contextualise Sweet's photography and career success in relation to Europe and America's Great Exhibitions.[91] Key international works on photography also help to place Sweet's work within the history of photography in general. These include Warner Marien's *Photography: a Cultural History* and Clarke's *The Photograph*.[92]

Another type of literature directly relevant to Sweet are books containing his images, most of which relate to South Australian history. He is rarely acknowledged as the photographer, or mentioned in the text, but they are a useful way of tracing original photographs and of analysing the way in which his images have been used as historical documents. One of the best examples is Jenkin's *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri* which reproduces Sweet's rarely seen Ngarrindjeri portraits.[93] A trend is emerging in which Sweet's photographs are being reproduced and credited with more respect for both the work and the creator. The best example of this outside of photography exhibition literature is Aitken's *Seeds of Change* which not only acknowledges Sweet as the photographer and provides full references to the originals, but also prints the photographs with careful attention to their true colours and detail.[94]

In the course of this project a broad survey of literature, not detailed here, has informed the thesis in terms of ideas, historical context, photographic technology and research. This has helped to define lines of questioning, research methods and the contribution which this project will make to existing knowledge and debate about early photography. The range of material surveyed includes primary and secondary sources, journals and theses from a variety of subject areas including art, photography, art history, theory, photography theory, critical thinking, aesthetics, history, museology and anthropology. Some of these are listed in the bibliography and integrated into the main text when relevant. Key literature that has informed the theoretical framework of the thesis is outlined in the methodology. The main literature review is contained within the body of the thesis.

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[91] Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'native' and the making of European identities*, Leicester University Press, London and New York, 1999.
[92] Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, Laurence King Publishing, London, 2002; Graham Clarke, *The Photograph*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1997.
[93] Graham Jenkin, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri*, Rigby Ltd, Adelaide, 1979.

Problems arising from the literature and their solutions

Some issues arising from this survey have already been mentioned, including the lack of serious consideration of the economics of the colonial photography industry and the commercial nature of the photographic transaction. This short survey has also identified a substantial gap in the literature about Sweet and the need for research into such an important photographer. A greater problem is the repetitious and limited nature of all sources on Sweet, resulting in a stagnation of information about him and his work. Curthoys and Docker describe historian Abu-Lughod's concerns about 'the troubling issue of reliance on secondary sources', acknowledging that whilst historians must 'necessarily participate in the collective scholarship of others... they must also move to disengage from that collective effort, otherwise historical knowledge will become merely repetitive and inert'.[95] Repetition of information through a string of sources is especially problematic when the original source is erroneous. For example, Sierp mistakenly reports that Sweet was 'appointed official photographer to record the important stages in the construction of the Adelaide to Darwin overland telegraph' which was not the case at all and puts his photographs and the intention behind them in a false light.[96] His misinformation is relied upon by Barker who cites him in her thesis.[97] There are many longer chains of errors, each seeming minor on its own, but fuelling further errors and misguided assumptions. Errors of studio addresses and dates alone can lead to incorrect dating of photographs. Inaccurate and patchy information provides a shaky foundation on which to build further research and analysis. If Sweet's photographs are to be used as historical documents, exhibited and interpreted by authoritative voices, it is necessary that they are properly understood. Analysis and interpretation are meaningless unless based on reliable information about the photographer and the photographs.

Another problem identified by this survey is that South Australian photographers have not figured strongly in research and literature. The State Library of South Australia (SLSA) holds the majority of South Australian photographs but very little early photography research is based in South Australia. Most specialists in early Australian photography like Gael Newton, Isobel Crombie and Helen Ennis are based in the eastern states where universities, collections, population and funding are greater. With over 1,000km between Adelaide and Canberra (and 1,408km of road separating Adelaide and Sydney) the difficulty of interstate research is obvious, especially when access to original

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[94] Richard Aitken, *Seeds of Change: An Illustrated History of Adelaide Botanic Garden*, Botanic Garden of Adelaide, Adelaide, 2006.
[95] Ann Curthoys and John Docker, *Is History Fiction?*, 2nd edn, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2010, p.248, with reference to Abu-Lughod.
[96] Alan Sierp, *Colonial Life in South Australia: Fifty Years of Photography 1855-1905*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1969, p.14.
[97] S Barker, op. cit., p.19.

photographs is required. The geography factor also means most authors are less familiar with South Australia, its places, history and terrain. It is therefore important that Sweet is studied within the South Australian context, with access to local resources including historical and geographical material, archives and local knowledge, as well as access to the very places he photographed. An associated problem is the tendency for photography from the eastern states to be taken as representative of all Australia. This thesis will help to redress the imbalance by increasing knowledge about South Australian photography and considering what is different about South Australia, its colonial photographic representations, terrain and the unique political ideals upon which it was founded.

A further problem, notable across all of the literature surveyed, is the lack of detailed consideration of the technical aspects of early photographic practice. Some literature gives a general overview of the main processes but rarely is their true complexity explained or integrated into their interpretations of images. It is a disappointing omission of one of the most fascinating aspects of early photography and one without which we cannot begin to understand the real nature of these photographs. To redress this I have surveyed a wide range of specialist literature on early photography, integrating and applying it to my understanding of Sweet's own practice. Key texts include the *Focal Encyclopaedia of Photography* (editions from 1911 to 2007) and early British photography journals and publications which were especially helpful in discovering the true extent of the complexity of photographic technologies.[98] Much of the technical information in Chapter Three is derived from journals and photography treatises to which Sweet would have had access.

None of the literature surveyed utilised scientific analysis of photographs to gain a greater understanding of the material practices of photographers or to understand the impact of materials and techniques on the appearance, ageing and longevity of the photographic object. For objects created using the most exciting processes of a new technological age this seems to be a great oversight. It is addressed in this thesis by scientific testing of Sweet's photographs by the Conservation Department of the NGA.

Several other issues, rather than problems, stand out from this literature survey and will be considered in this thesis. One is a perceived lack of curatorial confidence when dealing with views trade photographs. It also seems rare for any research on a single photographer of the period to be

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[98] BE Jones, PC Bunnell & R Sobieszek (eds), *Encyclopedia of Photography*, Arno Press, New York, 1974, reprint of the 1911 edition published by Cassell, London, New York as *Cassell's Encyclopaedia of Photography*; MR Peres (ed.), *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th edn, Focal Press, USA, 2007.

approached holistically or for photographic output to be examined through the unique qualities of the individual who created it as well as the social and economic context within which they worked. This will be the foundation of this project's research methodology.

Methodology

Theoretical Framework

This thesis is centred in the discipline of Art History which Anne D'Alleva describes as '…a process of interpretation, not description…' in which 'there is no one result for the Art Historian to seek. Each person, each generation, each culture reinterprets artworks, finding in them new significance… it's not a question of right or wrong but of looking for insight'.[99] Her description reflects my overall approach to this project as well as current trends in the discipline. A similar approach runs through much of the literature that has informed the theoretical framework for this thesis including James Elkin's *Stories of Art* which reflects the many directions that Art History has taken since Gombrich's singular *Story of Art*, encouraging us to think of Art History as 'a continuous reshaping of the past, an ongoing attempt to keep it relevant and infuse it with meaning and purpose'.[100]

My supervisors and mentors during this project have been a Historian, a Photographer, a Curator and a Philosopher. My academic community involves as many artists and historians as it does art historians. Based in a History Department, I have benefitted from the values and current ideas prevalent in that discipline, particularly the work of Anne Curthoys, Anne McGrath and John Docker.[101]

After the nineteenth and early twentieth century ideals of history as science and objectivity, we are now in a period that acknowledges that 'there is never just one story', there is no single truth.[102] Marilyn Lake said, 'There is no one history. There are many versions of the past. There are many truths about many pasts'.[103] Leading Historians like Cuthoys, McGrath, Docker and Lake give permission for the researcher to cast a wide net and take almost any path. However that permission,

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[99] Anne D'Alleva, *Methods & Theories of Art History*, Laurence King Publishing, London, 2005, p.12.
[100] James Elikins, *Stories of Art*, Routledge, New York, 2002.
[101] Curthoys and Docker, op. cit.; Anne Curthoys & Anne McGrath, *How to Write History that People Want to Read*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2009; Ann Curthoys and Ann McGrath, *Writing Histories: Imagination and Narration*, Monash Publications in History, Monash University, VIC, 2000.
[102] Curthoys and Docker op. cit., p.91; Fenella Souter, 'Tomorrow is another day - how news makes history', *True Stories: Writing History* conference, NLA, 02.04.2011-03.04.2011.

whilst liberating, can only produce valuable work when reigned in by clear purpose, scholarly research and choosing the path which leads to the most meaningful interpretation of the subject. In this thesis, that path has been heavily influenced by Geoffrey Batchen who urges us to consider the economic context in which the photograph was created – something that has been absent in most literature on early photography.[104] He examines nineteenth century photographs within the 'economic, social and political contexts of industrialisation and consumer capitalism' and suggests that by considering photography from a business, rather than fine art model, we may come closer to understanding the full complexity of the photographic experience.[105]

The thesis also relies strongly on Stephen Eisenman for whom critical consideration of nineteenth century art means 'to travel freely between the formal surface and the socio-historical depth of [the works] and pay considerable attention to the space in-between'.[106] What Eisenman adds to Batchen's approach is the necessity of a dialogue between the photograph (as an image and as an object) and the context of its creation. Eisenman suggests we examine the formal surface of the image and relate that to the context of its creation. But I think with photography we need to do more, by considering the photographic technology available when the image was created. The material surface and deeper layers of its physical composition have a lot to tell us, especially when it comes to defining a commercial style of photography. With that in mind, the thesis will explore the space between the formal surface and socio-historical context of the photographs using material findings from a preliminary scientific analysis of Sweet's work by NGA conservators, and through Batchen's approach of examining early photographs in the original economic context of their production. Visual elements within the photographs will be examined and connections made between Sweet's visual style and the external factors (like the photography market) that influenced it.

These two guiding lights have formed my theoretical framework after a wide survey of ideas on photography and images – an area so vast and varied that no single theoretical approach can be meaningful. Victor Burgin succinctly concluded that 'Photography has no methodology peculiarly its own'.[107] Phillips asserts that 'the sheer diversity of photography's applications makes conventional historical categories and interpretive frameworks inappropriate for its history'.[108] Steve Edwards also identifies the impossibility of defining or accounting for photography as a single entity, saying 'the

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[103] Marilyn Lake, answering the question 'Is there only one truth or can there be several?' during question time following the session 'Fictionalising National History' at Adelaide Writers' Week, 06.03.2008.
[104] Batchen, Perplexity and embarrassment, op. cit.
[105] ibid.
[106] SF Eisenman, *Nineteenth Century Art: a critical history*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2002, p.14.
[107] Victor Burgin, 'Something about Photography Theory', *Screen* Vol. 25, No. 1, 1984, p.65.

problem is simply that photography runs in all directions, permeating diverse aspects of society'.[109] He cites the critic John Tagg who 'once suggested that there was no single characteristic, or practice, that represented the fundamental essence of the medium'.[110] Indeed, most of the major texts on photography adopt a central focus on one of many possible themes such as an event, location or social and cultural history. What Batchen and Eisenman share is an approach aligned with historicism which argues that 'the meaning of objects cannot be understood apart from the cultural and social economy, and matrices of practices in which they were formed'.[111]

By adopting these guiding ideas, it became clear that Sweet's work can only be properly understood within its own unique context. What is critically unique about that context is that its location was South Australia (not Australia); its period was 1864 to 1885; its purpose was to provide income; and that all of these things were moderated through Sweet's unique qualities as a person, a photographer, a businessman and a man of his time. I stress the boundaries of geography and time because, while surveying literature, I noticed several generalisations made about 'nineteenth century' photography or 'early Australian photography' which overlooked the major developments in photographic technology of the late 1880s and 1890s, or ignored political, social and topographical differences between the Australian colonies and regions. To discover what is interesting or special about one group of photographs requires a higher level of specificity regarding the place, time and circumstances of their creation. I stress Sweet's unique qualities because, contrary to Rosalind Krauss's assertion that views trade photographs were author-less, taken by operators, every views photographer was an individual, instilling part of themselves into their images.[112]

My aim has been to understand Sweet's photographs as they were originally created and how that knowledge can enable us to 'infuse [them] with meaning and purpose' that is relevant to us today.[113] To that end I have turned to a range of disciplines for ideas and methodologies that best support that aim, including biography, psychology, anthropology and ethnography. Some ideas emerged from broad preparatory reading, others from earlier personal and professional experience.

As I began to consider all the factors that might have a bearing on understanding Sweet and his work, I found myself employing strategies from Systems Theory, learned years ago as a Social

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[108] DL Phillips, 'Photography, Modernity and Art', in SF Eisenman, op. cit., p.250.

[109] Steve Edwards, *Photography: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006, p.xi.

[110] ibid.

[111] D Costello & J Vickery (eds), *Art: Key Contemporary Thinkers*, Berg, Oxford, 2007, p.198.

[112] Rosalind Krauss, 'Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View', *Art Journal*, Vol. 42, No.4, The Crisis in the Discipline, Winter 1982, p.314.

Worker, to understand a person and their problems. Sweet was my person and his photographs were my problem. Systems Theory considers the person in relation to their immediate and wider social context. It 'is a way of elaborating increasingly complex systems across a continuum that encompasses the person-in-environment' enabling us 'to understand the components and dynamics of client systems in order to interpret problems'.[114] Systems theory 'does not specify particular theoretical frameworks for understanding problems' but 'serves as an organizing conceptual framework or metatheory for understanding'.[115] It resonates with Pierre Bourdieu's framework for analysing cultural production, which Peck uses as one of her theoretical models, but offered me more flexible and familiar strategies.[116] In essence, I set about finding out all I could about Sweet, his family, education, class, work, experiences, friends, and personality; then about his immediate world, the British Navy, seafaring life, Adelaide, the Northern Territory and the views trade; and finally about the British Empire, the Australian Colonies and the preoccupations of Sweet's time.

Biographical Research

Style cannot by properly accounted for without examining the photographer himself, through whom all other contexts and influences are moderated. The popularity of biography as an art historical method comes and goes but its relevance here is plain: Sweet's work was substantially influenced by his class, maritime career, skills, ideology, personality and family. My approach to biographical research has been informed by the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*'s 2007 'Using Lives' conference which examined the role of biography and its methodologies in a range of disciplines.[117] It elucidated the value of prosopography – examining a person or group within their own social and professional network - in understanding a person, their life and their work, and the approach has been adopted here.[118] Laurie Schneider Adams' biographical method of Art History 'approaches works of art in relation to the artist's life and personality'.[119] In this thesis a wide range of biographical methods have been used to reveal the elements of Sweet's life, work and personality

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[113] Elikins, op. cit.

[114] Bruce D Friedman & Karen Neuman Allen, 'Systems Theory', in Jerrold R Brandell, *Theory & Practice in Clinical Social Work*, 2nd edn, SAGE Publications, 2011, p.3, with reference to RE Anderson, I Carter, & GR Lowe, *Human behavior in the social environment* (5th edn), Aldine de Gruyter, New York, 1999.

[115] Friedman & Neuman Allen, op. cit., p.3, with reference to CH Meyer (ed.), *Clinical social work in the eco-systems perspective*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1983.

[116] Peck, op. cit., pp.26-34, discussing Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, Columbia University Press, 1993.

[117] Laurie Schneider Adams, *The Methodologies of Art: an introduction*, Westview Press, Colorado & Oxford, 1996; *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University; *Using Lives: A Postgraduate Workshop in Biography*, National Museum of Australia, September 2007.

[118] Nicholas Brown, *Using Lives*, op. cit.

[119] Schneider Adams, op. cit., p.101.

that inform an understanding of his photographic practice. The challenge of reconstructing a life from scant evidence is to find the right spot on a line that stretches from veracity to speculation. A 'tutored imagination' is essential if any real sense of Captain Sweet is to emerge from the dry facts.[120] That imagination has been used to generate questions and research directions, and to 'ferret out the unapparent import of things'.[121] This is a partial biography of Captain Sweet, based only on what clues could be found and reported only so far as it is relevant to understanding his work. Doris Lessing noted one of the problems of biography as 'something that is experienced as fluid, fleeting, evanescent, has become fixed, and therefore lifeless, without movement'.[122] This problem is all the greater when the subject is dead and has no voice, except for scraps of letters and anecdotes that are randomly left behind. It is by combining contextual research with scant biographical facts, that a complete picture of Sweet's life, times and work has emerged.

Existing biographical material has been re-examined research extended deep into primary sources at the National Archives of Australia (NAA), State Records Office (SAA), South Australian Genealogical & Heraldry Society Library (SAGHS), SLSA archives, AGSA archives, and British and Australian shipping records. The Adelaide City Council Archives (ACCA) yielded Sweet's addresses, studios, rent and rates, and some biographical and business information. ACCA records also helped to date photographs, although results there were limited by the loss of the most relevant sources in a 1930s flood.

An exciting find at the SAGHS Library was a partial photocopy of a notebook Sweet kept during his last Northern Territory trip.[123] SAGHS records of births, deaths and marriages were also essential to establishing Sweet's family and social connections, many of which impacted directly on his work. Some of Sweet's descendants were located and interviewed. One of Sweet's Goyder Expedition diaries has also been located.[124] South Australian Business Directories helped to confirm Sweet's various studio addresses and to date photographs where business signs were visible.[125] Elizabeth Sweet's 'Reminiscences' gave some insight into his experiences in the Northern Territory and were

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[120] Brown, *Using Lives*, op. cit.

[121] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, New York, 1973, p.26.

[122] Doris Lessing, 'Writing Autobiography', in D Lessing, *Time Bites: Views and Reviews*, Harper Perennial, New York, 2004, pp.91-92.

[123] Samuel Sweet, 'Roper River notebook 1871-1872', in the possession of Mrs D Foote, transcribed by Karen Magee 2006 from a partial photocopy held at the SAGHS.

[124] Samuel Sweet, Diary of four voyages on H.M.C. Schooner Gulnare 1869-1870, B 781 microfilm CY 4603, frames 29-121 SLNSW.

[125] J Boothby, *The Adelaide Almanac and Directory for South Australia*, Adelaide, 1868-1883.

carefully cross-checked with other official records, reports and letters.[126] Naval records were consulted including the Mercantile Navy List.[127]

Robust research requires clear research values. I have tried to minimise gaps in evidence with thorough, diligent and imaginative research strategies and the cautious use of informed imagination.[128] I followed Michael McKernan's guidance that, when seeking truth from patchy records, 'You have to privilege all types of evidence'.[129] An accumulation of material can bring you closer to the truth and so, in addition to using obvious search strategies, I also looked randomly through archives for things I would never find with a strategic search. In Gideon Haigh's words, the researcher's 'life is like a box of documents. You never know what you're going to get'.[130] Sometimes this proved fruitful or led to other search ideas. Always it strengthened my feel for the period.

Researching the Photographs

In order to gain an overview of Sweet's oeuvre it was necessary to locate and identify as many extant photographs as possible. A preliminary survey identified 174 Sweet photographs at AGSA, with more emerging from their recently acquired Noye Collection; 609 at SLSA, with an unknown quantity of uncatalogued Sweets in albums and scrapbooks; and 235 at the NLA.[131] The NGA confirmed they had several Sweets catalogued on their internal system, and the South Australian Museum (SAM) were known to have uncatalogued Sweet photographs in their archives that proved impracticable to locate.[132] The situation was similar at the South Australian Maritime Museum. By the end of the project well over 2,000 extant albumen silver original prints had been located.

For reasons of time and efficiency, target collections were limited to Australian public collections with significant Sweet holdings that were sufficiently catalogued for them to be identified, researched and documented. The first sweep of public collection holdings linked to the PictureAustralia online search

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[126] Elizabeth Sweet, 'Reminiscences', PSS, November 1907.
[127] John J Mayo (ed.), The *Mercantile Navy List and annual appendage to the commercial code of signals for all nations*, London, 1863.
[128] An issue discussed at *True Stories: Writing History* conference, NLA, 02.04.2011-03.04.2011.
[129] Michael McKernan, 'Searching for Rural Australia', *True Stories* conference, op. cit.
[130] Gideon Haigh, 'Access All Areas? Official History in Theory and Practice', *True Stories* conference, op. cit.
[131] RJ Noye Collection of South Australian Photography acquired by AGSA, gift of Douglas and Barbara Mullins, 2004, 20041RJN.
[132] Visit to SAM Archives with SAM Archivist and Dr Philip Jones, Senior Curator, 02-10.03.2005. The preliminary survey found several photographs in their Marjory Angas Collection (A676) and the potential for many others among thousands of uncatalogued photographs in the 401-408 series.

engine revealed 869 Sweet photographs.[133] Internal catalogue records were also requested from the NGA and AGSA. Only minor holdings were found in other galleries. Private collections were not actively targeted but were accessed when the opportunity arose. Photographs were also discovered through enquiries from institutions, dealers and individuals who were aware of the research project through word of mouth, conferences or from the Captain Sweet website which I created for that purpose.[134] Others were located via institution websites, online catalogues, exhibition catalogues and collection publications. Many archives had already transferred their photographs to the SLSA. Local history books were surveyed, revealing uncatalogued photographs in public and private collections. Many of the photographs found through all of these sources were not attributed to Sweet but attribution was made by the researcher based on additional evidence.

Further photographs were located through collection catalogue searches using search terms related to subjects Sweet is known to have photographed. This revealed large numbers of unattributed Sweet photographs, often from the same commission as a known Sweet. Attribution was confirmed by the researcher through Sweet's signature, other marks of authorship and recognition of his distinctive style and technical processes. In short, the initial hunt for Sweet's photographs was systematic and limited by parameters imposed for reasons of time and resources. However, many other photographs by Sweet were discovered along the way, through accident, my own curiosity and many long hours within collections. Many of the photographs are in albums, 33 of which have been documented. Most are held by the SLSA and NLA, with further albums among the SLSA uncatalogued material. An online search of several overseas collections yielded few results.[135] Peck's British-based study also found limited holdings of Australian views in British collections, despite the vast numbers sent to Britain.[136]

The SLSA also have significant holdings of Sweet negatives but very few have been identified from within a vast number of unattributed and uncatalogued negatives. The difficulty of locating them, and their incredible fragility, made it more important to complete the research and documentation of prints which will then help the SLSA to identify Sweet negatives without undue handling. Three negatives were located in private collections and examined.

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[133] PictureAustralia online photographic database <www.pictureaustralia.org> search for photographs by Sweet 21.09.2006. This search engine has been replaced by the Trove search engine at the NLA,< http://trove.nla.gov.au/>.
[134] Captain Sweet Online, created by Karen Magee, 2008, <http://captainsweet.com.au/ >.
[135] These included the Victoria and Albert Museum, Pit Rivers Museum of Archaeology and World Anthropology at the University of Oxford, as well as collections holding photographs from World Fairs where Sweet exhibited.
[136] Peck, op. cit., p.9.

By the end of the project 1,874 original albumen silver photographic prints by Sweet have been identified and documented on a database (1,005 more than were originally recorded). Some are multiple prints from the same negative. Without the multiples, there is now evidence that Sweet took over 1,070 photographs. In addition to these, a further 1,034 photographs at the SLSA have been noted, most of which are by Sweet and are uncatalogued. I will finish researching and documenting these after the submission of this thesis. This group contains many previously unknown images, indicating that Sweet may well have taken nearer to 2,000 photographs during his 20 year career. There may well be as many prints again, scattered through innumerable private and family collections, independent libraries, local museums, and overseas.

The success of this thesis depended on having reliable data about the photographs. Catalogue information in most collections was often minimal and inaccurate, especially concerning dates. The exception was AGSA where I had already begun researching and cataloguing Sweet's work.[137] Thousands of hours of research was required to discover accurate dates, details and attributions for almost 2,000 photographs. Newspapers of the period helped to date Sweet's photographs, establish his studio locations and follow his career and movement, especially in relation to his Northern Territory adventures and other travel by sea.[138] They also gave me a better understanding of the issues and attitudes of the time. Unfortunately, the NLA only recently began digitising South Australian newspapers therefore most research relied on Noye's existing transcripts from a small range of SA newspapers and manual searches of newspapers on unindexed microfilm at the SLSA.

Site visits helped to research photographs and gain insight into Sweet's photographic choices. Sweet's photographs of northern South Australia revealed little about themselves until I visited the Flinders Ranges and identified most of the remote image locations as places along the now derelict Great Northern Railway, with the help of locals Ross Farghar and Keith Nicholls. In country areas, local historians, the pub and even the hardware store were remarkable sources of information.

It was not possible to confirm locations and dates for every photograph in the time available, so research efforts were concentrated on the most significant photographs and those whose details could be ascertained efficiently. The accurate dating and subject identification of the photographs is

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[137] As an intern and then while employed as a curator.
[138] Queensland newspapers 1864-1866, Sydney newspapers 1866 and South Australian newspapers 1866-1886 (and to 1917 in relation to Mrs Sweet).

ongoing. Information, as it stands so far, is contained in the accompanying catalogue.[139] 1,874 Sweet photographic prints have been recorded on an electronic database.[140]

Scientific analysis of samples of Sweet's photographs was undertaken at the NGA Conservation Department to determine the nature of Sweet's glossy coatings and confirm other aspects of his techniques and processes.[141] This approach to understanding the material composition of views photographs has not previously been used in Australian research and has helped to confirm speculations about the commercially driven nature of Sweet's processes.

Visual Analysis and Interpretation of the Photographs
The interpretation of research findings has also required a clear methodology. As well as theorists already mentioned, analysis and interpretation of the photographs has been informed by Elizabeth Edwards' model of contemporary analysis of early photography and by Liz Wells' approach which embraces the complexities of photography's many histories, contexts and uses.[142] Wells uses an integrated framework of histories, contexts, criticism and discourse.

Analysis has been informed by a range of influences that have long been subsumed into the Art Historian's repertoire and emerge intuitively rather than systematically. The thesis will rarely revisit the much quoted works of Fry and Wölfflin on the formal analysis of the image in terms of composition, style, material, shape, line and colour, although they have shaped the way that I – and the authors I have drawn on more directly – see pictures.[143] I should also acknowledge the broader concepts of aesthetics, informed by Kant, Hume, Eco and Carroll, which have influenced me in my own training but enter the thesis through the way I think rather than the thoughts I have.[144] Ideas about photography, more specifically, have been influenced by Barthes, Sontag, Burgin and

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[139] Appendix 1.
[140] Examples of database reports are attached as Appendix 2.
[141] Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, James Ward, Paper Conservator and Karen Magee, researcher, NGA Conservation Department, 01-02.09.2009. Analysis summary and findings are documented in Appendix 4.
[142] Elizabeth Edwards, *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*, Berg, Oxford, 2001; Liz Wells (ed.), *The Photography Reader*, Routledge, London, 2003, p.3.
[143] Roger Fry, *Vision and Design*, Dover Publications, UK, 1998; Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History*, translated by HD Hottinger, New York, not dated, first German edn, 1915.
[144] Noël Carroll, *Philosophy of Art*, Routledge, Abingdon UK and New York, 1999. Other such influences include Nigel Warburton, 'Individual style in photographic art', in Neill and Ridley 2002, op. cit., pp.223-232; Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Cultutre*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2001; Roland Barthes, *The Pleasure of the Text*, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, New York, 1975; Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study on the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, Princeton University Press,1961.

Scrutton. I have not revisited these authors during this project but am aware that their work has shaped my own thinking and that of authors upon whose ideas I draw.

Sites visits revealed the importance of newly constructed infrastructure to Sweet, especially when a magnificent natural landscape lay (unphotographed) in the opposite direction. Site visits also generated new ideas, questions and research directions. Additional insight came through using a wooden box pinhole camera, sheet film and contact printing in sunlight, to understand Sweet's technical practice and experience.

Analysis has heeded Geoff Barker's caution about drawing conclusions from what we can see in a group of photographs. We can only look at the images that survive, and that we have found. He makes the important point that 'it is impossible for us to reconstruct the archive in its entirety' and that we must acknowledge that an archive may be 'incomplete, and re-constituted physically, and textually'.[145] He suspects that 'some extant archives may not reflect accurately the intentions of the photographer, or the range of subject matter they photographed'.[146] Barker's point is that we should not assume the archive is enough. If we want to understand an old photograph we have to get under the skin of the photographer and his world.

Introduction to Thesis

In order to demonstrate that Captain Sweet's photographs record an ideal of emerging modernity in colonial South Australia, this thesis examines his work within its technological, economic, social and political context. It begins, in Chapter Two, by exploring the aspects of Sweet's early life and naval career that prepared him for a career in photography, contributing to his photographic style and his unsurpassed understanding of optics and photographic science. It shows how his life, experiences, skills and values knitted with the colonial world and ideals in which he lived, and determined the creation and nature of his images. Chapter Two clarifies of the term 'landscape photographer' which Sweet adopted early in his career, and how that term can lead us to misunderstand his work. It also considers what impact Sweet's family, class and personality had on his photography business. Most importantly, it shows that Sweet was a man of his time with a passion for progress and for a new colony upon which his lens could be turned.

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[145] Geoff Barker, 'Analysing Context for Nineteenth-Century Pacific Photography', paper presented at the Migration and *Exchange Symposium: Early Australian Photography*, organised by Gael Newton, Anne Maxwell and Max Quanchi, School of Culture and Communication, University of Melbourne, Potter Gallery, 29-30.11.2012, p.2 (papers due for publication 2014).

Chapter Three reveals the alignment of Sweet's technical processes with commercial tastes and modern methods. A material analysis of his work (including scientific testing) confirms him as a great photographic innovator, whose technical mastery of outdoor photography enabled him to outstrip his competitors. Chapter Three also describes Sweet's photography business, including the studios and workspaces that demonstrate how tough it was to be commercially successful in the views trade. It clarifies that portraiture was only a temporary sideline for Captain Sweet, who was determined to become the first commercially successful outdoor photographer in South Australia, whatever the cost.

Chapter Four takes us into Sweet's world of the views trade, colonial South Australia and the British Empire, helping us to see his work as it was seen at the time of its creation. It clarifies the meaning and importance of the terms progress, civilisation and modernity, before explaining the aspects of colonisation in South Australia that distinguished its ideals, and its views trade, from other Australian colonies. Finally it provides an overview of the South Australian views trade, exploring Sweet's business within this context and the colonial ideals that influenced it.

Chapter Five examines Sweet's photographs, showing precisely how they were shaped by the views trade and colonial ideology. It argues that Sweet photographed progress – the process of modernity and the establishment of civilisation – and that his photographs embody modernity as an idea of progress and constant improvement. His work is not about the modern but the emergence of the modern. I do not suggest that Sweet was unique in this respect but rather that he was remarkable for the volume, intensity and sophistication with which his photographs captured and reinforced the colonial imagination. This chapter demonstrates the remarkable purpose with which Sweet documented the evolving infrastructure of South Australia, arguing that he conveyed a 'positive' and 'civilised' vision of the colony through his selection of subjects; the way in which he treated them; and his exclusion of all 'negative' elements from the camera's frame. It shows how he used sophisticated compositional devices to emphasise South Australia's modernity and the lengths to which he went to create an untainted vision of the colonial dream. Supported by the accompanying catalogue (Appendix 1) it shows how Sweet's choice of subjects (and those of his commissioning customers) were determined by the photography market which in turn reflected the ideals of the day, namely the colony's modernity and prosperity. Chapter Five presents his photographs as an almost systematic documentation of the colonial process, beginning with the surveying and settlement of

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[146] ibid.

new land, through the building of economic and social infrastructure, to a celebration of elegant pastoral estates and residences. It culminates with his city views in which Adelaide sparkles as a progressive metropolis founded on Wakefield's utopian model.

Chapter Six briefly examines the way that Sweet's photographs have been used since the 1870s as promotional images, historical documents and works of art. They were believed to be an economically and politically powerful tool for promoting the colony of South Australia. As historical documents, and as works of art, they are easily misunderstood. Whether looking to understand them in their own time, or in ours, Chapter Six helps us to avoid the pitfalls of mistaking them for an objective documentary, or of judging them by the wrong technological and aesthetic standards.

Chapter Seven concludes that, whilst Sweet's is the most comprehensive visual documentation of colonial South Australia, it is an idealised vision based on colonial dreams of modernity. His photographs are not an objective or socially comprehensive documentary, but a selective reality. Before relying on them for research, understanding the past or inspiring us as art objects, we must learn to read them within the context of their creation. This includes knowing Sweet's purpose, and interpreting the sophisticated visual devices Sweet employed. It explains how we can easily dismiss some photographs as unsuccessful simply because, without knowing their context, we mistake Sweet's purpose.

The thesis is accompanied by a catalogue of works (Appendix 1) that serves as an image reference for the reader and as evidence of Sweet's systematic documentation of the emerging economic and social infrastructure of South Australia. The catalogue's parameters are explained in its introduction. Appendices 2 to 6 include samples of reports from the database used to record Sweet's photographs (showing the type of research undertaken on key photographs and indicating the information that will be made available to public collections); details of Sweet's studios and residences (used to date photographs and chart the development of Sweet's business); a detailed account of his technical practice and of the scientific analysis of his photographs; an outline of his signs of authorship including signature, stamps, trademarks and labels (evidence of attribution); and a summary of his photographs exhibited at World Fairs.

Permission has been obtained from Point McLeay Community Council for the reproduction of photographs of Aboriginal people. All culturally sensitive material has been treated with care and respect.

CHAPTER TWO

CAPTAIN SWEET'S EARLY LIFE AND CAREER

In order to truly appreciate Sweet's work, and its historical significance, we need to understand him and his photographs in their historical context. Sweet was a man of his time – an Englishman watching a new world in the process of creation. From the day he was born, near Portsmouth Harbour, he was a daily witness to the magnificent British Navy setting sail to explore and conquer new lands for the British Empire. He saw Merchant Navy vessels bringing new spoils from the colonies. His childhood witnessed the advent of the machinery of modernity - the steam train, the electric telegraph and the camera.

To understand his work we must know the photographer, through whom all other influences are moderated. This chapter begins by looking at Sweet the naval man turned photographer entrepreneur. It examines the aspects of Sweet's early life and naval career that both prepared him for a career as a photographer and contributed to his photographic style and the nature of his work. Then it examines his photographic practice, placing his processes and materials within the photographic technology of the time and exploring his business within the context of the commercial views trade and the colonial ideals that influenced it.

From Captain to Photographer

Samuel Sweet was born on 1 May 1825 in the small English town of Portsea, Hampshire, on the channel into Portsmouth Harbour.[147] His home was humble and his education basic. At sixteen Samuel was working as a carter, running baggage and goods around the harbour, while his widowed mother ran a pawnbroker's.[148] At the height of the British Empire Portsmouth was the largest naval base in the world. From his earliest days Sweet saw ships passing through the channel, heading out to sea and back to safe harbour. He was steeped in seafaring traditions and later, like many of his townsmen, joined the Royal Navy. Sweet could not fail to be aware of the development of the British Empire and the adventures of those on board vessels sailing to developing colonies and new

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[147] *Census Returns of England and Wales, 1841*, Kew, Surrey, England, TNA, PRO, 1841, sourced from NAA.
[148] ibid.

horizons. The imperial outlook was well established in his young mind long before he set out for Australia.

Just as the time and place of his birth influenced Sweet's decision to join the Royal Navy, his naval career informed his transition into photography. By the time Sweet joined the Navy, in 1844, aged nineteen, Niépce had produced the first permanent photograph and Daguerre and Talbot had announced their respective discoveries of photography.[149] The use of photography for travel and expeditionary purposes was just beginning. While Sweet was learning the mariner's craft, the mechanics and science of photography were gradually being honed. The early parallel learning curves of each would meet when both Sweet and the art of photography were advanced enough for their relationship to be successful. Another scientific development shared its infancy with Sweet's early naval career. In 1844, as Sweet was enlisting, Samuel Morse transmitted the first message by electric telegraph - another invention that was to cross Sweet's path later in life, resulting in some of the most historically significant photographs of the Northern Territory ever taken.[150]

Sweet spent five years, until the age of twenty-four, based in the China Station where his main experience was in the signal department, learning skills that would later assist him in his masterful choreography of photographic scenes.[151] His ability to communicate over distances helped him place figures in distant views such as Plate 1 in which figures are smartly standing to attention, including one man on the ship's mast.

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[149] Warner Marien, op. cit., pp.7-11.
[150] Frank Clune, *Overland Telegraph: the story of a great Australian achievement and the link between Adelaide and Port Darwin*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1955.
[151] Loyau, op. cit., p.103.
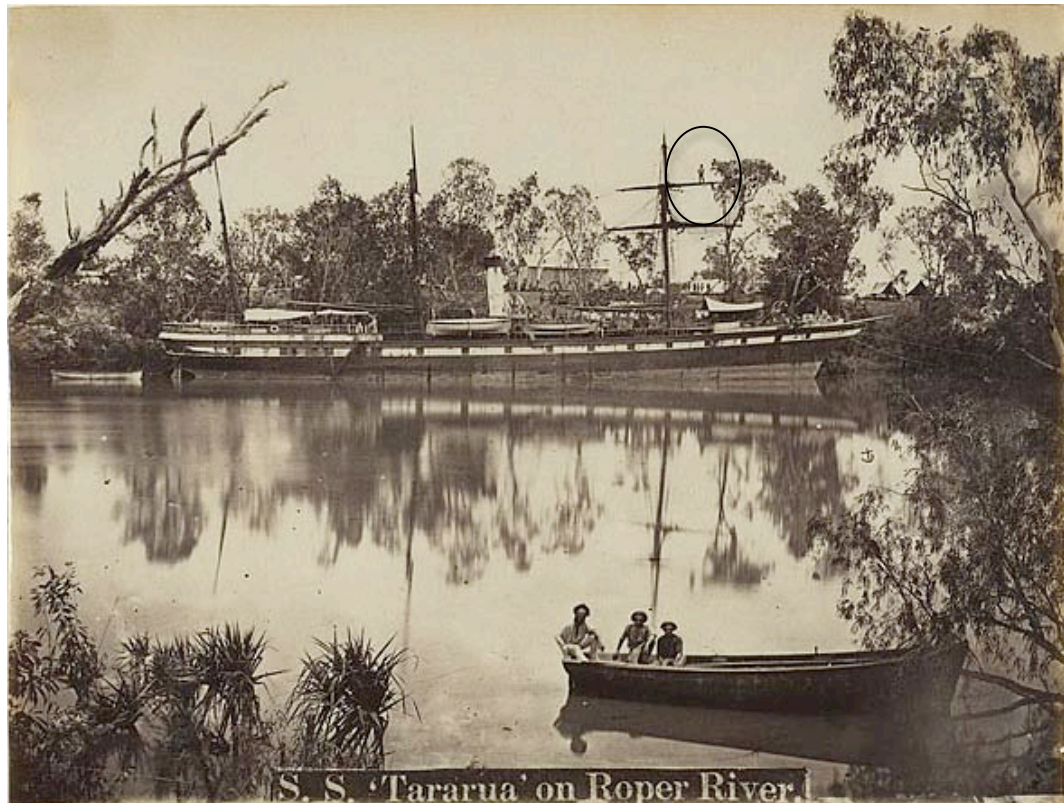
Plate 1
'S.S. Tararua' Roper River
1872, Roper River, NT

(More crew are visible in the original photograph)

Sweet made occasional voyages to India during this period, becoming accustomed to seafaring, seeing new and distant places, and giving him a more global outlook. For many English people in the early nineteenth century the world was a small place – family, the village, the local church and nearest market. Sweet's world was vast – China, India, South America, Australia – anywhere of interest to the British Empire that could be reached by sea. Britain 'had emerged from the Napoleonic Wars as a major sea power' and the Royal Navy was crucial to the expansion of the British empire 'by supporting British global trade and colonisation'.[152] The Empire had extensive trade interests in India, and in the possession of the China Station (Hong Kong) following the Opium Wars.[153] By serving in the Royal Navy, Sweet was serving Britain's hunger for 'Power, Territory and Trade'.[154] With his broad horizons as a mariner Sweet was open to all kinds of travel and adventure. Travelling to uncharted territories became his daily norm. This outlook later showed itself in his photographic ventures to the Northern Territory and the South Australian outback.

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[152] ibid; VL Forbes & M Hercock, 'Charting the Way to Empire: The Hydrographic Office', in N Etherington (ed.), *Mapping Colonial Conquest: Australia and Southern Africa*, University of Western Australia Press, WA, 2007, p.15.
[153] Forbes & Hercock, op. cit.
[154] ibid.

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In 1849 Sweet returned to England to study navigation, astronomy and meteorology.[155] He obtained

his Certificate of Competency as a Master Mariner from the Liverpool Examining Board in 1854.[156]

This made Sweet eligible 'to command any vessel of whatsoever tonnage'.[157] It was in 1854 that

Sweet's identity as Captain Sweet, Master Mariner was established. Sweet joined the Merchant

Navy and in 1857 took command of the merchant ship *Pizarro*.[158] Aboard her he kept a

meteorological log of the Pacific Ocean for the Board of Trade, logging observations every four

hours, around the clock, for three years. In 1861 he commanded the *Pizarro* on a voyage to conduct

a survey of Pena Blanca Harbour in South America.[159] Captain Sweet had become part of Britain's

great nineteenth century preoccupation of surveying and mapping the world. Just as Britain's thirst

for knowledge about the world created Sweet's opportunities in Marine Surveying, it also created the

demand for the kinds of visual images which fuelled his later photographic career in Australia. It was

also a powerful influence on his photographic style.

Most published accounts of Sweet's maritime career derive from George Loyau, who produced the

only biographical dictionary entry for Sweet written during Sweet's lifetime.[160] Behind it lie the first

inklings that Sweet trod a delicate path in life between his maritime and photographic prowess, and

the ghost of his lowly origins which haunted him to the end. After his *Pizarro* voyages, Sweet

received 'letters of Honourable Mention' and a presentation volume of information for seamen, from

Admiral Fitzroy.[161] Loyau says Sweet 'had the honour of seeing the results of his labors [sic] placed

on their charts by the British Admiralty'.[162] Although Loyau implies that Sweet was singled out for his

unique achievements, Sweet's meteorological work was part of a huge worldwide project by the

Board of Trade to establish 'a uniform system of meteorological observations at sea' and compile a

comprehensive body of information to improve navigation.[163] Merchant Navy Masters volunteered to

undertake meteorological observations in exchange for technical instruments and Board of Trade

charts.[164] Sweet's 'letters of Honourable Mention' were not letters of correspondence from Admiral

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[155] Loyau, op. cit., p.103.
[156] John J Mayo (ed.), *The Mercantile Navy List and annual appendage to the commercial code of signals for all nations*, London, 1863, p.116, certificate number 17778.
[157] ibid., p.17.
[158] The Merchant Navy Association, *Red Duster* website, viewed 30.01.2007, <http://www.red-duster.co.uk/BIBBY10.htm>.
[159] George Tilly Snr, letter to George Tilly Jnr, 06-10.04.1860, reproduced in Norma Tilly-Roberts, *Tilly Family History 1690-1994*, Tilly Book Committee, Adelaide, 1994, p.246.
[160] Loyau, op. cit., pp.103-104.
[161] ibid., p.103; The presentation volume was awarded as a standard part of the Board of Trade project.
[162] ibid., p.104.
[163] James Booth, Letter on behalf of the Office of Committee of Privy Council for Trade, Marine Department, September 1854, published in the official notices in Mayo op. cit., pp.xi-xii.
[164] Robert Fitzroy, 'Summary statement of the measures taken by H.M.'s Government for promoting observation and systematic record of meteorological facts at sea', 1862, published in the official notices in Mayo, op. cit., pp.xii-xiii. The

Fitzroy, as one might assume, but the single letter B against his name in the 1862 *Mercantile Navy List*, meaning that his observations in his Meteorological Registers were 'VERY GOOD'.[165] Eight hundred other Ships' Masters were also listed.[166] The sense of pride in a unique achievement must have come from Sweet himself when Loyau interviewed him. At the least, Sweet was a very capable Ship's Captain who was 'very good' at meteorological observations and record keeping. At most, he was an esteemed Master Mariner. Throughout his life, Sweet suffered lack of recognition from authority for his achievements, due to his social ranking as the son of a pawnbroking widow, with a broad working class Portsea accent.[167] Forbes and Hercock explain that in the Navy, unlike the Army, lower-class men could advance through the ranks through training, ability and achievement.[168] Sweet's low birth made him particularly susceptible to nineteenth century snobbery towards sailors – an attitude Forbes and Hercock illustrate through Jane Austen's *Persuasion* character Sir Walter Elliot: 'A man is in great danger in the navy of being insulted by the rise of one whose father his father might have disdained to speak to, and of prematurely becoming an object of disgust himself, than in any other line'.[169] We should bear this disdain in mind as we follow Sweet's photographic career.

By 1862 Sweet was at the peak of his nautical career: a man with considerable leadership skills who could command a crew of men and keep them in order. He had many years of technical and scientific study under his belt, and was accustomed to danger, risk and significant responsibility. How did a man like this become a photographer? At first sight the two occupations have little in common. However, his excellence in meteorology, surveying and technical matters make sense as a foundation for his skills with photographic equipment which required a good understanding of physics, optics, chemistry, and – in Sweet's case – trigonometry. The connection between photographic and maritime skills becomes obvious in the Northern Territory where he regularly placed his camera's tripod alongside those of the surveyors with their theodolites. Sweet could use both as they required similar skills of observation, spatial analysis, accuracy and technical operation. Sweet's understanding of weather conditions was vitally important to his ability to create photographs in climates which challenged the photographic technology of the time and which had

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Meteorological Department of the Board of Trade was established in 1855 to take control of the project under the leadership of Admiral Robert Fitzroy.

[165] Mayo, op. cit., p.xvii. The letters A, B, C and D were awarded to each of the Masters in lists according to the quality of their observations and registers: A for the First List (Excellent), B for the Second (Very Good) and so on.

[166] Loyau, op. cit., p.103; Fitzroy, op. cit.

[167] Mrs Dominic D Daly, *Digging, squatting and pioneering life in the Northern Territory of South Australia*, Facsimile edition, Hesperian Press, Victoria Park, WA, 1984, originally published Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, 1887, pp.18-19.

[168] Forbes & Hercock, op. cit., p.18.

[169] ibid., footnote number 27, p.190, quoting Jane Austen, *Persuasion*, 1818, Chapter 3.

thwarted other photographers. His navigational ability assisted his access to remote or otherwise difficult locations, as did his confidence in venturing into uncertain territory. His skills as a surveyor gave him a sensibility for space, dimension and distance. His leadership skills later enabled him to close off Adelaide city streets to photograph Victoria Square and to direct a team of people to achieve his distinctive figure groupings in the distance of the South Australian outback. His years spent seeing the world from ships and through the angles of rigging gave him a visual language that later emerged in his photography. The skills and experiences Sweet acquired during his early naval career contributed to his way of seeing and to his later success as a photographer.

This stage of Sweet's naval career tells us quite a lot about his professional character, but what about more general aspects of his personality, which might be relevant to his photographic practice? The first evidence of Sweet's sociable and friendly nature appears in 1862 when he sailed the *Sarah Neumann* from London to Sydney.[170] Sweet received a letter of thanks signed by the passengers offering their

> warmest thanks for your uniform kindness to us during the voyage. Your thoughtful anticipation of our wants and wishes, your hearty congenial manner have all combined to make us pass as merry and pleasant a time as is possible to land people on board ship.[171]

Sweet replied warmly and both letters were published in a Portsmouth newspaper, their congenial tone providing a small insight into Sweet's capacity for fun and friendship and 'the good quality of a merchant ship commander'.[172] Accumulated similar sources attest to Sweet's convivial and jovial temperament.[173] Sweet's combination of warmth and command may explain his remarkable control of the people in his photographs and his success as a commercial photographer to 'the elite' despite prevailing disdain for his class.[174]

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[170] Arriving Sydney 15.11.1882. Sierp, 'Sweet, Samuel White', op. cit.; shipping records variously record the ship as the *Sarah Neumann* or *Sarah Newman*; SRANSW, Shipping Master's Office, Passengers Arriving 1855-1922, NRS13278, [X107-108] reel 411, transcribed by Walter Reynolds, 2004.

[171] From photocopy of unreferenced newspaper clipping attached to Sweet, notebook, op. cit.

[172] ibid.

[173] The only contrary evidence is a letter from Sweet's father-in-law (a strict Baptist) who referred to Sweet's 'tyrannical temper': George Tilly Snr, undated letter to George Tilly Jnr, reproduced Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.247. Conversation with Christopher Robertson, Sweet's great great grandson, Canberra, 01.04.2011, suggests Mr Tilley was expressing a bias against Sweet, who was less devout and more worldly.

[174] Advertisement, *SMH*, 13.06.1866, p.1; 16.06.1866, p.3; 20.06.1866, p.1.

Sweet's plan to move to Australia was brewing even before he returned from his 1862 voyage to Sydney on the *Sarah Neumann*.[175] By the end of 1863 Sweet and his entire family were aboard the *Flying Cloud,* heading for a new life in Australia. Samuel Sweet had married a local Portsea girl, Elizabeth Tilly.[176] By the time they set sail for Australia at the end of 1863 they had five children, aged from nine months to nine years. Daunting as this might seem now to any mother who has flown with infants, let alone taken a three month voyage with them, it was not unusual for Elizabeth and some of their children to accompany Sweet on his voyages. Her indomitable nature prepared her well for her own role in the photography business. Master Mariners were allowed to have the company of their wives at sea and Elizabeth was a seasoned ocean traveller.[177] Family letters later recall Elizabeth and babies Rosa and Lily on adventures to Breman and on stormy voyages when they were 'given up as lost'.[178] Fragments of information, like Elizabeth's letters, all contribute to a picture of a strong, hardworking and adventurous family that was as much part of Captain Sweet's working life as his personal one. Sweet's wife and children were as intrepid as he was and his later accomplishments as a commercial photographer would not have been possible without his formidable family team.

There has been speculation as to the reason for Sweet's move to Australia and it has been assumed that photography was not part of the plan. Accumulated evidence now suggests that it was. Letters confirm that after 20 years, Sweet 'was tired of being away from his home for ten months out of twelve' and that he 'decided upon settling in Queensland as a most promising Colony'.[179] When the Sweet family set out for Maryborough, Queensland, aboard the *Flying Cloud*, they were joined by an extended family group including Elizabeth's niece (Maria), her husband Henry Cox, their children, and one of Elizabeth's nephews.[180] Sweet and Cox had each obtained a land grant of '60 acres each, and they intend farming and growing cotton' as part of a land and passage deal under 'the Queensland Government's land-order system of emigration'.[181] It is possible that Sweet only turned to photography after failing as a Queensland cotton farmer.[182] It is equally possible that he was a

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[175] SRANSW, NRS13278, op. cit.; Mary Clay (nee Tilly), letter to George Tilly Jnr, 18.04.1863, reproduced Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.246.
[176] Tilly-Roberts, op. cit. Married 06.02.1854 at Portsea, England. Elizabeth Tilly born 17.05.1828, daughter of George Tilly and Elizabeth, née Fabian.
[177] Joan Druett, *Hen frigates: wives of merchant captains under sail*, Souvenir, London 1998.
[178] Elizabeth Sweet, letter to daughter Rosa, 15.08.1909, reproduced Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.201.
[179] Mary Clay letter 18.04.1863, op. cit.
[180] *Brisbane Courier*, 20.02.1864, p.2; Mary Clay letter 18.04.1863, op. cit.; Maria Francesca born 1834: Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.6. The nephew was the son of Elizabeth's sister Emily Godwin (née Tilly). Disembarked Maryborough 23.02.1864 after quarantine.
[181] *Brisbane Courier*, 20.02.1864, p.2. Many of the passengers were on assisted passage. Mary Clay letter 18.04.1863, op. cit., p.247.
[182] Loyau, op. cit., p.104.

co-investor in the cotton farm and intended leaving Henry Cox to farm while he set up his photography practice.

Sweet was certainly set on photography before he left England, despite a previous lack of 'evidence that he was experimenting at that time with photography'.[183] Sweet already owned photographic equipment prior to his departure for Australia: 'Sweet has got a machine for photography and for an amateur he really is a very good photographer and I have no doubt he will make it answer his purpose'.[184] He may have acquired this skill as part of his naval training. Visual documentation was part of a Master Mariner's skill set during missions to document the rest of the world. Sweet was very good 'for an *amateur*', suggesting he was accomplished but not yet operating professionally. This is born out by a photograph taken of his daughters, in England, in 1862.[185] Is the 'purpose' that his camera 'might answer' professional photography? The fact that he was advertising as a professional photographer less than four months after his arrival suggests it was.[186] So too does the remarkable quality of his first Brisbane photographs, which the *Brisbane Courier* was soon reviewing:

> WE have received another very well executed photograph from Mr. Sweet, of South Brisbane, of a house and garden which is in a prominent position on the south side of the river. The picture was taken so instantaneously as to represent most faithfully the portraits of some ladies and children, who unaware that they were the subject of a photograph, were standing in the garden at the time. A short time ago we drew attention to a very good picture taken by Mr. Sweet, of the Ferry at North Brisbane, near the Barracks, and the congratulatory terms then used by us are equally applicable to the happy sketch, a copy of which is now before us.[187]

Family correspondence confirms that Sweet was practicing as a professional photographer within only four months of arriving in Queensland. His father-in-law did not think highly of Sweet's career change: 'I suppose her husband [Sweet] wonders why he should be such a fool to give up a calling worth 400 pounds per annum to take his family out to suffer from want… He is depending entirely on his Photography for a living – he has earned 4 pounds a week on average since he began'.[188] So, Sweet was working as a professional photographer by mid-June 1864 and was certainly 'depending

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[183] Pike & Moore, op. cit., p.4.
[184] Mary Clay, Portsea, Hants, letter to George Tilly Jnr, South Australia, 18.11.1863, reproduced Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.247.
[185] SLSA B 45002/23; Catalogue Plate 1030.
[186] *Brisbane Courier*, 14.06.1864, p.1.
[187] ibid., 05.07.1864, p.2.
[188] George Tilly Snr, undated letter to George Tilly Jnr, reproduced Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.247.

entirely on his Photography for a living' from October 1864 at the latest.[189] George Tilly's condemnation of Sweet for taking 'his family out to suffer from want' on £4 a week seems overly scathing. Within a few short months photography was already earning Sweet over half his former salary as a Master Mariner. Not bad for a beginner.

Sweet's rapid success at photography could not have been achieved unless he had been working at it from the beginning. The amount of work involved in setting up, experimentation, adjusting chemical and technical practices to the climate and light etc. should not be underestimated. It is hard to imagine a man who has been at sea most of his adult life, settling to the daily routine of a cotton farmer, in the same place every day. How could he resist the adventurer's urge to explore and to photograph what he found?

The jigsaw of Sweet's first two years in Brisbane is still missing several pieces. What seems most important is that Sweet was producing newsworthy photographs. In January 1866 his magnificent photograph of a person posed in the curled buttresses of a fig tree was reviewed in the *Brisbane Courier* (Plate 2).[190]

Plate 2
Person standing at the base of a large fig tree, Fig Tree Pocket
1866, Brisbane

The paper gave a detailed account of the taking of the photograph:

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[189] Although Tilly's letter is undated, it forms a sequence of correspondence and the time delay of mail delivery confirms that Sweet was working as a full time photographer well before mid October 1864; Mail delivery times were 2½ to 3 months per Clune, op. cit., p.2.

[190] *Brisbane Courier*, 19.01.1866, cited in J Kerr, op. cit., p.774.

> MR. G. W. SWEET [sic], the photographer of South Brisbane, has forwarded to us an excellent photograph of the trunk of an immense fig tree, which is to be seen in the scrub fringing the Brisbane River, near the Seventeen-mile Rocks, and opposite to Consort Cliff. It was a somewhat difficult operation to properly place the camera, owing to the large amount of underwood; but, assisted by Mr. Grey, of the Cliff, Mr. Sweet managed to clear away a space. He informs us that if the immense buttrosses peculiar to the fig tree were shingled over, the gigantic subject of the photograph would afford to cover nearly four hundred persons. To prove its great size, the artist placed a lad close to the trunk – thus the proportion is shown more clearly. We believe it is the first picture of the kind taken in this colony, and we may congratulate Mr. Sweet upon the success which has attended his labors. Copies, we are informed, can be obtained from Mr. Slater, the bookseller, in Queen-street.[191]

This account indicates the significance of the photograph as one of the first of its kind, and tells us that Sweet was using a bookseller as an agent for the retail element of his business (a practice he continued in Adelaide). George Slater also stocked photographers' supplies including the albumenised paper and chemicals that Sweet needed.[192] There are few other known examples of Sweet's Brisbane work. One is a portrait carte-de-visit in a private collection. Another is this albumen silver carte-de-visite of North Quay and Wickham Terrace (Plate 3).

Plate 3
North Quay and Wickham Terrace, Brisbane
1866, Brisbane

Sweet stayed in Brisbane for just over two years. Sweet's photography business had taken off immediately, earning him £4 a week and much praise for his views. However, the financial going was hard and Sweet's father-in-law wrote 'I fear they have a great difficulty to get on and not able to leave for want of funds', noting that Queensland did not seem to be offering the opportunities many

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[191] ibid. (Several sources mistake Sweet's first initial for a G).
[192] ibid., 11.04.1864.

had hoped: 'Two hundred emigrants arrived there a few weeks ago and are walking about and don't seem to know what to do'.[193] Perhaps this is why Sweet left Brisbane and, by June 1866, was advertising as a photographer in Sydney, based in Rushcutters Bay[194]. His advertisement emphasised his expertise in photographing private residences, citing Governor Sir John Young and 'the elite of Sydney' as patrons.[195] One of these 'elite' was Sir John Manning whose family had large land holdings in Sydney and in Brisbane.[196] It could be that Sweet's initial success in Brisbane spurred him on to the greater commercial opportunities for photography in Sydney, or perhaps he had done work for Manning in Brisbane, leading to commissions to photograph several Manning family residences in Sydney (e.g. Plates 4 and 5).

Plate 4
John Manning's residence Merioola
1866, Woollahra, NSW

Plate 5
Sir William Manning's residence Wallaroy
1866, Woollahra, NSW

Whilst none of the other photographs in the Manning album are catalogued as being by Sweet, there are 22 which exhibit Sweet's style, composition and figure placement. They include images of the Military Hospital in Brisbane, a panoramic view of Brisbane, and several Manning properties in the Brisbane and Sydney areas, supporting the idea that the Manning commission was behind Sweet's move to Sydney.

Sweet's label on the reverse of Plate 4 indicates that he did not initially use the title 'Captain' nor the description 'landscape photographer', instead working as 'S. W. Sweet, Professor of Out-Door

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[193] George Tilly Snr, letter to George Tilly Jnr, 19.05.1865, reproduced Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.248.
[194] *SMH* advertisements, 13.06.1866, p.1; 16.06.1866, p.3; 20.06.1866, p. 1.
[195] ibid.
[196] RJM Newton, 'Manning, John Edye (1783 - 1870)', *ADB*, Volume 2, 1967, pp.202-203.

Photography ... Rushcutter's Bay, Sydney'.[197] The title 'Professor' was not unusual among photographers. It was notably used by Robert Hall who began making daguerreotypes in 1846 in Adelaide, advertising under his assumed title of 'Professor' in 1854 and throughout his career.[198] It was much later, in Adelaide, that Sweet adopted the professional name that appears on all his blind-stamps: *Captain Sweet, Landscape Photographer*. Had he retained the title 'out-door photographer' throughout his career we would have been left with a better understanding of what he did. For us, the term 'landscape photographer' has a more artistic ring to it but for Sweet it was purely a shift in terminology – one that can mislead us today. Rosalind Krauss interrogated the terms 'view' and 'landscape' in 1982, posing many questions as to how we should consider photographs, commercially produced for the views trade, when they enter the realms of art through the exhibition space.[199] For Peck what is important 'is that the term 'view' is strongly associated with commercial and business practices and that landscape is frequently, but not always, associated with fine art practices'.[200] However, when trying to understand views photography within its own time it is unhelpful to become embroiled in anachronistic terminological debates. What we need to know here is that in Sweet's time a landscape photographer and a views trade photographer were the same thing, and that out-door photography, by any name, was extraordinarily difficult and required its own special skills well beyond those of a studio or portrait photographer. For Sweet, the term encompassed photographing buildings, city streets and prize bulls. There was not a natural landscape in sight. Yet because of that term, repeated in exhibition catalogues and artist biographies, we approach Sweet's work with our own expectation of landscape. This may lead to disappointment, or we may fail to see the intended subject of the photograph.

Sweet's photograph of *Sir William Manning's residence Wallaroy in Woollahra* received praise in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in July.[201] Its style, like Sweet's other Manning photographs, is mature and experienced, exhibiting an advanced sense of architectural composition and technical mastery. They are clear, crisp, balanced and chemically stable, having survived in excellent condition. They are indisputable evidence that Sweet was a technically and aesthetically masterful photographer long before he reached Adelaide and that his unique style was already well established.

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[197] Inscribed mount bot. c., pen & ink 'Merioola / John Manning's'; photographer's label verso, 'S. W. Sweet / Professor of Out-Door Photography ... Rushcutter's Bay, / Sydney'.
[198] E.g., *Register*, 11.10.1854; *Southern Argus*, August 1866.
[199] Rosalind Krauss, 'Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View', *Art Journal*, Vol. 42, No. 4, The Crisis in the Discipline, Winter 1982, pp.311-319.
[200] Peck, op. cit., p.21.
[201] *SMH*, 11.07.1866.

Sweet's stay in Sydney was short-lived and by the end of November he had moved to Adelaide. He had only stayed in Sydney for the duration of his commissions for the Mannings and other 'elite of Sydney'. Perhaps Elizabeth and the children felt the need for the companionship of her relatives in South Australia – a powerful force for migrants a long way from their motherland with no other means of communication than sea mail which took three months to arrive.[202] Mrs Sweet's brother George Tilly Jnr and her sister Ann Ellis (née Tilly) had lived in South Australia with their families since 1850.[203] Members of the Tilly family are speckled through the City Records during the 1860s and 1870s in the few streets surrounding Sweet's first Adelaide home.[204] These family connections, and their letters about Adelaide and its opportunities, may well be what brought Sweet to South Australia.

Captain Sweet, Landscape Photographer, Adelaide

The first that we know of Sweet's professional beginnings in Adelaide is that he formed a brief partnership with William Gibson.[205] Their first Advertisement appeared in the *Southern Australian Register* on 21 November 1866.[206] Photographers in Adelaide were already plentiful and included established names such as the Duryea Brothers, Freeman & Belcher and Bernard Goode. Sweet and Gibson exercised good business sense by using the well-known stationers and publishers Wigg & Sons as their agents and by concentrating on out-door photography – an area in which few South Australian photographers excelled. They wasted no time in taking photographs and sending them to the *South Australian Register.* Their miniature panorama of Adelaide and views of the Botanic Gardens were reviewed in the same edition of the *Register* which ran their first advertisement:

> With reference to an advertisement in our business columns we may mention that Messrs. Gibson & Sweet have sent to our office several photographs which undoubtedly possess much merit. One of them may be termed a miniature panorama of Adelaide, and there are five or six spirited views of the Botanic Garden.[207]

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[202] Elizabeth's brother and sister, George Tilly Jnr and Ann Tilly had emigrated to South Australia 1849-1850 with their respective families. Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., pp.5-6; Mary Clay, letter to George Tilly Jnr, 18.11.1863, reproduced Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.247.
[203] Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., pp.5-6.
[204] ACCA C5 S34, vol. 13, 1866, ass. no. 797 acre 398; ACCA S34, fourth series 1867 vol. 14, ass. no. 842 acre 398; ACCA S34, fourth series 1868 vol. 15, ass. no. 884 acre 398.
[205] *Register*, 21.11.1866.
[206] ibid.
[207] ibid.

Sweet's only professional photography partnership came to an end in 1867.[208] Little is known about Gibson's business arrangements with Sweet but it is likely that it was a family tie that brought them together. He was married to Mrs Sweet's niece Emily Ellis who had lived in Adelaide since childhood.[209] Gibson was already well established in Burlington Place, Adelaide when Sweet and his family arrived.[210] The Sweets moved into a rental house just around the corner, in Gouger Street. Perhaps Gibson himself had arranged it. It is difficult to imagine Sweet going into business with Gibson at a moment's notice and the evidence strongly suggests a well thought out plan. Whether the business arrangement was intended to be long term or just to help Sweet get started is not known. However, the family ties continued when Sweet's daughter Rosa married Gibson's son the Reverend William Gibson in 1887.[211] Two carte de visite portraits by a W. Gibson have been found but no other sources have been found to connect Gibson to photography, suggesting his role in the partnership was mainly financial.[212]

Now working without Gibson, Sweet's business started to gather momentum. In December 1867 he entered photographs in the Society of Arts Exhibition in Adelaide winning 'the prize ... for the excellence of his out-door views taken by his new process'.[213] On the strength of this success he advertised in the Gawler *Bunyip* in January 1868:

OUT-DOOR PHOTOGRAPHY.

S.W. SWEET, PHOTOGRAPHER of VIEWS, LANDSCAPES, RESIDENCES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, &c., having been favored with instructions from Walter Duffield, ESQ., M.P., to take several VIEWS of PARA PARA house and grounds, by his new Wax Process, begs to inform the gentry of Gawler and the vicinity that he is prepared to Photograph other Houses and places of interest in the neighbourhood.

S.W. SWEET has just obtained the PRIZE at ADELAIDE EXHIBITION for his PHOTOGRAPHS, and he guarantees to give perfect satisfaction at strictly Moderate Charges.

N.B. - Orders or communications left at the Bunyip Office, or at Mr Burgess's Criterion Hotel, will receive immediate attention.[214]

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[208] Gibson has not been found in primary sources or newspapers in relation to Sweet or photography in 1867 or thereafter.

[209] Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., pp.5 & 125; Emily migrated with her parents John and Ann Ellis (neé Tilly) in 1850.

[210] ACCA C40 S55, item 2, 1861-1870, Grey Ward 1867-68, roll no. 2159, Samuel W Sweet, house, acre 390, Gouger Street; ACCA C5 S34, vol. 15, 1868, ass. no. 827, acre 390; ACCA C40 S55, item 2, 1861-1870, Grey Ward 1861-1862, William Gibson, house, acre 325, Burlington Place; ACCA C5 S34, vol. 15, 1868, acre 325, Burlington Place, house.

[211] Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.6.

[212] W Gibson, *Portrait of bearded gentleman, hat in hand*, c.1880, Adelaide, albumen-silver photograph (carte de visite), AGSA, 20041RJN883; W Gibson, *Portrait of gentleman in plaid jacket*, c.1880, South Australia, albumen-silver photograph (carte de visite), AGSA, 20041RJN882.

[213] *Bunyip*, 04.01.1868; *Register*, 10.12.1867.

[214] *Bunyip*, 04.01.1868.

In the same edition, the *Bunyip* reported that Sweet had 'left several views at our office, which we shall be pleased to show to all lovers of art treasures. We have never seen any photographs to equal them previously; they are distinguished by a clearness and delicacy that we had no idea was attainable in pictures of this description'.[215] This set the tone for reviews of Sweet's work for the next seventeen years. He soon became well known for the quality of his photographs. In 1868 the family moved upmarket to 222 Rundle Street and made several other moves before finally settling in Bowden in 1876.[216] Sweet's homes and studios are discussed in the next section, where the relationship between home-based work-rooms and commercial premises is explained. Frequent moves were common for new settlers, jostling to find their place in a new and quickly developing city.

From 1869 to 1875 Sweet returned to sea while simultaneously continuing his professional photography practice. In 1869 he accepted a commission as Captain of a Government vessel supporting the Goyder expedition to Darwin and then the Overland Telegraph Northern Territory Expedition. These voyages were an astounding photographic opportunity for Sweet, as well as a great adventure, and are discussed in Chapter 5. Small discoveries during the research of his Northern Territory adventures provide more insight into Sweet's class, relationships with authorities and with the upper classes. In turn this helps us to understand some of the socio-economic factors that influenced the level of his commercial success as a photographer, aside from the quality of his work. The Northern Territory Government Resident's daughter's memoirs record Sweet's prowess as a Mariner when he saved them from a storm that claimed many other ships, 'I heard the captain's clear-sounding voice giving his orders amidst the din and bustle overhead' as Sweet pulled off a dangerous (but necessary) manoeuvre and 'for the next twelve hours this plucky little schooner fought her way against apparently overwhelming odds'.[217] She also made clear her disdain for Sweet's class 'for our master was not blessed with the most perfect command of the Queen's English' and she proceeds to record an exchange between Sweet and a crewman, mocking Sweet's common accent and referring to the jokes the children had at his expense.[218] Her tone showed no respect for the man who had saved her life, no doubt reflecting the attitude of her father, Captain Douglas, who later took a considerable disliking to Sweet, partly through snobbery and partly through his own power agenda.[219] Douglas had Sweet's ship, the *Gulnare*, condemned when it needed only to be repaired, because he wanted the Government to send him a bigger ship for his

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[215] ibid.
[216] See Appendix 3.
[217] Mrs Daly, op. cit., pp.18-19.
[218] ibid., pp.32-33.
[219] Conversation with Jack Cross, author of *Great Central State: The foundation of the Northern Territory*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2011.

power games.[220] It is a long story, which cannot be told here, but it began a pattern of missed opportunities and lack of recognition for Sweet who, despite his remarkable skills (both at sea and behind the camera), often fared badly with authority because of his class, accent and humble origins. Sweet had worked his way up from the very bottom in the Navy and had achieved his position through hard work and an aptitude for the specific skills required, unlike those from wealthier backgrounds who entered at officer training level with the benefit of a private education. The English class system operated in full force in South Australia, where Sweet's class and manner excluded him from advantages afforded to the more privileged photographer Townsend Duryea, who was welcome to mix socially with the nobility of Adelaide. To Sweet they would only ever be clients, never his friends. Sweet did not have friends in high places. Sweet's class had a significant impact on his opportunities for commercial success when these opportunities rested with his social superiors. It was Duryea, not Sweet, who was appointed official photographer for the 1867 Royal Visit.

Even when Sweet saved the entire Northern Territory Overland Telegraph construction mission from disaster and starvation in the 1871-72 wet season, he received no formal recognition. Without Sweet's remarkable ability to pilot supply vessels up the uncharted Roper River, many would have died and the Government would have faced dire consequences for failing to complete the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line. The Government even refused to pay him for the three months he spent afterwards carefully drawing up detailed charts of the Roper River so that future Captains could safely get men and supplies to the remotest Telegraph outposts. Even though it was Sir Charles Todd who had suggested Sweet draw up the charts, 'When completed, he took it to the office, and layed his claim for payment, but was told he had no claim'.[221] Mrs Sweet later published her recollections of these events recalling that Sweet was 'so hurt by what had occurred that he would not attend' the Town Hall dinner for 'those who had engaged in the work of the Overland Telegraph…so the real pilot of the Roper River never received even a recognition of his services and work, but went down to his grave unacknowledged and unrecompensed'.[222] Mrs Sweet later wrote 'You must think me bitter – I always shall be when I think of those days and how unjustly my good husband was treated'.[223] By all accounts Sweet was a friendly and engaging chap. When he brought Goyder and his men back from The Northern Territory Survey Expedition, the *Register* ran several reports reflecting a warmth of feeling for the congenial Captain Sweet.[224]   Sweet was a savvy businessman and a great photographer but, after years of research, I am left with the feeling

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[220] ibid.

[221] E Sweet, op. cit., p.148; Charles Todd letter to Captain Sweet, 19.03.1872, SLSA PRG 742/3/5.

[222] ibid.

[223] Mrs Sweet letter to Stephen King, 19.09.1907, SLSA PRG 627, also cited by Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., p.189.

that he would have died a richer man if he had been blessed with a better education and finer elocution.

Sweet's Northern Territory period provided him with highly popular photographs that kept his photography business going while he was away. Although he used Wigg as his agent throughout his career, Sweet appointed Bernard Goode, who had a thriving photography and photographic supplies business, as exclusive agent for his 'registered' NT views during 1869.[225] He switched to using Mr Williams the stationer from 1871, with regular adverts appearing for a year.[226] Sweet also promoted his Northern Territory photographs – and his own (otherwise uncelebrated) role there – by giving lectures between voyages, illustrated with his photographs.

> NORTHERN TERRITORY. Captain SWEET will DELIVER a ' LECTURE on his VOYAGES to the above Place and Timor, and Exhibit a few Curiosities and Photographs, on FRIDAY EVENING, at half-past 7, at MORPHETT-STREET CHAPEL, in Aid of the Schoolroom Funds. Chair to be taken by the Hon. John Colton, Commissioner of Public Works. Admission, 1s.[227]

He continued these lectures, in Adelaide and further afield until at least 1874 and was always well received.[228]

> The graphic way in which the scenes, products and inhabitants of the places were depicted, together with curious and excellent charts and photographs, enabled the lecturer to retain the attention of his hearers for two hours; and at the close he kindly allowed all who wished to see the "feather flowers" – an intimate inspection of the art of some of the native industries spoken of in the lecture. There were about 230 persons present, who thoroughly enjoyed the happy conversational style of the address, and accorded a hearty vote of thanks for its delivery.[229]

Sweet's NT photographs were very popular and it seems odd that he did not return immediately to full-time photography while his star was rising. Instead, in 1872 he joined the Black Diamond Line, shipping coal from Newcastle NSW to South Australia – a mundane job which was the maritime equivalent of truck driving. From what we now know of Captain Sweet, his sense of adventure and his ardour for photography, this seems out of character. If his time in the Northern Territory had

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[224] *Register*, 15.11.1869, pp.2-3; 16.11.1869, p.3.
[225] *Advertiser*, 14.06.1869, p.4; 21.06.1869, p.1; 29.06.1869, p.3.
[226] *Advertiser*, 15.07.1871, p.1; 27.04.1872, p.1; 08.05.1872, p.1; 11.05.1872, p.1.
[227] *Advertiser*, 22.03.1870, p.2; 23.03.1870, p.2.
[228] *Advertiser*, 24.02.1873, p.1; *Register*, 04.04.1873; 07.10.1874, p.2.
[229] *Register*, 04.04.1873.

rekindled his interest in maritime work, this was hardly the job to offer travel and adventure. Did he need to prove himself as a Captain after his reputation was damaged by Douglas? Did something else happen to dampen his motivation towards professional photography? Did he need the money? Was he working towards a particular goal? A likely explanation is that he needed capital to establish his first serious studio (which he did in 1879). As Captain of the *Wallaroo*, Sweet's routine trips between the ports of Wallaroo and Newcastle did not provide such wonderful photographic opportunities as the Northern Territory. Instead, he kept his photographic business going, between voyages, through agents, advertising and on the strength of his Northern Territory images. In January 1873 some of those images were chosen to be sent to England for the London Exhibition, along with his 'views of Torrens Park and Birksgate, the residence of Mr WW Hughes and Mr T Elder'.[230] Although April 1872 to July 1875 was Sweet's least productive photographic period, he managed to complete these, and other, residence commissions in between his Maritime work.[231] Between voyages he also photographed the Murray Bridge construction and Queen's Wharf, Port Adelaide.[232] He could not have kept the business going without his formidable family team in Adelaide to deal with taking orders, making prints and running the 'shop'. Sweet lost the *Wallaroo* in a severe gale in 1875 and was censured by the Marine Board, effectively losing his licence to sail.[233] Yet another unhappy encounter with authority. Fortunately, there was still sufficient momentum in his photography business to make it pay full-time and his photographs became a frequent inclusion at international exhibitions over the ensuing decade.

In July 1875 he advertised for a camera and lens, suggesting that he intended to make a serious go at full-time photography.[234] From then until his death Sweet worked tirelessly, running his studios with the help of his family, touring the colony photographing and working on commissions, and making thousands of photographic prints. He also worked hard at advertising and promoting his work. Working out of the family home in Bowden from October 1875, he regularly ran

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[230] *Register*, 27.01.1873.
[231] Birksgate photographs were taken after Thomas Elder's 1872 improvements to the property.Torrens Park Estate photographs for Walter Watson Hughes were taken in 1872 or January 1873. *Adelaide Observer* 1873, cited by Eric Gunton, 'Beautiful Birksgate', *South Australia Homes and Gardens*, January 1947, p.24-25; Eric Gunton, *Gracious Homes of Colonial Adelaide*, Eric Gunton, Adelaide, 1983, pp.17-18. Sweet completed a further commission for Robert Barr Smith, soon after he bought Torrens Park in 1874: Ken Preiss & Pamela Oborn, *The Torrens Park Estate: A social and architectural history*, published by the authors, South Australia, 1991, p.254.
[232] Catalogue Plates 405-416 & 251.
[233] Jack Loney, *Wrecks on the South Australian Coast*, cited in the *Encyclopedia of Australian Shipwrecks*, viewed 13.03.2007, <http://oceans1.customer.netspace.net.au/nt-main.html>; *Register*, 12.08.1875.
[234] *Register*, 13.07.1875, p.1; 15.07.1875, p.1; 17.07.1875, p.1; 24.07.1875, p.1.

advertisements for his views of Adelaide, the Botanic Gardens, Northern Territory, landscapes, churches and public buildings, also offering to photograph houses and interiors.[235]

Sweet's life and activities during the 1880s revolved around his photographic practice. His prolific output, and his frequent contributions to world fairs, indicate that he was working hard and consistently generating landscape photographs for a healthy market. There may well have been other events in his life but, whatever they were, little trace of them has survived. The sheer volume of his work from 1875 suggests he had little time for anything else. With his final ten years devoted almost entirely to photography, the photographs themselves will tell much of the story of his photographic career, in Chapter 5. The rest of his story concerns the way he ran his business, such as advertising, commissions, using agents and things that shed light on how Sweet became the first man to make a commercial success of landscape photography in South Australia. It is a story of sheer hard work, skill and enterprise.

Sweet had three main types of work. He took photographs of popular subjects for sale through his own studios or through agents. Localities like Adelaide City, Botanic Gardens and Port Adelaide were rich with views that Sweet could profitably photograph. He also took commissions from individuals, business and government departments who wanted specific photographs of their houses, estates, business premises and Public Works projects. Some of these were also reprinted for retail sale, giving Sweet a double income. Finally, the government – one of Sweet's biggest customers – commissioned new photographs, and selected existing work by Sweet to be printed up, for exhibition at World Fairs in Sydney, Melbourne, London, Paris and Philadelphia. This gave Sweet further income as well as useful international marketing.

The South Australian Government sent hundreds of his views to World Fairs to promote the Colony from 1873 onwards. In October 1875, they sent eighty of Sweet's views to the Philadelphia Exhibition, including forty of his Northern Territory views, twenty-eight photographs of the Botanic Gardens and other landscapes. [236] He was commissioned to provide photographs for the Paris Exhibition in 1877 and his work consistently received excellent reviews in the press. In September 1877 the *Adelaide Observer* reported, 'we have been shown by Captain Sweet, who has long since gained a high character for the beauty and finish of his photographic views, a number of specimens

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[235] Selected dates: *Register*, 20.10.1875, p.3; 01.12.1875, p.3; 01.01.1876, p.2; 05.01.1876, p.3; 26.01.1876, p.2; 02.02.1876, p.3; 24.05.1876, p.3.
[236] *Register*, 18.10.1875.

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of the art which are intended for exhibition at Paris'. [237] The detailed review concludes 'these latest productions of Captain Sweet are bound to command attention wherever they are shown'.[238] In April 1879 he undertook his greatest commission yet, comprising 'seven albums, containing 511 photographic views, which form a complete representation of the scenery and buildings of the colony'.[239] This extraordinary volume of work was ordered for the Sydney Exhibition and included views of Adelaide, Port Adelaide, suburbs, other ports, private residences, the Botanic Gardens and the Northern Territory.[240] Some photographs were printed from existing negatives and others were taken especially for the Exhibition. The *Register* reported that 'the pictures are perfect specimens of photography, having all the clearness, delicacy, and brilliance of finish which are such marked characteristics of Captain Sweet's workmanship'. [241] Sweet's known contributions to World Fairs are outlined in Appendix 6. They were often exhibited in Adelaide prior to shipment and were usually reported in the press, providing Sweet with more free advertising.[242] The impact Sweet's photographs had at World Fairs is discussed in Chapter 6. What matters to our understanding of his work is that, whether photographing specifically for the Government or taking views for general sale, Sweet's approach was substantially influenced by the purpose to which his views would be put, as proof of South Australia's success.

Sweet took on other smaller jobs, like the photographic equivalent of photocopying. In 1879 William McMinn sent Sweet's photograph (Plate 6) of his design for the Mitchell Building to the *Register*.[243]

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[237] *Observer*, 15.09.1877.
[238] ibid.
[239] *Register*, 11.09.1879.
[240] *Register*, 01.07.1879.
[241] *Register*, 11.09.1879.
[242] e.g. *Register*, 27.01.1873, reporting that Sweet's views for the London Exhibition could be previewed at the Adelaide Institute.
[243] *Register*, 30.01.1880.
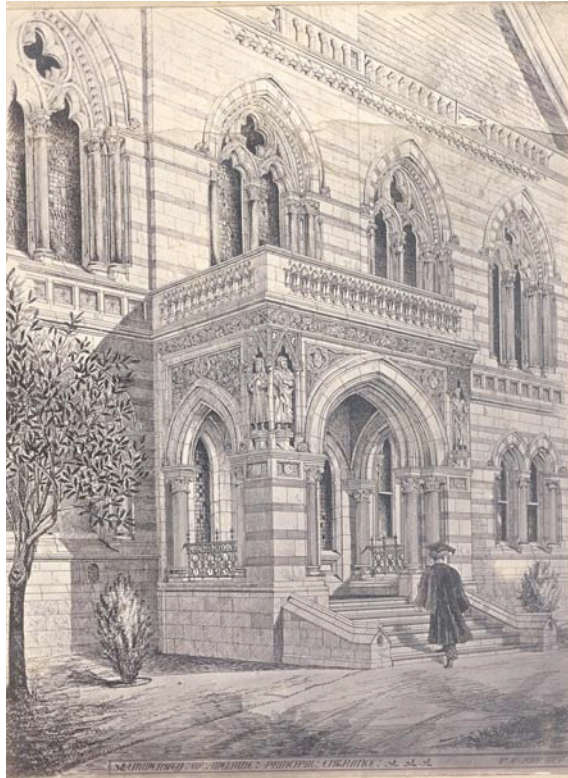
Plate 6
Mitchell Building, Principal entrance
1879, Adelaide
albumen silver photograph of a drawing

An unusual commission was for centrepieces for Mr Stringer's novel advertising banner, *The South Australian Photograph Advertiser.*[244] It was a great success and 'containing as it does real works of photographic art has been allowed a place in the reading rooms of various important Institutes'.[245] According to Jack Cato this sort of work was a significant part of the market with photographs becoming 'the chief medium of business advertising' and a key to boosting tourist trade.[246]

Sweet priced his work competitively. No evidence has been found regarding what Sweet charged for commissions but his retail prices were modest compared with other photographers.[247] In 1878 Sweet's 8 ½ x 6 ½" views were 1s 9d, or 2s with his 'wax process'; an album with 50 views was £3 13s 6d; and an album with 100 views was £6 7s 6d.[248] In 1879 he advertised wax views for 18s per dozen, with '500 to choose from'.[249]

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[244] *Kadina Herald*, 21.01.1879.
[245] ibid.
[246] Cato, op. cit., p.63.
[247] For example, in 1869 Sweet advertised wax portraits at 13s per dozen, compared with James Thwaite's prices of 15s per dozen cartes-de-visite and 25s per dozen cabinet. Boothby's,*1869*, p.112; Noye, 'Dictionary of South Australian Photography', op. cit., p.299; original source *Register*, 18.01.1869 and 18.02.1869.
[248] *Advertiser*, 03.07.1878.
[249] *Register*, 22.11.1879.

Sweet worked in an efficient pattern, travelling around the city and country areas, combining pre-arranged commissions, speculative commissions and opportunities to photograph views that would sell well. For example, in 1878 he visited the Lower Murray area on a commission for the Reverend George Taplin at the Point McLeay Aboriginal Mission Station, who wanted a photograph taken for the frontispiece for his book.[250] While there he completed commissions at the Bowman Brothers' stations at Campbell House Park and a neighbouring station at Narrung. Sometimes Sweet advertised ahead to capture a regional market in one trip, arranging for orders to be placed in advance with a local agent.[251] Before he set out to photograph the Great Northern Railway in 1882 he advertised his availability for photographing gentlemen's residences through the *Port Augusta Dispatch*.[252] Whatever the original purpose for the trip, on return to Adelaide Sweet usually submitted his images to the local press for review and advertised his latest views, like those from the Great Norther Railway (Catalogue Plates 322-353).[253]

Sweet did well from private commissions, photographing the homes and properties of successful South Australians like the Honourable J. Crozier at Oaklands (Catalogue Plates 707-710) and Joseph Gilbert at Pewsey Vale (Catalogue Plates 129-140).[254] One of his largest commissions was for Dunn & Co., photographing all of their South Australian mills and wheat stores (Catalogue Plates 113-126).[255]

Sweet did not restrict his business to South Australia. He visited Tasmania in April 1878, returning with 20 views of Tasmanian scenery, which he sold through E.S. Wigg & Son and through Mr Westgarth of Westella House in Hobart, creating direct competition with local photographers.[256] In 1885 he made a similar visit to Sydney, sending views to the *Advertiser* for review.[257]

Sweet maximised his sales through a variety of outlets. He sold photographs directly from his own studios and commercial premises as well as utilising a number of agents who exhibited and stocked his photographs and took orders. They formed his main retail outlet when he was at sea or working only from home, but Sweet continued to use agents even when he had commercial premises, maximising the public's exposure to his photographs. In country areas Sweet sold views through

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[250] *Register*, 18.07.1878.
[251] e.g. *Northern Argus*, 21.12.1880.
[252] *Port Augusta Dispatch*, 23.06.1882.
[253] *Register*, 15.07.1882.
[254] *Register*, 06.05.1876.
[255] *Wallaroo Times*, 23.02.1878.
[256] *Argus*, 16.04.1878, p.4 (Sweet arrived Melbourne en route to Tasmania); *Register*, 13.06.1878, p.3; *Adelaide Observer*, 15.06.1878; *Advertiser*, 22.06.1878; *Mercury*, 02.07.1878, p.2, 22.07.1878 and 24.07.1878.

local agents, like Mr Rix in Clare. In Adelaide Wigg & Son acted as Sweet's agent from his earliest days with Gibson, until after his death.[258] Wigg continued to publish booklets and albums of views from Sweet's negatives well into the 1890s (like Plate 7) some reproduced by engraving or photomechanical methods.
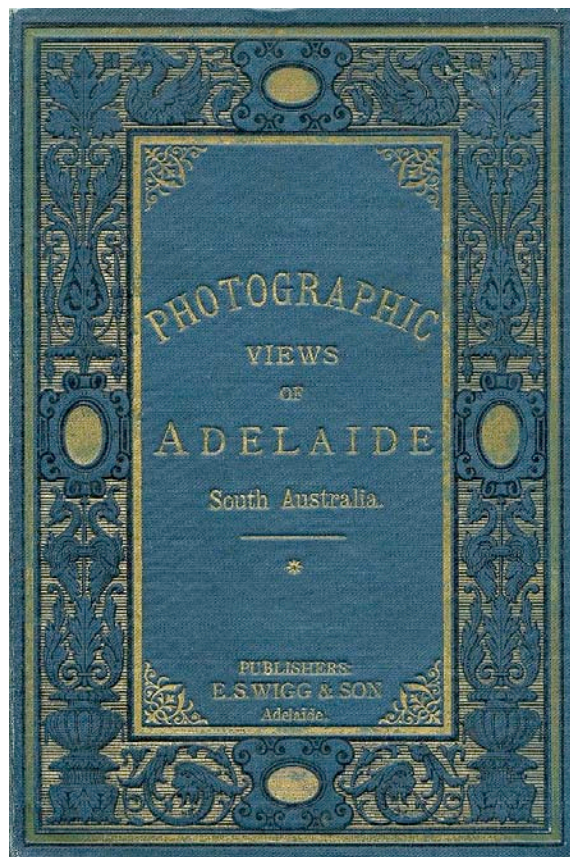
Plate 7
This Wigg & Son views album includes photographs by Sweet, reproduced by Wigg & Son
Photographic Views of South Australia
Wigg & Son, publishers, c.1890, Adelaide

During the early 1870s Sweet also used another stationer, Mr Williams, to sell his Northern Territory photographs: 'COPIES of REGISTERED PHOTOGRAPHS of the Northern Territory can only be had of Mr Williams, Stationer, King William Street'.[259] Williams was still taking orders for Sweet in 1875 and, in May 1872, Sweet also appointed Mr Charles Knight to sell his photographs in Adelaide suburbs and country areas.[260] Between 1876 and 1878 Sweet also sold his views through a competitor, The Temple of Light run by James Dobson who regularly advertised themselves as 'Sole

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[257] *Advertiser*, 06.06.1885.
[258] e.g. *Register*, 21.11.1866; *Register*, 20.10.1875, p.3; *Register*, 24.05.1876, p.3; *Advertiser*, 22.06.1878; *Adelaide Observer*, 15.06.1878.
[259] *Register*, 17.07.1871 and 27.04.1872.
[260] *Register*, 03.05.1872, 03.07.1875 and 04.06.1872.

Agents for Captain Sweet's Enamel Views of Adelaide'.[261] Dobson's were not the only photographers to sell Sweet's images. Several photographs have been found on mounts printed with the inscription 'from Captain Sweet's Negative'. It was not unusual for photographers to buy negatives from one another to broaden their own range of views, or to take over the reprinting orders of another photographer's portrait negatives when he had moved away or gone bust.[262] Very few references have been found to any of Sweet's competitors using agents in this way other than Schourup, who was based eight miles from the city in Port Adelaide and sold his 1867 photographs of the Duke of Edinburgh's frigate, Galatea, at Wigg's.[263] In 1862 George Burnell (1830-1894), who had no studio, sold his Murray River stereographs through Rigby Bookseller in Hindley Street.[264]

As well as entering into business arrangements with competitors like Goode and Dobson, in 1884 Sweet also maximised his exposure and income through a deal with one of his suppliers, the photographic company F H Faulding & Co. who stocked Athenian dry plates which Sweet began using in August 1880. Sweet gave Faulding examples of his work which had been created with Athenian dry plates, to show in its warehouse and use as samples for potential customers.[265] This broadened Sweet's market exposure and possibly gave him special rates on dry plate negatives.

Sweet regularly advertised for business in the local and regional newspapers, often capitalising on exhibition prizes and good press reviews by following up with advertisements like this one in the *Register*, which followed excellent reviews of his recent Botanic Garden photographs.[266]

PRIZE AWARDED

for

CAPTAIN SWEET'S WAXED VIEWS

of Houses and Landscapes.

All Out-Door Photos finished and unsurpassed by any in the colony. Orders left at Mr Williams's,

Stationer, King William Street.[267]

Sweet's income depended on attracting customers and so marketing and advertising were important aspects of his business. He placed regular advertisements in the newspapers and occasionally in

[261] E.g. *Register*, 12.06.1876, p.3; 30.12.1876, p.2; 14.03.1877, p.3; 14.11.1877, p.2; 03.12.1877, p.2; 30.01.1878, p.2.
[262] Noye, 'Dictionary of South Australian Photography', op. cit., pp.13, 65, 90.
[263] ibid., p.259.
[264] ibid., p.59.
[265] *Register*, 06.06.1884.
[266] Adelaide Exhibitions and prizes are mentioned, e.g. *Register*, 10.12.1867, 03.07.1875; *Bunyip*, 04.01.1868; *Frearson's Weekly*, 15.10.1881.

Boothby's *South Australian Directory*. From 1879 onwards he invested in bold signage on his business premises and, later, careful choice of studio location. He also used a number of low-cost strategies to spread his business name far and wide, including his use of signatures, stamps and labels. Much of Sweet's trade also came from word of mouth and his excellent reputation.

When Sweet received a letter from a gentleman in Melbourne praising his photographs at the Melbourne Exhibition he obtained some free advertising by sending it to *Frearson's Weekly* who printed this extract.

> You will do well to visit Melbourne during the Exhibition or possibly a little before. I must complement you on the style of photo sent, I have never seen a more beautiful picture in the colonies or elsewhere; it reflects the greatest credit on your ability and if you come to Victoria you may depend on making a hit'.[268]

Sweet seems more industrious than most in his efforts to market his business in as many ways as possible. Making a living from views photography was tough. No one in South Australia had managed it without bolstering business with portraiture. It is not surprising then that Sweet returned to Sea on the *Wallaroo* in 1875, nor that he sought other ways to supplement his income. For a few months in 1877 and 1878 Sweet acted as an agent for gates and palisades from his home in Bowden.[269] In 1879 he too opened a portrait studio to bolster his landscape work (discussed in Chapter 3). In 1881 Sweet concocted a money-making scheme which he put to the City Council in a letter.[270] It gives us insight into his entrepreneurial nature without which he could not have made a commercial success of photography. It hints at a man who was determined and persistent, but not one of grand ideas nor of any influence with authority. His idea was for the Council to generate revenue by selling advertising space on lamp posts which would be 'always readable day and night' and would pay for the lamp gas.[271] He persisted with trying to sell his scheme to the Council, despite repeated rejections, throughout 1881 and 1882. Was Sweet so persistent because he believed strongly in his idea or because he needed the money badly? As will soon be seen, the Flinders Street portrait studio (1879-82) put Sweet under considerable financial strain. He even

[267] *Register*, 03.07.1875.
[268] *Frearson's Weekly*, 10.07.1880.
[269] *Register*, 15.11.1877, p.1; 17.11.1877, p.6; 20.11.1877, p.7; 19.11.1877, p.3; 24.11.1877, p.7; 29.11.1877, p.7; 28.11.1877, p.7; 01.12.1877, p.7; 04.12.1877, p.3; January 1878.
[270] ACCA C15 S3 Docket No. 3165 of 1881.
[271] ACCA C15 S3 Docket No. 0330 of 1882, letter from Sweet to the Mayor and Councillors, 01.02.1882; Docket No. 1375 of 1882, letter from Sweet to Mayor, 24.04.1882; Docket No. 3165 of 1881, Docket No. 3640 of 1881, Docket No. 0229 of 1882, Docket No. 0330 of 1882, Docket No. 1375 of 1882; ACCA C15 Letterbook 23.05.1881 to 07.03.1882, p.965, Letter Town Clerk to Sweet 24.02.1882; Letterbook 23.05.1881 to 07.03.1882, pp.644, 792, 837, 965.

resubmitted his scheme to the Council in 1885. It was again rejected, this time with a nasty sting in its tail: the Council decided to use his idea themselves without acknowledging Sweet as its conceiver.[272] Sweet fared badly with a government authority again. This episode tells us that Sweet was keen to make money, believed strongly in his idea, and followed it with the same persistence and determination that he applied to his photography. It also hints at a man who made a success of photography despite his lowly social position. The Government were happy to commission his work to promote the colony, but their support for Sweet did not extend one inch beyond that.

By December 1885 Sweet's business was at last on a firm financial footing with high profile premises in the new Adelaide Arcade, low overheads and a steady demand for his high quality work. He had a new commission to compile an album of views of the Botanic Gardens for the Indian and Colonial Exhibition in London.[273] Mrs Sweet was also working hard in the business and the children were old enough to do their share.[274] Unfortunately, Sweet had little time to enjoy what seemed to be the pinnacle of his photographic career. On 4 January 1886, he died of heat stroke while visiting his friend Captain Adams over the Christmas period.[275] He was only 60 years old, but had worked long hard hours in a business that allowed him little rest, with constant exposure to toxic chemicals, and January 1886 was one of the hottest summers on record. Sweet was not the only one to die of heatstroke.

His obituary appeared in the *Observer* which, like many newspapers, sacrificed accuracy in favour of brevity.

> ... The deceased was originally in the Royal Navy, and came out here in the schooner Gulnare, after which he joined the Government service and went to the Northern Territory, where he did good work in planning the harbour and selecting sites for Government offices, of which he took views, being then an amateur photographer. The Gulnare was lost at the Northern Territory about 10 or 12 years ago while commanded by Captain Sweet, who lost his certificate, and then set up a photographic establishment, speedily making himself known by the excellence of his work in that direction of art. He opened his first studio in Adelaide over Mr Molton's premises in Flinders-street, the rooms being built after his own design. Subsequently, he removed to Rundle-street, and when the Adelaide Arcade was opened he started a photographic establishment there. While engaged in surveying the Northern Territory in the early times he took some fine views of the river and other scenery there,

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[272] ACCA C15 S3 Docket No. 72 of 1885, letter from Sweet to Mayor 12.01.1885; ACCA C15 Letterbook 13.08.1884 to 07.07.1885, p.521, Letter Town Clerk to Sweet 21.01.1885.
[273] *Adelaide Observer*, 30.01.1886.
[274] Letter from Mary Clay to Eliza Adams (nee Tilly), 13.06.1885, reproduced Norma Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.251.

which, being sent to Adelaide, contributed much to arouse an interest in our tropical possession. The deceased gentleman, who was of a peculiarly energetic character and of a kindly disposition, was very popular in the position in which he moved. He was very hopeful of the future of the Northern Territory, and always ready to advocate its cause, but he took little or no part in public affairs. A great lover of art, he devoted all his time and skill to the development of landscape photography, and his views were always singularly accurate, artistic and clear. He leaves a widow and family.[276]

In his obituary Sweet's achievements and driving forces in life were boiled down to photography and the development of the Northern Territory. As a photographer he was praised for the clarity and artistry of his images, and for his devotion to the development of landscape photography. As a Mariner his earlier career was glossed over and his greatest achievement as the Pilot of the Roper River was ignored with only the vaguest references to his surveying work. As a man he was summed up as kind, unusually energetic and popular within his own element of society. The words 'very popular in the position in which he moved' hint that he was not popular outside that position. It is a coded phrase that politely directs us to a person's failings by delineating the limits of their successes. Sweet was not popular with several people in positions of authority. Captain Douglas loathed him. Douglas's daughter looked down on him as a comical 'little man'. The Crown Lands Office refused to reimburse him for his Northern Territory costs (incurred by Douglas) as well as refusing him proper recognition for his Roper River charts. The City Council constantly rejected his well intentioned ideas for revenue raising and then blatantly stole his idea without apology. Sweet had also met unhappily with two Marine Board enquiries. Encoded between the lines of his obituary there is a sense that Sweet was not a man who was always taken seriously. He was not a threat, he was neither powerful nor well connected, and he could be exploited.

No wonder Sweet 'took little or no part in public affairs' – another code, signifying that he was not of sufficiently high social or economic standing to participate in committees or sit on boards. He lived in Wakefield's South Australia which had been envisaged as a utopian version of Great Britain, complete with its entrenched class system. Sweet was lower class. Although he ran a business it was in a service industry. Even worse, he was a sailor. Even the element of art within his photography did not elevate him above his working class ways, his accent and his jolly outgoing personality. He lacked a number of attributes: a formal education, proper mastery of the Queen's English and the cultivated niceties of the higher classes.

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[275] *Adelaide Observer,* 09.01.1886.
[276] ibid.

Sweet made a good living from photography but he did not make a fortune. His will was sworn at probate at under £440, a modest sum by the standards of the day.[277] The sum is commensurate with what one might expect: a modest house in Bowden, his photographic equipment, a carriage, horse and some household effects.[278] He had raised nine children but only three had flown the nest. Annie had married in 1880 and two of the boys were old enough to be earning their own living or working in the business. Sweet still had the upkeep of four daughters and two boys under sixteen. This gives a broad measure of his financial success in the photography business and his determination to follow his calling as a landscape photographer, whatever the cost.

Mrs Sweet resumed work soon after her husband's death, finishing the commissions he had already started, including an album of *Views of the Adelaide Botanic Gardens* (for the Garden's Director) and another for London's Indian and Colonial Exhibition.[279] She continued to run the Adelaide Arcade studio until 1891.[280] It is difficult to be certain how much new photography took place in the business after Sweet's death. A photograph of Sweet's grave shows that his family continued to take photographs after his death using the same camera and processes, just as he had taught them.[281] However, only a few photographs from his studio can be dated with any certainty after January 1886. Mrs Sweet could have made a living from reprinting his popular subjects, especially with studio rent reductions following the economic crisis.

Sweet's twenty years in Adelaide almost perfectly matched South Australia's boom period. Both Captain Sweet, and the most prosperous period of his beloved colony, met their end at the hands of South Australia's scorching heat in 1886. The boom had 'gathered momentum' throughout Sweet's time in Adelaide but the droughts which returned to the upper north after the construction of the Great Northern Railway eventually took their toll. In February 1886, a month after Sweet's death, the boom 'came to an abrupt halt when the Commercial Bank of South Australia collapsed'.[282] The Bank had tried to 'prop up the heavily dependent rural sector, an attempt doomed to failure due to the

[277] Probate of Will of Samuel White Sweet, photographer, Supreme Court of South Australia, Testamentary Causes Jurisdiction. Augustine Stow, Registrar of Probate No. 08865, 02.04.1886, copy obtained from the Supreme Court of South Australia, 15.05.2007; Gael Newton, 'Townsend Duryea 1823-1888: A biography', Photo-web website, <http://photo-web.com.au/duryea/default.htm>, viewed 15.07.2009; Conversation with Marcel Saffier, Duryea expert, at *Photographies: new histories, new practices* conference, ANU, 11.07.2008.

[278] Sweet's Will, having been made in 1861, makes no mention of his photographic equipment or any specific assets but simply leaves everything to his widow Elizabeth.

[279] *Adelaide Observer*, 30.01.1886.

[280] ACCA C40 S55 1891-92; roll no. 1797; ACCA C5 S34 vol. 39, 1892, ass. no. 486; ibid. vol. 40, 1893, ass. no. 486; ACCA C5 S34 vols. 33-39, 1886-1892.

[281] Studio of Captain Sweet, *Captain Sweet's Grave*, c.1886 (1886-1892), North Road Cemetery, Nailsworth, SLSA uncatalogued.

colony's worsening droughts which had set in from 1882'.[283] The collapse of other local and intercolonial banks quickly followed and the glory of the boom time was relegated to its architecture and to Captain Sweet's 'Views of South Australia'.

Summary

The first step towards a better understanding of Sweet's photography has been to understand him as a person, a Naval man and a businessman. Now, when we view his photographs in an art gallery, we can begin to appreciate that he was not raised in any fine art tradition, nor were his images created with any primary intentions of that kind. They were created by a man with a passion for progress – for new worlds, new technologies and new markets for those willing to work hard. He was a man of his time – an Englishman watching a new world in the process of creation, from the steam train and electric telegraph to the camera and new colonies upon which its lens could be turned. His early life was immersed in the Navy, watching its ships head off to enlarge the empire and then himself becoming part of that vast expansion in China and India. His naval career not only instilled him with a passion for progress and colonial development, it also taught him the skills that made him such a technically superb photographer: a talent for physics, optics, chemistry and spatial relationships. The theodolite and octant prepared him well for the camera. His navigational and surveying skills, as well as his sense of adventure and travel-bug gave him tools and opportunities for accessing the sites of progress at the frontline of colonial development. Being a mariner and a man of his time also had an enormous bearing on his photographic style, as will become clear in Chapter 5.

With his love of outdoor life, of science and with his sense of adventure, outdoor photography in a new colony made perfect sense. Sweet also had the personality to be able to make a success of it. He was energetic, adventurous, jovial and affable. He was 'a character' and his persona was good for customer relations and for business. His business success also owed a great deal to having grown up in a the family run pawnbrokers, and to his intrepid family team who were as much a part of 'Sweet's Studio' as he was. He might have achieved far greater commercial success had he been blessed with higher birth, a more refined accent and the social advantages of his (already wealthy) competitor Townsend Duryea. Sweet was frowned on by social superiors to whom the achievement of a high Naval rank by a low-born man was an affront to their sense of social order. He suffered

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[282] S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling (eds), *Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide*, Corporation of the City of Adelaide, Richmond, South Australia, 1990, p.27.
[283] ibid.

many setbacks as a result, yet, through talent, determination, sheer hard work, and the support of a fearless family, Sweet became the first South Australian to make a living solely from views photography. His achievements seem all the more remarkable for this knowledge.

Sweet's photographic career, the peak of the Views Trade and the South Australian boom-time all converged during a twenty year period: the perfect recipe for creating the most extensive visual record of a colony in its heyday. Before examining this incredible oeuvre, we first need to know more about Sweet's photographic practice, processes and materials as well as the nature of his business and studios so that we can understand his work within the photographic technology of the time and within the economic context of the commercial views trade.

CHAPTER THREE

CAPTAIN SWEET'S PHOTOGRAPHY BUSINESS

There is no substitute for fine craft; we can have craft without art, but not art without craft.
Ansel Adams

The next step in understanding Sweet's photographs is to see them in their technological and economic contexts. This chapter places Sweet's photographs in the local and global contexts of photographic technology and the photography industry of the mid-late nineteenth century. It explains how Sweet's practice was firmly situated within the world of commercial photography - technologically, economically and aesthetically. It also shows how the forces of modernity and progress manifested themselves in the very techniques he used and in his own innovative and experimental practice. It explains how Sweet's photographs were created, the aspects of his practice that were unique, and those in which he followed the standard commercial practice of the day. It confirms Sweet's technological mastery as a major factor in his success and explains how his business operated within the photography market. An examination of his studios and workspaces provides a physical and economic context that helps us to understand the remarkable technical and financial challenges Sweet overcame.[284]

Today, when we look at glass plate negatives, wooden box cameras and yellowing prints, it can be difficult to remember that in the 1860s they represented the latest shiny new technology. Collodion wet plates and the albumen silver printing process revolutionised photography, making the commercial market of the views trade possible. These processes, the views trade, and Sweet himself, all hit their peak at the very same time as South Australia hit its boom-time.

The technical aspects of Sweet's work, and the craft involved, include his cameras and equipment, negatives, printing process, signatures and staff within a commercial studio. Its focus is the physical nature of a photograph and how it is made. Today, when creating a photograph can involve as little as click and 'send', it can be hard for viewers to imagine what a remarkable feat it was in Sweet's time to create a single photograph, let alone one taken outdoors. The photographer did everything from making the negative emulsion to printing and mounting the photograph by hand. He needed a

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[284] See Appendices 3, 4 and 5 for more detailed information about Sweet's studios and workspaces, technical practice, signatures and marks of authorship.

huge volume of information, as well as years of practice and experimentation. Sweet acquired his

skills rapidly with his Master Mariner's aptitudes and time aboard ship to read the wealth of

photographic publications available, like Thomas Rodger's 1854 paper on the wet collodion process,

Désiré van Monckhoven's 1863 *Treatise on Photography* and John Towler's 1864 *Silver*

Sunbeam.[285] From 1850 onwards there were also several journals such as *The British Journal of*

Photography publishing the latest ideas and instructions.

Sweet entered the world of photography as the most prolific processes of the nineteenth century

were being refined and replacing other processes worldwide.[286] Collodion wet plate negatives were

introduced in 1851 and remained the most popular negative process from 1855 until the mid-

1880s.[287] The advent of wet plate negatives was accompanied by that of albumen silver paper for

making contact prints. Invented in 1850, albumen silver became the prevalent photographic printing

method until about 1890.[288] These processes ideally suited each other, creating the perfect negative

/ positive pair. They revolutionised the photography industry as the first processes capable of mass-

producing photographs on a commercial scale and quickly replaced earlier processes. They were

equally suited to both outdoor and studio photography and were taken up by portrait and landscape

photographers alike.[289] Some other processes continued in the margins, within artistic circles and

for specific purposes, but Sweet's processes were firmly situated in mainstream commercial

practice. Both processes were well evolved by the time Sweet reached Australia in 1864, but he

kept ahead of the field with the latest refinements and his own cutting-edge experimentation. In

1878 he was the first photographer in South Australia to use gelatin dry plates, although he

continued with wet plates when circumstances required.[290] Sweet adhered to collodion wet plate

negatives and albumen silver photographic prints throughout his career, exercising considerable

variety in his use of toning processes and surface coatings, and gearing his refinements for the

commercial market.

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[285] T Rodger, *Paper on the wet collodion process read to a meeting of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts*, Edinburgh, February 1854, extracts available at EdinPhoto website, published by Peter Stubbs, viewed 18.08.2009, <http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/1_early/1_early_photography_-_processes_-_wet_collodion.htm>; D van Monckhoven, *A Popular Treatise on Photography, also a description of, and remark on, the stereoscope and photographic optics, etc. etc.*, trans. WH Thornthwaite, Virtue Brothers & Co., London, 1863, viewed 01.04.2009, <http://albumen.stanford.edu/library/monographs/monckh/notes.html>; J Towler, *The Silver Sunbeam*, Joseph H Ladd, New York, 1864, facsimile edition of Morgan and Morgan Inc., Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, 2nd printing, 1974, viewed 01.04.2009, <http://albumen.stanford.edu/library/monographs/sunbeam/index.html>.
[286] See Appendix 4 for more detail.
[287] G Baldwin, *Looking at Photographs: a guide to technical terms*, J Paul Getty Museum, British Museum Press, Los Angeles and London, 1991, p.27; F Scott Archer (1813-1857) published the first practical instructions for collodion wet plates in 1851; see also 'The early history of the wet collodion process', *The British Journal of Photography*, 08.01.1875, p.16.
[288] Baldwin, op. cit., p.7.
[289] ibid., p.81.

Cameras

Although no evidence has been found of the exact cameras or lenses Sweet used, he predominantly used 8 ½ x 6 ½" glass negatives (a standard British Full-plate) and a corresponding British sliding box camera, probably like the one in Plate 8a or 8b.[291] At times, he also used an 8 x 10" box camera and corresponding negatives.
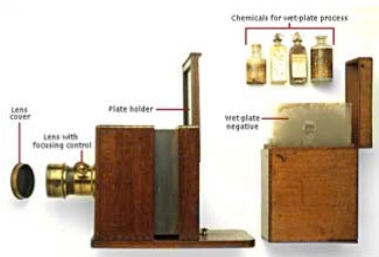
Plate 8a
A simple sliding box field camera,
with chemicals and glass negative

Plate 8b
Thomas Ottewill & Co. Folding Sliding Box Camera for
collodion wet plates, 1853
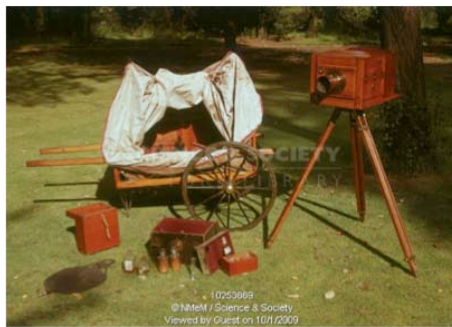
Plate 9
Thomas Ottewill's 1853 folding sliding box camera with handcart dark-tent and photographic kit

In addition to the camera, Sweet's range of field equipment (similar to that in Plate 9) included a tripod, dark-tent, box of glass plates, box of chemicals, developing dishes, plate-holders, water and buckets, a spirit lamp and measures. Sweet may have used a handcart for city centre views, but a horse and cart was required for further afield. The volume of equipment shows how essential his family team of assistants were, and what a huge financial investment he committed to the business. In 1856, a complete set of apparatus for collodion wet plate and albumen silver photography (without a dark-tent) started at £37.[292] His dark-tent cost £5 5s, bringing the kit cost well over a month's wages for Sweet at the peak of his maritime career.[293] Then there were all the consumables and

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[290] Invented in 1871 by Richard Maddox (1816-1902).

[291] An analysis of the dimensions of 1,429 catalogued prints is documented in Appendix 4. BE Jones et. al., op. cit., p.494.

[292] British price for a set for 6½ x 8 ½" plates, Bland & Long's 1856 catalogue, reproduced EdinPhoto website, op. cit.

[293] The portable dark-tent advertised in Bland & Long's 1856 catalogue resembles the model Sweet used on his 1869 trip to Darwin.

chemicals, like silver nitrate which cost 4s an ounce.[294] Once Sweet was in Australia prices were much higher due to importation costs.[295]

This complex equipment required considerable skill and knowledge. Sweet made expert calculations concerning the lens, light, temperature, humidity and exposure time to create images that were well exposed for shadow detail, usually achieving sharp focus well into the distance. Sweet was more adept than most at compensating for perspective distortion when photographing buildings. Plate 10 shows a photograph of the Theatre Royal by an unknown photographer in which the buildings lean inwards, seemingly in danger of collapse. In Sweet's photograph (Plate 11) he compensated by placing his camera at half the height of the building, using the first floor window of the building opposite.

Plate 10
Example of perspective distortion
Unknown photographer
Theatre Royal
c.1878, Adelaide

Plate 11
Sweet has compensated for perspective distortion
Captain Samuel Sweet
Theatre Royal, Hindley Street
1881, Adelaide

Although adjustable lens boards and tilting camera backs later became available, Sweet continued to use elevated viewpoints for architectural shots.[296] Either he did not acquire the new cameras or, more likely, he continued photographing from first floor windows and shop awnings because of the compositional benefits, which became one of his most recognisable stylistic features.

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[294] Bland & Long, op. cit.
[295] Australia did not have the population size to support the mass production of photographic materials that made them much cheaper in America.
[296] M Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', in MR Peres (ed.), *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th edition, Focal Press, USA, 2007, p.56.

Negatives

Today, whenever we experience early photography, it is usually by viewing photographic prints. It is rare to see the negatives from which they were created or to see reference to the negative process in an exhibition. Yet it was in the creation of the negative that Sweet's greatest artistry and skill were required and that his unique compositional style was fused in collodion. Our appreciation of his work is greatly compromised without understanding this stage of photographic creation and Sweet's unique expression of the negative process.

Briefly, the wet collodion process involved pouring a collodion solution with 'a very small percentage of potassium iodide' over a prepared plate of glass 'leaving a thin, clear film containing the halide'.[297] The plate was sensitised in a solution of silver nitrate, exposed while still wet and then developed 'by inspection under red light using acid-restrained pyrogallic acid'.[298] The plate was thoroughly washed before being fixed in sodium thiosulphate, washed again, dried, and finally coated with a protective varnish.[299] Most parts of this process were carried out in a dark-tent, at the photographic site. The original texts must be read in full to appreciate the enormity of the process and the number of complex judgments and adjustments it involved. Although the overall mechanics of the process remained fairly consistent, innumerable variations were possible, some of which are evident in Sweet's work, together with some aspects that challenged even him. Sweet's negatives, and the prints he made from them, shed light on his technical prowess and the reasons he excelled as a views photographer, including his remarkable ability to compose an image so that it contained smaller successful compositions within the overall frame.

At the time of writing, only three of Sweet's glass plate negatives have been closely examined (including Plates 12 and 13).[300] They are all collodion wet plates whose dimensions most closely match British 8 x 10″ plates (20.3 x 25.3cm).[301] An analysis of his print dimensions confirm his use of 8 x 10″ plates and, more often, 8 ½ x 6 ½" Full Plates.[302] Plates 12 and 13 are two negatives from a set of five forming a panorama, some panels of which were sold as individual prints. This was one way in which Sweet obtained maximum value from a single negative.

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[297] ibid., p.61.
[298] ibid.
[299] ibid.
[300] Appendix 4.
[301] BE Jones et al., op. cit., p.494.
[302] Appendix 4.

Plate 12
Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879 (2nd panel)
1879, Port Adelaide
positive scan of a wet plate negative

Plate 13
Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879 (5th panel)
1879, Port Adelaide
positive scan of a wet plate negative

Several of Sweet's views were carefully composed so that they could be sold singly or assembled into a panorama. The first panel of his other 1879 panorama of Port Adelaide was also sold as an individual print, and appears in four albums.[303] However, Sweet never attempted to compete with Duryea's much larger Adelaide panorama (22.6 x 389 cm) or Bayliss's enormous Sydney Panorama (52.5 x 985 cm).[304] Such enormous panoramas could only be achieved with rich patronage, government support or a thriving portraiture business to bear the cost of larger cameras and associated larger plates, trays, holders and paper. Large panoramas were a showpiece rather than a money earner.[305] Everything else about Sweet's practice confirms he could have given Bayliss and Holtermann a run for their money. Sweet had three reasons for assembling panoramas from 8 x 10" or Full Plates: his business did not support lavish expenditure on larger cameras and equipment; the topography of Adelaide and its surrounds did not lend itself to the more dramatic views of Sydney Harbour; and, by photographing panoramas in with Full Plates, Sweet could also sell each panel as an individual print.

The most valuable negatives were those from which the greatest number of prints could be sold. By carefully crafting his compositions, from one negative Sweet could obtain a full sized print, a smaller

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[303] Panorama: *Port Adelaide*, April 1879, Port Adelaide, 5 albumen silver photographs mounted as a panorama, SLSA B 518/A-C.

[304] Townsend Duryea (1823-1888), *Panorama of Adelaide*, 1865, Adelaide, 14 albumen silver photographs, 22.6 x 389.0 cm, SLSA B 5099; Charles Bayliss (1850-1897, photographer) and Bernard O Holtermann (1838-1885, commissioner), *Panorama of Sydney Harbour and suburbs from the north shore*, 1875, Sydney, 23 albumen silver photographs, 52.5 x 985.0 cm, NGA 82.1159.1.1-23.

[305] Gael Newton, 'Out of sight: R Vere Scott and RP Moore forgotten Federation era panoramic photographers', paper presented at *Migration and Exchange Symposium: Early Australian Photography*, organised by Gael Newton, Anne

print of the central scene and a section of a panorama. This shrewdness enabled Sweet to make a livelihood from views photography. Melissa Miles has talked about the 'contextual mobility' of today's photography and its power 'to isolate a subject within the camera's frame, seize it from its original context and make it available for consumption at others times and places [making] it a particularly suitable medium for slipping between and across contextual frames'.[306] Miles could be describing the contextual mobility of Sweet's photographs whereby he could make one photograph suit a range of purposes.

He used this approach to create small pocket albums of views. Plates 14 and 15 (two prints from the same negative) show how adept Sweet was at composing views within views so that smaller, equally pleasing, images could be cropped from the larger prints. This economical approach to photography reflects the tight financial margins within which his business operated.

Plate 14
King William Street
1883-85, Adelaide
21.4 x 15.8cm

Plate 15
King William Street
1883-85, Adelaide
13.5 x 8cm

His tight budget may also explain why only a few of Sweet's prints exceed 8 x 10″. The cost of separate cameras for occasional large commissions was not merited when 8 x 10″ plates could be enlarged by a specialist. Some competitors, like Freeman, could afford larger views cameras because the mainstay of their business was more lucrative portraiture.[307] Sweet seems to have been more creative than most in getting every scrap of value from his limited resources.

Maxwell and Max Quanchi, School of Culture and communication, University of Melbourne, Potter Gallery, 29-30.11.2012 (papers due for publication 2014).
[306] Melissa Miles, 'The Art of Contextual Mobility: rethinking Photography, Privacy and Public Space', conference paper, 10.07.2008, *Photographies: New Histories, New practices*, conference, op. cit.
[307] See, for example, George Freeman, *The Adelaide Club, North Terrace, Adelaide*, c.1880, 40.2 x 52cm, AGSA, 791Ph29.

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Some of Sweet's prints exhibit evidence of aspects of the negative process that challenged even him. Although most of his work shows a superior command of the chemical adjustments required in various climatic conditions of South Australia (hot and dry in the summer) and the Northern Territory (hot and humid in the wet season), it was not always possible to maintain the appropriate thicknesses of the collodion or to coat plates evenly. Plates 16 & 17 (two prints from the same negative) share the same streak along the bottom right, caused by collodion pooling in the negative.

Plate 16
King William Street, with Glenelg train
1880, Adelaide

Plate 17
King William Street, with Glenelg train
1880, Adelaide

Sweet's skies often contain perplexing marks and shadows that are clearly not natural celestial features. Collodion wet-plates tended to over-expose skies and, being equally sensitive to blue and white light, white clouds in a blue sky were rarely recorded at all.[308] Unfortunately, rather than giving the impression of an everlasting summer of cloudless skies, this left 'large areas to feature the chemical and procedural mishaps of the photographer' including 'the indelicate handling of the plates and of applications of collodion, silver and developer'.[309] There was also a tendency for skies to appear muddy, a condition afflicting many of Sweet's prints (Plate 18).

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[308] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.47. Before the advent of orthochromatic emulsions in the 1880s the tonal values of photographs 'did not correspond to actuality. Red and yellow areas appeared too dark, blues and violets too light', Baldwin, 1991, op. cit., pp.62-63.
[309] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., pp.47 & 61.
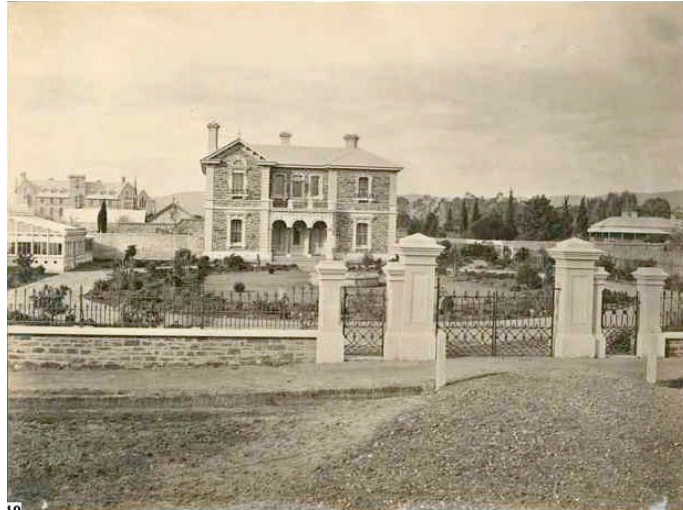
Plate 18
Example of a muddy sky
Residence of John Dunn, Jr., Hackney Road
1873-85, Adelaide

A few of his prints show evidence of ghosting – the blurring of an object or figure caused by the very slow exposure times of collodion. Sweet was adept at minimising blurring of figures. However, with an exposure time of eight to 20 seconds or more there was time for a tram to approach Sweet along *Rundle Street* (Plate 19), round the corner into King William Street and exit the frame of the picture. It leaves a ghost of itself only while it slowed to round the corner. It is only once the movement of the tram is imagined that the orchestrated stillness of the figures becomes apparent.

Plate 19
The 'ghost' of a tram is caught by a slow exposure.
Rundle Street
1878-82, Adelaide

Plate 20
Showing 'ghost' duck crossing the street
Hotel, Gawler
c.1877, Gawler

Ghosting is a permanent reminder of the long exposure times, prompting our realisation that any crisp, clear figures are the result of Sweet's command over the people in the image. Blurry figures are usually passers-by. Crisp figures are usually people Sweet has placed in the image with

instructions to remain still. His command did not extend to the duck crossing the road in front of the Commercial Hotel in Gawler (Plate 20).

Occasionally Sweet (or his assistant) damaged the negative emulsion while washing it to remove reactive substances. The vigour required could cause the emulsion to lift away and Sweet would have to replace it by carefully manoeuvring the detached parts of the emulsion back into place with 'a very fine and light jet of water'.[310] Van Monckhoven claimed to 'have often in this way replaced a film upon the glass after it has been entirely removed and torn at the edges, and in spite of all obtained good results'.[311] Plate 21 shows a negative where the emulsion has been lost and only a potion of it replaced. Plate 22 shows a print in which the lost emulsion (in the negative) appears as a black area in the print.

Plate 21
Detail from *Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879* (5th panel)
1879, Port Adelaide
Positive scan of a wet plate negative
showing emulsion loss in negative

Plate 22
Detail from *Camel team*
1882, Farina
Showing evidence of emulsion loss in print

During the negative process, Sweet made many complex technical judgments regarding plate sensitisation, exposure times, developing time, strength of the developing solution and so on, all according to light, temperature and subject. He worked in a tiny dark-tent on site and it is remarkable that, from around 2,000 photographs, so few show signs of the pitfalls that made the collodion process so difficult. The majority of his negatives were well exposed, with good detail and contrast. They were thoroughly washed (usually without emulsion loss) and properly developed and fixed. One notable skill was Sweet's superior technical mastery of contrast control by adjusting the amount of acetic acid in the pyrogallic developer – adding more where there were large areas of

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[310] van Monckhoven, op. cit.
[311] ibid.

white clothing, as in Plate 23, and less for images with large grey areas.[312] The difficulty of achieving good contrast accounts for why so many photographs of the period appear flat and dull.

Plate 23
Overland Telegraph construction party
1872, Roper River, NT

This brief description of some of the features of the negative process found in Sweet's own prints and negatives gives a small glimpse of the kinds of challenges facing the outdoor photographer. The evidence of pooling, emulsion detachment and other pitfalls reflect the reality of working in difficult conditions, scorching heat and wind in a tiny tent the size of a picnic table. The relatively few examples of technical mishaps show that Sweet was better than most at mastering collodion wet plates.

It is difficult to learn more about what innovations Sweet introduced to the collodion process without intrusive chemical analysis of his negatives. Even then, most evidence was washed away at the time of the negative's creation. Most of the interesting chemicals did their job and were eradicated, leaving no evidence of his formulae for sensitising, developing and fixing. However, it was not so difficult to discover that, in 1878, he was the first South Australian photographer to try the new, troublesome, dry plate negatives.[313] They were originally announced in Britain in 1871 but were plagued with problems. Sweet mastered them while other photographers, worldwide, were still struggling with them, or were avoiding them altogether. Gelatin dry plates were commercially available in the late 1870s but 'were a hard sell to professional photographers who were used to getting excellent results with the wet collodion process'.[314] Although they were being manufactured

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[312] ibid.
[313] *Adelaide Observer*, 23.11.1878.
[314] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.34.

on a larger scale by 1880, they did not achieve general acceptance until the mid-1880s.[315] It was not until the 1890s that 'commercial and amateur photographers came to realise how to properly process their materials'.[316] Sweet was remarkably ahead of the field by introducing dry plates to South Australia in 1878.

Plate 24
Bowman's Cattle
1878 Bowman's Station, Campbell House Park
albumen silver photograph from a gelatin wet plate negative

The press reported that Sweet's photograph of Bowman Brothers' cattle (Plate 24) was 'executed under the instantaneous process'.[317] The term 'instantaneous' was an elastic one, its meaning changing 'repeatedly throughout the nineteenth century as a result of technological improvements'.[318] In this instance it almost certainly refers to Sweet's use of dry plates. The rapidity with which Sweet adopted the new technology is astounding. According to Osterman, 'As far as can be ascertained, the first ready-made dry plates were advertised in April 1878 by Wratten and Wainwright and the Liverpool Dry-Plate Company'.[319] Allowing for advertisements to reach Australia, Sweet could not have ordered and received Liverpool Dry-Plate by late June. Perhaps other plates, of which Osterman is unaware, were available earlier. Alternatively, Sweet could have purchased emulsions, which were available from 1873 in England, with which to coat his own plate (although it did not travel well).[320] Either way, Sweet was well ahead of the field but used both wet

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[315] ibid.

[316] ibid.

[317] *Adelaide Observer*, 23.11.1878.

[318] P Prodger, 'Instantaneous Photography', in J Hannavy, *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, vol. 1, CRC Press, 2008, p.746; Conversation with Stephen Beckett, specialist in nineteenth century photographic processes, Adelaide, 14.01.2010. See Appendix 4.

[319] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.71.

[320] ibid.

and dry plates on his trip to Bowman Brothers' Stations and the nearby Aboriginal Mission.[321] Other photographs from that trip were almost certainly taken with wet plates, exhibiting classic wet plate evidence.[322] However, the images of the Bowman Brothers' residence, *Campbell House* (Plates 25 and 26) are from dry plates. They are sharper and have excellent cloud detail with no evidence of clouds having been printed in separately.

Plate 25
Campbell House, Campbell Park
1878, Lake Albert, near Meningie

Plate 26
Campbell House, Campbell Park
1878, Lake Albert, near Meningie

The quality of Sweet's first dry plates is a significant testament to his technical prowess. The transition from wet to dry plates was notoriously difficult and many photographers avoided them until the 1890s. They were highly sensitive and easily overexposed as photographers were used to much longer wet plate exposure times.[323] Fractions of a second are much more difficult to time than, say, ten seconds, the margin for error much less, and shutter technology was still in its infancy.[324] They required much longer fixing and washing times and their increased sensitivity to light also meant that darkrooms had to be genuinely dark.[325] The filtered light with which wet plates could be processed caused fogging in dry plates, something that can be seen in Plate 27 and other photographs from Sweet's 1882 trip on the Great Northern Railway.[326] Aside from that 1882 trip, Sweet seems to have taken to dry plates with an adroitness few others exhibited.

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[321] *Register,* 18.07.1878.
[322] e.g. Catalogue Plates 807 & 809.
[323] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.34.
[324] ibid., p.91.
[325] ibid., p.79.
[326] ibid., p.34; also known as the Government Gums Railway.

Plate 27
Afghan camel drivers
1882, Beltana

Sweet continued to use both wet and dry plates well after 1880.[327] Dry plates had the advantage of one seventh of the exposure times of collodion wet plates, reducing the problem of movement and making it possible to capture landscapes and cloud detail in a single exposure.[328]   They could be pre-loaded into plate holders in the darkroom and used on-site without messy chemical sensitising and developing in a dark tent. Once exposed, they were kept in the plate holder until they could be conveniently developed in a darkroom.[329]   This explains why Sweet used only dry plates on his whistle-stop 1882 railway trip. However, even by the end of Sweet's career, dry-plates not been perfected and were still not capable of the remarkable detail of wet collodion.

Whether working with wet or dry plates, most of what is admired in Sweet's photographs today was achieved during the negative creation. Each negative is a unique repository of his creative decisions and his technical wizardry. In some senses it is the negative, not the print, that is the original work, yet it is the print that we usually encounter as viewers.

Albumen silver prints

Matched with collodion wet plates, albumen silver printing made it possible to print multiple copies of photographs for the views trade. These are contact prints made by exposing light sensitive albumen

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[327] Conversation with Gael Newton, senior curator of photography, NGA, 1.09.2009.
[328] Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit., p.198; Wet plates over exposed skies and cloud detail had to be photographed and printed using two separate negatives.
[329] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.34; Heritage Collections Council (Australia), 'Caring for Cultural Material', reCollections: Caring for Collections Across Australia, Heritage Collections Council, viewed 13.11.2009, <http://archive.amol.org.au/recollections/1/3/18.htm>.

silver paper to sunlight through direct contact with the negative. As a contact print, the albumen photograph is always the same size as the negative.

In Sweet's time the overwhelming majority of photographs were printed on albumen silver paper using sunlight.[330] Approximately 85% of surviving nineteenth century photographic prints are on albumen paper.[331] Sweet's adherence to albumen silver as his only printing process has been confirmed by preliminary testing of samples by the National Gallery of Australia Conservation Department and comparison of their findings to all other prints inspected by the researcher.[332] Unlike Sweet's elusive negatives, the prints make it easier for us to investigate his innovations and adaptations.

Sweet used good quality, ready-made albumen paper from the Blanchet Frères et Kléber Co. at Rives in France – one of two companies who supplied the majority of paper to albumen paper factories.[333] In 1888 just one albumen paper manufacturer in Dresden used over 6,000,000 egg whites - an indication of the size of this enormous industry.[334] Even with ready-made albumenised paper the printing process for a commercial photographer required the work ethic of a trojan, reliable assistants and efficient (almost production-line) work practices. The enormity of the task and its steps are outlined in Appendix 3. This section highlights specific features of Sweet's own printing practice.

Collodion wet-plates left large blank areas of over-exposed skies which were unforgiving of procedural mishaps and leaving many skies looking muddy. One remedy Sweet used for this is evident in his prints. It involved masking out the sky during printing, leaving a blank sky in the print either by painting the sky area with 'opaque' (pigment in a gum binder) or applying a paper mask to the glass side of the plate.[335] Both methods have been observed in Sweet's negative of *Rundle Street* which was retouched on the emulsion side with red opaquing fluid and has a paper mask adhered to the glass side over the sky.[336] Blocking-out is evident in *Black's Whurlie* (Plates 28a to

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[330] By 1855 most photographers had some experience of using albumen paper and by 1860 it was the dominant medium for printing photographs: JM Reilly, *The Albumen and Salted Paper Book: The history and practice of photographic printing, 1840-1895*, Light Impressions Corporation, Rochester, 1980, available at <http://albumen.conservation-us.org/library/monographs/reilly/>.

[331] Reilly, *Albumen and Salted Paper Book*, op. cit.

[332] Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, James Ward, Paper Conservator, and Karen Magee, Researcher, NGA Conservation Department, 1-2.09.2009.

[333] See Appendix 4.

[334] The Dresdener Albuminfabriken AG. For more information on the factory process for making albumen paper see the excellent account in Reilly, *Albumen and Salted Paper Book*, op. cit.

[335] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p. 47.

[336] *Rundle Street*, Adelaide, wet plate glass negative, 20.2 x 25.5cm, private collection, viewed 30.04.2008.

28h) where the spears cropped out by the masking process have been drawn into the negative by hand. The prints exhibit different marks from the masking processes, suggesting that Sweet may have made several copy negatives and masked them separately.[337]

a

b

c

d

e

f

g

h

Plates 28a to 28h
Blacks Whurlie [sic]
1878, Point McLeay
various collections

Often Sweet chose not to block out skies, even when they contained evidence of 'procedural mishaps' such as the 'cloud' to the right of the club in Plate 29 (centre right) which may have been caused by pooling developer. Sweet never blocked out skies if it meant obliterating telegraph or telephone wires (something that will be explained in Chapter 5), even when the wires can barely be seen crossing the sky, as they do in this print.

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[337] There are more extant prints of this than any other of Sweet's photographs. Its popularity explains the need for making copy negatives.

Plate 29
Adelaide Club, North Terrace
1878, Adelaide

(The telegraph lines are visible in the original print)

A common remedy for problem skies was to print in clouds from a separate negative, yet this does not feature in Sweet's work.[338] The time, effort and extra materials required made it an inefficient practice for a business whose profit margins were already small. This is indicative of trying to make a living from views photography rather than offering it as a sideline, financially bolstered by other work. Plate 30 shows real skies captured by dry plate. This contrasts with a variety of other peculiarities which appear in Sweet's skies resulting from either the problems caused by wet plates or from the remedies employed to correct them (Plates 30 to 32). It is possible some of these remedies were experiments at low cost alternatives to printing in skies form a second negative.

[338] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit. p.61.

Plate 30
Clouds successfully captured by the gelatin dry plate
Elder Park
1882-85, Adelaide

Plate 31
Unusual sky features
The Brocas, Woodville
1870-85, Woodville

Plate 32
Unusual sky features
Woodhouse, Summertown
1868, Summertown

Few other technical problems are evident in Sweet's printing techniques. There is, however, plenty of evidence of the technical excellence for which he became renowned. Toning was one area in which Sweet exhibited considerable variety and inventiveness, and one which can greatly enhance our appreciation of his work. The wide variety of hues he achieved through toning are more noticeable than any other South Australian photographer's because of the sheer volume of his work and the twenty year period over which he experimented with toning formulae. When new, 'albumen prints of the 1860s were characteristically rich brown-purple in tone and glossy'.[339] Today most have faded and changed colour to a liver-yellow hue, but those protected by Sweet's unique coatings retain their rich deep purple-brown tones. Reilly describes toning as 'the focal point of the whole processing operation' and 'the largest single factor in determining the final color of the print'.[340] Toning was standard practice to give the image permanence and to cool the naturally warm,

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[339] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.35.

yellowish-brown of the untoned print.[341] Sweet's prints exhibit a wide variety of tones and these rich colours, from soft yellow browns to rich glossy purples, form part of the fascinating aesthetic of his work. Plates 33a to 33d give an idea of the tonal variations between prints taken from the same 1882 dry plate negative. This variety indicates Sweet's experimentation with several gold toning formulae. For glossy albumen paper, alkaline gold toning methods was the norm, with innumerable variations listed in the 'many 19th-century manuals… most of them variations on the alkaline principle'.[342] Sweet appears to have used these alkaline gold toning formulae most often, although many of his extant prints exhibit 'a colder image tone, generally deep purple tending to black', associated with thiocyanate gold toners which were available after 1867.[343] Although the thiocyanate gold toners became popular they consumed more gold and 'never eclipsed the alkaline toners so beloved by albumen printers'.[344] This suggests that he experimented often within the most successful and affordable options but, for special commissions or albums, he used more luxurious formulae. Sweet's photographs for the 1878 Paris Exposition Universelle were 'enhanced by a warm tint like that produced by sepia being imparted by a process of Captain Sweet's own invention', which was probably a variation on one of the many gold toning formulae available.[345]
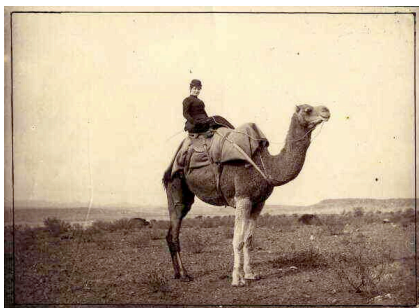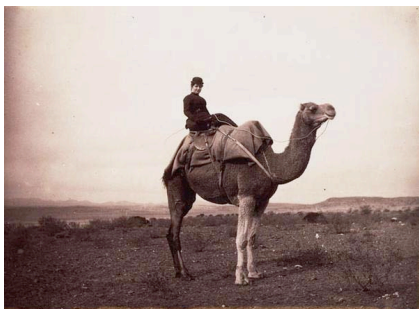
Plates 33a (top left) to 33d (bottom right)
Mrs Zillah Phillipson
1882, Beltana
Various collections

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[340] Reilly, *Albumen and Salted Paper Book*, op. cit.
[341] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment, processes, and definitions of the 19th century', op. cit., p.118.
[342] Reilly, *Albumen and Salted Paper Book*, op. cit.; Alkaline gold toning first proposed by James Waterhouse c,1855.
[343] ibid.
[344] ibid.
[345] *Adelaide Observer*, 15.09.1877.

Whilst other factors account for some colour variations, these prints certainly exhibit variations of the gold toning process.[346] The nature of commercial practice explains why so many toning variations arise among prints from a single negative. Sweet would initially have made a small batch of prints from this 1882 negative to display in his studio and send to his agent and the newspaper. Thereafter, when a print was ordered he might tone it with whatever formula he happened to be using at that time, select a toner based on the customer's request, try out a new formula or make his own aesthetic choice. Groups of prints within an album from Sweet's studio often share identical toning, suggesting that they were all printed with the same toner on the same day.

Sweet's toning practices add to our appreciation of each of his prints, even from a single negative, being a unique object. Marcia Pointon considers these subtle differences to elevate each print above the realms of mass production to the status of unique art object:

> Engravings, photographs and any form of print – of which there are normally more than one copy – may also be regarded in art historical study as original objects. In fact, each photographic print or the state of an engraved plate will be physically slightly different from all the rest in the series, even though the image may be identical.[347]

Today the unique qualities of each of Sweet's prints add to our enjoyment of them as works of art exhibited in a gallery setting but obscure the fact that the processes and choices that created them were essentially commercial.

Another distinctive feature of Sweet's prints is that they have suffered only limited fading – a testament to his good fixing and washing practices. Fixing, like toning, improved the permanence of the print and revealed a colour change from the purple hues of the toning bath to a more yellow / dull brown hue.[348] The chemistry of fixing was not always understood and many other photographers' prints faded from exhausted fixer or insufficient washing.[349] Good results came from considerable experience, pre-planning and access to water that was consistently the same temperature as the other processing solutions. It is possible that insufficient washing was responsible for the drastic deterioration in Joseph Brooks' print of *Tumbling Waters* (Plate 34), particularly if he printed it at Port Darwin camp, where he would have to make do with a couple of buckets.

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[346] Storage conditions, ageing and image reproduction processes (scanning, printing etc.) can result in further layers of colour change.
[347] M Pointon, *History of Art, A Student's Handbook*, 4th edn., Routledge, London, 1997, p.38.
[348] Reilly, *Albumen and Salted Paper Book*, op. cit.

Plate 34
William Barlow
Tumbling Waters
1869, South Arm, NT

Plate 35
Captain Samuel Sweet
Tumbling Waters
April 1869, South Arm, NT

Sweet's *Tumbling Waters* print (Plate 35) contrasts starkly with its crisp clarity. It was thoroughly fixed and washed showing Sweet's superior understanding of the actions and care needed to counteract the effect of Darwin's humidity. As a Ship's Captain Sweet also had stores of fresh water and better on-board facilities than the two other photographers on this expedition, many of whose prints have suffered a high level of deterioration and fading.

A major point of difference in Sweet's work was his celebrated 'wax process', the details of which have been a mystery until now. It refers to his experimental and adept use of a variety of glossy coatings giving his prints a wide range of surface finishes from soft satin to highly polished gloss. This aspect of Sweet's practice demonstrates his effort to conform to the commercial tastes of the day and to establish himself as the market leader in glossy photographic coatings. In contrast with today's tastes, nineteenth century photographers, newspaper reviewers, and customers judged the quality of a photograph by its gloss and the associated improvements in detail and contrast – the glossier the better. The preference for gloss was not universal. In the 'early decades of photography' it was 'viewed by many as inartistic'.[350] Von Waldhaussen cites the following 1862 article by way of example:

> To our own taste the use of albumenized paper, although under existing circumstances a necessary evil, is bad enough; but the additional use of varnishes is worse. The use of glazed surfaces for photographic pictures is, we believe, purely a conventional taste, which has arisen rather out of the exigencies of the art, than from any beauty such as surfaces possess. We cannot doubt for a

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[349] van Monckhoven, op. cit.; Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.79.

> moment that if prints equal in depth and vigour, purity, brilliancy, and detail could be produced on
> plain paper, albumenized prints would be at once scouted as vulgar and inartistic, and varnished
> prints no less so.[351]

Gloss soon became the dividing line between artistic and commercial photography. The artistic community considered gloss varnishes to be unattractive, preferring the matte surfaces which were more akin to drawings and engravings.[352] Glossy, reflective photographs could also be difficult to exhibit.[353] It was a different story in commercial photography and by the 1860s a glossy finish was 'the aesthetic standard for commercial work'.[354] The *Photographic News* praised a new machine which gave 'a most perfectly even burnished surface ... to the print, which seems to have a similar effect to the varnishing of a painting or polishing of wood; detail before scarcely seen seems to bear out in a most surprising manner, giving the utmost delicacy and finish to the print'.[355]

Sweet's photographs were often highly glossed, placing him firmly in the commercial aesthetic and he singled out this feature as his primary selling point. 'Captain Sweet's Wax Process' was frequently mentioned in his advertisements and newspaper reviews, first appearing in an 1866 Sydney review of Sweet's photograph of *Wallaroy* which was 'subjected to a process of which Mr Sweet claims to be the originator, called the "ceratype" process, wax forming an element in the materials used'.[356] The term 'ceratype' was not in general use but cerate paste was a term for encaustic paste – 'a waxy mixture for surface application in finished prints'.[357] Photographs had been waxed since the 1840s but according to von Waldthausen 'information on encaustic [wax] paste was first published in the English literature in The Photographic News in 1868'.[358] If Sweet was coating his photographs with an encaustic wax paste in 1866, he was well ahead of his time, especially if he was the originator of the 'ceratype' process. No further use of the term 'ceratype' has been found but from Sweet's first Adelaide advertisement with Gibson in November 1866 – which refers to 'Gibson & Sweet's wax views ... taken by their Wax Process' – his creation of gloss was variously referred to as 'wax process', 'waxed views', Sweet's 'special process', his 'glazing process'

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[350] C von Waldhaussen, 'Coatings on Salted Paper, Albumen, and Platinum Prints', in C McCabe (ed.), *Coatings on Photographs: materials, techniques and conservation*, Washington, 2005, p.80.

[351] ibid; original source: *Editor*, 21.02.1862, p.85.

[352] ibid., p.80.

[353] Conversation with Stephen Beckett, specialist in nineteenth century photographic processes, Adelaide, 14.01.2010.

[354] M Harnley, M Salazar & D Stulik, 'Coatings on the Photographic Prints of Gustave Le Gray', in McCabe, op. cit., p.290.

[355] von Waldhaussen, op. cit., p.80; original sources 'Varnishing Photographs', *The Photographic News* 6, no.194, 23.05.1862, p.248; *Editor*, 'Hints on Rolling Prints', *The Photographic News* 6, no.184, 14.03.1862, pp.121-122.

[356] J Kerr op. cit., p.774; original source *SMH*, 11.07.1866.

[357] BE Jones et al., op. cit., p.99.

[358] von Waldthausen, op. cit., p.85.

and his 'enamelled views'.[359] It was consistently described as a process of his own invention. Although occasionally photographs are referred to as having been 'taken by' his wax process, it is certain that this was not meant literally, and that all references to Sweet's Wax Process pertain to a finishing process.

In 1873 the *Register* described Sweet's views for the London Exhibition as having 'been submitted to what is known as the waxing process, by means of which a solution of collodion is applied to the surface of the picture, where it is allowed to harden, the result being to render the picture as glossy as though a plate of glass were placed before it'.[360] This is quite a different process from wax-based coatings, and is now termed collodion enamelling.[361] It may account for those prints described as 'enamelled views'. However, the matter of photographic coatings and finishing processes is more complex than it might seem. The first challenge is that in the nineteenth century the terms for various types of coatings were used interchangeably:

> The diverse vocabulary used to describe a coating may or may not accurately describe the material that is implied by its name, which could include terms such as encaustic, varnish, enamel, glaze, paste, size, polish, wax ... When discussing the action of coatings, descriptions such as finishing, gelatinizing, enamelling, waxing, varnishing, and glossing may be employed interchangeably.[362]

Sweet was not unusual in using more than one coating process, nor in describing them with the confusingly interchangeable terms of waxing, glazing and enamelling. Without further documentary evidence we 'must turn to the field of photograph conservation'.[363]

Coatings are open to scientific analysis as they are physically present in a way in which photographic processes are not. Sweet's negative and printing processes were complex reactions with light which left behind only limited evidence of the solutions and formulae that triggered them. Most of the evidence was washed down the sink. Coating and finishing processes leave more evidence – flattened paper fibres, wax, collodion, shellac and other ingredients. Coatings are the most tangible aspect of Sweet's practice – a physical element of his photographs with which we can directly engage and which might teach us more about the man and his work. Nowhere is nineteenth century solitary experimentation more evident than in coating and finishing processes:

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[359] *Register*, 21.11.1866 and e.g. *Bunyip*, 04.01.1868; *Adelaide Observer*, 15.06.1878, 15.09.1877; *Advertiser*, 03.04.1877.
[360] *Register*, 27.01.1873.
[361] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.63.
[362] von Waldthausen, op. cit., p.79.

> Some of the most elaborate interventions happened at the very last stage of making a photograph...
> Varnish, wax, and color were skilfully applied to the surface to improve the tonal scale, give greater
> depth, or make the finished result appear more appealing.[364]

With the help of Andrea Wise and the NGA Conservation Department, scientific analysis of a sample of Sweet's prints was conducted.[365] The methods and results are detailed in Appendix 4. The results confirmed Sweet's use of the albumen silver process and identified a range of papers and coatings he used. Microscopic analysis showed that two of the prints had been coated with a brush, giving a slightly uneven application, although most other samples appeared to have used a plate transfer coating process. One sample exhibited such a thick layer of coating that under 50x magnification the image appeared deep below the surface like the ground under a thick, frozen puddle (Plate 36).
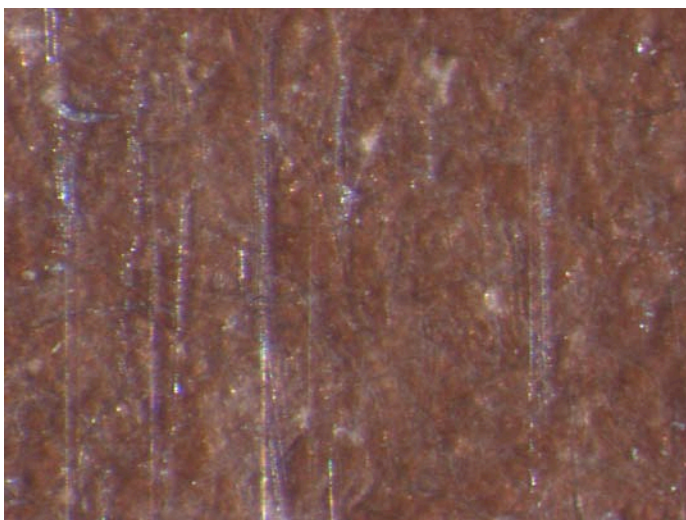
Plate 36
Section of *Residence at Pewsey Vale* under 50x magnification
showing image deep below a thick coating with surface scratches

This coating appeared to involve bleached shellac (white lac) which was used in several formulae for photographic varnishes and, although bleached, returns to its original amber colour with age.[366] Several of the prints appeared to have no coating whatsoever, such as Plate 37, which suffered considerable fading as a result.

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[363] R Taylor, 'Forward', in McCabe, 2005, op. cit., p.vii.
[364] ibid.
[365] Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, James Ward, Paper Conservator and Karen Magee, researcher, NGA Conservation Department, 01-02.09.2009.
[366] Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, NGA, 01.09.2009.

Plate 37
Albumen silver photograph without coating.
Hills railway, viaduct near Aldgate
1882-85, Adelaide Hills

Wise concluded that the samples provided were all quite different. They were all albumen silver prints. Some had no coating, while the rest had a range of different coatings. The coatings had been applied in different ways and were also breaking down in different ways. Among them, one appeared to contain shellac, and others collodion. Three photographs were sent for further instrumental analysis by FTIR.[367] All three tested positive for collodion but not for wax. Given the variety of coatings among Sweet's oeuvre, and his advertisement of 'ceratype' and 'wax process', it would be worthwhile conducting a more comprehensive analysis of his photographs. In order to obtain more meaningful results a full investigation would be required which is far beyond the scope of this thesis.

These preliminary findings, press reviews and a visual survey of his extant prints, confirm that Sweet usually applied a coating to his prints. The thickness and gloss of his coatings varied, as did his coating processes. They included encaustic wax pastes, collodion enamelling and possibly shellac varnishes. The prints with a visible coating were less faded than those without, in keeping with Mike Ware's findings that sulphurisation by exposure to air is a far greater cause of fading in albumen prints than exposure to light.[368] Coatings effectively sealed the print.

The variety of Sweet's coatings and toning practices confirm him as a highly experimental photographer. As Roger Taylor explains, this was not unusual and was often motivated by commercial, aesthetic or personal factors.

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[367] Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy.

> From the very earliest days, the goal of all photographers has been to secure better results from their equipment, chemistry, and materials. Cameras were modified, recipes were "improved," and finer materials sought. By its very nature, photography is susceptible to adaption. By adding a pinch here, or an extra minute or two there, the end result could be altered and improved. In most cases it was a matter of personal satisfaction, in others a matter of artistic or commercial advantage.[369]

Like French photographer Le Gray, Sweet 'constantly explored ways to increase the technical possibilities of photography through experimentation and innovation'.[370] Sweet, however, worked far from the centres of photographic innovation and appears to have been one of the most inventive in Australia. He is fascinating as an example of commercial views trade practice, and mystifying in terms of the details of his unique experimentation. Taylor tells us 'It is safe to assume that no two photographers ever followed the same procedure or working patterns' and that 'being something of a solitary profession, it meant these subtle variations in technique were often left unrecorded'.[371] Sweet is typical in this respect and there are no records of his experiments or adaptations. This makes it difficult to determine exactly how he worked:

> Sadly, much of the work they created often comes down to us stripped of the context of its production. We have little real knowledge of how individual photographers developed their negatives, made and finished their prints, or the degree to which they intervened at every stage. In this sense, their work remains mysterious and unknown.[372]

Yet each stage of Sweet's photographic process brings us closer to understanding his work in its commercial and technical context. A little has been discovered about his negatives, more about his printing process, and a great deal about his glossy coatings. It is often difficult to determine 'a photographer's original intent' for using a coating.[373] Some photographers began using coatings 'as a protective measure only ... others for aesthetic reasons' and they often 'served both practical and artistic purposes'.[374] Sweet's coatings were firmly geared towards the commercial aesthetic which called for gloss. He used his glossy coatings, and the fact that they were his own inventions, to market his photographs and to market himself as a photographer at the top of his profession. The commercial aesthetic was not divorced from art, but had different artistic values, to which Sweet

[368] Mike Ware, seminar presentation on conservation issues in salt and albumen paper prints, NGA, 01.09.2009.
[369] R Taylor, 'Forward' in McCabe, 2005, op. cit., p.vii.
[370] Harnly et al., op. cit., p.290; original source: Sylvie Aubenas, *Gustave Le Gray: 1820-1884*, Los Angeles, 2002, p.26.
[371] R Taylor, op. cit., p.vii.
[372] ibid.
[373] D Hess Norris, & NW Kennedy, 'The Conservation Treatment of Original Coatings on Photographs: Issues and Current Practice', in McCabe, op. cit.
[374] ibid.

adhered. Yet, even here, he had to make compromises to capture as wide a market share as possible by offering customers the choice of uncoated photographs at a cheaper price.

Cropping and formats

Another striking feature is Sweet's ability to get the most out of every single negative. As has been explained, this began at the negative stage when composing the view. Prior to sale, he cropped the print according to the format in which it would be sold. Plates 38 and 39 are from the same negative. Plate 38 has been cropped lightly (with a sharp knife) to remove untidy evidence of the negative processes and to enhance the composition, as he did with all his prints. Plate 39 has been heavily cropped, creating a much tighter composition for use in a smaller album.

Plate 38
Glenelg
1877-84, Glenelg

39
Glenelg
1877-84, Glenelg

Sweet created a variety of print sizes for mounting onto a variety of supports, reflecting the need to cater to all the purposes for which people might purchase a photograph: framed for display, in albums for sharing, or cartes-de-visite and cabinet cards which were often posted to friends and relatives. Some mounts were plain, others pre-printed with a border and sometimes his name and studio. He produced his own elaborate albums of views of Adelaide and South Australia, in which case he selected the appropriate album pages for mounting.[375] A view of his Adelaide Arcade window (Plate 40) shows a variety of photographic formats, many of the smaller images being heavily cropped from larger views.

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[375] The most elaborate known album is *Captain Sweet's views of South Australia* 1882-1891, Adelaide, Photograph Album (100 photographs), AGSA 991Ph1.

Plate 40
Detail from *Adelaide Arcade*
1885, Adelaide

On the far right is a fold-out photo-booklet with several small prints glued to a long paper mount, folded concertina-style, like the strips of postcards that became popular in the early to mid-twentieth century. It resembles Sweet's 'Views of South Australia' in the State Library of South Australia which contains fourteen 5½ x 3¼" views (Plate 41). Some, like Plate 42, show Sweet's signature placed as close to the centre as he dare so that it appears in the heavily cropped prints as well as the the larger ones.
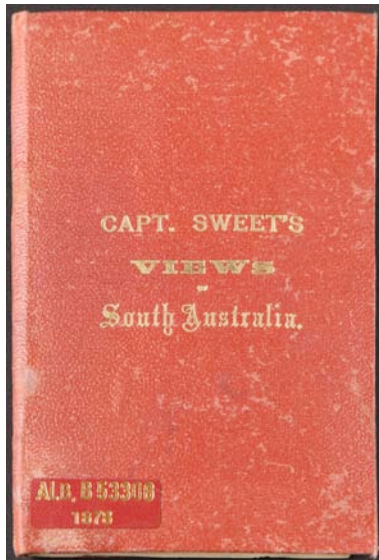
Plate 41
'Views of South Australia'
1885, Adelaide
Photographic Album, 16 x 11 x 0.8cm

Plate 42
King William Street, looking South
in the album 'Views of South Australia'
1883-85, Adelaide, 13.3 x 8.2cm

Studios and Workrooms

Photographers don't die rich
Gael Newton

Prior to this research project very little was known about the studios, workrooms and darkrooms where Sweet's photographs were created, printed and sold. The word 'studio' often goes undefined, carrying an assumption that it always entails a portrait studio, retail venue and darkroom. The term may also be loosely used to describe the business itself: an image might be 'from the studio of Captain Sweet' even if he printed it in his back garden at home. It has never been clear whether some of Sweet's locations were studios or residences, and often only a street name was given, reflecting the scant information in the directories of the period.[376] The exact nature of Sweet's 'studios' can tell us how they functioned as sites of photographic manufacture and as a measure of Sweet's position in the photography market.[377] They contribute to a more holistic context for his photographic enterprise and further understanding of the nature of his photography as a commercial practice, more closely aligned with industry than art. They also increase our appreciation for the remarkable difficulty of Sweet's trade and his determination to make a living from views photography against all the odds.

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[376] Pike & Moore, op. cit.; Davies & Stanbury, op. cit.

Before examining Sweet's studio premises we should consider his primary workplace, the great outdoors. As a landscape photographer his mobile facilities and transport formed part of his 'studio' facilities. They help us to visualise Sweet at work and to appreciate how far from popping a compact camera in his pocket his daily work really was. P.T. Mackintosh's 1919 reflections on wet collodion photography of the 1860s set the scene, and recap all the technical equipment:

> Behold now our photographer setting forth on his travels. In his left hand, he carried an immense camera with an inflexible stand, and in his right a large carpet bag containing his glass plates in racks, his various chemicals and other paraphernalia. Slung over his shoulder might be a carboy of distilled water, and, if the supply was likely to run out he might add to his impedimenta, a still and worm, which, if occasion served, might possibly be applied to other purposes detrimental to the revenue of the Crown. If ... he carried his tent with him, that, I suppose, was fastened around his neck.[378]

Sweet's dark-tent was his mobile darkroom. A variety of dark-tents were available from simple home-made models to sophisticated kits.[379] A model similar to that in Plates 43 and 44 appears in Sweet's photograph of Banyan Trees in the Northern Territory (Plate 45).[380] Sweet may have continued to use a dark-tent even when using dry plates as later simplified models provided a convenient workspace, particularly for photographers who were away from their normal studio for a while.[381]

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[377] Full details of Sweet's homes, studios and dates are listed in Appendix 3.
[378] PT Mackintosh, President's opening address, Edinburgh Photographic Society lecture, 1919, cited by Edinphoto website, op. cit., viewed 18.08.2009, <http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/1_early/1_early_photography_-_processes_-_wet_collodion.htm>.
[379] Appendix 3.
[380] The tent has been cropped or blocked out in all other prints from this negative found so far.
[381] 'Wet-plate Dark Tent', Early Photography, op. cit.
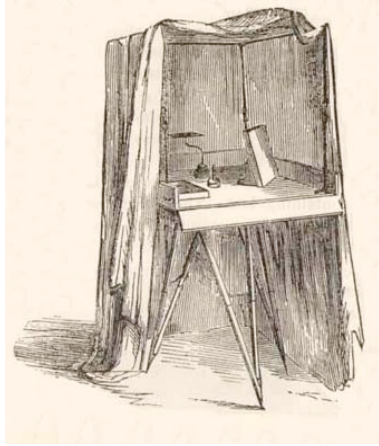
Plate 43
Portable dark-tent 'for working the Collodion in the country'
£5 5s 0d
Bland & Long catalogue 1856
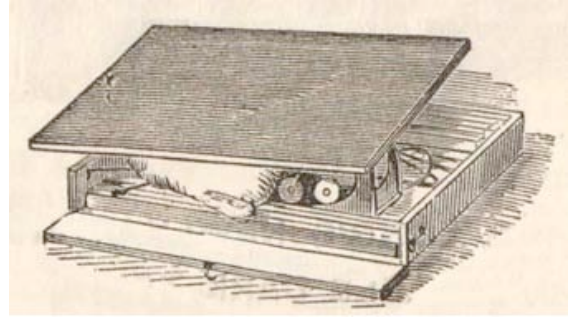
Plate 44
The portable dark-tent folds into the box above,
measuring 24 x 18 x 4"
Bland & Long catalogue 1856

Plate 45
detail from *Banyan Trees*
1869, Darwin

Sweet used a variety of forms of transport including horse-drawn (a buggy or wagon depending on terrain) and the railway. His light four-wheeled buggy (Plate 46) was a common vehicle of the time and it has been suggested that the light-proof covering over the springs, below the seat, could be used as a dark tent.[382] It would certainly accommodate a set of dry plate equipment.

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[382] Conversation with equestrians Judy Teare and Lindy Wright, Robe SA, 09.01.2008.

Plate 46
detail from *View of Mount Barker with horse and buggy*
1866-85, Mount Barker

Several of his photographs suggest he also used a sturdy cart as a stable surface for achieving elevated camera viewpoints. Road travel was slow, South Australia enormous, and Sweet sometimes used rail. The rail system in South Australia was advancing as fast as the Government could fund it and it was an interesting and profitable subject for Sweet. He photographed its progress further and further from Adelaide, most notably on his 1882 trip on the Great Northern Railway.[383] On that trip he also travelled on a rail handcart (Plate 47) between Beltana railway station and Beltana homestead. His photographic cases can be seen behind him. Plate 48 shows the camel cart on which he travelled the final miles from the GNR terminus at Farina to Marree further north.
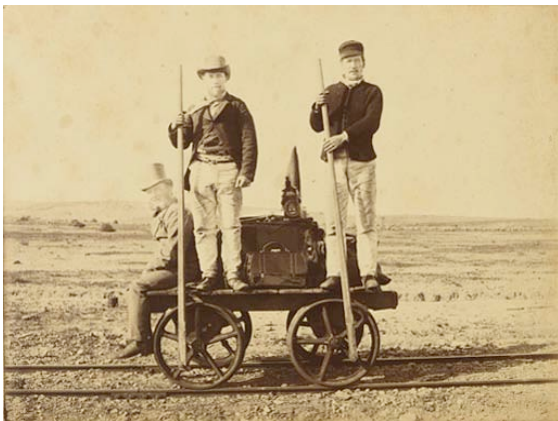
Plate 47
Captain Sweet taking photos in the far north
1882, Beltana

Plate 48
Camel team
1882, Farina

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[383] Catalogue Plates 307-321 & 322-353.

However, many of his rural trips pre-dated the advent of rail in some areas, like his 1879 tour which produced 'a series of photographs of southern ports and coast'.[384] When he did travel by train, a horse and buggy could be hired to transport himself and his equipment beyond the railway station. Sometimes the person commissioning him provided transport. In the Northern Territory Sweet used a portable dark-tent but also had printing facilities aboard the *Gulnare*.[385] The ship was his transport, studio, retail outlet, accommodation and day-job (Plate 49).

Plate 49
Fort Point, with Gulnare in distance
1869, Darwin

Sweet's use of mobile facilities should not be confused with travelling photographers like Edmund Diederich who operated mainly from mobile studios. Diederich's studio on wheels (Plate 50) was a massive 'box mounted on a four-wheel trolley, with a telescopic section that could be retracted for travelling but drawn out to give more length when the studio was in use'.[386]

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[384] *Adelaide Observer*, 5.04.1879.
[385] Sweet, notebook, op. cit.: several references to selling photographs to expedition members and residents.
[386] Noye, 'Richard Rudolph Edmund DIEDERICH', Photohistory SA, op. cit.

Plate 50
Edmund Diederich
Diederich's travelling portrait studio
c.1885, Nuriootpa

Unlike travelling portrait photographers, Sweet did not need a studio room in which to take portraits, nor did he need chairs, props or customer facilities. His main requirements were a form of transport, a travelling photographic outfit and an assistant to help carry it all. With the exception of the prints he made aboard the *Gulnare*, he always returned to his Adelaide workspaces to varnish his negatives, create prints and tend to the rest of the business.

During his 20 years in Adelaide, Sweet occupied a number of distinct facilities including five residences with darkroom and printing facilities, and five (non-concurrent) commercial premises. All of the commercial premises had darkroom and printing facilities and a retail outlet. Three also had portrait studios and one of these had over-the-shop accommodation. This occupation of several consecutive premises was common among photographers of the period.[387] Reasons included rent prices, better studio lighting and operating conditions, better retail exposure and business expansion. For example, Sweet's contemporary, Bernard Goode, had, 'by September 1864 ... found that his premises at 155 Rundle Street were too small to handle the large volume of business he had generated, so he erected a 'first-class studio' at 69 Rundle Street'.[388] Studio fires were also a common reason for relocation, although no such fires have yet been found to afflict Sweet. His competitor Townsend Duryea, however, lost all of his negatives and equipment in a studio fire in 1875.[389] Perhaps Sweet was a very careful practitioner.

Sweet's first photographic workplace in Adelaide was in Gouger Street. Published sources list it as Sweet's studio address – with the implication that it was a fully-fledged studio with a shopfront. In

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[387] ibid.
[388] ibid.
[389] Noye, 'Dictionary of South Australian Photography', op. cit., p.105.

fact Sweet worked out of a back room of his cramped family home in this row of tiny rental houses (Plate 51).[390]

Plate 51
SLSA Photographer
Gouger Street
1957, Adelaide

This modest, but not impoverished, house suggests that Sweet had not made a fortune out of photography before arriving in Adelaide, nor did he have much start-up capital. However he could afford to rent a house and set up his equipment. Simply knowing what the building was like gives some idea of the sort of workroom and facilities he had in the early days of his career. It is also a starting point from which to measure Sweet's commercial success over the next twenty years. At £ - / 12 / 10, the rates were the cheapest of all his premises.[391] By today's standards this house would be cramped with two adults and seven children but the Captain would have had no trouble commanding his own workspace. His darkroom and workroom could be combined into one small room if the light were sufficiently well controlled from complete darkness to strong sunlight, as required (Plate 52). Like most of his houses, this one had a north-facing back yard for making prints in sunlight.

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[390] Appendix 3.
[391] ibid.

Plate 52
Illustration of a nineteenth century darkroom/workroom

In 1868 Sweet established his first commercial premises in Adelaide at the east end of the city's main retail street, among a mixture of residential and retail buildings.[392] 222 Rundle Street was a big step up from the Gouger Street house and double the rent and rates.[393] It contained the family home, presumably with similar working facilities to Gouger Street, and a shop front. Although he advertised primarily as a landscape photographer he also introduced portraiture as a small sideline. At this stage, like other views photographers, he had to diversify to be viable. For portraits he needed a skylight or very large window, or he may have dressed a set in the north-facing backyard. It seems that business was good enough to support a move to one of the top three locations of choice for Adelaide's top photographers (Rundle, Hindley and King William Streets) albeit at the bottom end. However, he needed to supplement the small profit margins with portraiture.

When Sweet returned to sea in February 1869, it made no sense for the family to stay in expensive semi-commercial premises, so they moved back into cheap rental accommodation.[394] In 1872, after Sweet's Northern Territory adventures, they moved to a home in the suburb of Prospect, finally settling into a house in Bowden in 1875.[395] Directory listings and printed card-stock indicate that Sweet continued to use home-based workrooms throughout his career, even when he had a high profile city studio. Sweet's changes of residential and studio addresses indicate the struggle to climb the ladder of commercial photography. Premises were not just a place to work, but an indication of a

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[392] ibid.
[393] ibid.
[394] ibid.
[395] 51 Park Terrace, Bowden-on-the-Hill. Appendix 3.

photographer's status. They played an important role in marketing and in jostling for prime visibility on the best streets.

Sweet did not operate commercial photographic premises again until 1879, four years after his maritime career ended. "Captain Sweet's Imperial Portrait Rooms" over Augustus Molton's framing business at 3 Flinders Street, were built to Sweet's own design.[396] It was the first time Sweet had photographic premises outside the family home. It was also his first significant commercial venture into portraiture – an unavoidable stepping-stone on Sweet's path to commercially viable views photography.

The efforts to which Sweet went to establish his high profile 'Portrait Rooms' show his remarkable determination.[397] He had the rooms built to his own design, but was Molton's tenant, having no freehold interest in the building himself.[398] He had raised the capital by returning to sea but still needed to add portraiture to his range of photographic 'products', as views photography was not profitable enough to fund such lavish studios. Their design seems to have come straight from the pages of a set of industry guidelines of the time. Sweet would have read a great deal about progress in the design of photographic studios which had, from the beginning, been greatly theorised over in photographic literature.

Portraiture required considerably more sophisticated facilities than Sweet's workspaces at home, as well as a complete set of portrait equipment. Plenty of information was available from books and journals to help Sweet make decisions about the type and placement of windows and skylights, systems to control natural light, appropriate glazing, placement of entrances, dressing room, darkroom and so on. Sweet's Portrait Rooms make an ideal illustration for Osterman's description of studios throughout the second half of the nineteenth century:

> Most city studios were situated at the top floor of a commercial building. These walk-up studios were usually accessible from the street through a modest door that opened up to a small stairway. Examples of the photographer's work were often displayed outside the entrance and the name of the establishment mounted on a signboard connected between the front of the building and the edge of the sidewalk or on the building itself.[399]

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[396] Sweet's obituary, *Adelaide Observer*, 09.01.1886; The obituary overlooked Sweet's much earlier studio in Rundle Street.
[397] Appendix 3.
[398] ibid.
[399] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment, processes, and definitions of the 19th Century' op. cit., p.116.

Plate 53
Captain Sweet's Imperial Portrait Rooms
Lawton (photographer)
detail from *Flinders Street, Adelaide*
1879, Adelaide

Plate 53 shows just how closely Sweet's studio fits Osterman's description. The studio is on the top floor, not just of a commercial building, but of a framing business – an ideal location partner. It is accessible from the street 'through a modest door that opened up to a small stairway'.[400] Captain Sweet stands to the left of his studio entrance, flanked by examples of his views photographs. The group on the right are Molton and his employees. Sweet does not have a signboard on the pavement as Osterman describes, but massive lettering emblazoned across the front and side of the building – highly visible from Victoria Square and worth its weight in advertising fees.

Sweet chose this site primarily for its advertising potential. Why else would Sweet go to such lengths to build portrait rooms when outdoor photography was his love and preferred livelihood? He was not a man to be cooped up in a studio all day. Setting up portrait rooms was a very expensive business involving the establishment and rental of specialist premises, special cameras and equipment, the fit-out of the rooms, props, staffing and so on. All of this was in addition to Sweet's thriving landscape photography business which had its own equipment, costs and constant demand for new views. Adelaide was already well serviced with portrait photographers and Sweet was

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[400] ibid., pp.116-117.

already the city's top landscape photographer. From a practical perspective, landscape work did not need large or elaborate premises. Neither could his landscape business justify them financially. However, to be a successful views photographer, Sweet needed a high profile flagship studio to reflect his place in the photography market – something that spoke of success and innovation. Other photographers' portrait rooms were bigger, commanding a higher profile in the street, with more signage and passing trade than Sweet's humble home studios. Landscape work could not cover the cost of a high profile studio, but if the portrait rooms could pay for themselves, they could have huge benefits for the landscape business. What singles Sweet out from other Adelaide photographers is that for him portraiture was a sideline to his core landscape work, not the other way around.

Sweet was able to continue to focus on the views trade by employing an 'operator', Henry Lindsey Tilly, to run the portrait rooms.[401] Tilly was Mrs Sweet's cousin and had run his own portrait studio in Southsea, not far from Sweet's hometown, before migrating to Australia in 1876.[402] The Sweets supported Tilly and his young family, just as Gibson had done for the Sweets in 1866.[403]

Sweet promoted the Imperial Portrait Rooms with a massive advertising campaign. He placed the most elaborate advertisements of his career, like a joint promotion with Molton in *Frearsons Weekly* in 1881 illustrating the building with a woodcut (Plate 54).

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[401] Henry Lindsey Tilly, born Portsea, Hants, England 05.06.1829, died St. Peters, South Australia 02.04.1897: Tilly-Roberts op. cit., pp.6, 217-234; *Frearsons Weekly*, 23.07.1881.
[402] ibid.
[403] Tilly's daughter advertised for teaching and piano students from Sweet's home and studio addresses: *Advertiser* 18.04.1881, p.1; *Register* 25.04.1881, p.1.

Plate 54
Advertisement
Frearsons Weekly, 23 July 1881

The canny pair used their separate sections of each advert to draw attention to the ideal location of the businesses, with Molton's section directing customers to '3, Flinders Street, Opposite Stow Church' and Sweet emphasising its position 'close to the post office'.[404] The site was a few steps from the hub of the central business district around Victoria Square.

The next puzzle is why Sweet left his purpose-built Imperial Portrait Rooms in 1883, after only three years, having invested so much in it. It seems that Flinders Street location was not as good for business as Sweet expected.[405] He started the studio project while that section of Flinders Street was undergoing development. Perhaps it looked as though it would become another high exposure retail area. During Sweet's three years there it changed substantially from a mix of shops, businesses and residences to almost entirely offices: not an ideal location for a studio. The rent and rates were high and there was no longer any passing trade. Customers shopping for photographers were strolling along Rundle, Hindley and King William Streets where most successful photographers were located. Perhaps this explains his gas lamp-post money raising scheme of 1881. By 1882 there was nothing to draw people to the west end of Flinders Street. This explanation is supported by the fact that, despite Sweet's portrait rooms being purpose built, with a north facing window most photographers would die for, only one photographer rented them after Sweet, but only briefly. It also

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[404] *Frearsons Weekly*, 23.07.1881, 15.10.1881.
[405] Appendix 3.

explains Sweet's next choice of location – a new studio at 25 Rundle Street, right in the thick of the competition (Plate 55). There may have been other factors. Perhaps Tilly had not been all that Sweet hoped. Although he started his own photographic practice in Norwood in 1883, there are no records of him sustaining a long-term practice.[406] However, the location seems to be the most obvious reason for Sweet's move to 25 Rundle Street, above John May's stationery shop, where he remained until 1885.[407]

Plate 55
Rundle Street
1883-85, Adelaide
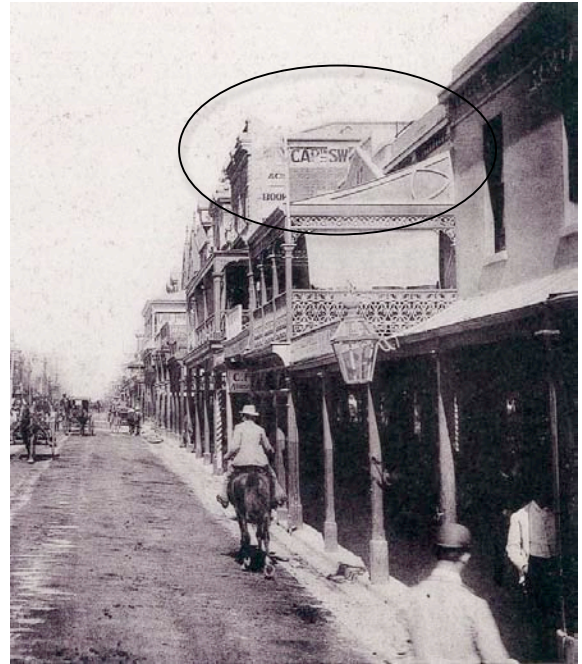
Plate 56
detail from *Rundle Street*

The studio was on the corner of what is now Rundle Mall and James Place. Sweet wasted no time advertising his presence with 'CAPTN SWEET's' painted below the roof (Plate 56) and hanging a sign from the veranda (without council permission).[408] These premises were not purpose built but did have a modest skylight room, so that portraiture could help to fund the studio's prime location. Sweet moved again after a year, this time to 99 King William Street, near the *Advertiser* office.[409] This was the final stepping-stone to Sweet's ultimate flagship studio at shop 31 in the newly built Adelaide Arcade. Sweet moved in at the very end of 1885 just after the Arcade was opened. Sweet was present to photograph the opening on 12 December (Plates 57 and 58).

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[406] Boothby's, 1883, op. cit., pp.61, 380; ibid. 1884, p.404; He is listed as a photographer in Kent Terrace, Norwood in the Boothby's directories for 1883 and 1884. What became of him thereafter is not known.
[407] Appendix 3.
[408] ACCA, Mrs Sweet to Town Clerk, memorandum, 21.03.1884.
[409] Appendix 3.

Plate 57
Adelaide Arcade
1885, Adelaide

Plate 58
The dome of Adelaide Arcade is on the left
Rundle Street
1885, Adelaide

It was the ideal studio for a landscape photographer of Sweet's calibre and he could afford it without the support of portrait work. The Arcade was in the busy end Rundle Street.[410] It is described as 'a testimony to the period during which Rundle Street was transformed into a retail area of great renown'.[411] The Arcade has been preserved as an important part of Adelaide's heritage and a 'fine late example of the 1880s boom period'.[412] For Sweet a studio at this location was testament to his success. Sweet was one of the first tenants in Adelaide Arcade, at shop 31 with the luxury of a brand new shop front which opened out onto a completely covered walkway and access to an underground tearoom. He also had electric lighting for the first time. Sweet obtained these luxurious premises at a bargain price. By the end of 1885 the economy was in a poor state and Adelaide Arcade's owners offered an inducement of one-year rent free.

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[410] Now Rundle Mall.
[411] Marsden et al., op. cit., p.89.
[412] ibid.

Plate 59
Adelaide Arcade
1885, Adelaide

At Adelaide Arcade, Sweet had finally opened the perfect studio (Plate 59). He abandoned portraiture and concentrated on what he did best – landscape photography. His signage read "Captain Sweet, Landscape Photographer". The ground floor was an elegant shop front and showroom, with a skylight room for printing upstairs. These were high profile premises with constant exposure to shoppers and browsers. Sweet was in the best position to capture passing trade and maximised his profits with low overheads. He no longer had the expense of running a portrait studio with a paid operator. He was paying the lowest rent and rates of his career – less than a third of what he paid at Flinders Street.[413] He had found the ideal premises for his particular brand of photography. Tragically Sweet died unexpectedly less that a month after the studio opened. Mrs Sweet and the family continued to run the business from the shop until 1893.

Sweet's journey through a series of residential and commercial premises demonstrates his determination to make a living from views photography. Most photographers changed studio

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[413] Appendix 3.

premises regularly, but with Sweet there is a particularly strong sense of the precarious balance between centering a business on landscape work and maintaining a realistic income. Profit margins in the views trade were small. The outgoings and overheads for a landscape photographer were considerable, including premises, staff, equipment, consumables as well as transport and accommodation. Sweet's home workrooms had relatively low overheads but lacked the essential high profile shopfronts of Sweet's competitors, and allowed no room for business growth.

For other photographers views work was a sideline to their core portrait businesses. For Sweet, adding portraiture to the business was a financial necessity. It was intended to increase income and promote his views work, but he left it to an operator and usually gave it second billing. The failure of the Flinders Street Imperial Portrait Rooms reflects how very hard it was for a man in Sweet's position to survive in this market. He had no wealth or additional funding to start his studios, as did men like Townsend Duryea (who was already wealthy) or Charles Bayliss in New South Wales (funded by the entrepreneur Holterman). Larger studios had several photographers and paid assistants. Sweet was more of a one-man-band with his family working alongside him. He had no connections in high places and found little support from the Government or City Corporation except when they needed to commission work from the best views photographer in town. The financial pressure he worked under is revealed in his attempts to raise extra money through schemes and sidelines. What this examination of his studios reveals is that Sweet became the first man in South Australia to make a commercial success of views photography, not just because he was the best, but also through his sheer energy, hard work and determination.

Staffing

Sweet could not have become such a successful views photographer without his family's role in the business.[414] A photography studio is not just an address, a building and a workspace. It also encompasses the people involved. Sweet's first partner, Gibson, was his wife's relation, as was Tilly who ran the Flinders Street portrait rooms. Mrs Sweet played a major role, running the shop and making prints. It has long been believed that Mrs Sweet sold photographs that she posthumously printed from Sweet's negatives. We now know that she had been making prints from as early as 1875.[415] There is also evidence that a few photographs were taken by Captain Sweet's studio after his death. In July 1887 Mrs Sweet photographed a picture in the Town Hall for Rev. S. Burge.[416] In

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[414] ibid.
[415] *Register*, 02.07.1875.
[416] ACCA C15 S3 Docket no. 1873 of 1887.

1888 the *Observer* received 'from Messrs Sweet & Sons, a large photograph' of Beehive Corner.[417] A photograph of Captain Sweet's grave is completely in keeping with the media, techniques, size and style of Sweet's own work and as such indicates that someone in his family was capable of producing a similar quality of photograph.[418]

There is also evidence that Sweet's sons were involved as his assistants. There is less evidence of any contributions by his daughters. All the children had grown up with their father's photography practice at home and often accompanied him on his trips. Mrs Sweet and some of the children accompanied Sweet to the Northern Territory, and were no doubt put to work in the *Gulnare's* darkroom, or carrying Sweet's equipment. There is a very strong sense that Sweet's was a family business and his sons often appear in photographs as 'staffage', a term for the figures in a landscape.[419] As human interest they attracted the viewer's eye, drawing them into the image. They served as a human measuring stick, providing scale. They also suggested a civilised human presence, showing viewers overseas that people just like themselves occupied the colony.

There is little question that they accompanied him on his photographic trips, helping with carrying, setting up equipment and the arduous tasks of developing and washing negatives. The boys learned their father's craft by working with him, enabling them to continue the business with their mother, after his death, as 'E Sweet and Sons'.[420] Other roles played by Sweet's family of assistants included creating prints, assisting with routine processes in the workroom and even 'taking' the picture when Sweet himself was the subject. Assistants commonly touched-up negatives, mounted and assembled albums, minded the shop, took orders and sold prints.

The involvement of staff and family members in the photographic process gives us a better idea of Sweet's practice as a family business. It also raises the question of authorship. Sweet's photographic views were unquestionably the result of his own skill and vision. The family involvement seems to have been in a support role and certainly adds another layer of interest and understanding to Sweet's work.

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[417] *Adelaide Observer,* 25.02.1888.
[418] SLSA uncatalogued photograph of Captain Sweet's grave.
[419] *Dictionary of Art and Artists,* Thames & Hudson, 1994, p.339. E.g. Catalogue Plates 257, 361, 434, 476, 643, 900.
[420] e.g. Catalogue Plate 1020, taken by E Sweet & Sons.

Art, commerce and issues of authorship

The commercial nature of Sweet's photography, and the practices of the views trade with its assistants and mass production, might raise some issues about the place of photographs like Sweet's in fine art galleries. The exploration of Sweet's processes, studios and assistants raises two issues in particular. One is the mass production of images and the other is authorship. It was impossible for a professional photographer to churn out the number of photographs that Sweet did without help – at both the negative creation and printing stage. Some of his photographs were printed in the tens, if not hundreds, and his was not the only hand in their creation. These issues need clarification if we are to better understand the place of Sweet's work in public art collections.

Authorship and authenticity have traditionally 'been of major importance to art historians' who Marcia Pointon regards as 'sometimes as much preoccupied with locating and authenticating as with interpreting'.[421] This area of art historical concern pertains to the identification of the artist who created the work and evidence that they did indeed create it (authenticity). Sweet purposefully incorporated evidence of himself as the photographer within photographs using four methods: signature, trademark, photographer's stamp and labels. According to Pointon, of these, the most treasured form of identification for art historians is the signature: 'The identity of the artist became a matter of increasing interest in Western culture, so much so that the signature has become invested with almost magical powers; it is understood to guarantee the reality of the artist as a person and, of course, it stands as a defining mark which ensures a market value'.[422]

From his arrival in Adelaide until his death in 1886 the only style of signature Sweet used, with one exception, was 'Sweet / Adelaide' as it appears in Plate 60.[423]

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[421] Pointon, op. cit., p.37.
[422] ibid., p.34.
[423] For a full description of Sweet's signatures and marks of authorship see Appendix 5.

Plate 60
showing Sweet's signature.
detail from *Semaphore Pier*
c.1883 (1883-1885), Semaphore

He sometimes followed his signature with a negative number but never signed his name without inscribing 'Adelaide' below it. His signature was created by scratching into the emulsion of the negative with a sharp point like a needle. Less than half of Sweet's catalogued prints carry his signature.

The purpose of Sweet's signature was twofold. Firstly it served to identify him as the true creator of the image, and protect his authorship rights. This was a serious concern when Sweet's income was at stake as adverts like this one demonstrate.

> NORTHERN TERRITORY VIEWS (REGISTERED) From Captain SWEET'S NEGATIVES to be had ONLY of B. GOODE, RUNDLE-STREET. As the above views are registered, any person Copying them will be proceeded against according to the law.[424]

Secondly it served as free advertising. Had his signature consistently been confined to the corner of the image, this purpose might not have been obvious. However, Sweet frequently placed his signature in a prominent position which, had he been a painter, would have been considered shocking (Plate 61). It was quite unique among Australian photographers of the time and knocks

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[424] *Advertiser* 14.06.1869, p.4.

rather a hole in Rosalind Krauss's argument that notions of authorship are inappropriate for the views trade given its commercial nature.[425]

Plate 61
Walkways amongst garden beds, Adelaide Botanic Gardens
1866-85, Adelaide

The only conceivable explanation is that he was making sure that anyone who saw his images interstate or overseas could contact him if they wanted a copy. Mail addressed to 'Mr Sweet, Photographer, Adelaide' would easily reach him. His photographs were sent to hundreds of households and World Fairs – a marketing opportunity not to miss. This explanation also accounts for his unfailing inclusion of 'Adelaide' in his signature.

In 1872 Sweet also began using an anchor symbol (Plate 62), scratched in the negative, as a trademark to protect against the government claiming ownership of his Northern Territory photographs.[426]

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[425] Krauss, op. cit., p.314. Krauss's argument is discussed by Peck, op. cit., p.20.
[426] He registered the trademark in 1872 as soon as he returned from the NT. See Appendix 5.

Plate 62
Detail from *Landing the telegraph cable at Port Darwin*
1871, Darwin

Many of Sweet's prints bear a stamp. Like his signature, it appears on some prints and not others, with no clear pattern to its application. In Adelaide he used a circular blind-stamp which embossed the words 'CAPTN SWEET/ LANDSCAPE/ PHOTOGRAPHER/ ADELAIDE' directly into the photograph itself.

Plate 63
Sweet's blindstamp

Another form of identification that Sweet used was a printed label which is occasionally found adhered to the reverse of a mount (Plate 64), although very few have survived.

Plate 64
Captain Sweet's label

Sweet's primary and secondary inscriptions and labels are important in the identification and authentication of his work. Of these, the signature is the most valued evidence, not only because of its revered status in art history, but because it was inscribed in Sweet's own hand. Sweet's trademark, stamps and labels also support identification. On the face of it these appear to be an

unequivocal confirmation of authorship. However, in considering where Sweet's photographic practice lies between fine art and mass production we must ask how much importance we attach to evidence of Sweet's own hand in the work. Does it matter whether the creator is Captain Sweet, the man, or 'Captain Sweet's' the studio?

Alfred Lessing says 'the plain fact is that aesthetically it makes no difference whether a work of art is authentic'.[427] Lessing's argument relates to forgery, but applies equally in the matter of hidden co-authors. Questions of authorship can be 'important historically, biographically, perhaps legally, or ... financially', Lessing argues, 'but not, strictly speaking, aesthetically'.[428] The matter of authorship has limited bearing on the historical and cultural value of Sweet's photographs. Its aesthetic relevance only arises if it can be shown that images created in part by others are aesthetically inferior. It may be impossible to prove who printed a particular photograph, even if Sweet signed it. The involvement of assistants, printers and apprentices in the creation of Western art has been widely accepted 'from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century'.[429] Photography and printmaking have their own accepted standards of authenticity in the art world.

For the present purpose it is enough to say that Sweet was the primary creator of all the work that left his studios in his lifetime. The other hands involved were those of his wife and of his children who had been trained by him since birth. It was Sweet who established the style and practices that were used at 'Captain Sweet's' after his death, just as Renaissance painters trained their apprentices to create works that today are barely distinguishable from those of the master. What matters is that, as viewers, our appreciation of Sweet's work is enhanced, from a humanist perspective, by knowing more about who was involved in their creation and that Captain Sweet's studio was a family business.

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[427] A Lessing, 'What is wrong with a forgery?' in A Neill & A Ridley (eds), *Arguing About Art: contemporary philosophical debates*, 2nd edition, Routledge, London, 2002, p.90.
[428] ibid., p.98.
[429] Pointon, op. cit., p.34.

Summary

This examination of Sweet's photography business gives us a better idea of the technical, physical and financial challenges he overcame to create his remarkable views of an emerging colony. Progress was the driving force behind his photographs, not only in terms of their subjects and style (as Chapter 5 shows) but in terms of his use of the latest photographic technology and his own cutting-edge experimentation.

Sweet's techniques and processes were the major commercial technologies of the time and he was a leader in their application. Collodion wet plate negatives and albumen silver prints were ideally suited to mass-producing images. He adopted and invented toning and finishing processes that were firmly situated in the commercial aesthetic with its taste for high gloss, clarity and detail. His use of gelatin dry plates in 1878 places him far ahead of other photographers in his willingness to adopt challenging new technologies. Sweet was a master of his craft with a level of skill, artistry and innovation that made his photographs commercially successful. The volume of work and expertise involved in creating a single photograph is unimaginable to an audience for whom digital compact cameras and phone cameras are now the norm. Knowledge of Sweet's processes can only enhance our appreciation of what remarkable acts of creation his photographs are.

The analysis of Sweet's studios and workspaces provides an economic and business context for his photographic practice, showing his financial and practical struggle to make a living from views photography. His technical superiority, energy, sheer hard work and passion were the key to Sweet becoming the first commercially successful views photographer in South Australia.

When we encounter Sweet's photographs in an art gallery context today, we may see them with eyes that have been accustomed to viewing the works that surround them – paintings, sculptures, photographs and prints that were mostly created for a fine art audience. It is easy to overlook (or simply be unaware of) the technical and commercial aspects of Sweet's practice. However, this knowledge provides a much richer and realistic context within which to appreciate his work. It shifts our frame of reference from today's image saturated digital world to one where the creation of a photograph was a remarkable technical and creative feat. Sweet's photographs were created for the customers who bought and commissioned them. Unlike most fine artists, Sweet had business premises and retail outlets. He mass produced his images and employed a team of staff. If we do not know this we may approach his work in a gallery setting under the misapprehension that he was creating art for art's sake with high aesthetic ideals. If that is our expectation, many of his

photographs will disappoint us. Approaching Sweet's work within a realistic context is the foundation for a deeper appreciation of his technical and compositional mastery.

However, this foundation does not go far to helping us understand his subject choices and style, nor the intentions and narratives that are trapped in the layers of albumen, wax and collodion. For that we need to visit Sweet's world and understand how the views trade was shaped by colonial ideology and its imperatives of progress and modernity.

CHAPTER FOUR

SWEET AND THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN VIEWS TRADE

To consider nineteenth-century art critically … is to travel freely between the formal surface and the socio-historical depth of works of art, and pay considerable attention to the space in-between.
SF Eisenman[430]

The next step towards a deeper insight into Sweet's work is to understand the views trade and how it was shaped by colonial ideology with its imperatives of progress and modernity. This not only places Sweet's work in its broader commercial and stylistic context but, most importantly, takes us into the world he was picturing. Sweet was an Englishman watching a new world in the process of creation, and his photographs mapped that ideal of modernity onto photographic paper. Familiarity with that world is crucial to a better appreciation of Sweet's photographs.

This chapter will take us into Sweet's world of the views trade, colonial South Australia and the British Empire, helping us to see his work as it was seen at the time of its creation. It will begin by clarifying the meaning and importance of the terms progress, civilisation and modernity. Then it will explain the aspects of colonisation in South Australia that distinguished its ideals, and its views trade, from other Australian colonies. Finally it will provide an overview of the South Australian views trade in relation to that of the eastern colonies.

It will be against this background that Chapter Five will examine Sweet's photographs, showing precisely how they were shaped by the views trade and colonial ideology, and how his subjects and style captured and reinforced the South Australian colonial imagination.

Progress, Modernity and Civilisation in Colonial South Australia
Before showing that what Sweet photographed was progress – the process of modernity and the establishment of civilisation – it is important to clarify these terms which can have different meanings in different disciplines and contexts. They have been extensively debated as individual concepts

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[430] Eisenman, op. cit., p.14.

and in relation to each other and to colonialism.[431] Here it is their essence, rather than their contested details, that helps us to make sense of Sweet's photographs.

Civilisation is understood, in this thesis, much as Sweet would have understood it, both as the state of being an advanced society founded on agriculture and urbanisation, and as the process of civilising land and people perceived to be less advanced – something synonymous with the colonial process. Sweet's civilisation is rational and connotes superiority and a sense of dynamism and material progress. For Sweet and his world, civilisation is always an improvement. South Australia was a fresh canvas upon which Wakefield's plan for a utopian little England was built. The spread of civilisation is wrapped up with the 'Victorian ideal of progress' which Sidney Pollard defines as 'the assumption that a pattern of change exists in the history of mankind… that it consists of irreversible changes in one direction only, and that this direction is towards improvement'.[432] The most successful civilisations were perceived to be those, like the British Empire, which expanded into new territory, assimilating (or otherwise managing) its existing inhabitants. Civilisations embodied 'assumptions about the superiority of Latin-Teutonic Christian Europe'.[433] This was the view that permeated British society and was entrenched in academic teaching.[434] Colonists believed that as civilised people 'they behave better, and *are* better, than so-called savages', which is exactly how British colonists saw Aboriginal Australians.[435] Today, with a belatedly improved understanding of Aboriginal culture that use of 'civilisation' is repugnant, but it sheds light on Sweet's perception of the land as a primitive wilderness that could only benefit from the transformation taking place.

Modernity is defined by Art Historian Terry Smith as the 'Term applied to the cultural condition in which the seemingly absolute necessity of innovation becomes a primary fact of life, work and thought'.[436] Modernity is more than progress, it is 'an unfolding of active processes, of changes in all spheres… towards imaginary, often Utopian, futures'.[437] The settlement of South Australia was exactly what Smith describes – an intensive establishment of a Utopian civilisation utilising the latest ideas and technology in the pursuit of greater productivity, profits and quality of life. We cannot discuss images and modernity without briefly clarifying the relationship between Modernity and

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[431] Emile Benveniste, 'Civilisation. Contribution a l'Histoire du mot', 1954, in *Editions Gallimard,* 1966, pp.336-345; Sydney Pollard, *The Idea of Progress: History and Society,* CA Watts, London 1968.
[432] Pollard, op. cit., p.9.
[433] Curthoys & Docker, op. cit., p.72.
[434] ibid., citing J Burkhardt, 'Reflections on History', lecture series, University of Basal 1868-1871, Allen and Unwin, London, 1950.
[435] Wright, op. cit., p.33.
[436] Terry Smith, 'Modernity', in Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online, (subscription version) viewed 15.10.2010. Also available at <https://www.moma.org/m/explore/collection/art_terms/10123/0/1.iphone_ajax?klass=term>.
[437] ibid.

Modernism, which Art History defines as the 'term applied to the invention and the effective pursuit of artistic strategies that seek not just close but essential connections to the powerful forces of social Modernity'.[438] They are strategies that 'occur in all of the arts' and, 'Despite being intermittent in their occurrence and unsystematic in nature, these strategies have been most effective in Europe and its colonies from the mid-19th-century...'[439]

Progress is the ideal upon which South Australia was founded. It includes, in particular, material, economic, scientific and social progress. Sociologist Robert Nisbet says that 'No single idea has been more important than… the Idea of Progress in Western Civilisation for 3000 years'.[440] As a body of work, Sweet's photographs are an orderly documentation and categorisation of his world, reflecting the Victorian ideals of progress, reason, knowledge gathering and scientific, systematic processing of information.

Progress, Modernity and Civilisation in Sweet's world

Chapter One introduced Eisenman's idea that 'To consider nineteenth-century art critically … is to travel freely between the formal surface and the socio-historical depth of works of art, and pay considerable attention to the space in-between'.[441] Their 'socio-historic depth' lies within Sweet's world: the British Empire, industrialisation, the colonisation of Australia and the photography market that emerged from this context. In Batchen's terms, this amounts to consideration of the 'economic, social and political contexts of industrialization and consumer capitalism' that made Sweet's photographs possible.[442] The formal surface of the works – their subjects, context, style and composition – will be examined in the next chapter, along with the space in-between which exists in the relationship between formal surface and context.

Sweet was an agent of the dominant colonial ideology both as a man (himself a child of the Empire with a passion for colonial progress) and, primarily, as a photographer whose images both reflected and reinforced the colonial imagination. When Sweet was born, the Industrial Revolution was advancing from an accelerated period of invention and discovery: steam engines powering machinery, blast furnaces mass producing iron and steel and the railway, transporting raw materials

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[438] 'Modernism', in *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online*, <www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T058785>, accessed 15.10.2010.
[439] ibid.
[440] Robert Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress*, 1980.
[441] Eisenman, op. cit., p.14.
[442] Batchen, 'Perplexity and embarrassment', op. cit.

and manufactured goods. Factories and mills sprang up in a new age of mass production. The focus of work shifted from fields to factories. Lives changed more radically and rapidly than ever before. The nineteenth century in Britain was a time of science, discovery, invention, industrialisation and Empire. The essence of the fast pace of change in Britain was captured by JMW Turner, whose *Rail, Steam and Speed – The Great Western Railway*, is, in part, an expressive celebration of the thrilling speed of the new coal train and the advancement of the Industrial Revolution (Plate 65).

Plate 65
JMW Turner
Rail, Steam and Speed – The Great Western Railway
1844, England

The mechanisation of production led to a concentration of manufacture in industrial city areas, bringing problems of overcrowding, periodic unemployment, low wages and inadequate health care and sanitation. Economic depression swept Britain and America when Sweet was twelve, as social unrest and the emergence of workers' rights gathered strength. For Sweet, opportunities for a career change in England were scant and the dream of a better life in the colonies had a powerful appeal. The social and economic problems of his homeland also explain why his photographs of South Australia accentuate progress and sweep any hint of poverty or social ills under the carpet.

Photography was also a child of this nineteenth century boiling pot of science, discovery and the demands of an industrial age. A progression of scientific discovery that began in the thirteenth century came of age in the 1820s, when Niépce created the first stable photograph. In this age of invention it is hardly surprising that Fox Talbot and Daguerre almost simultaneously arrived at their respective photographic processes. Yet photography was too young to capture the early stages of

the advent of modernity. Even as it matured, modernity's essence, so vitally captured by Turner, evaded the camera.

It was also a period of travel, adventure and discovery. Stories about scientific breakthroughs were being published thick and fast, inspiring Jules Verne's prophetic tales of science and adventure.[443] Sea travel figured heavily in literature and painting with tales like Melville's *Moby Dick* and Turner's *Slave Ship* (Plate 66).[444] The latter also hints at the chaos and social ills that accompanied this period of rapid change. Sweet was the embodiment of all Victorian preoccupations, with his adventures on the high seas, his exciting new life in Australia, and his passion for new technology and a new world. Unlike Turner, Sweet chose to focus on modernity's improvements, rather than the turmoil that often accompanied them.

Plate 66
JMW Turner
The Slave Ship
1840

Sweet was a product of his world and his place within it, as were his ideas and beliefs which, in turn, both determined and were reflected in his photographic work. Eisenman explains this concept as the 'ideological nature of seeing', defining ideology as 'the characteristic bodies of knowledge, belief, imagery, and expression that are created by a particular social class at a given moment in history'.[445] He continues, 'Ideologies arise largely unbeknownst to their subjects as a set of workaday assumptions or common-sense notions about the world. They provide their possessors with a coherent image of their lived relation to social reality'.[446]   Sweet lived the life of a mariner, actively

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[443] E.g. Jules Verne, *Voyage au centre de la terre*, Pierre-Jules Hetzel, 1864.
[444] Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1851.
[445] Eisenman, op. cit., p.14.
[446] ibid.

aiding the Empire's expansion, and of a migrant, seeking his fortune on new colonial ground. Forbes and Hercock explain the vital importance of 'mastery of the seas' in the nineteenth century British economy which 'was founded on trade, which relied upon sea transport and free access to markets and colonies'.[447] Sweet's Navy was the powerhouse of the Empire: 'Whosoever commands the sea commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and subsequently the world itself'.[448] Sweet's role in the Navy was formative in his sense of identity and purpose. Sweet belonged to (and helped to create) 'a capitalist society in which the sense of having dominates'.[449] Sweet's photographs were created by a man whose sensual and perceptual capacities are certainly dominated by a sense of having. His ideology and images were bound to reflect the beliefs and vision of the British Empire and colonial South Australia. Eisenman describes a 'surreptitious' pathway of ideology from the ruling power, through society and the individual to the image that individual creates.[450] What made Sweet's images powerful was the photography market that emerged from that same surreptitious ideological pathway and the social and economic circumstances that made Sweet's photographs possible.

The next set of ideological, social and economic circumstances that made Sweet's photographs possible were those that created South Australia. Each of the Australian colonies was founded and settled as part of the expansion of the British Empire in its thirst for land for settlement and production – for farming and mining - to produce the raw materials needed to manufacture goods and increase the populations to whom those goods could be sold. By 1815 Britain had colonised over one fifth of the world and by the mid-nineteenth century was the largest and most widespread colonial empire.

It is important to stress that in Sweet's time the country of *Australia* did not exist. His work cannot be effectively understood in the context of an Australian views trade or an Australian nation because these concepts were decades away. Indeed, in a landmass so enormous and so diverse in terrain, climate and histories, there is still no sense of a unified national style within Australian visual culture. South Australia was created as a unique modern vision. All of the other Australian colonies were established as penal settlements. The British Colony of South Australia was founded by an Act of Parliament in 1834, established upon Edward Gibbon Wakefield's system, designed to create a

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[447] Forbes & Hercock, op. cit., p.16.
[448] ibid., p.15, paraphrasing P LeFrance citing Sir Walter Raleigh, *Ecrivain: L'oeuvre et les idées*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1968, p.189.
[449] Eisenman, op. cit., pp.12-13, with reference to Karl Marx's Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.
[450] ibid., p.14.

healthy balance of capital and labour.[451] Harcus explained how this was achieved: 'They who had money were to emigrate by means of their own resources, purchase land in limited blocks, as far as possible within given areas, and the money received for the land was to be used in bringing out labour'.[452] The South Australian Association sought to avoid the problems that had beset the earlier Australian Colonies. As Whitelock explains, 'There were to be no convicts and almost no alcohol. Land was to be paid for... by respectable gentry who would employ industrious labourers. Immigrants would be screened for sobriety, savings, and morals'.[453] The Act emphasised 'that no person or persons convicted in any Court of Justice in Great Britain or Ireland, or elsewhere, shall at any time, or under any circumstances, be transported as a convict to any place within the limits hereinbefore described' (i.e. South Australia).[454] In fact, South Australia even transported people convicted of crimes to the other penal colonies, lest 'the taint of convictism seriously deteriorated the pure stream of social and moral health of the community'.[455] Wakefield's object was 'to establish... a wealthy, civilised society'.[456] This point is key to understanding which subjects Sweet chose to include and exclude from his photographic views.

By the time Sweet was at the peak of his career South Australia was thriving. The Government sold land to the wealthy, using the funds to bring in poor British migrants to work it. By 1851 the Colony's exports were worth £602,087.[457] By 1875 it had risen to £9,088,853 with most exports going to Britain and other British possessions.[458] The main sources of the Colony's wealth were wheat, wool and copper. An increasing demand for land for production drove agricultural expansion and settlement further and further inland. New farming technology and several good seasons (in otherwise unproductive land) fuelled the expansion into harsher territory.[459] This expansion led to the settled landscape of inland Australia that we know today with networks of small towns growing up to service the pastoral, mining and agricultural industries as they spread. Sweet photographed this expansion, as well as the rapidly growing and prosperous capital, Adelaide. He photographed the infrastructure required to support this expansion: the railways, ports and roads; telegraph and

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[451] W Harcus (ed.), *South Australia: Its History, Resources and Productions*, The Government of South Australia and Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, 1874, p.8.
[452] ibid.
[453] Derek Whitelock, *Adelaide From Colony To Jubilee: A Sense of Difference*, Savvas Publishing, Adelaide, 1985, p.4, with reference to Anthony Trollope 'Australia' preface.
[454] ibid., p.9, citing the 1834 Act.
[455] ibid., p.10.
[456] ibid., p.3, quoting Edward Gibbon Wakefield.
[457] Harcus, op. cit., p.367.
[458] ibid.
[459] Lionel Frost, 'Across the Great Divide: the economy of the Inland Corridor', Monash University Department of Economics Discussion Paper, 14/07, 2007, reproduced in Allen Mayne (ed.), *Beyond the Black Stump: histories of outback Australia*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2008, p.59.

telephone systems; and city banks and businesses. He also photographed the social infrastructure supported by this economic activity: hospitals, schools, cultural buildings and institutions of social and legal order. He photographed the botanic gardens that were established to discover which strains of wheat would best survive in inland conditions and to provide recreation and respite for the people who kept the entire system ticking.

Great Britain's 'magic' manifested itself in Adelaide with a built environment which reflected the founders' goals. It was graceful, civilised and highly cultured with residences and public buildings reflecting wealth and good taste, wide open streets and parklands for promenading and grand cultural institutions to inspire learning. Indeed, when Anthony Trollope visited Adelaide in the 1870s he described it as a 'happy Utopia'.[460] Adelaide was the epitome of modernity from its very foundation. In 1840 Adelaide held 'the first democratic election ever held on the continent of Australia'.[461] Hamilton declares that 'Of all the Australian colonies, South Australia was the most modern'.[462] He explains that in 1857 South Australia 'had votes for all adult resident men, the secret ballot, and religious freedom. Other Australian colonies had some of these things… but none had them all'.[463] As Sutter notes, nineteenth century 'Adelaide was … a city of rapid growth and lofty idealism'.[464]

Sweet's Photography Market: The Views Trade

The ideological, social and economic circumstances that founded South Australia also created the views trade. Worldwide, the views trade was spawned by the conjunction of new technology, in the form of collodion wet plates and albumen silver prints, and a 'burgeoning market for photographic views recording the progress of colonial development' as well as for exotic travel images.[465] It was one of only two main branches of commercial photography – almost all photographs taken in the 1860s to 1880s were commercial views or portraits. Portrait photography was a very competitive market serviced, in Adelaide, by hundreds of photographers.[466] Outdoor photography was much more difficult and usually only practiced as an adjunct to a portrait business. The other branches of photography we know today had yet to emerge. Amateur photography was confined to the margins

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[460] Whitelock, *Adelaide from Colony to Jubilee*, op. cit., p.4, with reference to Anthony Trollope 'Australia', preface.
[461] Reg Hamilton, *Colony: Strange origins of one of the earliest modern democracies*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town SA, 2010, p.1.
[462] ibid., p.2.
[463] ibid.
[464] Sutter, op. cit., p.37.
[465] Ken Orchard, 'Scenic views and civic spaces' in Robinson, *A Century in Focus*, op. cit., p.60.
[466] See list in Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit.

– to those with enough determination, leisure time and money. Photography created purely for artistic reason was similarly marginal.

The Views Trade in Australia

The views trade world-wide was at its peak from the mid 1860s to 1880s. In Australia, by the mid 1860s, 'city-based studios' had developed, 'specialising in urban views, local scenery and pastoral properties such as Samuel Clifford in Hobart, Townsend Duryea and George Freeman (1842-1910) in Adelaide, Charles Pickering in Sydney, Charles Nettleton in Melbourne and Geo P. Wright (w.1874-1883) in Queensland… with portraiture an equally important part of their work'.[467] Views photographers were somewhere between artists and tradesmen, and Gael Newton explained that during this period 'A photographer was different in degree rather than kind from other professional artists and craftsmen in that multiple printing allowed a certain freedom from having to search for individual clients like portrait and pastoral views painters but made it necessary to tout for public business like shopkeepers'.[468] She describes 'most nineteenth century photographers' as 'hardworking dedicated skilful characters who fell into it like Sweet and were sometimes also astute businessmen'.[469] Views photographers ranged from those who added a few lucrative outdoor commissions to their mainstay of portraiture, to Beaufoy Merlin's more unusual American and Australasian Photographic Company, specialising in 'house by house, shop by shop and town by town photography, working their way through Victoria and New South Wales'.[470]

The most popular Australian views subjects included city streets, civic buildings, agriculture, mining, transport, industry, cultural facilities and Aborigines. However, the nature and style of views images were not uniform across Australia and we should not think of a single Australian views trade, but rather the separate trades of each colony. Australia was not the single nation that we know today and national comparisons of photographers should reflect a nineteenth century outlook rather than our own. In Victoria Sweet's main contemporaries, working during the same period (1866-85), were Charles Nettleton, Fred Kruger and Nicholas Caire. Caire began his photographic career in Adelaide with Townsend Duryea but moved to Victoria soon after Sweet's arrival. In New South Wales were JW Lindt and the less successful Charles Pickering.[471] Also in the eastern colonies was Charles

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[467] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.42.
[468] Gael Newton, email correspondence, 11.04.2011.
[469] ibid.
[470] Beaufoy Merlin (1830-1873) formed the A&APC in 1866. See Ennis, A *Modern Vision*, op. cit.; Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.43.
[471] Design & Art Australia Online, <http://www.daao.org.au/bio/charles-percy-pickering/biography>, viewed 18.02.2013.

Bayliss who worked initially in Victoria and then NSW. Bayliss operated in quite a different way from Sweet, apprenticed first to Beaufoy Merlin from 1870 to 1873, then working for entrepreneur B.O. Holtermann from 1873 to 1875.[472] Both men had enormous influence on Bayliss who only began working independently in 1876.[473] Despite their very different business circumstances and locations, Bayliss came closer to Sweet in subjects and style than any other inter-colonial photographer of the time. In Queensland George P. Wright was active in the 1870s and 1880s. In Tasmania the views trade was well served by Samuel Clifford in Hobart. Other well-known photographers, like Paul Foelsche in the NT and Richard Daintree in Queensland (until 1872) were not part of the views trade but took photographs while engaged in their other jobs (Daintree was a geologist and Foelsche a Policeman). In South Australia Sweet's main competitors were Townsend Duryea, George Freeman, Henry Davis and others who will be mentioned shortly.

Important temporal differences must be considered if Sweet's work is to be compared with photographers working after 1886. Comparisons are hindered by extensive changes in photographic technology including new cameras, widespread use of dry plates, more advanced shutters and even roll film. Technological advances revolutionised who was able to take photographs and what they could take photographs of. Maria Zagala explains that 'The closing years of the nineteenth century was a liminal time – not unlike that experienced at the onset of the internet – when technological possibilities were opening up in new and uncharted fields in the application of photography'.[474] These advancements included 'the mass reproduction of photographs through advances in printing processes; the first projected motion pictures in Australia in 1896; and the introduction of the Pocket Kodak camera in Australia in late 1895, which made photography accessible to all Australians'.[475] Once amateur photographers could create their own photographs, the need for the views trade diminished. There are many references to earlier amateur photography but - despite many advertisements and journals aimed at amateur photographers – the presence of amateur photography was minuscule, compared with the views trade, until the 1890s when 'there were probably several hundred amateur photographers'.[476] The nature of photography and the views trade changed dramatically during the 1890s and Sweet's work is very much of its own time.

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[472] Ennis, A *Modern Vision, op. cit.*
[473] ibid.
[474] Maria Zagala, 'Expanding horizons: professional photography 1890s-1940s', in Robinson, *A Century in Focus*, op. cit., p.180.
[475] ibid.
[476] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.77.

Many of Sweet's contemporaries were also of a younger generation, like Charles Bayliss (1850-1897) who grew up in Sydney. He was among the first generation of Australian raised photographers, giving him a different outlook. Bayliss worked well into the 1890s, photographing such icons of modernity as early experiments with flying machines, something Sweet had never dreamed of. The massive changes that took place in life and photography so soon after Sweet's death must be remembered when we are comparing photographs of the early 1880s with those of the 1890s.

The Views Trade in South Australia

In South Australia the views trade followed a similar story to the other Australian colonies and its early evolution is well documented by Robinson.[477] The new technologies of the 1860s 'transformed the way in which metropolitan-based photographers were able to operate; practitioners such as Robert Hall, Anson and Francis, George Burnell, Bernard Goode, Frazer Crawford and Townsend Duryea were able to sustain production of outdoor views and landscapes by the early 1860s, albeit underpinned by a thriving portraiture market'.[478] As the colony expanded, 'opportunities for South Australian regional photographers, such as Stephen Nixon in Kapunda, R.S. Stacy in Wallaroo, and Mr Malin on the Southern Fleurieu Peninsular also developed at this time; small populations, centred on industries such as mining, agriculture and shipping, gave rise to modest regional markets for landscapes'.[479]

Views photographs met several needs. They were a convenient form of armchair travel in an age of travel and discovery. In the new colonies a large proportion of retail customers were locals who wanted photographs of their city and colony for display at home or to send to relatives overseas, reassuring friends and family of the safe and civilised community in which they lived. Views like Sweet's were also popular with tourists, travelling around Australia and collecting photographs of the places they visited to paste into their own world tour albums. Albums such as *Australian Views 1886* in the NLA are typical, containing images of South Australia by Captain Sweet and of the eastern states by JW Lindt and Charles Bayliss.[480]

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[477] Robinson, *A Century in Focus* op. cit.
[478] Orchard, 'Scenic views and civic spaces', op. cit., p.60.
[479] ibid.
[480] JW Lindt, Captain Samuel Sweet and Charles Bayliss, *Australian Views 1886*, Photographic Album, NLA, nla.pic-an10608595.

Views photographs were used to promote investment and migration to the growing colonies and aided connection between those who had migrated and their families who had not. A review of the 1866 Melbourne Exhibition 'expressed the opinion that photography provided an overview of the growth of settlements without the expenditure of time and money on a personal visit'.[481] The views trade produced stereographs, albums and picture-books to meet this need. Colonial governments were also keen to reach potential migrants and investors and fuelled the views trade with commissions for photographs and albums for world fairs and promotional books. As Newton explains, for photographers 'gaining commissions was a means of securing an edge over the competition from the ever-increasing numbers of studios. The bigger studios attracted government contracts to provide views for major exhibitions and to document the exhibitions as well'.[482] Newton observes that 'Survey offices and Land Departments were among the first government departments in the 1860s to include photography in their work. By the 1880s it was common practice for departments to use photographs, and Melbourne and Sydney as the largest urban centres were the most active'.[483] Sydney had its own photographic department at the Government Printing Office with specialist photographers and equipment.[484] Adelaide's Printing Department was more modest and many of the photographs now attributed to the Government Printer were by commissioned photographers like Sweet, or later, Ernest Gall.[485] Indeed, Adelaide's Government Printing Department, under the control of GW Goyder and the Crown Lands Department, was loathe to take business from commercial photographers.[486] Other important commissions came from pastoralists, businessmen and well-heeled families, who wanted photographs to reflect their own achievements in the shape of their house, business or prize bull.

Throughout the views trade, photographs were available in several formats from small cartes-de-visite to Sweet's 8 x 10" plates and even larger views for special commissions, like George Freeman's 17 x 21" print.[487] Orchard notes that another popular format, the stereograph 'gained worldwide popularity from the late 1850s. Sometimes referred to as "solid pictures", their three-dimensional effect when viewed through a stereoscope gave viewers a palpable sense of being

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[481] Newton, *Shades of Light,* op. cit., p.43, with reference to Sol, 'A wanderer among the photographic views at the Intercolonial Exhibition', *Australia Monthly Magazine,* 1866.

[482] ibid., p.40

[483] ibid.

[484] ibid.

[485] The Government Printer was also referred to as the Government Lithographer or Photo-lithographer. A print from the same negative as Catalogue Plate 232 is SLSA B 14: Government Photo-lithographer, *Port Adelaide April 1879,* Port Adelaide.

[486] Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit., p.139.

[487] George Freeman, *Port Adelaide, downstream,* c.1880, Port Adelaide, albumen silver photograph, 44 x 54cm, AGSA, 791Ph40.

present at the scene being depicted'.[488] Orchard has observed that 'By the early 1860s most Adelaide studios offered selections and sets of cards, conveniently boxed for later drawing room enjoyment' and that, although many were imported, 'a substantial market existed for Australian views'.[489] Sweet does not appear to have embraced the stereograph, for reasons that become clear in Chapter 5.

Another branch of the views trade was the photograph album and from the mid 1860s 'Albums of views both large and small steadily increased'.[490] They ranged from scrapbooks, bought at a stationers, with photos pasted in at home, to the most elaborate albums of views prepared for world fairs. As Newton explains, 'The new views trade supported a subsidiary industry in the production of albums, both for views and portraits… The albums, which were often elaborately tooled and gilded, could be bought as stock items or specially made to the client's design'.[491] Albums and framed views were sent to world fairs:

> Major events such as the Paris Exposition (1867), the London International Exhibition (1873), the
> Sydney International Exhibition (1879), and the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London (1886)
> undoubtedly stimulated production of civic, industrial and landscape views, and portrayals of
> indigenous life. These exhibitions were vital avenues for colonies to showcase their wealth and
> deliver intelligence about natural resources and associated developments, thereby attracting new
> investment. Photography's capacity to impart visual information for prospective investors and to
> provide imagery for the relatively new science of ethnography was harnessed to meet these double
> ends.[492]

Even more of a hit at world fairs were large multi-print panoramas. Newton cites an 1876 *British Journal of Photography* article 'On magnitude as an element of attractiveness in photography' which praised the enormous American panoramas.[493] At the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition '127 centimetre plates were common' and 'the mammoth landscapes by the American West photographers were shown'.[494] Such enormous panoramas could only be achieved with rich patronage or government support or a thriving portraiture empire and, having none of these, Sweet kept to his Full Plates. Although Holterman, Merlin and Bayliss had great success with gigantic

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[488] Orchard, 'Scenic views and civic spaces' op. cit., p.64.
[489] ibid.
[490] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.39.
[491] ibid., p.36.
[492] Orchard, 'Scenic views and civic spaces' op. cit., p.62.
[493] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.54, citing 'On magnitude as an element of attractiveness in photography', *British Journal of Photography*, 18.02.1876.
[494] ibid.

panoramas of Sydney, attempts to emulate the mammoth American views of the Yosemite Valley were less successful in Australia, something Newton partly attributes to 'the more modest dimensions of the landscape and the lack of population and wealth to support official expedition photographers'.[495] This was certainly the case in South Australia whose only dramatic scenery still lay out of reach in the continent's centre. Adelaide did not produce panoramas of a scale to challenge those of Bayliss and Holtermann in Sydney but, given the local market and gentler topography of Adelaide, both Sweet and Duryea made good use of this popular format on a more modest scale. The South Australian market responded well to whole plate views (like Sweet's) and by the mid-1870s several photographers were making 'larger-scale views, including Henry Davis, E.G. Tims and George Freeman'.[496] 'However,' as Orchard notes 'Samuel Sweet dominated this branch of photography for a decade from 1875, becoming Adelaide's pre-eminent landscape photographer for both the quality of work produced and his capacity to attract major commissions'.[497]

However, Sweet's domination of the local views trade was hard won. He had some serious competition when he arrived in South Australia in 1866. Townsend Duryea, Bernard Goode and George Freeman were already supplying the market with high quality views, and more photographers soon joined the burgeoning views trade.

In 1866 Townsend Duryea was becoming the biggest name in the colony where portraiture was concerned. He was also the first really accomplished views photographer in Adelaide. His 1865, 360° Panorama of Adelaide taken from the Town Hall tower scaffolding was already famous and by 1866 Duryea had already published an album with over ninety Adelaide and country views.[498] His early landscapes such as this mid-1860s view of Noarlunga (Plate 67) were of a comparable quality to Sweet's. Duryea initially gave Sweet some serious competition, especially with his grand panoramas, royal commission and a few exquisite views. However, when it came to Adelaide street scenes, Sweet frequently exhibited a far deeper understanding of space, optics and elevation than Duryea.

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[495] ibid., p.56.
[496] Orchard, 'Scenic views and civic spaces' op. cit., p.62.
[497] ibid.
[498] Townsend Duryea, *Panorama of Adelaide*, 1865, Adelaide, 14 albumen silver photographs, 22.6 x 389cm, SLSA B5099, reproduced in Robinson, *Century in Focus*, op. cit., pp.73-75; Ken Orchard, 'Townsend Duryea 1823-1888, *Panorama of Adelaide*, 1865' in Robinson, *A Century in Focus*, op. cit., p.72; Orchard, 'Scenic views and civic spaces' op. cit., pp.60, 62, 76, quoting *Register* 28 August 1866, p.1.

Plate 67
Townsend Duryea
'Noarlunga', Horseshoe Bend, Onkaparinga Creek
1865-7, [Old] Noarlunga

Duryea's panorama seems to mark a milestone in South Australian photography, recording the city just before the major civic construction of the boom period, and just before Sweet arrived in 1866 to take the lead in outdoor photography. Sweet's arrival coincided with the moment when the views trade mushroomed.

Duryea was small in physical stature, like Sweet, but was better accepted in higher social circles. Where Sweet was thought of as exuberant or 'energetic', Duryea was described as 'flamboyant' and noted for his business acumen.[499] He had an American accent which gave little about his class away. He had been a mining engineer in America but in Adelaide mixed in high circles, raced his own yacht (with bets 'as high as £100'), and had substantial mining investments.[500] These ancillary activities gave him legitimate access to Adelaide's higher social circles and to the sorts of clubs that were essential to a gentleman's progress, like the Masons.[501] Duryea's position helped him to win the role of official photographer for the Duke of Edinburgh's 1867 visit to Adelaide, a role that carried considerable prestige and advanced his photographic business.[502] Duryea participated in public affairs, as Newton explains,

> Duryea had become part of Adelaide's elite, a mixed group based on the model of the English
> aristocracy, but with many amongst them having moved up the financial and social ladder in recent

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[499] Orchard 'Scenic views and civic spaces' op. cit., p.76.
[500] Gael Newton, 'Townsend Duryea 1823-1888: A biography', Photo-web website, <http://photo-web.com.au/duryea/default.htm>, viewed 15.07.2009.
[501] Conversation with Marcel Saffier, Duryea expert, at *Photographies: new histories, new practices* conference, ANU, 11.07.2008.
[502] Newton, 'Townsend Duryea…', op. cit.

years. The Adelaide elite, governors, visiting dignitaries and the city's leading citizens, clergy, army officers and high ranking civil servants were the subject of many of his studio portraits. In a set of albums owned by the family of the then Chief Justice of SA, the Hanson Albums, Duryea and some of his family are placed as friends of the family.[503]

Duryea went on, with his brother Edwin, to head a family empire of portrait studios, churning out 47,000 cartes-de-visite in a single five year period.[504] However, his best known outdoor views were taken between 1865 and 1867, before Sweet conquered the Adelaide views trade. Duryea relocated to New South Wales after his studio was destroyed by fire in 1875, leaving the photographic business to be run by his family and managers. He amassed a series of landholdings in South Australia and New South Wales as well as financial interest in the family chain of studios. He died a wealthy man. However, most of the Duryea empire was built on portraiture, making it difficult to compare his commercial success as a views photographer with Sweet.

Bernard Goode (c.1834-1897) was another major name in photography in Adelaide from 1862 until he sold his Rundle Street business in 1874.[505] Like most photographers, the foundation of his business was portraiture but Goode combined this with a profitable trade in photographic supplies.[506] By 1867 he was advertising his photographic warehouse as 'the largest importer of photographic goods in the colonies'.[507] In 1869 Goode employed another photographer to run his portrait studios so that he could concentrate on other areas including outdoor photography, just as Sweet did ten years later.[508] Goode won a prize for his South Australian views in 1870 but outdoor work remained a small branch of his business. He relocated to Sydney in 1874 having created, on average, one thousand negatives – mostly portraits – a year.[509]

Henry Davis (1831/32-1878) joined the Adelaide views trade the year after Sweet, managing the Adelaide Photographic Company from 1867 until his untimely death in 1878. The company attracted high profile customers to its luxurious King William Street Studios. Davis himself was one of the leading views photographers in Adelaide until 'Sweet's domination of this field in the late 1870s'.[510] He produced an album of 50 South Australian views and sent several works to World Fairs. His

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[503] ibid.
[504] J Robinson, public lecture accompanying 'A Century in Focus' exhibition, AGSA, 09.11.2007-28.01.2008.
[505] Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit., pp.134-136.
[506] ibid., p.135.
[507] ibid.; original source Perth Enquirer, 30.10.1867.
[508] ibid., p.136.
[509] ibid.
[510] Robinson, 'Henry Davis', in Century in Focus, op. cit., p.86.

views were also copied as prints to illustrate Government books on South Australia's progress, yet little is known about him.[511] The small number of extant photographs identified as his seem inconsistent with the output one would expect from such a fine and successful photographer. My impression is that he was a prolific views photographer, worthy of further study, particularly if more of his work can be found. Some of his photographs are remarkably similar to Sweet's (compare plates 68-71). If their creation dates can be confirmed the reasons for their similarity might be revealing.

Plate 68
Henry Davis, Adelaide Photographic Company
Gumeracha Bridge
1875-76, Gumeracha

Plate 69
Captain Samuel Sweet
Gumeracha Bridge
1879, Gumeracha

Plate 70
Henry Davis, Adelaide Photographic Company
Waterfall, near Adelaide
1871-77, Waterfall Gully

Plate 71
Captain Samuel Sweet
Second Fall, Waterfall Gully
1866-80, Waterfall Gully

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[511] Photographs reproduced in Harcus, op. cit.

Sweet's Plate 69 was taken after Davis's death. However, Plates 70 and 71 could have been taken on the same day - every leaf and blade of grass is identical. Robinson suspects that 'at least one photograph of a waterfall by Davis appeared later in one of Sweet's albums uncredited'.[512] Views photographers often sold or licensed their negatives to each other, but some of Sweet's and Davis's similar views require close scrutiny to tell them apart. Davis's widow is known, for example, to have sold some of his negatives to George Freeman in 1879.[513] Further research would be required to see whether Sweet had acquired Davis's negative, whether one or other photographer had rephotographed views taken by the other, or whether the two men had some closer business relationship.

Few of Sweet's city-based competitors ventured as often, or as far, into the country areas to photograph views. One who came close was EG Tims (1843/44-after 1882) who managed the Australian Photographic Company and throughout the 1870s travelled to country areas including the Adelaide Hills, Coorong, River Murray and Mid-North. Unfortunately only one album of his views has survived and 'few photographs can be attributed to him with any certainty', making it difficult to assess the volume and quality of his output.[514] Nonetheless he worked in a similar way to Sweet until he disappeared in 1882.[515]

Danish born Peter Schourup was based in Port Adelaide where he opened his first portrait room in 1863. Portraiture was his main business but by 1872 he had also developed a reputation for his 'artistically arranged shipping views'.[516] Some of his views of Port Adelaide were sent to the 1873 London International Exhibition.[517] Schourup moved to New Zealand in 1882, leaving Sweet with only one major competitor, George Freeman.[518]

George Freeman outlasted all of Sweet's other competitors. He was barely 20 years old when he set up his Hindley Street studio in 1865, conducting 'photographic work in all its branches'.[519] He concentrated on portraiture but was also known for his large scale (e.g. 27.1 x 36.1cm) views of Adelaide. Freeman received several valuable Government commissions and his South Australian

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[512] Robinson, 'Henry Davis', in *Century in Focus*, op. cit., p.86, footnote 6.
[513] ibid., with reference to the *Advertiser*, 17.02.1879.
[514] ibid., p.82.
[515] ibid.
[516] Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit., p.259, citing an unreferenced 1872 edition of the *Register*.
[517] ibid., pp.257-259.
[518] ibid.
[519] ibid., p.120.

views, like Sweet's, were sent to World Fairs.[520] He was a highly experimental photographer, trying all manner of moonlight effects, cyanotype, coloured tints, panoramas and novel entertainments.[521] In the 1870s he traded in Adelaide as The Melbourne Photographic Company and relocated to Sydney in 1884. His main areas of competition with Sweet were architectural views and images of the Port.

Plate 72
George Freeman
Bank of Australasia
1875, Adelaide
27.1 x 36.1 cm

Freeman's technical mastery of architectural photography was almost as good as Sweet's and his photographs are notable for their clarity and impressive size. However, his compositions are far simpler and Pitt notes of *Bank of Australasia* (Plate 72) that 'while the composition of this image and others in the Philadelphia portfolio may be simple – they are architectural portraits, not evocative streetscapes – their low-lying perspectives silhouetted the buildings against the sky, making them appear both stark and monumental'.[522] The buildings in Freeman's Philadelphia album were also photographed by Sweet, who was equally capable of creating architectural portraits evoking monumentality and grandeur. However, Freeman lacked Sweet's diversity and his ability to create dynamic street scenes. He also lacked Sweet's knack for figure groupings and for accentuating the positive. Compare Freeman's image with Sweet's Catalogue Plate 933. Sweet's two figures are purposefully placed directly in the path the viewer must take to get to the building's entrance. They

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[520] ibid., p.123; Elspeth Pitt notes that Freeman's large scale views were sent to the 1876 Philadelphia Exhibition, the 1878 Paris Exhibition and the 1880 Melbourne Exhibition: E Pitt, 'George Freeman 1842-1895, *Bank of Australasia*, 1875', in Robinson, *Century in Focus*, op. cit., p.92.

[521] Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit., pp.120-124.

[522] Pitt, 'George Freeman…' op. cit., p.92.

draw us in and allow us to pass through the gap on the left. There is no sense of them being passers-by, like Freeman's figures. They lead our attention to the sunlit face of the building, emphasising its magnitude. Freeman includes more figures and their placement is random, straggling along the line of pavement. There is no single point at which our recognition of another human draws us in. We flit between them as they distract us from the main subject of the image. One of Freeman's figures has a disability and Pitt comments,

> 'While the street appears sparsely populated, Adelaide was experiencing overcrowding problems, and standards of living… deteriorated. The man on crutches (to the left of the image) legless and without a prosthesis, is representative not only of Adelaide's increasing underclass, he ominously embodies the future state of the South Australian economy'.[523]

In Sweet's Adelaide disability does not exist.

As the most travelled Adelaide-based photographer Sweet was also in competition with views photographers based in the rural and more remote parts of the colony. As the colony expanded, the views market reached into new towns 'In the wake of the establishment of pastoral and mining industries in the Flinders Ranges'.[524] Orchard notes that 'from the late 1860s, well-equipped photographers John Blood from Kapunda and HR Perry from Port Augusta were able to move to the outer edges of settlement into more remote regions in search of novel landscape subject matter'.[525] Harry Perry (c.1846-1936) and his brother Frank worked from a series of temporary studios in the colony's north from 1876 to 1880.[526] Of greatest note are Perry's 1875-76 photographs of the Flinders Ranges, which easily rival some of Sweet's images taken seven years later. However, the Perrys did not have Sweet's city base or distribution networks, nor were they as prolific, and did not pose a commercial threat. Further south, the lower Murray, Coorong and Fleurieu areas were well serviced for portraiture and views by the Nixon family. One of the clan, Stephen Nixon, moved to Kapunda in the Mid-North where he went into business with John Blood.[527] These regions, like most in the colony, were well served by local and travelling photographers, yet it was often Sweet who was commissioned to travel from Adelaide to photograph country estates, residences and businesses.

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[523] ibid.
[524] Orchard, 'Scenic views and civic spaces' op. cit., p.64.
[525] ibid.
[526] ibid., p.88.
[527] Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit., p.217.

Sweet's mastery stands above his peers because of its consistency throughout such a vast output. Freeman and other South Australian views photographers were capable of rising to the occasion, but never sustained Sweet's level of prowess across such a diverse range of subjects and clients. My impression is that by the end of his career Sweet's output far outweighed that of all his South Australian competitors put together.

Subject matter of the views trade

The subject matter of the views trade was fairly consistent: the built environment, civic buildings, street views, public gardens and cultural buildings, residences, engineering feats like bridges, ports, roads and railways, and sources of production like pastoral estates and mines - all achievements of which the colonies could be proud. In South Australia examples of these subjects abound.

Orchard asserts that South Australian photographic views of this period 'tend to fall into two broad categories: representations of the civic, built environment, and depictions of picturesque landscape scenery'.[528] The latter were rare in South Australia until the late 1880s, in contrast with the eastern colonies where topography and a new generation of photographers embraced nature and the picturesque much earlier.

Sweet's subjects are clearly listed in the Catalogue (Appendix 1). They are representative of the South Australian views trade with a few exceptions that will be explained in Chapter Five. The most significant of these is Sweet's treatment of Aboriginal subjects. There was a lucrative trade in photographs of Aborigines for a market with tastes for the exotic, the ethnographic and nostalgia for a race that was thought to be dying under the march of colonial progress. Images of Aborigines entered the views trade in a variety of forms but Sweet avoided most of them, his Aboriginal subjects predominantly resulting from Aboriginal Mission Station commissions.

On the whole the market was for subjects showing colonial progress. This was usually the case whether views were taken for general sale or as private commissions. Photographers varied in the degree to which they captured this sense of progress. Sweet excelled at it.

It helps us to understand the views trade if we consider it as the root of many of the branches of photography that we know today, most of which evolved the decade after Sweet's death. It was the

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[528] ibid.; See also Ennis, *Intersections*, op. cit.

forerunner of press photography which did not 'grow as a trade until after the introduction of direct photomechanical reproduction in the late 1880s and 1890s'.[529] The views trade also spawned the postcard industry 'which boomed just after the turn of the century', taking over many of the functions of its parent.[530] Cheap mass produced postcards removed the need for studios like Sweet's, and professional photography diversified into new fields like advertising and picture-books. The views trade also served many of the purposes that were later taken over by amateur photography. It served all these functions until the 1890s when new photographic technologies, and the changing market, allowed new forms and styles of photography to emerge. In the 1890s, South Australian amateur photographer HH Tilbrook produced some of the first landscape photographs purely intended to 'portray the true beauty of the Australian landscape'.[531] Another amateur, Frederick Joyner, emerged with John Kauffmann 'as a leading exponent of Pictorialism in South Australia'.[532] Only 10 years after Sweet's death photography and the entire visual culture of South Australia had changed almost beyond recognition.

The dramatic changes in all aspects of photography during the 1890s is a reminder of the importance of context in understanding and interpreting early photographs. Sweet's views trade with its collodion wet plates and albumen silver prints seems light years away from the Kodak Pocket camera and approaching Federation. Any analysis of Sweet's work must be firmly based in the context of the time before 1886 when the concept of Australia as a country did not exist. There were no postcards or pocket cameras and hardly any amateur photographers. But there was a massive market for views of colonial progress and that was precisely what Sweet gave them – photographs of modernity and civilisation as they spread across the most progressive colony in the continent.

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[529] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.44.
[530] ibid. p.82.
[531] Elspeth Pitt, 'H.H. Tilbrook 1848-1937, *Corset Rock, 1898*', in Robinson, *Century in Focus*, op. cit., p.148.
[532] J Robinson, 'Artistic pursuits: Amateurs and Pictorialists 1890s-1930s', in Robinson, *Century in Focus*, op. cit., p.142.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PHOTOGRAPHS: MAPPING THE ROAD TO MODERNITY

This chapter demonstrates the remarkable purpose with which Sweet photographed modernity while it was being created, arguing that he conveyed a 'positive' and 'civilised' vision of the colony through his selection of subjects; the way in which he treated them; and his exclusion of all 'negative' elements from the camera's frame. It analyses his subjects and style, showing exactly *how* his photographs captured and reinforced the colonial imagination. It also considers the subtexts and biases that we must unpick if we are to use Sweet's photographs as historical documents.

Sweet's subjects were determined by colonial economics and the needs of the market. From railways and water-pipes, to banks and flour mills, Sweet captured South Australian infrastructure as it emerged. Sweet photographed progress – the process of modernity and the establishment of civilisation. Rather than taking the objective documentary approach, Sweet created a selective reality through careful inclusion and exclusion of subjects and image content, and through a sophisticated stylistic emphasis on modernity and the colonial imagination. His photographs embody modernity as an idea of progress and constant improvement. His work is not about the modern but the emergence of the modern. Sweet was not the only photographer like this – most commercial views photographers photographed what the market wanted. Sweet, however, is the only South Australian views photographer to have worked over the entire 20 year period of the colony's boom time. He is remarkable for the volume and comprehensiveness of his imaging of South Australia and for capturing it more positively, and with more style, than anyone else.

The chapter begins in the wilderness, with Sweet's photographs of the earliest stages of the colonial process: the location, exploration and settlement of land for the purposes of habitation and production. Most of Australia had experienced this process long before the camera could capture it. However, in the Northern Territory, Sweet's photographs are an interesting replay of the establishment of a colony by Wakefield's systematic process. The second stage of colonisation – the creation of wealth from the land's resources – is then recorded through Sweet's agricultural, pastoral and industrial images. Wheat generated enormous capital which funded all the major boom-time building of the 1870s and 1880s. Sweet photographed every new tramline, railway and bridge constructed with the proceeds of bumper wheat harvests. The major cultural buildings on

North Terrace (the Library, University and Museum) were all built during this period, as were banks and lavish residences. They were all grand displays of prosperity and Sweet was there at precisely the right time to photograph every triumphant new edifice as it emerged from the ground. His images reflect a palpable sense of self confidence – both his own and the colony's. Even the ornate Exhibition Building was planned during this period as a massive celebration of South Australia's wealth. However, by the time the Exhibition Building opened in 1887 for the Jubilee Exhibition, several droughts had hit the wheat industry hard, cash dried up and banks collapsed under a credit crunch. The colony was in depression. South Australia's wealth, and Sweet's own life, ended under the scorching 1886 sun, but not before he had completed his record of the colony's grand homes and generous social infrastructure which are also explored in this chapter. It goes on to consider how Sweet reinforced his utopian image by creating a selective reality which excluded anything negative. It concludes with Sweet's triumphal celebration of Adelaide's modernity through dynamic city views that are bursting with the imagery of progress.

The Northern Territory: Imagining Modernity

The earliest stages of the colonial process involved the location, exploration and acquisition of land for the purposes of habitation and production. In Australia most of that process took place before the arrival of the camera. However, the Northern Territory resisted settlement until 1869 when Captain Sweet and Joseph Brooks were there to create a visual record of its submission to colonisation. This section shows how Sweet created positive images for the photography market through what he did, and did not, photograph. It reveals a sense of the remarkable purpose with which Sweet conveyed a 'positive' and 'civilised' vision of the colony: through his selection of subjects; the way in which he treated them; and his exclusion of all 'negative' elements from the camera's frame. I argue that in the Northern Territory he created a highly selective reality that hid from the viewer the hardship, sickness and violence that were the daily reality of explorers, surveyors and government workers.

Sweet's Northern Territory photographs are not typical of his wider body of work. They were taken while he was working as a Ship's Captain for the South Australian Government, commanding a supply vessel supporting the exploration (1869) and settlement (1869-71) of Darwin and the construction of the Overland Telegraph (1870-72). Sweet was not employed as a photographer when he took these photographs. These were not commissions, nor were they the kind of

photographs he set out to take while engaged in his core photography business. They were snatched in between his Captain's duties, during an historic episode in which he was a key player. Sweet's 'Surveyor's Eye' played a major role in the construction of these images. They are a conscious collection of visual information to aid navigation and settlement, as well as an intentional documentation of the growing infrastructure of Darwin. Like other expedition imagery of the British Empire, they reflect and reinforce the goals of acquiring and subjugating land to the needs of the Empire. In the Northern Territory Sweet purposefully created images reflecting the dreams and aspirations of all (white) people for the Colony. Yet there is a vast difference between what his Northern Territory photographs appear to be and the hidden narrative behind their creation.

Goyder's 1869 Northern Territory Survey Expedition[533]

Sweet's first photographs of the Northern Territory (NT) were taken during Goyder's 1869 Survey Expedition (Catalogue Plates 1-23). Sweet's views, and the stereographs taken by the official photographer, Joseph Brooks (1847-1918) were the first photographs taken during the earliest (successful) stages of the colonial process in Australia – the surveying and preparation of land for white settlement and production. In South Australia, and the other Australian Colonies, most of this process had taken place long before photographic technology was sufficiently advanced to record it. South Australia's founders had invented systematic colonisation and so the South Australian Government felt uniquely placed to be able to replicate this system in the NT. As a result, South Australia's own colonisation was re-enacted in the Top End, this time in front of cameras.

This analysis of Sweet's 1869 photographs is built around a comparison with those taken by Brooks.[534] By considering what it was about these two men that resulted in such different images on the same expedition, it is possible to gain a deeper understanding of Sweet's photographs as aids to navigation and settlement, as economic and political tools, and as highly saleable images of a colonial dream.

John Herschel first suggested 'that photographic equipment be included in an 1839 British expedition to the Antarctic'.[535] With the expansion of the British Empire and other global powers 'the camera

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[533] Parts of this section were presented as a paper at the Migration and Exchange Symposium, op. cit.
[534] The attribution of most 1869 stereographs to Brooks is based on a collaborative examination of the originals and of primary sources by Tim Smith and myself. For some of the evidence see Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., pp.166-167. See Catalogue Plates 1-112 for correct attributions as determined by this research.
[535] Warner Marien, op. cit., p.50.

first supplemented then supplanted the sketchbook' in exploration.[536] However, photography was

slow to replace traditional graphic media in Australia, whose major centres had been explored and

settled before 1840. Occasional 'modest scientific expeditions' had employed the camera but until

1869 'None of the great expeditions into unknown territory in Australia had official photographers'.[537]

It was only the remoteness and inaccessibility of the Northern Territory that delayed the process of

exploration and settlement long enough for the camera to be ready. Although Heckenberg argues

that the 1894 Horn expedition was the first in Australia to use the camera, the first official expedition

photographers were in fact employed on Goyder's 1869 expedition.[538] Northern Territory

photography prior to 1869 has recently been documented by Tim Smith and will not be repeated

here.[539] Although Sweet and Brooks were not the first Northern Territory photographers, they were

the first to photograph the *successful* colonial process in Australia. According to Newton 'Sweet was

only the third photographer to visit the north, yet his work far outstripped the quality of his

predecessors', describing earlier photographs by Hake and Hamilton as 'A few images … of the

canvas town attempting to find a toe-hold in the tropics'.[540]

The background to this expedition is essential to our understanding of Sweet's Northern Territory

photographs. After decades of failed attempts to settle the 'Top End', Sweet's images were a record

of a hard-won colonial triumph. There were good reasons why the Northern Territory was the last

area to submit to colonisation.[541] The southern half of its 1,349 million square kilometres is

landlocked desert in remote central Australia with long droughts and summer temperatures reaching

over 45ºC. The tropical climate in its north has levels of humidity, flood and mosquitoes that

explorers found intolerable. Exploration, settlement, agriculture and the creation of infrastructure

(like roads) were all made intensely difficult by the Territory's climate and remoteness. Explorers

were also impeded by tropical disease and violent encounters with the Indigenous inhabitants.

All exploration attempts prior to 1869 had been fraught with difficulty. The British Government had

tried to establish settlements in the Northern Territory between 1824 and 1838 but by 1849 all had

failed and were abandoned.[542] In the 1850s various South Australian expeditions tried

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[536] ibid; W Mitchell, 'Epilogue' in JM Schwartz & JR Ryan (eds), *Picturing Place: photography and the geographical imagination*, I.B. Tauris, London, 2003, p.286.
[537] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.46.
[538] Kerry Heckenberg, 'Photography and Exploration: issues related to the uptake of photography in Australian exploration', in *Journal of Australian and Colonial History*, vol.9, 2007.
[539] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., pp.160-163.
[540] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., pp.51-52.
[541] Ted Ling, Commonwealth government records about the Northern Territory, NAA, Canberra, 2011, <http://www.naa.gov.au/naaresources/publications/research_guides/nt-guide/chapter1/index.html>, viewed 24.10.2012.
[542] ibid.

unsuccessfully to locate the 'much speculated inland sea and fertile tablelands'.[543] By 1858 'South Australian pastoral interests were seeking more land', pressuring the Government to explore further north.[544] It was only in 1862 that John McDouall Stuart managed to cross Australia from south to north, on his sixth attempt.[545] Nevertheless, South Australia fought Queensland for this 'huge tract of so-called wasteland' and acquired it in 1863.[546] South Australia had a number of dreams resting on the extension of its 'northern boundary right across the continent to the north coast'.[547] They hoped to create a 'Great Central State', foster trade links with Asia, expand pastoral farming, and build an overland telegraph line from Adelaide to Darwin.[548] The telegraph would be connected by sea to Java and London, without New South Wales or Queensland receiving any of the financial benefit.[549] These dreams, if realised, would open up the inaccessible centre of Australia, giving Adelaide control of a highly lucrative new trade market and communications system.

To fund this expensive operation the South Australian Government commenced land sales and 'speculators in Adelaide and London acquired most of it, sight unseen'.[550] It became urgent to establish a settlement in the Northern Territory and survey the land 'so that the allocation of land titles could proceed'.[551] The 1864 Survey Expedition was led by Boyle Travers Finniss and it was a disaster. Cato described it as 'The most outstanding example of bad leadership' and its leader 'fated to do nothing that was right and everything that was wrong'.[552] Finniss

> sailed past the fine harbour of Darwin and decided to settle at Escape Cliffs. Here there was no harbour, and there was no anchorage within many miles. The land he ordered to be surveyed for settlement was found to be under water in the rainy season; the hordes of natives were so wild that the people were forced to live behind palisades where a canon was mounted; and quarrels between the leader and his officers and the settlers led to a state of utter disorganisation. White men were speared, the natives stole their stores of food, and so much rifle practice was engaged in that soon the whole of their ammunition was exhausted.[553]

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[543] ibid.
[544] ibid.
[545] ibid.
[546] Cross, op. cit., p.1; 'Goyder, George Woodroffe (1826-1898)', ADBO, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/goyder-george-woodroffe-3647/text5683>, viewed 03.10.2012; SRSA Adelaide, GRG224/31.
[547] Cross, op. cit., p.1.
[548] ibid.
[549] ibid., p.5
[550] Ling, op. cit.
[551] ibid.
[552] Cato, op. cit., p.108.
[553] ibid.

Finniss was relieved of his duties, the settlement abandoned and most of the settlers and members of the expedition fled 'by whatever means was available'.[554] These details of Finniss's expedition, and the other failed attempts preceding it, are essential to our understanding of Sweet's 1869 photographs as a record of successful colonisation, after decades of failure, of territory that was crucial to South Australia's survival and prosperity. Some of his photographs are almost pointed retorts to the descriptions of Finniss's harbourless settlement, fortified against dangerous 'natives'.

By 1866 'prospective settlers, leaseholders and land speculators were in uproar' and began legal action.[555] Progress began in 1869 when George Woodroffe Goyder (1826-1898), the Surveyor General himself, led a government expedition of 150 men to survey the Northern Territory. Goyder's survey was the epitome of efficiency and in less than a year they had surveyed 665,860 acres, identified a million acres of growing-land and decided on Palmerston (now Darwin) as the site for the capital.[556] The photographs show the area's transformation within a year from almost its natural state to an established capital with basic government buildings, roads, and the beginnings of nearby townships.[557]

Goyder's expedition was the first to appoint official photographers, in the persons of Joseph Brooks and his assistant William Barlow.[558] Sweet had applied for the position but had instead been appointed as Captain of the expedition support vessel the *Gulnare*.[559] Brooks was already a draftsman in Goyder's Department, so Goyder gained a photographer and draughtsman for no extra outlay.[560] In 1869 Brooks was only 22 years old and had limited experience. His dual duties of 'photographist and draftsman' restricted his time for photography and the same was true for Barlow whose carpentry skills were utilised almost to the exclusion of any photographic work.[561] Goyder was most grateful that Sweet took photographs in his spare time. He described Sweet as 'an able,

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[554] Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit.,p.153
[555] Alistair Heatley and Graham Nicholson, *Selected Constitutional Documents on the Northern Territory*, Northern Territory Department of Law, Darwin, 1989; Alan Powell, *Far Country: A Short History of the Northern Territory*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1996, cited by <http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/item.asp?dID=50>.
[556] Diary kept by Surveyor General, GW Goyder 1868-70, SRSA, GRG 35/655; 'Goyder...', ADBO, op. cit.
[557] Goyder Diary, op. cit.
[558] Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit., pp.54, 35-36.
[559] Sweet to Surveyor General, application for position of photographer with the NT Expedition, 03.11.1869, SAA, GRG 35, 1394/1868, 03.11.1868; Correspondence from Jack Cross, 23.05.2007; SAA, GRG35, SGD Letters from the NT, 32/1868, 10.02.1869. Sweet made two return voyages from Adelaide to Darwin in 1869: he took command of the *Gulnare* 13.01.1869 in Adelaide, arriving Darwin 27.03.1869. He departed Darwin 05.05.1869, arriving Adelaide 06.06.1869. Second voyage departed Adelaide 29.06.1869, arriving Darwin (via Timor) 24.08.1869. He departed Darwin with Goyder and some of his men 02.09.1869, arriving Adelaide 01.11.1869.
[560] Harley Wood, 'Brooks, Joseph (1847-1918)', ADBO, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/brooks-joseph-5378/text9101>, viewed 04.10.2012.
[561] See, for example, extracts from letters: *Register*, 26.04.1869 and 07.06.1869; Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit., p.54.

active, energetic officer, and did all in his power to facilitate my plans. He is also an expert photographer, and has taken several views in the locality, of which I am glad, as Mr Brooks has been fully occupied preparing plans and documents for the field party during the past two months'.[562] By contrast, Sweet, the 44-year-old Master Mariner, had been working as a commercial outdoor photographer in Australia for five years and was close to becoming Adelaide's foremost views photographer. Unlike Brooks, it was the market's taste for positive images of colonial development, progress and prosperity that determined Sweet's subject choices and photographic style. Photography was Sweet's passion and the commercial views trade was his livelihood. For Brooks, the camera was just an extra tool in his draughtsman's kit.

Both men used collodion wet plate negatives and albumen silver printing-out paper but differed significantly in their choices of camera, format and subjects. Sweet's large Full Plate camera allowed for broad, highly informative images. An expert in outdoor photography, he had already made his mark on the South Australian views trade for his technical excellence.[563] Sweet also had photographic facilities aboard the *Gulnare* and a crew at his disposal. Brooks made only stereographs in the Northern Territory. The camera's small size and 'consequent faster speed of the plates' was ideal for remote excursions.[564] Its novel 3D effect was popular for private viewing, but its square format, small size and Brooks's tendency towards tight views of single subjects, was extremely limiting compared with Sweet's full plates. Brooks's *Government survey camp* (Plate 73) shows part of the expedition camp and the road leading inland. Compared with Sweet's *Port Darwin camp and stables* (Plate 74) taken from the same viewpoint, Brooks's image traps the viewer in a tight frame with no sense of the camp's context and no escape route. The same sense of restriction and enclosure can be seen in several of Brooks's stereographs.[565] In Sweet's photograph *Fort Hill, from Government Camp* (Plate 76) the slightly different viewpoint and broader scope provides more information and a greater sense of space than Brooks's equivalent image (Plate 75).[566]

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[562] Goyder, letter to SA Government, 03.05.1869, NT, reproduced *Register*, 08.06.1869, p.3 & 21.06.1869, p.4.
[563] See, for example, *SMH*, 11.07.1866; *Bunyip*, 04.01.1868.
[564] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.43; Assistant photographer, Barlow, recommended the stereographic format to Goyder; Stereographs were created from two identical small square photographs, slightly offset and mounted on a card of approximately 7.7x15.4cm.
[565] e.g. Catalogue Plates 75 (Brooks) compared with 16 (Sweet); also 72 (Brooks) compared with 21 (Sweet).
[566] For more on space and modernity in colonial photography see Helen Ennis, 'The Space of Modernity' in Ennis, *A Modern Vision*, op cit., pp.1-19.

Plate 73
Joseph Brooks
Government survey camp, Palmerston
1869, Darwin

Plate 74
Captain Samuel Sweet
Port Darwin camp and stables
1869, Darwin

Plate 75
Joseph Brooks
The main camp
1869, Darwin

Plate 76
Captain Samuel Sweet
Fort Hill, from Government Camp
1869, Darwin

When it came to subjects, Sweet and Brooks made some quite different choices. When photographing together Brooks appears to have taken Sweet's lead – placing his own tripod in the footprints of Sweet's (Plates 77 to 93). Of their joint photographic excursions Smith observes that 'Combining their photographic activity was more than a convivial act between the two photographers; it allowed the sharing of the photographic effort, knowledge of locations and for Brooks to learn about the craft from a master'.[567]

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[567] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., p.172.

Captain Samuel Sweet

Joseph Brooks

Plate 77
Stokes Hill and Bay

Plate 78
Stokes Hill and Bay

Plate 79
Tumbling Waters
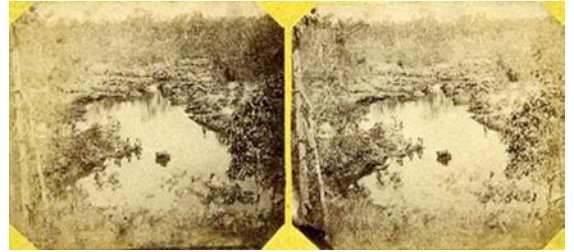
Plate 80
Tumbling Waters

Plate 81
Govt. Well

Plate 82
Government surveying party

Captain Samuel Sweet

Joseph Brooks

Plate 83
Palmerston, Harbour Entrance

Plate 84
Government survey camp

Plate 85
Fort Point from Stokes Hill, showing camp in saddle

Plate 86
Fort Hill, from camp

Plate 87
Government survey camp

Plate 88
The stables of the Goyder Survey Expedition party
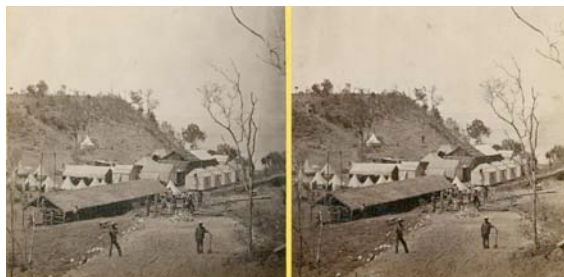
Plate 89
Palmerston Camp beneath Fort Hill

Captain Samuel Sweet

Joseph Brooks

Plate 91
Government survey camp, Palmerston

Plate 90
Palmerston camp and Stables

Plate 93
Graves of JWO Bennett and Richard Hazard

Plate 92
Grave of JWO Bennett and Richard Hazard

However, when working alone Brooks photographed the expedition, including its leaders, the surveyors, workers and the work of the expedition.[568] Sweet avoided these subjects, photographing instead what the surveyors saw and what Goyder reported on: evidence that Port Darwin was a suitable harbour from which to settle the Northern Territory and that it possessed the essential resources necessary for colonisation - access, water, productive soil and the potential to build roads and shelter. Sweet was not so much photographing the survey expedition, as photographing with the eye of a surveyor. Why photograph surveyors with their theodolites, as Brooks did (Catalogue Plate 60) when he could photograph what they saw through them?[569] These are the images of the colonial imagination. The market wanted to know that they could land safely, gain access to their new land by road and have the necessary support of the government settlement, shelter, water and food.

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[568] e.g. Catalogue Plates 44, 60, 47.
[569] See also Brooks Catalogue Plates 55-59.

Plate 94
Stokes Hill and Bay
1869, Darwin

Plate 95
Panoramic view of Fort Hill
1869, Darwin

Sweet photographed the natural harbour, showing the features important for navigation (e.g. Plate 94). In *Panoramic view of Fort Hill* (Plate 95) his ship provides scale and indicates the proximity of safe anchorage. Several of Sweet's photographs show the relationship between anchorage, landing craft, landing place and the safety of the Goyder's camp (Catalogue Plates 3 and 20). *Fort Hill* and *Palmerston Beach* (Plates 96 and 97) are not poor compositions. Sweet was intentionally photographing the beach landing place, its surface and proximity to safe, settled land.

Plate 96
Fort Hill
1869, Darwin

Plate 97
Palmerston Beach
1869, Darwin

Brooks tended to focus his camera's entire frame on a single subject, whether it was a group of surveyors, a waterhole or a cave (Catalogue Plates 55, 40 & 42). Although Brooks's photographs of wood clearing and groups of surveyors are a useful historical record, they provide limited information about the terrain undergoing transformation and were less useful as either surveillance aids or promotional images. Smith observes that Brook's stereographs 'resemble tourist snapshots', which he describes as 'Characteristically artless records of scenes or events … they employ only the

rudimentary aesthetic constructs of the period'.[570]   Sweet's broader views showed the relationships between a subject and its surroundings and emphasised the Government's taming and use of the land's resources.

It was Sweet's style, as well as his choice of subjects, that catered to the views trade. Sweet's carefully chosen viewpoints and framing were used to emphasise the area's attractive qualities, dispelling fears of the unknown for settlers, investors and migrants who would be reassured by what they saw. What is especially interesting about his Northern Territory photographs is that he also used high viewpoints to maximise the capture of visual information, providing useful navigational and planning images for the Government and the many Captains and officials who would soon arrive. Brooks only did this when working alongside Sweet. Sweet also photographed the major points of elevation from several angles showing not only what could be seen, but where it could be seen from – an important consideration for surveillance and security.

As a Master Mariner, Sweet had a special set of antecedents influencing his approach to photography at the front line of the colonial process. Captain Cook's voyages had 'set a pattern for artists to travel with expeditions' drawing coastal profiles to aid navigation and recording survey findings as well as botany, zoology and ethnography.[571]   Art became 'the handmaiden of ... exploration ... in the dynamic expansion of Europe" and from 1856 photography became part of the training program for Royal Engineers.[572] 'Navigation and 'nautical science', with their attendant skills of detailed observation and documentation, illustration, quantification and surveying, were part of regular naval practice', and were part of Sweet's own training.[573] He also had the training to express those skills in the visual media of photography. Ryan examines in detail the 'cartographic eye' – the way explorers, mapmakers and surveyors see. Sweet had the eye of a mariner and a surveyor, not only in terms of his use of elevation and angles, and his way of seeing things in the distance but in terms of his complete act of seeing with both the eye and the mind. Sweet's surveyor's eye can be seen at work in *Tumbling Waters* (Plate 98) in which, on close inspection, one can see figures placed as measuring sticks, a tool used by photographers with the Royal Engineers.[574]

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[570] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op cit., pp.165.
[571] JM MacKenzie, 'Art & Empire', <http://www.britishempire.co.uk/art/artandempire.htm>, viewed 02.01.2009; see also Janda Gooding, 'The Politics of a Panorama: Robert Dale and King George Sound', in N Etherington (ed.), *Mapping Colonial Conquest: Australia and Southern Africa*, University of Western Australia Press, WA, 2007, p.69.
[572] MacKenzie op. cit.; Mitchell, op. cit., p.286; KS Howe, 'Mapping a sacred Geography: photographic surveys by the Royal Engineers in the Holy Land, 1864-68', in Schwartz & Ryan, op. cit., p.231. See Howe for suggested further reading on the Royal Engineers' use of photography. James R Ryan, *Picturing Empire: photography and the visualisation of the British Empire*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1997; Forbes & Hercock, op. cit., p.18.
[573] Forbes & Hercock, op. cit., p.18.
[574] Gael Newton, plenary discussion, 30.11.2013, Migration and Exchange Symposium, op. cit.

Plate 98
Captain Samuel Sweet
Tumbling Waters
April 1869, Northern Territory

Plate 99
Panoramic view of Government Survey camp at Palmerston
1869, Darwin
albumen silver 3-panel panorama

Another visual tool used by surveyors was the panoramic image. Sweet's *Panoramic View of the Government Survey Camp* was the first panoramic photograph created in the Northern Territory. Panoramas were immensely popular in expedition image making because, as Gooding observes their format

circumscribed for the viewer the extent of the known but untapped land resources of the area. The single circular view indicated that there was abundant land for future settlers, and, importantly, the

visual control of the space emphasised the authority and order that European presence had exerted on the landscape.[575]

Simon Ryan describes the panoramic view 'as a kind of ownership, and the vantage points that provide these views are presented as particularly desirable; they offer not only spatial but future prospects'.[576] In visual grammar Sweet's panorama is a kind of colonial possessive, carrying with it a sense of domination of the land. A London investor might be reluctant to take up their land on the strength of a Government report, given all the disasters that had beset the Northern Territory. However, Sweet's panorama allows the viewer to imagine descending from the ship in the harbour onto the landing craft, stepping onto that slightly rocky beach and walking up to the camp where Government officers are waiting in welcome.

Sweet's panorama has much in common with Robert Dale's aquatint *Panorama of King George's Sound* in Western Australia (Plate 100).[577] Like Sweet, Dale was a surveyor and explorer – a military man whose main concern was the surveying, apportioning and exploitation of the land. He spent four years (1829-1833) exploring Western Australia 'for potential arable land, preparing tracts for subdivision, identifying suitable transport routes, constructing roads, and describing and naming geographical features', exactly as Goyder did in the NT in 1869.[578]

Plate 100
Robert Dale
Detail from *Panoramic View of King George's Sound, part of the colony of Swan River*
1834, Western Australia

Dale's panorama excludes what he knew of unfriendly white-Aboriginal contact, choosing to illustrate only the earliest congenial relations between white and indigenous people, before the development of conflict and 'the extreme violence that surfaced in the process of colonial conquest'.[579] Dale's manipulation seems especially calculated when one discovers his investments in timber plantations that he promoted in his texts. Sweet's selective reality was also commercially driven – not by direct

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[575] Gooding, op. cit., p.76.
[576] Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: how explorers saw Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, p.89.
[577] Robert Dale, *Panoramic View of King George's Sound, part of the colony of Swan River*, 1834, hand-coloured etching and aquatint, 18 x 274.5cm, Art Gallery of Western Australia, Perth.
[578] Gooding, op. cit., p.71.
[579] ibid., pp.71-73.

investment in the land but by the greater profitability of 'positive' images. Gooding explains how maps and images like Dale's were constructed to 'support and enable British military, political, social and economic aims' and that the establishment of the Swan River Colony 'primarily relied on the investment of private settlers' (just as the Northern Territory would do 65 years later).[580] Dale's panorama, like Sweet's photographs, was used as a marketing tool for promoting investment and settlement in the colony. Both men's images were influenced by their professional background, their mission's agenda, and by the uses to which they knew their images would be put.

From today's viewpoint, Sweet created images of the colonial imagination. Views trade customers, just like investors and speculators, wanted to see images of Darwin that conveyed a sense of civilisation, safety and potential productivity. Sweet's photographs provided this by showing safe access, roads, shelter, water, food and the reassuring support of the Government settlement. From his images people could imagine the rest of the Territory being settled, paved and safe. Whatever Sweet photographed, it contained evidence that this was land fit for 'civilised' habitation.

This aspect of Sweet's images becomes even clearer when we consider what he did not photograph. He excluded anything that could be considered negative in terms of the dominant colonial ideology and Goyder's expedition brief. He did not photograph the survey parties when they were working, tired or dirty, nor the men when they were sick or injured. Sweet was not interested in social realism, the human experience or hardship. The people in his landscapes are figures, not individuals, symbolising civilised habitation and giving a sense of scale. They appear relaxed, happy, clean and imply a relatively comfortable existence. This was not the daily reality of the expedition. By contrast, Brooks's *Government surveying party, Palmerston* shows the surveyors looking tired, dirty and dejected, despite their best efforts to pose for him (Catalogue Plate 60). Simon Ryan talks about the lack of fit between representations of explored land in imagery and the written texts of explorers and surveyors.[581] Sweet's images are at odds with the personal letters and diaries of the men who complain of heat, illness, mosquitoes and hardship. Sweet himself frequently mentions the torturous mosquitoes in his own diary, and wrote about 'one of the most miserable nights I ever spent in my life', soaked by rain and attacked by mosquitoes 'round me in millions'.[582] Unfriendly encounters with Aborigines are frequently mentioned in private journals and letters but there is virtually no evidence of Aborigines in Sweet's images, even though Sweet was keenly aware of their presence. While returning from Tumbling Waters to Southport, Sweet and his party were 'suddenly surprised by

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[580] ibid., p.67.
[581] Simon Ryan op. cit.

the appearance of smoke on the bank of the river. When Dr [Peel] sang out "Blacks" … out came our revolvers and cocked ready for an attack'.[583] The smoke turned out to be a cobweb but the mens' reaction marks an ever-present fear of attack.

There was a huge market for ethnographic photographs and Sweet's decision to exclude Aborigines from his pictures must be interpreted as a conscious one, especially when we consider his need, as a commercial photographer, for profitable images.[584] His decision is striking considering Sweet's own contact with Aborigines. He photographed the grave of JWO Bennett who had been speared by a Djerimanga man (Catalogue Plate 22).[585] When Sweet arrived in Darwin on his fourth voyage he found

> the friendly blacks '"Larakeeas" camped near, working for their food, clearing trees etc etc. It appears the River Adelaide Blacks "Woolnas" numbering about 150 strong came to the main camp to take away the white Lubras [women]. The friendly natives informed the white people at the camp of their diabolical attempt and for which the Woolnas attacked the poor Larakeeas who were no match for them, driving a spear through one poor fellow, of which he died in half an hour and two others which are in a fair way of recovery. They then decamped and a party was sent in pursuit but failed in coming up with them as the Woolnas had had 3 1/2 hours start of them so that just chastisement was unfortunately not carried out. It is he same wretches that speared Bennet and so they seem allowed to declare war in their way and attack us and kill a few people without being punished. I should presume they must feel we are a lot of cowards.[586]

Sweet rarely expresses opinions or judgements in his diaries which are, in general, factual and occasionally humorous. This extract shows him to be a fair man, capable of considerable sympathy with the Larrakia. Yet even when he expresses his views concerning the Woolnas' attempt to abduct the white women, he does so in mild terms compared with the diaries of other men. His diary fragments shed little light on Sweet's own attitudes towards Aboriginal people, but it is clear that they were part of his daily experience in the Northern Territory. Indeed, the *Gulnare* (under Sweet's command) was used to trap Larrakia men who had speared Dr Milner's horse:

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[582] Sweet Diary, op. cit., entry 02.04.1869.

[583] ibid., entry 20.04.1869.

[584] For more on the white perception of the land as 'terra nullius' – the land of no-one or Crown Land – and the convenient belief it was a wilderness awaiting economic exploitation, see J Altman and K Palmer, 'Land ownership and land use', in B Arthur and F Morphy (eds), *Macquarie Atlas of Indigenous Australia: culture and society through space and time*, Macquarie Library, NSW, 2005, p.142.

[585] John William Ogilvie Bennett was speared on the Adelaide River; Lockwood, op. cit., p.103.

the men were induced to go aboard the Gulnare with promises of "tum tum," or food. When the principal men reached the deck word was passed to cut their canoes adrift. By that time the Gulnare was black with natives… Two were captured and put in irons.[587]

Sweet must have retained strong visual memories of this, yet he in no way responded to it with his camera. There was no lack of opportunity to photograph the local Larrakia or Djerimanga people.[588] Nor can we surmise that violent encounters, like the spearing of Bennett, were unconducive to photographic compliance. Hamilton and Hake had photographed Aborigines during an expedition fraught with violence.[589] Police Inspector Paul Foelsche later had no difficulties in photographing local Aborigines even though relations had become extremely violent.[590] Some of the Larrakia even lived and worked at the main Government camp.

The absence of Aborigines in Sweet's images contrasts starkly with images from Finniss's expedition. Compare Sweet's *Panoramic View of the Government Survey Camp* (Plate 99) with a sketch of the 1864 Escape Cliffs settlement, surrounded by its high stockade and clinging for dear life to its precipice (Plate 101). How relieved would an investor feel on seeing Sweet's panorama of Port Darwin, if the last image he had seen of the Northern Territory 'capital' resembled King's sketch of Escape Cliffs?

Plate 101
Stephen King
Escape Cliff Settlement
1865, Escape Cliffs

References to violence in Sweet's images are obtuse at best. Sweet's photograph of Bennett's grave (Catalogue Plate 22) seems to say more about 'civilised' burial than the circumstances of

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[586] Sweet Diary, op. cit., entry 24.06.1870.
[587] Mrs Daly, op. cit., quoted by Lockwood, op. cit., p.104.
[588] e.g., see Papers of James Lawrence Stapleton, SLSA PRG 643, series 2, describing the pole planting ceremony which 'quite astonished the natives'.
[589] For example, the *Register*, 14.12.1864 described a photograph of 'a group of naked aboriginals whose stature appears quite imposing'.
[590] Foelsche arrived in Darwin 21.01.1870. Clune, op. cit., p.157; *Register*, 15.03.1870.

Bennett's death, showing that if you do have to die even in the jungle, you can have a respectable monument. Yet behind that photograph lies a hidden truth about the conflict and violence to which Sweet's camera is blind.
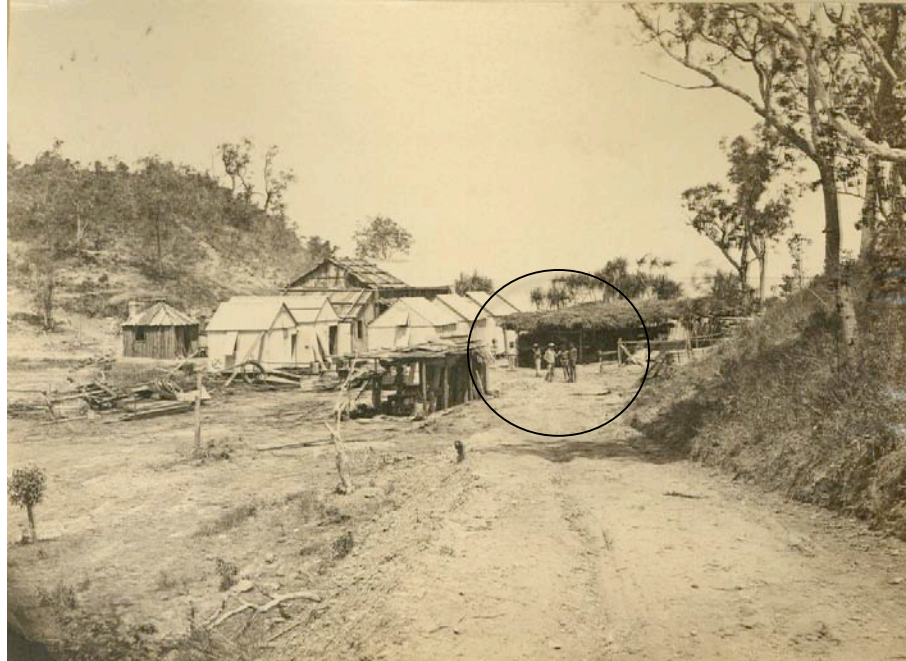
Plate 102
Port Darwin camp and stables
1869, Darwin

One exception to Sweet's exclusion of Aborigines is *Port Darwin Camp and Stables* (Plate 102) in which only very close inspection reveals two Aboriginal men standing with a white man in a pith helmet (possibly Goyder). The men are barely visible in the original photograph, of which only one extant print has been found. Even though their pose appears neutral, perhaps even friendly, the photograph was not as widely circulated as most of his other Northern Territory images. By excluding Aborigines from his photographs Sweet was reinforcing the white perception of the land as 'terra nullius' – literally the land of no-one, meaning Crown Land – and the convenient belief it was a wilderness awaiting economic exploitation.[591] Sweet's reasons for excluding Aborigines will become even clearer throughout this chapter.

Sweet had a sophisticated array of strategies to render the Northern Territory more appealing. As well as eradicating threats, he brings a calm sense of order to the landscape. The subject of Plate 103 is a Banyan tree which, in hands other than Sweet's, might look like an impenetrable jungle. Far from being calm and orderly, this tree is a dense and tangled thicket of trunks and roots. It also

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[591] Altman & Palmer, op. cit., p.142.

makes an uncomfortable metaphor for colonisation. The seeds of the banyan tree (a type of fig) germinate in the crevices of a host tree, sending roots down to the ground, strangling its host. Sweet's ancient banyan, or 'strangler fig', has developed multiple trunks from its aerial prop roots leaving a hollow core where the original host tree has died.

Pate 103
Banyan Tree
1869, Darwin

Here there is only minimal evidence of white man's impression on the land, yet responses elicited by this image are often couched in terms of the Sublime, with its associate elements of grandeur, beauty and awe.[592] Sweet has noticed the architectural qualities of the tree which, combined with its immensity and potential to provide shelter and safety, are evocative of a cathedral – itself a powerful symbol of Christian civilisation. Sweet has enhanced the analogy by populating the clearing among its trunks with figures and choosing a moment when the light streams through with almost spiritual intensity. The spiritual element is enhanced by the figure on the left, whose face is raised to the light. The sense of being enclosed in a magnificent sanctuary is completed by the framing device of the heavy, dark trunk leaning in from the right, and balanced by Sweet's dark-tent in the lower left corner, which also reminds us of the arrival of technological progress in the wilderness.

Returning to a comparison between Sweet and Brooks, what was it about these two men that resulted in such different images? Clearly their different cameras and formats played a part but it is in the nature of the men themselves – their ages, experiences, occupations and agendas – that we find the real differences in their image making.

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[592] Responses have been solicited from viewers by this researcher during public talks, lectures and at conferences.

Brooks came from a world with smaller horizons. The son of an English surveyor, he was born near Manchester in a town dominated by textile industries and hat-making.[593] He was a generation on from Sweet – arriving in South Australia as a child, and educated in a well-established private Adelaide school.[594] He followed his father's profession and went straight into the Crown Lands Department to work for Goyder. In 1869 he was a 22-year-old draughtsman with ambitions towards surveying. Brooks does not appear to have shared Sweet's singular drive to be a photographer. After the expedition he continued his career as a Government Surveyor in Adelaide until 1877 when he joined the NSW Department of Lands where he remained until he retired.[595] His main interests in life were trigonometrical surveying and astronomy and, it seems, the camera never became as important to him as his theodolite and telescope.[596] He does not seem to have travelled much, and his photographs clearly lack the sophisticated and complex agendas of Sweet's. He was a young man, raised and educated in Adelaide, with far less experience than the worldly Captain Sweet who had been 'living at the large edges of the world' before Brooks was born.[597]

Sweet was a 44-year-old Master Mariner, a professional photographer, an agent of the British Empire and an Englishman participating in the creation of a new world. Sweet witnessed the advent of rail, photography and the colonisation of Australia. Brooks was born into them as a norm. Sweet's vision was influenced optically, habitually, professionally and ideologically by his maritime career, the goals of the South Australian Government and his main livelihood as a views photographer. His strong identification with the aims of the expedition was not unusual, even for photographers without a military or naval background. Mary Warner Marien notes a striking similarity between images created by independent commercial photographers and those by official military photographers during colonial expansion.[598] His images, like much British Empire expedition imagery, reflected and reinforced the goals of acquiring and subjugating land to the Empire's needs. Sweet deliberately collected visual information to aid navigation and settlement. He continued, after Brooks had left Darwin, to systematically document its growing infrastructure. Sweet was not taking photographs for Goyder (although the Government were glad of them). As a commercial photographer he also needed these photographs to sell – they were his livelihood. They were geared to the photography market and its demand for positive images that reflected the dreams and aspirations of all (white) people for the Colony.

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[593] Harley Wood, 'Brooks, Joseph (1847-1918)', ADBO, op. cit.
[594] ibid.
[595] ibid.
[596] ibid.
[597] Warner Marien, op. cit., p.103.
[598] ibid.

Initially, both men's photographs were of enormous economic importance to the Government as a powerful antidote to scepticism about the truth of Goyder's written reports – understandable scepticism given previous disasters and Goyder's remarkable achievements. They were far more persuasive than the written word or artists' sketches. The arrival of the first batch of photographs was reported in celebratory tones as evidence of the settlement of Darwin.

> Captain Sweet had an opportunity of overhauling the country which possesses such attractions that it would almost seem a fancy picture were not his glowing descriptions borne out in a great measure by the photographs and contents of the dispatches.[599]

The importance of the photographs as evidence is clear from an earlier *Register* editorial which outlined failed attempts to survey and settle the Northern Territory and acknowledged that it would hardly be surprising if the latest positive reports of the land and the survey's progress were met with considerable scepticism in England.[600] It claimed that the Editor of the *Times*, and the North Australia Company, had 'proved themselves quite capable of treating the *Moonta*'s mail as a conspiracy'.[601] Their scepticism was understandable given the history of negative reports and failed missions, and their awareness of the increasing pressure on the Government. The photographs by Sweet and Brooks were a powerful antidote to such scepticism.

By late September Goyder's work was finished. He organised the departure of his men, leaving Dr Peel in charge with one hundred men to continue preparation for settlement and the arrival of the Government Resident.[602] Goyder and 36 men, including Brooks and Barlow, left Darwin with Sweet on 28 September, arriving in Port Adelaide on '5 November to an excited Press'.[603] The *Register* reported

> The safe and almost triumphant return of Mr Goyder from the Northern Territory has relieved South Australia from a very critical dilemma – one in which the honour and public funds of the colony were deeply concerned. It has decisively answered all of the taunts incurred by past mismanagement … the men … have accomplished more surveying in Port Darwin in five months than has ever been

[599] *Register*, 07.06.1869, p.2. See also, *Register*, 26.04.1869. *Moonta* left Darwin 05.03.1869 for Adelaide with Goyder's official report on expedition's progress and Brooks's first 15 stereographs.
[600] *Register*, 26.04.1869.
[601] ibid.
[602] WW Hoare's diary, SLSA, PRG 294/1, entry 28.09.1860.
[603] ibid.; *Register*, 15-16.11.1869.

done in South Australia in a year. Four townships laid out, and six hundred and sixty thousand acres surveyed.[604]

Yet, for several reasons, it was Sweet's vision of the Northern Territory, not Brooks's, which saturated a market hungry to know how to imagine this newly settled piece of Empire. Brooks' photographs were limited by their small size, square format and their content. Sweet's were taken with a more sophisticated agenda and foresight. They were capable of meeting a variety of purposes including aiding navigation, promoting the Northern Territory and being sold through his photography business. As a commercial photographer who took photographs in his own time with his own equipment (during his breaks so to speak) Sweet's photographs belonged to him and he sold prints by the hundreds through his studio, agents and advertising. The Government also chose to buy prints from Sweet, rather than use their own, because Sweet's format, subjects and idealised vision made them the perfect images for promoting the Northern Territory's potential for settlement and investment.[605] As a result Sweet's photographs were widely distributed by the Government at World Fairs and to the illustrated press. They became powerful economic and political tools in a world that believed photographs told the absolute truth. In the authoritative words of the *Art Journal* of 1860, 'The photograph ... cannot deceive; in nothing can it extenuate; there is no power in this marvellous machine either to add or to take from: we know that what we see must be TRUE'.[606] In short, people believed the camera could not lie.

Sweet's photographs, just like Westall's and Dale's earlier images, were a powerful source of information for 'prospective migrants' who 'consulted such books for information and images of their new country'.[607] Radford argues that Westall's pictures 'were certainly influential on emigration'.[608] How much more powerful were Sweet's photographs in an age that believed in the absolute truth of the camera? James R Ryan argues that 'photographic practices and aesthetics played a crucial role in expressing and articulating the ideologies of imperialism driving British exploration and colonisation'.[609] However, Sweet's was a selective version of reality, created through his subject selection, what he chose to include or exclude from the camera's frame, his choice of viewpoint, the

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[604] *Register*, 18.11.1869, p.2.
[605] Goyder was against infringing on the trade of commercial photographers, having previously expressed concern on another matter lest it 'interfere with the business of private operators': Noye, Dictionary of South Australian Photography, op. cit., p.139.
[606] *The Art Journal*, 1860.
[607] Ron Radford, 'William Westall and the Landscape Tradition', in S Thomas, *The Encounter 1802: Art of the Flinders and Baudin Voyage*, AGSA, 2002, p.104.
[608] ibid., p.104.
[609] JR Ryan, op. cit., jacket text.

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camera's angle and its elevation. As Joan Schwartz and James Ryan explain, 'emphasis on the realism and truthfulness of photography effectively masked the subjectivity inherent in the decision of what to record, from what angle and when – contingent, of course upon the limitations of existing technology – and likewise veiled the power of photography to mediate the human encounter with people and place.[610] They argue that 'the failure, or indeed refusal, to acknowledge selectivity and subjectivity in the process of picturing place' allowed photographs to become 'a functional tool of the geographical imagination'.[611]

In summary, Sweet's 1869 Northern Territory photographs can be understood as images created in the context of colonial exploration image-making and of Sweet's identification with the expedition's brief and the government's goals of acquiring and subjugating land for expansion and profit. In the hands of a mariner and surveyor, trained in image-making for that very purpose, his camera gave eloquent voice to these goals. As a commercial photographer Sweet also made these images to sell and the market wanted what the government wanted. So, Sweet consciously collected visual information to aid navigation and settlement and intentionally documented the growing infrastructure of Darwin. His images conveyed a 'positive' and 'civilised' vision of the colony through his selection of subjects; the way in which he treated them; and his exclusion of all 'negative' elements from the camera's frame.

Settlement of the Northern Territory 1870-1871[612]
Sweet's role in the Northern Territory did not end when Brooks and Goyder returned to Adelaide. He remained Captain of the *Gulnare*, transporting building supplies, settlers and the new Government Resident to the rapidly growing Palmerston (now Darwin) and continued to photograph the process of settlement (Catalogue Plates 24-36). His emphasis on safety and civilisation increased as the built infrastructure of Darwin evolved. The process of settlement accelerated with the arrival of the new Government Resident, Captain Douglas, and with the simultaneous news that an overland telegraph line was to be built from Adelaide and connected to a submarine cable to Java at Darwin.[613] The program of building and road making increased (Catalogue Plates 25-35), while

[610] Schwartz & Ryan, *Picturing Place*, op. cit., p.3
[611] ibid.
[612] Sweet (and the *Gulnare*) departed Adelaide 02.12.1869 on his third NT voyage, arriving Darwin 30.01.1870 (via rescuing the *Koohinor*). He departed Darwin 15.02.1870, arriving Adelaide (possibly mid March). He left Adelaide on his fourth voyage 28.04.1870, arriving Darwin 24.06.1870 (via Brisbane for storm repairs) with the new Government Resident, Captain William Bloomfield Douglas, and his family.
[613] Lockwood, op. cit., p.40.

Douglas squandered Government money on a lavish residence which featured in the distance of several of Sweet's photographs (e.g. Plates 104 and 105).[614]

Plate 104
Landing place, Port Darwin
1870-71, Darwin

Plate 105
Government House and Camp
1870-71, Darwin

Now Sweet was also able to show the land's productivity, in a pair of photographs showing the growth of bananas in the Government produce garden (Plates 106 and 107). Side by side these photographs are a clear statement about the suitability of this land for growing food, as well as its apparently easy submission to the 'civilised' overlay of roads and buildings.

Plate 106
Government Garden
1870-71, Darwin

Plate 107
Government Garden
1870-71, Darwin

He even recorded the arrival of stock in a fleet of ships (Catalogue Plate 36). Sweet seems not to have photographed the arrival of the land selectors, just as he did not photograph Goyder's surveyors. It was the successful outcome, rather than the minutiae of the process, that interested

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[614] For the story of the Government Residence and Douglas's extravagant spending see Cross, op. cit., pp.166-167, 173-175, 179-180, 187-191.

him. Another camera arrived in the Northern Territory with the land selectors in the hands of Christian Schmid who photographed the selectors in their makeshift office in the Darwin stables (Plate 108).[615] Schmid remained in Palmerston but does not appear to have contributed greatly to the photographic record.[616]

Plate 108
Christian Schmid
[group of land agents]
1870, Darwin

It was during this period that Sweet encountered Paul Foelsche who arrived in Darwin aboard the Kohinoor, which Sweet rescued from a treacherous sandbank, in January 1870.[617] Foelsche was 'the colony's newly commissioned sub-inspector' and established the first police presence in the Northern Territory.[618] It is believed that Sweet inspired him to take up photography and was his first teacher.[619] Foelsche later became a remarkable photographer and produced the most important visual documentation of Darwin and the Northern Territory after Sweet's departure. Smith believes that Foelsche 'may have been shown Sweet's photographs of the colony in Adelaide prior to his departure for Palmerston', venturing that 'it is conceivable that Sweet taught Foelsche both the rudimentary technical and compositional aspects of photography'.[620] This seems extremely likely as Smith has discovered no evidence of any involvement with photography prior to him meeting Sweet. Smith surmises that Foelsche's 'introduction to the photographic process (while not recorded)

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[615] Schmid arrived in Darwin with land selectors on the *Bengal, Advertiser,* 21.05.1870, p.2; Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., pp.182-183, quoting Field Diary of Stephen King Jnr at Palmerston, January-August 1870, SLSA PRG 627, Item 278.
[616] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., p.182.
[617] Clune, op.cit., p.157; *Register,* 15.03.1870; Sweet had struck the same sandbank between Point Charles and West Point earlier in the *Gulnare: Register,* 08.04.1870. The *Kohinoor* arrived Port Darwin 21.01.1870.
[618] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., p.180.
[619] ibid.
[620] ibid.

appears to have begun as a hobby early in [the] 1870s'.[621] Neither Smith nor I have uncovered any evidence of photographs taken by Foelsche before his return to Palmerston from the Roper River in 1872.[622] Sweet and Foelsche were both trying to exercise their responsibilities in the face of Douglas's incompetence and obstructiveness and were men who could well have become friends. Indeed, in 1871, 'Increasingly ostracised by Douglas [Foelsche] also suffered from the combined effects of the tropical climate and limited diet'.[623] Sweet took several photographs around Darwin and the Roper River while Foelsche was present. Foelsche's incapacitation through illness 'throughout February 1871' may have given him the time to study more of what he had already begun learning from Sweet.[624]

Foelsche's 'first known photographs are two versions of a group of five men; possibly a memento of friendships formed at the Roper River'.[625] Although taken, in 1872, against a backdrop in the Palmerston Theatre, Smith notes that 'These informal portraits are strikingly similar to a pair of group photographs that Sweet made at the Roper River'.[626] Smith observes a 'lack of sophistication' in Foelsche's first views of the early 1870s.[627] He seems to have started by re-taking Sweet's earlier views (for example Plate 109) some of which had been purchased from Sweet by Mrs Foelsche in 1871.[628] Smith notes that Plate 109 was Foelsche's 'first whole-plate image… taken in August 1873' and that 'Sweet's influence on Foelsche is most visible in the similarity between both photographers' earliest views of the settlement'.[629]

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[621] ibid., p.190.
[622] ibid. Smith points out that 'Although some of [Foelsche's] images are frequently dated 1870 in [his] albums' this probably represents the date buildings in them were constructed. He demonstrates this with analysis of images and construction dates. ibid. p.195.
[623] ibid., pp.111-112.
[624] ibid., p.112.
[625] ibid., p.190; Paul Foelsche, *Group portrait of John Lewis and associates*, 1872, SLSA PRG 247/8.
[626] ibid., p.191.
[627] ibid., p.193.
[628] Sweet notebook, op. cit., entry 15.11.1871.
[629] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., pp.59 & 197.

Plate 109
Paul Foelsche
The Camp and Fort Hill
August 1873, Darwin

Plate 110
Captain Samuel Sweet
Panoramic view of Port Darwin
1870-71, Darwin

Later on, Smith believes that engravings from Sweet's views of the construction of the Overland Telegraph which were reproduced in the 1873 *Illustrated London News* were 'likely to have inspired Foelsche's compositional decisions'.[630] Foelsche soon found his own style and his views of the 1880s and 1890s exhibit a level of aesthetic sophistication that seems to go beyond what he learned from Sweet. I argue that Sweet exercised a different kind of sophistication – one that lies more in the planning and multi-purposing of his images, and one that was very much determined by Sweet's own time and by being a commercial photographer, which Foelsche was not. Foelsche's best views were taken after Sweet's death, with new technology and in a luscious landscape rich with new developments. Had Sweet lived a little longer, returned to the Northern Territory and collaborated with Foelsche, I fancy both men would have excelled themselves and the rest of Australia.

Foelsche was in compete contrast to Sweet, however, in his photography of Aboriginal subjects. A full comparison is beyond the scope of this thesis. Sweet's approach to photographing South Australian Aborigines will be discussed later in this chapter. Here, what is interesting is that Foelsche did not exclude Indigenous people from his images. As Smith points out, when Foelsche arrived in the Territory in January 1870, he 'joined a community that was divided within, but on constant alert for signs of Aboriginal hostility'.[631] The region was 'Home to a large number of distinct bands of Aboriginal peoples, many were labelled as 'hostile' by the invading colonists' and Foelsche's 'Orders … to protect the colony from any likelihood of Aboriginal attack were an open and unambiguous instruction to use force if required'.[632] Acting Government Resident Millner insisted

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[630] ibid., p.59.
[631] ibid., p.107.
[632] ibid., p.106.

'that firearms were carried outside the camp'.[633] Smith also points out that Douglas's daughters 'learnt to shoot before they were allowed to go riding'.[634] Indeed, Goyder had chosen the site for the main settlement because of its capabilities for defence.[635] Relations between settlers and Aboriginal people were complex and often violent.[636] By excluding any hint of Aborigines from his photographs, Sweet ensured that his views would be safe for the market. It was a risk-free approach for a period when Aboriginal-white relations, and their effect on the views trade, were unpredictable. Foelsche's photographic choices were not curbed in this way as he did not depend on his photographs for a living. However, he certainly shared some of Sweet's motives as Smith explains.

> Foelsche's documentation of colonial progression is at the core of his photographic purpose. From the time that these photographs were made they were considered a testimonial to the settlement's beginnings and progress. Although there is no verifiable evidence that the collaborative efforts of Foelsche or his predecessors were successful in increasing investment and migration to the Territory, photographs of the Territory were in demand in Australia and Britain. Foelsche was frequently requested to provide views and both his and Sweet's photographs featured in South Australian courts at international exhibitions for the next three decades.[637]

Plate 111
Jungle twelve miles from Camp
1870-1871, Darwin

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[633] ibid., p.107.
[634] ibid., p.109, citing Mrs Daly, op. cit., p.59.
[635] ibid., p.107.
[636] For more on Aboriginal white relations during this period see Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit.; S Wells, op. cit.; Tony Roberts, 'The Brutal Truth: What Happened in the Gulf Country', *The Monthly*, November 2009, <http://www.themonthly.com.au/monthly-essays-tony-roberts-brutal-truth-what-happened-gulf-country-2127>, viewed 29.02.2012.
[637] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., p.207.

It was several years before Foelsche turned his camera to his family's leisure pursuits, but leisurely picnics feature in Sweet's Northern Territory much earlier. Plate 111 shows the Government Resident and his family at a favourite picnic spot, described by Harriet Douglas in her later memoirs.

> Our favourite camping ground for a picnic was "the jungle," twelve miles from Palmerston, a lovely shady spot, ... Altogether it was a perfect paradise to look at, and had it not been for the presence of leeches, and of an especially cruel species of mosquito, one could have wished to have remained there forever.[638]

Although Harriet appreciated the beauty of the Northern Territory she also described it as 'oh so lonely and desolate…a region known only to degraded tribes of savages… [with] no hope of regular communication with the outside world'.[639] Humidity, leeches and mosquitoes did not register on Sweet's collodion wet plates. Neither did the bad relationship developing between himself and Captain Douglas. Their antipathy did not even detract from the calm sense of order Sweet brings out in the landscape. Sweet's views continued to show the Territory in its most civilised and appealing light during settlement and into the next episode in the Territory's development – the construction of the Overland Telegraph.

Overland Telegraph Line (1871-72)[640]

The last group of Sweet's photographs from the Northern Territory pose a challenge (Catalogue Plates 88-112). Of these 25 photographs, only three are of clearly discernible events in the story of the Overland Telegraph. The rest barely seem to hold any narrative of their own. Sweet's photographs, taken during the construction of the northern section of the Overland Telegraph, resist our attempts to engage with them because, without knowing their context, we cannot be sure what they are about. Once we know their context, they present a further puzzle by presenting a calm image of easily won achievements that are at complete odds with reality. They resist interpretation and tend to be passed over when the effort of engaging with them defeats us.

Like the rest of Sweet's Northern Territory photographs, these are not typical of his wider body of work. They rarely show any of the actual telegraph, just as his Survey Expedition photographs are

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[638] Mrs Daly, op. cit., pp.59-62.
[639] ibid., quoted by Lockwood op. cit., p.40.
[640] Sweet sailed from Darwin to the Roper River mouth 08.11.1870, arriving there 22.11.1870, and returning to Darwin (via Sweer's Island) on 18.03.1871. He sailed from Darwin 03.06.1871 (with Overseer McMinn), arriving Adelaide 05.07.1871. He departed Adelaide on his fifth and final NT voyage 21.07.1871, arriving Darwin during August. He set sail from Darwin for the Roper River, late September 1871 but struck a reef and the *Gulnare* was later condemned. Sweet piloted several other vessels in the NT before finally returning to Adelaide 19.04.1872.

not of the survey. However, at least during the settlement of Darwin there was plenty of progress to photograph. Sweet simply had to turn a blind eye to the less attractive aspects of the settlement process. Now, Sweet entered a desperate episode where the positive was thin on the ground and the complete absence of progress left him and his camera with limited options. These photographs show Sweet's ability to create a selective reality that is almost the antithesis of real experience.

Despite their elusive nature, these are probably Sweet's most historically significant images. There were no other photographers on the 1,800 miles of the Overland Telegraph Line construction.[641] Sweet's are the only photographs to illustrate some of the many history books on the subject, although they seem to be used with caution, only loosely tied to the text, and many texts avoid them, perhaps uncertain as to how they fit. To begin to engage with these photographs we must re-join Sweet in Darwin where his role shifted from supporting the surveying and settlement of Darwin to supporting the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line. Unfortunately Sweet's role in the Overland Telegraph construction has not been fully researched or documented elsewhere, yet its details are too lengthy to be fully recored here. The full story has been pieced together from Sweet's own notebooks, other primary sources and partial histories. In brief, Sweet continued to support Northern Territory colonisation as Captain of the *Gulnare*, ferrying men and supplies to the route of the telegraph line as it progressed inland, until access was no longer possible by river from Darwin. The *Gulnare* was damaged when it grounded, through being overladen at the insistence of Robert Patterson, who had been dispatched from Adelaide to rescue the construction operation when it ran into disaster. Through bad planning, government u-turns and the appalling conditions of the wet season, construction teams were marooned and starving, and the whole project threatened to fail, leaving South Australia in enormous debt and losing the telegraph contract (and its later profits) to Queensland. Captain Sweet averted disaster by piloting supply vessels up the Roper River so that men could be rescued and the telegraph line completed. No other mariner in the Territory had the skills or courage to take a 1,000 ton ocean vessel, which was never intended for river navigation, up an uncharted tidal river in full flood.[642] The famous Charles Todd, and Patterson, trusted Sweet who became the uncelebrated Pilot of the Roper River, saving lives and enabling the Overland Telegraph to be completed, so that his beloved colony could forge ahead into its glowing future.

The construction of a telegraph line from Adelaide to Darwin was the next stage in the colonisation of the Territory. From Darwin it would join a submarine cable to Java and finally connect to London.[643]

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[641] Foelsche had not yet taken his first photographs.
[642] *Advertiser*, 21.03.1872, p.2.
[643] Clune, op. cit., p.169.

It was to be 'the largest infrastructure development in Australia of its era; and Darwin its strategic focus'.[644] When it was finally completed in 1872, it opened up communication between Adelaide, central Australia and the Northern Territory, making further settlement and expansion possible. It created a transit route through Australia's impenetrable centre and converted the Northern Territory from a liability to an asset. More importantly, it made South Australia the conduit for high-speed international and intercolonial communications. It provided 'low cost and almost instant information to Australian producers and firms', including those of the inland corridor.[645] Wheat and wool prices arrived in minutes rather than months and Australia became part of the global economy. It was vital to South Australia's prosperity. In this context Sweet's photographs can be seen as the unique photographic record of a revolutionary achievement that has been described as more momentous than the advent of air transport.[646]

The significance of these 25 photographs is based in part on the significance of the events they record and the enormity of the achievement they celebrate. When South Australia beat Queensland for the Telegraph contract, by agreeing to cover all the costs and complete construction by 1 January 1872, a member of the South Australian Parliament described the deal as an 'egregious piece of insanity'.[647] The whole project was carried out under enormous pressure, with little preparation. The northern section was plagued with disaster, exacerbated by Captain Douglas, the Government Resident, whose antagonism and obstinacy 'sometimes caused serious delays in the delivery of goods and material to the camps down the line'.[648] It was against a background of urgency, haste and uncertainty of terrain, as well as a series of miscommunication and bad decisions (by others) that Sweet took these photographs.

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[644] J Murray, 'Start of the Transcontinental Line', *Austral Asia Railway Corporation*, <http://www.aarc.com.au/aarc/info/history.htm>.

[645] Frost, op. cit., p.67; Geoffrey Blaimey, *The Tyranny of Distance: how distance shaped Australia's history*, Sun Books, Melbourne, 1966, pp.222-7.

[646] Blainey, op. cit.

[647] Taylor, op. cit, pp.32, 41.

[648] Kathy De La Rue, *The Evolution of Darwin: 1869-1911: A history of the Northern Territory's capital city during the years of South Australian administration*, Charles Darwin University Press, Darwin, 2004, p.35. Also cited by Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., pp.109-110.

Plate 112
*Darwent and Dalwood's OT Line Construction Team
at Southport*
September 1870, Southport

Plate 113
*Darwent and Dalwood's OT Line Construction Team
at Southport*
September 1870, Southport

Plate 114
The Gulnare at Southport
September 1870, Southport

Plates 112 to 114 are the first of Sweet's OT photographs, showing one of the contractors' teams at their new camp and supply depot at Southport. Sweet had just transported the team from Darwin aboard the *Gulnare* (moored in Plate 114). These photographs appear to represent an orderly and calm establishment of a supply camp. What they really show is one of the biggest mistakes in Australia's communications history. The men, camp and supplies should have been on the Roper River 300 miles away, establishing a depot from where supplies could be taken to the (otherwise unreachable) interior sections of the line.[649] The Government Overseer's decision to land these men and supplies at Southport was the first of a series of blunders that brought many men close to death and almost lost South Australia the telegraph contract.[650] There is no hint of this in the photographs.

Sweet's next photograph (Catalogue Plate 97) is a straightforward record of the ceremonial planting of the first telegraph pole at Port Darwin, and the only image in the whole group to show a telegraph

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[649] Clune, op. cit., p.166.

pole. It is one of his most reproduced images because it is one of the few with a clear subject and narrative, unlike Catalogue Plates 91 to 95 which fail to disclose the deadly mission that brought Sweet to Sweer's island. These little-known photographs exhibit the same surveyor's eye as Sweet's photographs of Darwin harbour, with mooring and landing conditions, but are entirely incidental to the main narrative. They are an example of how, being involved in events, Sweet could only photograph the quieter moments in between. They are like a 'negative' of Sweet's experience – showing the still moments in-between the frantic events of the story. They were taken after Sweet's first mission to survey the mouth of the Roper River to see if supplies could be ferried to inland contractors.[651] Sweet's First Mate had been eaten by a crocodile and his own son was injured.[652] They were out of food and sailed to Sweer's Island, a supply depot, for urgently needed supplies for themselves and Darwin's residents.[653] The island had run out of stock and Sweet took the photographs while waiting anxiously for Maclachlan to find supplies elsewhere. These tame pictures show no sign of Sweet's grief for his First Mate, his concern for his son, or the fear that the inland telegraph workers would starve to death, marooned by floodwater.

Plate 115
Southport jetty
September 1871, Darwin

Plate 116
Southport Jetty showing the Estelle
September 1870, Darwin

When Sweet next returned to Southport in September 1871, the tents had been replaced by buildings and a jetty (Plate 115). The calm, reflective waters of Plate 116 projects an image of what everyone wanted the OT project to be: smooth and successful. At no point did Sweet try to document the reality of a nightmare in which contractors' teams went on strike because no food was

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[650] ibid., pp.196-197.
[651] Taylor, op. cit., p.83.
[652] E Sweet, op. cit.
[653] Darwin was still reliant on imported food supplies and Captain Douglas had depleted stores in Darwin and aboard the *Gulnare*. Sweer's Island lies in the south-eastern Gulf of Carpenteria, 32km off shore, north of Burktown. For the history of Sweer's Island and exploration see E Palmer, *Early Days in North Queensland*, Angus & Roberts, Sydney, 1903.

getting through to them; the Government Overseer sacked the contractors and sent them back to Adelaide; the British-Australian Telegraph Company in London threatened drastic new penalties; and the next wet season was on its way. [654]

Sweet and the *Gulnare* returned to Adelaide with the overseer, the contractors and 'the shocking news that the northern contract had broken down!'.[655] The Government dispatched an emergency expedition to the Northern Territory, including Sweet and the *Gulnare*, under the command of Robert Patterson.[656] Meanwhile, in the Northern Territory, chaos reigned with disparate groups operating vast distances apart without any form of communication between them. Had the matter not been so serious, it would have been a comedy of errors on the grandest scale. Todd was still en route to Adelaide, unaware that Patterson had been put in charge of a rescue operation. A party from the central section was wandering around between the Roper and Katherine Rivers, bemused as to why the construction camp at Katherine Crossing was deserted.[657] Burton was left in charge in Darwin, unsure what to do. Sweet's attempt to go directly to the Roper River (to set up the urgently needed depot) was thwarted by government instructions to proceed directly to Port Darwin.[658] Some of the ensuing debacle is described by Clune, Taylor and by Sweet in his notebook.[659] Lives depended on the *Gulnare* reaching the Roper.[660] It is understandable that Paterson insisted Sweet overload the ship with cargo and that Sweet acquiesced.[661] After the *Gulnare* grounded, Paterson gave orders for the *Bengal* to be made ready to sail to the Roper with the supplies from the *Gulnare*.[662] While Sweet was stranded in Port Darwin with his damaged ship, he photographed the arrival of the fleet of cable ships charted by the British-Australian Telegraph Company to carry the huge submarine cable which was to join Port Darwin with Java.[663] The arrival of this magnificent fleet (Plates 117 and 118) created a tremendous sensation in Port Darwin.[664]

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[654] Clune, op. cit., pp.201-205.

[655] ibid., p.205.

[656] ibid.

[657] ibid., p.203.

[658] ibid., p.206.

[659] ibid., pp.203-209; Taylor, op. cit., pp.98-102; Sweet notebook, op. cit., entry 15.09.1871.

[660] Clune, op. cit., p.208.

[661] Taylor, op. cit., p.98.

[662] ibid., p.102.

[663] Lockwood, op. cit., p.93; Clune, op. cit., p.211.

[664] Clune, op. cit., p.211.

Plate 117
The cable ships off Port Darwin
1871, Darwin

Plate 118
Cable fleet in the harbour
1871, Darwin

Plate 119
Landing the Telegraph Cable at Port Darwin, Palmerston, for connection to Overland Telegraph
7 November 1871, Darwin

These are the most honest of Sweet's OT images. They show a genuinely momentous event. Plate 119 was taken on 7 November 1871 when the much-awaited submarine telegraph cable from London was officially landed on the shore at Port Darwin. Sweet's is the only known surviving photographic record of this historic event.[665] It shows a moment when everyone took a break from the action to stand still at Sweet's behest. Like Sweet's other OT photograph, it shows stillness where the reality was a flurry of activity.[666]

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[665] Although the press reported that 'Views were taken of the scene by Captain Sweet of the Gulnare, and Mr. Schmid, and copies were sent home to the Illustrated London News', no other evidence of Schmid's photograph has been found. *Register*, 12.02.1872, p.6.
[666] Clune op. cit., p.212.

Plate 120
Telegraph Station, Palmerston
1871, Darwin

On 16 November 1871, the cable was connected at Banjoewanji, putting Port Darwin in telegraph communication with the rest of the world.[667] The rest of the world, that is, except Australia as the line still stopped south of the Katherine River. In Plate 120 the telegraph operator, Stapleton, waits outside his telegraph station, ready to open up the telegraph line 'as soon as it was strung on the poles'.[668] At this moment, Stapleton has no idea if he will ever be able to open the line to Adelaide. He may be waiting in vain. Without the context of its story, this photograph is a simple documentation of a telegraph station and its operator. Seen within the context of its story, it is a poignant image of a man who is waiting to find out if South Australia will fail to meet its contract, suffering unimaginable financial loss and giving up on the Northern Territory. He does not know whether he has a job and a life in the Northern Territory or whether he will have to make plans elsewhere. While he waits he may be able to discover the latest news from London, but not whether his friends 300 miles away are alive or dead.

The remaining OT photographs (Catalogue Plates 103-112) are of little help when we try to imagine what happened next in this story of a desperate and heroic rescue operation. They convey none of the fear, sweat, hunger and desolation that is expressed in the men's letters and diaries. There is no hint that Captain Sweet himself was about to rescue men from starvation and South Australia from ruin. On 21 November 1871, Sweet captained the *Bengal* out of Darwin harbour, to establish the Roper River Depot.[669] Patterson was heading for the same destination, overland, but after three weeks had only reached the Katherine River. He wrote in his diary, 'I am unutterably weary of the

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[667] ibid., p.213.
[668] Taylor, op. cit., p.84.

whole thing. Can see nothing but blackness and suffering ahead. Fear Expedition must collapse'.[670]

Four days later the wet season began. Those of us who have never been to the Top End would

have no clue from Sweet's photographs how unbearable the temperature and humidity was.

November is still called the suicide month because of the number of suicides brought about by the

intense build up of heat and humidity.[671] The Roper River has been known to rise up to 25m above

its normal level.[672] In the worst floods the Katherine River reportedly reached 16 km wide.[673] In

2011, from December to April (the same period Sweet worked on the river), the water levels of the

Roper fluctuated between 5 and 15 metres.[674] The floods made river navigation treacherous and, in

a 1000 ton ocean vessel, almost impossible. They marooned men, destroyed food supplies and

brought the ravages of mosquitoes and disease. Yet photographs like Plate 121 make a flood that

brought the mission's leaders to despair look like a riverside picnic.

Plate 121
Roper River
1871-72, Roper River, NT

In part this massive misrepresentation is the result of Sweet's refusal to photograph anything

negative and, in part, the impossibility of taking photographs while he was in the thick of a dangerous

rescue mission. Plate 121 is the first of several taken during the most exciting and desperate

periods of his life. Like his surveyor's eye images of Darwin, it is a record of the river, a landmark

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[669] ibid., p.183; Sweet notebook, op. cit.; *Advertiser*, 19.01.1872, p.2.

[670] cited by Clune, op. cit., p.209.

[671] At 9am on a November Darwin morning the mean relative humidity is 72% with a mean minimum temperature of 29.2ºC. The rains begin in December with a mean rainfall 252.1mm, rising to 426.2mm in January: Australian Bureau of Meteorology website, <http://www.bom.gov.au/climate/averages/tables/cw_014015.shtml> viewed 10.02.2012.

[672] The most severe Roper River flood occurred in early January 1940.

[673] Also in January 1940; Australian Bureau of Meteorology, op. cit.

[674] 12 month Roper River lever levels from 01.01.2011 to 01.01.2012, measured at the closest station to the Roper Depot.: NT Government website,

ridge, and the type of vessel that can navigate it. That is the extent of its truth. The calm water surface hides sandbars and rocks on which boats frequently snagged. The river system is a dense vascular network with fluctuating river tides, flash floods and dramatic changes in the riverbed and water depth. The contrast between the serene stillness of this photograph and the daily experience of Sweet, Patterson and their men is dramatic. Navigating large ships up the Roper was a nightmare and Sweet edged his way upstream, at times making only two miles progress in five days.[675] Meanwhile, Patterson fought his way overland from team to team through flood, swamp and mud, taking what supplies he could and coordinating their rescue.[676] Unable to get supplies through the wet season and the mud, he wrote 'it is raining pitilessly, and every drop falls on my head like lead. It means ruin if it lasts, and the teams will not get through to MacLachlan and Burton until too late. Plenty water now. Too much. The work is doomed. The lives of 200 men are imperilled for want of supplies. I cannot be held responsible. I have done all that mortal man can do'.[677]

Finally Paterson and Sweet coincided at the Roper and began the arduous tasks of building a depot and jetty, and ferrying supplies from the *Bengal* using smaller vessels. The desperate nature of the situation is evident in Mrs Sweet's description of her husband when she first saw him, boarding the *Omeo*.[678]

> He had been there three weeks in the "Larakeeyah" (the Port Darwin boat), taking soundings and plotting a path for the vessels he was to take up to the Depot… As the boat came alongside a poor dilapidated man came over the side, unshaved, very little clothes on, a sock on one foot, nothing on the other; but this was my husband, and I could not help feeling thankful he had not met poor Reed's fate.[679]

The strain of the mission is clearly evident in Elizabeth's description, as well as all the letters, journals and reports on record, but it is remarkably absent in Sweet's Roper River photographs. Patterson, Todd and the Captain of the *Omeo* agreed that Sweet was the only man who could navigate the massive Omeo up the Roper and get the essential supplies to the depot to avert

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<http://www.nt.gov.au/nreta/naturalresources/water/surfacewater/telemeteredsites/reports.jsp?Report_Id=apl&Site_Id=g9030250>, viewed 10.02.2012.
[675] Clune, op. cit., p.222; Sweet notebook, op. cit.
[676] Taylor, op. cit., pp.104-110; Clune, op. cit., p.218.
[677] RC Patterson quoted by Clune, op. cit., p.218 and by Taylor, op. cit., p.109.
[678] The *Omeo* arrived at the Roper River mouth 27.01.1872. Mrs Sweet obtained passage from Adelaide with Charles Todd. Sweet notebook, op. cit., entry 23.01.1872; Clune, op. cit., p.222; E Sweet, op. cit., p.148.
[679] E Sweet, op. cit., p.148.

disaster.[680] By now, Sweet knew the Roper well, but the 1,000 ton *Omeo* was designed for ocean sailing and no-one had ever contemplated the possibility of taking such an enormous ship up a dangerous river. Yet that is exactly what he did.

It took eight days for the *Omeo* to reach the depot site, a hundred miles upstream. Sweet's daily notes record every hazard, landmark and grounding.[681] At 8am on Sunday 11 February, Sweet photographed the Roper River fleet (Plates 122 and 123): the *Bengal* on the right and the massive *Omeo* on the left, with the *Young Australian* in front of her. Clune describes this 'remarkable sight – a large steamer, a barque and a steam-tug discharging cargo at a jetty 100 miles inland on a tropical freshwater river in full flood'.[682] One would never know from the images alone what dangers had been endured, what a remarkable achievement it was for Sweet to bring these ships to this location, or how their hidden story was the last vital link connecting Australia with the rest of the world.

Plate 122
Roper River fleet
11 February 1872, Roper River, NT

Plate 123
The Omeo, the Young Australian and the Bengal at Roper River
11 February 1872, Roper River, NT

Like Sweet's first Roper River photograph (Plate 121) the rest are completely silent about his own role in events and about the extraordinary hardship and trials that occurred on the Roper River. Yet hundreds of miles from any settlement, the Roper Depot 'had all the appearance of a major port, with men busily unloading vast quantities of stores and equipment'.[683] There was a huge celebration aboard the *Omeo* and Sweet wrote, 'Mr Todd... gave a very beautiful speech... also Mr Patterson and others who were heartily cheered [also] myself, champagne rather copiously supplied! Which

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[680] Clune op. cit., p.223. Clune describes the sailing of the *Omeo* up the river as if it was Captain Calder who steered her safely to the Roper Landing (Clune, op. cit., p.223). Taylor acknowledges only Sweet's initial involvement (Taylor, op. cit., pp.127-130). For confirmation of Sweet's role see press reports; Sweet notebook, op. cit.; E Sweet, op. cit.
[681] Sweet notebook, op. cit.
[682] Taylor, op. cit., p.128; Clune, op. cit., pp.223-224.
[683] Taylor, op. cit., p.131.

[was] I'm afraid rather strong'.[684] These simple words convey his own sense of social order, placing himself last. He makes no comment of his own importance in these events.

On arrival at the depot Sweet re-encountered Policeman and amateur photographer, Foelsche, who had left Darwin in October with Patterson to travel overland to the Roper.[685] Foelsche remained at the Roper depot until April 1872 and may have had more opportunity to learn from Sweet.[686] It was not until 11 March that Sweet had time for more photography. The supplies had been landed, the ships were safe, and he had successes to record. In a single day Sweet created the most significant visual documentation of the building of the overland telegraph.[687] Plates 121 to 128 are the only visual record of Patterson's emergency expedition and the events on the Roper.[688]

Plate 124
Roper River Jetty
11 March 1872, Roper Depot, NT

Plate 124 shows the Roper jetty built buy Patterson and the men. There is a sense of toil and the remoteness of the location in the men's bedraggled appearance but they all rise to the occasion under Sweet's direction. Sweet did not allow exhaustion to convey itself through slouched postures or downcast eyes. The photograph also belies the continued adversity of the wet season. At one point 'it had rained so much ... that the jetty, which a few weeks ago had been seven metres above the decks of the *Omeo*, was now three metres under water and the camp was almost completely surrounded by the flood'.[689]

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[684] Sweet, notebook, op. cit., entry 08.02.1872.
[685] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., p.114; Taylor, op. cit., p.102.
[686] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., pp.114, 190. Foelsche returned 'to Palmerston from the Roper River on the steamer *Bengal* in April 1872', ibid., p.190.
[687] Sweet notebook, op. cit., entry 11.03.1872
[688] The photographs were reviewed, under the title 'Omeo at Roper Depot', *Register*, 101.05.1872.
[689] Taylor, op. cit., p.135.

Plate 125
'S.S. Tararua' Roper River
11 March 1872, Roper Depot, NT

By the time Sweet had helped the *Tararua* to the Roper Jetty (Plate 125) the depot had a huge storehouse, visible behind the ship. The longboat in the foreground is probably one that Sweet used to survey the river. On close inspection a crewmember can be seen on the topmast of the *Tararua*, and the choreographed crew standing to attention on the ship. It is one of Sweet's most beautiful and well-balanced images of the Northern Territory. He uses picturesque framing devices to encircle and emphasise the still, reflective water. It is completely at odds with the dangers and hardships that fill the letters and journals of Patterson and the other men.

Plate 126
Roper River camp
11 March 1872, Roper Depot, NT

Plate 126 shows the Roper Depot, now 'a bustling settlement' with the tents, storehouses and supplies Sweet had piloted 100 miles up the river.[690] Again, its calm, casual air belies the desperation faced by these men only days before. Postmaster Little leans against the tent pole on the left. Right of the tent, in white, hands on hips, is Patterson, without whom the entire mission would have collapsed. Next to him stands Todd, who did relatively little to rescue the mission but received the credit. Sweet's presence is only marked through his signature and (in other prints from this negative) anchor trademark. Sweet was as crucial as Patterson to the success of the rescue operation but appears in none of the photographs. Of course, he was the photographer, but could not Mrs Sweet or one of his assistants have exposed the plate to record his presence?

Plate 127
Overland Telegraph construction party
11 March 1872, Roper Depot, NT

Plate 128
Overland Telegraph construction party
11 March 1872, Roper Depot, NT

Nowhere is Sweet's physical absence more noticeable than in these two photographs of the heroes of the Roper River (from left to right) Little, Patterson, Todd and Mitchell (Plates 127 and 128). Entitled *OT Construction Party*, it only celebrates the official heroes. As Clune points out 'Todd would have the honour and glory of building the Overland Telegraph Line, while the men who toiled, sweated, starved and suffered to complete the great work would fade into obscurity when their ordeals had ended'.[691] In 1872 this was the order of things. It was not a time of social equality and images were an important tool for reinforcing power and position. To include the roughly spoken Sweet (a man whose social position was far beneath these four men) in this photograph would have been unthinkable. Sweet's presence is only implied in its authorship, signature and trademark. It is intriguing that Sweet took two versions of this picture, involving a change of clothes by Mitchell and other sartorial and postural rearrangements. This photograph could lend itself to many inventive interpretations. All we can be sure about is that it shows the official order of things and Sweet knew

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[690] ibid., p.131.
[691] Clune, op. cit., p.229.

it had to be right. This would be one of the images used to promote the completion of the telegraph and the opening up of the Northern Territory.

Sweet spent another month piloting ships up and down the Roper with men, supplies and materials to complete the telegraph, finally guiding the *Omeo* back down the river, handing over the helm to Captain Pearce for the return journey to Adelaide.[692] Sweet's photographs reaffirm what people imagined and hoped for. They are a projection of settlement rather than a documentation. Stapleton's little telegraph hut stands for the busy telegraphy office that will soon replace it. It stands for the hope of communication with London and the wealth that will flow into South Australia once it can compete in international trade at the same speed as its competitors. The dominance of colonial ideology over objective reality is evident in the lack of 'fit' between Sweet's visual record and the written records kept by the men. Where the photographs do tally with journals, letters and reports, they reinforce historical events, like the landing of the telegraph cable.

As with his earlier NT photographs, Sweet chose not to show the labour, hardship, hunger or despair of the OT mission. His exclusion of Aboriginal people is also striking in images of the Roper River which had a large, well recorded indigenous population.[693] Larrakia and Djerimanga people feature heavily in all the written accounts from this period.[694] On Christmas Day 1871, Sweet himself recorded that 'at 10am 6 blacks visited the ship. Gave them clothes, food and sent them onshore'.[695] Mrs Sweet and other women were startled, while doing their washing, 'by the arrival of a group of natives who seemed to appear from out of the ground'.[696] As vessels arrived at the Roper depot, Aborigines ran alongside 'with their arms whirling round their heads in time with the paddle-wheels of the Young Australian'.[697] Mrs Sweet recorded that when they arrived with the *Omeo* 'some blacks… came on board', describing their fascination with 'many things which puzzled them, especially looking-glasses' and their swift departure on 'the order to "Fire!"… Overboard they lept, yelling frightfully, and we saw them race into the bush'.[698] Despite this frequent contact with Aboriginal people, none of them appear in Sweet's photographs. The nature of contact between

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[692] Sweet notebook, op. cit., entry 23.03.1872.
[693] Roberts, op. cit., with reference to Ludwig Leichhardt's journal, NTT, 05.12.1874.
[694] See also the diaries and letters of Patterson and the surveyors for regular accounts of contact with Aborigines e.g. Diary of RC Patterson 1871-1872, SLSA D 8103; RC Patterson, Reports on Overland Telegraph Construction, SA Government Printer, Adelaide, 1872; Diary of WA Crowder, 1871-1872, SLSA D 8065; Reminiscences of SW Herbert, 1870-1873, SLSA D 6995; Stephen King papers, SLSA PRG 627.
[695] Sweet notebook, op. cit.
[696] Taylor, op. cit., p.128.
[697] Taylor, op. cit., p.130.
[698] E Sweet, op. cit., p.148.

Aborigines and white men was a key factor in the colonial acquisition of land but for the photography market it was best swept under the carpet.

By way of epilogue, the Overland Telegraph Line between Adelaide and Darwin was completed on 22 August 1872. On 21 October 1872 Adelaide and Australia were finally connected to the rest of the world by telegraph.[699] Sweet was never recognised for his heroic role and, as was the custom, only Charles Todd was celebrated as the hero of the day. Todd received the BMG from Queen Victoria and 'the end of Australia's news isolation' was celebrated with simultaneous banquets in Sydney, Adelaide and London.[700] The speeches described it as 'by far the greatest event in Australian history'.[701] However, 'by the time the telegraph line was completed, its cost had quadrupled and the South Australian Government was broke'.[702]

All of Sweet's Northern Territory photographs, however, were a great success. They sold extremely well and were a springboard for his career. His Northern Territory lectures, illustrated with his photographs, received good press coverage until at least 1874.[703] They remained popular for retail and album inclusion throughout his career. The Government commissioned prints of them for the World Fairs for years to come and his Overland Telegraph photographs were reproduced as engravings in the 1873 *Illustrated London News.* Sweet's Northern Territory photographs were of enormous political importance as evidence of South Australia's successful settlement of the Top End. Sweet created visual evidence that Port Darwin was a suitable harbour from which to settle the Northern Territory, with the essential resources for colonisation. Sweet did not photograph Goyder's survey expedition but what the surveyors saw and what Goyder reported on. In a single image Sweet could capture useful navigational information concerning access, the harbour, defensibility, surveillance points and evidence of the progress of settlement. His format, subjects, viewpoints, framing and style were all used to emphasise the area's attractive qualities and dispel fears of the unknown. Newton observes that Sweet's photographs 'were encouraging to those who still hoped that settlement would one day cover the continent, and the pictures of the electrical umbilical cord connecting Australia with Europe were a promise of the future'.[704]

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[699] Clune, op. cit., p.225.
[700] ibid., p.232.
[701] ibid.
[702] J Munday, 'Start of the Transcontinental Line', AustralAsia Railway Corporation website, <http://www.aarc.com.au/aarc/info/history.html>; see also Clune, op. cit., p.225.
[703] *Register* 22.03.1870, p.2; 23.03.1870, p.2; 24.02.1873, p.1; 04.04.1873; 07.10.1874, p.2.
[704] Newton, *Shades of Light,* op. cit., p.52

Sweet's own involvement in the mission, and the photographs he took, were driven by the dominant colonial ideology of Empire, expansion, trade and the generation of wealth and power through colonisation. This influence was strongly reinforced in Sweet's Northern Territory work by his personal and professional identification with the mission – as a mariner, and surveyor, of the British Empire. The strength of this influence was doubled by the photography market for which the photographs were taken. It too wanted to imagine the Top End as a place of exciting new opportunities and developments. These photographs bear the imprint of Sweet's naval training in his use of figures as measuring sticks and his use of the panoramic format as a tool of conquest. They also show us that Sweet was interested in visualising modernity more than documenting its instruments. Sweet's ideological and professional influences caused him to create a selective reality of the Northern Territory by excluding all negative and superfluous subjects. They seem calculated to combat specific criticisms of South Australia. Settlers' letters home complained of heat, humidity and mosquitoes. Sweet shows the Douglas family at a picnic in the jungle. The British press were scathing and cynical of South Australia's ability to settle the Northern Territory. Sweet shows the settlement of Darwin, its accessibility, roads, safety and even its vegetable gardens. In the Northern Territory, more than anywhere else, Sweet demonstrates his capacity not only to accentuate the positive but to create it in the midst of adversity, chaos and disaster.

Agriculture & Pastoralism, Industry & Infrastructure

South Australia has made immense progress in the development of agricultural, pastoral,
and mineral wealth. These are the great staples of the country.
Anthony Foster, 1866[705]

Sweet's Northern Territory photographs document the earliest stages of the colonial process. Back in South Australia he photographed the advanced stages of this process. This section of Chapter Five focuses on Sweet's pastoral commissions, showing why they were the best way to represent South Australia's primary production and asking whether they could be influenced by pictorial and painting traditions. It explains why there are so few images of mining and wheat in his oeuvre and examines his images of emerging infrastructure, using his pictures of roads to show how his photographs are so easily misunderstood when viewed out of context.

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[705] A Forster, *South Australia: its progress and prosperity*, Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, Milton House, Ludgate Hill, transferred to CD Rom by Archive CD Books Australia Pty. Ltd., 2007 (1866), p.4.

South Australia's 'chief sources of material wealth' were 'agricultural, pastoral and mining produce'.[706] In 1875 Boothby calculated that 42% of the Colony's wealth derived from wool, 36% from wheat, 28% from copper, and 4% from meat products, wine and other sources.[707] Boothby's figures add up to an enthusiastic 110% and reinforce the misconception that South Australia was 'built on the sheep's back', whereas today we know that wheat was the colony's biggest earner.[708] Sweet's oeuvre also reinforces this misconception with his views dominated by pastoralism and almost no photographs of wheat farming. Pastoral scenes are more photogenic than the visual monotony of South Australia's wheat growing areas, and Sweet's avoidance of social realism precluded him from photographing ploughing and reaping – subjects that some other photographers and artists did choose to represent the wheat industry.[709] Other market influences also account for the imbalance. Pastoralists lived on their properties, creating magnificent homes and gardens amongst the pleasing views of grazing stock and were keen to commission photographs of their achievements. Wheat farmers were more likely to be tenants and less likely to commission photographs. Although, during the boom period, 'the colony grew half of Australia's total production of wheat and exported much overseas', the subject of wheat is limited to Sweet's almost taxonomic photographs of John Dunn's flour mills (Catalogue Plates 113-126) and an 1884 image of agricultural machinery at Poonindie Aboriginal Mission Station (Plate 129) in which neatness and order prevail over sweat and labour.[710]

Plate 129
Poonindie Mission, South Australia
1884, Poonindie

[706] J Boothby, 'Statistical sketch of South Australia', in Harcus, op. cit., p.370.
[707] ibid.
[708] In 1869, 533,000 acres were sown for grain in South Australia. By 1879 this had grown to 1.3 million acres: Wray Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical Statistics*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney, 1987.
[709] e.g. Henry Davis's photograph of plough teams at work, reproduced in Harcus op. cit.
[710] Marsden et al., op. cit., p.27.

For similar reasons there is a dearth of mining imagery in Sweet's œuvre. Mining is an unattractive, dirty, sweaty and dangerous business that leaves the landscape scarred and desolate. These were not qualities Sweet wanted to portray. Mines were owned by city corporations and investors (who were less likely to commission photographs) with onsite management delegated to mining captains.[711] Sweet's avoidance of mines contrasts with other South Australian photographers for whom they were a more common views trade subject.[712] Sweet's only photograph of a copper mine was taken after its closure from flooding – the calm water drawing attention away from the dusty (deserted) mine site.[713] In Sweet's South Australia, wealth from copper mining manifested itself visually through the way it was spent, rather the way it was earned. Mining wealth lay behind the grand residences and city businesses of Sweet's views. As Marsden et al. explain

> The overnight success of the Burra Burra Mines created fabulous wealth for their first shareholders. Once referred to as 'shop keeping nobodies', many became important Adelaide businessmen, pastoralists and politicians. Many buildings associated with their businesses were built in the more prosperous years between 1865-84.[714]

The most photogenic of South Australia's primary production industries was pastoral farming. Here, the pastoral idyll sat in the landscape alongside the grand residences and other visual evidence of wealth and prosperity. Sweet's major commissions came from large estates and sheep stations like Pewsey Vale, Canowie Station and Campbell Park. They generally involved photographing the owner's residence, cattle, sheep and cultivated land including wineries and orchards. The Pewsey Vale commission rises above the rest in a flair of English pastoral idyll, raising the question of whether Sweet was influenced by pastoral or other pictorial styles and to what extent his pastoral images reflects his own choices or those of his clients.

Joseph Gilbert commissioned Sweet to photograph his estate at Pewsey Vale in the Barossa region.[715] The photographs (Catalogue Plates 129-140) are Sweet's best record of pastoral progress but are puzzling in their style and its affinity with earlier English landscape traditions. Gilbert was the quintessential colonial pastoralist with a lavish estate and a vineyard that established the world famous Barossa wine region. By the time of Sweet's visit Pewsey Vale was a complete pastoral estate with its own reservoir, school, chapel, orchard, 'post office, laundry, bakehouse,

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[711] JF Drexel, *Mining in South Australia: a pictorial history*, Department of Mines and Energy, South Australia, 1982.

[712] Orchard, 'Scenic views and civic spaces', op. cit., pp.62 & 64, with reference to *Register* 08.08.1863, p.3.

[713] Catalogue Plate 194.

[714] Marsden et al., op. cit., p.23.

[715] M Findlay, 'Gilbert, Joseph (1800 - 1881)', ADB, Volume 4, 1972, pp.245-246.

blacksmith and general store' as well as Gilbert's 'showplace residence'.[716] Gilbert imprinted an English pastoral ideal, as far as was possible, onto the Australian landscape. It was this ideal that Sweet photographed. Whether commissioning paintings or photographs, land owners wanted images 'that showed their wealth and prosperity'.[717] Sweet's Gilbert commission presents a complete picture of the landed gentleman, his estate, home, private chapel, cattle, horses, land and winery. This is what pioneers and settlers hoped to achieve. The middle classes became the new gentry on country estates and the colonial dream came true.

Plate 130
Hollow gum at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale

The most puzzling (and ultimately revealing) of Sweet's photographs is *Hollow Gum at Pewsey Vale* (Plate 130). The first puzzle is that it breaks one of Sweet's cardinal rules. It is the closest Sweet comes in a pastoral commission to photographing the uncultivated landscape. Knowing the area, I recognise in this photograph the harshness of the land – its rocky and unploughable hills that support only the most ancient of gum trees. I feel the intense dry heat of the summer and the remoteness of this particular location. Sweet cleverly negates these aspects of Pewsey Vale. Whilst the landscape carries no direct evidence of nature's plenty, it is implied in the wealth that affords Gilbert and his daughters their fine attire, immaculate horses and the pleasure of a leisurely ride. More than any of his other photographs, it conveys the classic pastoral sense of calm and leisure, both through its subject and its composition. The mood is enhanced by the relaxed stance of the horses and by the playfulness of Gilbert's pose, emerging from the hollow tree. Calm and repose is further suggested by the soft curves of the composition, whose weight rests comfortably, but without

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[716] Valmai Hankel, 'Joseph Gilbert of Pewsey Vale – early maker of the classic Australian blend', *Wine Industry Journal*, March/April 2008, vol. 23 no. 2, p.56; Australian Heritage Database, Australian Government, Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts website, <http://www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb/search.pl?mode=place_detail;place_id=7086> viewed 15.03.2010.

heaviness, in the base of the hollow tree, and spreads across the image surface through the fallen branch, shadows and horses to either side. There is a strong sense in *Hollow gum at Pewsey Vale* that Gilbert is demonstrating his place as a landowner, successful pastoralist and perpetuator of good British traditions in a new land. He is out for a ride with his suitably attired daughters on his estate. We do not see the harshness of the landscape because the composition translates it into a Stubbsian park-like estate, raising the second puzzle of why this, unlike any of Sweet's other photographs seems so embedded in the pictorial tradition of the conversation piece.

Plate 131
George Stubbs (1724-1806)
The Milbanke and Melbourne Families
c.1769

Plate 132
Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788)
Mr and Mrs Andrews
c.1750

The riding horse and ancient hollow tree were popular motifs, especially in George Stubbs's paintings (Plate 131). Thomas Gainsborough's wealthy landowners wanted to be portrayed surveying their estate, or in conversation with their family in their grounds (Plate 132). The conversation piece had been a fashionable portraiture convention since the 1720s and referred to 'pictures commissioned by families or friends to portray them sharing common activities such as hunts, meals, or musical parties'.[718] In a sense, Sweet was following this tradition when he advertised to accompany picnics and outings, as well as when he included family groups in residence photographs. The Gilbert images are late but typical examples of the pictorial tastes of a new middle class which 'emerged as Britain's colonial empire expanded and its Industrial Revolution began. Socially spurned by the aristocracy, these wealthy merchants, industrialists and colonial landowners developed their own more natural and casual manners that made perfect themes to enliven both novels and group portraits'.[719]

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[717] ibid.
[718] 'Conversation pieces', National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, 2010, viewed 30.03.2010,
<http://nga.gov/collection/gallery/gg63/gg63-main1.html>.
[719] ibid.

So why does so little of Sweet's work seem so heavily influenced by similar pictorial traditions? The answer is that Sweet was not entirely responsible for this composition. In 1864 the family were painted in a similar scene by Alexander Schramm (Plate 133). It is not one of Schramm's better paintings but it shows that the location was not Sweet's idea. The simplicity and balance of Sweet's composition is, however, a vast improvement over Schramm's, in which any potential for pastoral calm is shattered by the precarious weight of the tree and haphazard placement of figures. Sweet seems to have given the composition considerable thought, and took two photographs (Catalogue Plates 131 & 132). The most likely explanation for Schramm's influence is that Sweet saw the painting while photographing the interior of the home. It hangs in the dining room in Plate 134. The fact that the composition was a matter of negotiation is supported by the second photograph, with Gilbert on the left and his daughter inside the tree (Catalogue Plate 132). The point here is that the customer was just as likely to be responsible for the composition as the photographer.

Plate 133
Alexander Schramm
The Gilbert Family
1864

Plate 134
The Dining Room at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale

Jeanette Hoorn examines Australian pastoral painting of the nineteenth century, when 'pastoralism was the driving force of exploration and settlement and the primary producer of wealth'.[720] Hoorn asserts that a pastoral ideal was 'a way of seeing that Europeans pressed into service from their earliest contact with the southern continent'.[721] She defines two types of Australian 'pastoral' painting, one of which 'emphasised European prosperity', was 'devoid of labour', emerging most powerfully 'in areas where pastoralism predominated'.[722] This certainly reflects Sweet's pastoral commissions. The other, she says, 'focussed on labour as the agent of that prosperity' and was more common 'where agriculture played a central part in colonial economies' such as South

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[720] J Hoorn, *Australian Pastoral: the making of a white landscape,* Freemantle Press, WA, 2007, p.9.
[721] ibid.
[722] ibid., pp.9 and 11.

Australia, citing painters ST Gill and GF Angas as key South Australian examples.[723] Agriculture (wheat) was certainly central to the South Australian economy but, for Sweet, the pastoral estate offered a far better visual representation of the colonial dream. Indeed, it was the dream, not the sweaty, dusty reality, that that he sought to capture in collodion. Just like classic pastoral paintings, Sweet's Pewsey Vale photographs present a 'frictionless space devoid of labour with an abundance of nature's gifts in a calm and leisurely setting'.[724]

On occasions when Sweet did digress from his idealised, labourless image of the colony, it was usually due to a specific commission.[725] At Canowie, and other stations, it was customary practice to photograph sheep shearers 'before the weeks of hard yakka began in a shed'.[726] Even here, Sweet's careful placement of workers and sheep into regimented lines and orderly poses conveys a sense of control and efficiency which bear no relation to the hot, fast and furious interior of the shearing shed. This dry order is counterbalanced with a soupcon of playfulness as shearers peep out from the window in Plate 135.

Plate 135
Sheep shearers, Canowie Station
1866-85, Canowie Station

Sweet's avoidance of social realism is in tune with his time. It was only in the 1890s, and then more in the eastern colonies, that labour become a popular subject with artists like Tom Roberts, whose goal was to 'express the meaning and spirit of masculine labour ... and the great human interest of

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[723] ibid., pp.11, 99-116.
[724] ibid., p.9.
[725] These include his photographs of prize breeding stock, e.g. Catalogue Plates 145, 146, 150, 151.
[726] R Woldendorp, R McDonald & A Burdon, *Wool: the Australian Story*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, North Fremantle, WA, 2003, p.11. Probably an aid to pay and employment records. See Catalogue Plates 147, 148, 152.

the whole scene', reflecting the social and political changes at the end of the century.[727] Earlier artists on 'the pastoral frontier', like Sweet, predated this type of human interest.[728]

While Sweet's pastoral images owe something to earlier visual traditions, his photographs of the infrastructure that supported production and trade were all about the emergence of modernity. All forms of transport were vital for the colony's economic development. Sweet's photographs of Port Adelaide were very popular (Catalogue Plates 228-265). He photographed almost every major port and landing jetty in the State (Catalogue Plates 266-305). Sweet's main interest here lay in the infrastructure of ports, docks and jetties rather that individual ships, reflecting his passion for progress rather than any nostalgia for the sea. Bridges also feature heavily in Sweet's work (Catalogue Plates 405-439) the most significant of which was Murray Bridge which was to become the major intersection of river, road and rail transport for goods bound interstate. Sweet documented its construction over a period of over six years (Catalogue Plates 405-416) breaking his general rule of only photographing completed structures. His repeated expensive visits only make commercial sense if the photographs were commissioned by the Public Works Department as evidence of its progress.[729] Murray Bridge was a thorn in the Government's side, plagued buy indecision, funding problems and a last minute decision to make it carry a railway as well as a road. Catalogue Plate 405 shows the bridge girders which lay on the river bank for five years while the site was debated. Perhaps the problems associated with its construction explain why Sweet created such extreme pieces of choreography when photographing its completion (Catalogue Plates 414-416). Plates 414 and 415 were taken on one occasion, just before the bridge was finished, with Sweet re-arranging the group between exposures. In these photographs the group is arranged thickly, in layers, to obscure the gaps and building materials on the bridge. Plate 137 was taken later, when the work was finished and he parts the group to reveal the completed bridge. Although these are groups of labourers, the sweaty reality of their labour is offset by the placement of figures in slightly fay pseudo-classical poses, taken to its extreme in Plate 136. Even in images commissioned to record achievements of labour and engineering he diverts the viewer from the realities of labour and construction through obscuration and distraction. The number of compositional devices Sweet could use in a single image is staggering. He even arranges figures according to their clothing so that light on dark and dark on light create depth and contrast. He places the camera at just the right height to

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[727] Tom Roberts quoted by RH Croll, *Tom Roberts: father of Australian landscape painting*, Robertson & Mullens, Melbourne, 1935, p.340.
[728] Bernard Smith, *Australian Painting 1788-2000*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 2001, pp.25-47.
[729] Murray Bridge is 80km from Adelaide via today's freeway. The railway did not reach it until 1886.

accentuate the appearance of a never ending speeding tunnel into the bright future. Every face is attentive, even the dog's.

Plate 136
Bridge Workers, Murray Bridge
1877-79, Edwards Crossing [Murray Bridge]

The railway was vital for the spread of agriculture, mining and economic development. Like the opening of the Murray Bridge, every new stretch of railway was a cause for celebration, with Sweet photographing every new track, station and viaduct. He photographed the Adelaide Hills railway (Catalogue Plates 310-317) as each stage of completion brought South Australia closer to interstate trade and access to new land for farming and mining. The railways were 'an integral part of the State controlled occupation of new lands and expansion of mining, farming and pastoralism, the mainstays of our early economy'.[730] The most ambitious example of opening up new land for production was in the far north of South Australia. This would not have been possible without the construction of the Great Northern Railway from Adelaide to Farina in Central Australia.[731]

> Australia's economic development was closely allied with railways which became the chief means of
> trade and transport in a country of immense distances, scattered population and limited finance …
> decade by decade the lines spread further from the capital city, opening up vast tracts of pastoral
> country and new territory for grazing, mining, farming, manufacturing and labouring.[732]

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[730] Ron Testro, *A pictorial history of Australian railways 1854-1970*, Lansdowne Press, 1971, p.27; National Railway Museum Website <http://www.natrailmuseum.org.au/common/nrm_a01_index.html> and <http://www.natrailmuseum.org.au/history.php> viewed 10.10.2008.
[731] Also known as Government Gums Railway.
[732] Testro, op. cit., p.7.

In 1882 Sweet travelled on the newly opened Great Northern Railway to Farina photographing every landmark that had just been reported in the press (Catalogue Plates 322-353).[733] It was a whistle stop tour for which he needed dry plates.[734] He set out in June and by 15 July already had GNR prints for sale.[735] It is striking how little of the dramatic scenery appears in his images and how completely focussed Sweet was on the many impressive bridges and pastoral stations that now had rail access to the ports.[736] At *Lattice Bridge* (Plate 137) what was interesting to me was the magnificent view in the opposite direction (Plate 138).

Plate 137
Lattice Bridge at Saltia Creek
1882, Pichi Richi Pass (near Quorn)

Plate 138
Karen Magee
View from Lattice Bridge
2007, Pichi Richi Pass (near Quorn)

The completion of the Great Northern Railway was a bittersweet accomplishment. Goyder had been right to advise against farming beyond the line of rainfall. The Government opened up the far north, and the railway, on the strength a few good seasons. As soon as the railway was completed, drought set in, destroying the dream of farming in the far north and 'forcing many farmers to abandon their homesteads'.[737] Today the railway has gone and most of the structures Sweet photographed are ruins. All of Sweet's railway photographs, like most of his oeuvre, were taken at the very moment the gleaming rails emerged, creating high-speed transport and opening up more land for production. Sweet's Great Northern Railway photographs are the perfect illustration that he was photographing the dream of modernity, as it emerged full of hope and promise. Whereas his images of Pewsey Vale are a celebration of progress achieved, much of his oeuvre celebrates progress anticipated. New railways anticipated profits from the land they open up. The Exhibition building

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[733] *Chronicle*, 20.05.1882 and 27.05.1882, reporting the celebration train journey from Adelaide to Farina that marked the opening of the line.
[734] *Register*, 15.07.1882.
[735] *Port Augusta Dispatch*, 23.06.1882; *Register*, 15.07.1882, 06.01.1883.
[736] *Register*, 15.07.1882, p.4.
[737] W Prest (ed.), *The Wakefield Companion to South Australian History*, Wakefield Press, 2001, p.232.

hoped to display the produce and wealth from that new land. Those dreams never eventuated. Sweet's 1882 railway photographs soon became a record of colonial over-ambition and the short-lived glory of the GNR.[738]

Today's viewer's can struggle to engage with some of Sweet's photographs of the colony's emerging infrastructure. Railways can make for pleasing compositions with sinuous curving lines and the intrigue of the distance into which they lead. Photographs of water pipes (Catalogue Plates 445-447) can be less accessible. In 'the driest state in the driest continent' water was vital for survival and progress and, far from being uninteresting, Sweet's photographs of water supply and reticulation were reassuring evidence of the colony's life source. Roads too can seem an unexciting subject to today's viewers, and are easily misunderstood when removed from their original context and purpose. Sweet's photographs of roads are a perfect example of the need to understand the motivation for their creation before we judge them as boring or aesthetically inferior. Views trade photographers were available for hire and often the reason a photograph was taken lies with the customer, not the photographer. There is a marked difference between Sweet's photographs of streets (e.g. Catalogue Plates 821-881) and his photographs of roads (e.g. Catalogue Plates 354-390). The former accentuate the architecture and vitality of the city, the latter seem literally concerned with the road's surface. Consider, for example, Plates 139 and 140. At first sight they look the same, with slightly different cropping. Closer analysis shows that they were taken from almost the same spot on different days. The lighting conditions and pedestrians are different but little has changed in terms of buildings or signage. What is different is the road surface. In Plate 139 the road surface (bottom left) has collapsed. In Plate 140 it has been repaired – the lighter patches of dolomite clearly visible. A similar purpose lies behind Catalogue Plates 356 and 357 also of King William Street.

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[738] The dream of a transcontinental railway from Adelaide to Darwin was only realised in 2003, using a different route.

Plate 139
King William Street , looking south
1876-78, Adelaide

Plate 140
King William Street
1876-78, Adelaide

Road condition and drainage problems were substantial issues throughout the period. In the summer every step threw up fine choking dust that ruined clothes and stifled breathing. When wet, the roads turned to mud – slippery, dangerous and messy. In any weather the roads were covered in horse manure and (until proper drains were installed) effluent. The City Corporation Archives show that improvements to the roads were ongoing throughout Sweet's time. Sealed road surfaces and footpaths (e.g. Catalogue Plates 367 and 371) were an important demonstration of metropolitan advancement, and of the conquest of modernity over nature and dirt. Images like these had limited appeal for the views trade but were visual evidence of deficiencies and improvements in the city's roads. It seems likely that they were commissioned by the Public Works Department, perhaps for presentation at Council meetings. Once we appreciate the nature of some of Sweet's local government commissions we can immediately see that the subject of Plate 141 is the newly laid tram track.

Plate 141
King William Street
1878-82, Adelaide

Are Plates 142-145 poor compositions, or were they commissioned by the Tramways Company or Corporation of the City of Adelaide who were at loggerheads over who should pay for road works required for the building of the new tramway?

Plate 142
Archer Street [from O'Connell Street]
c.1877, North Adelaide

Plate 143
Gover Street
c.1877, North Adelaide

Plate 144
Tynte Street [from O'Connell Street]
c.1877 (1866-78), North Adelaide

Plate 145
Adelaide & Suburban Tramway Co. Terminus at O'Connell Street [aka O'Connell Street]
c.1879 (1878-80), North Adelaide

Helen Ennis interprets Plate 145 as a 'technical and aesthetic failure'.[739] She places it in a subgroup which she calls 'Photographs of Streets in New Townships in the Colonies', typically featuring 'a broad expanse of undifferentiated foreground, an empty street and a number of different, sometimes competing focal points'.[740] She attributes their weakness partly to photographic technology and the difficulty of working outdoors:

> Many of them have a provisional quality, a sense of rawness and incompleteness. This is due in part to the state of the photographic technology at the time. The photographs are relatively early

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[739] Ennis, *Intersections*, op. cit., p.56.

examples of the use of wet plate glass negatives and albumen printing. Also significant is the fact that they were produced outdoors, away from the controlled conditions of the studio'.[741]

Yet Plate 145 was taken when wet plate technology had long been perfected, by a photographer whose expertise in the outdoors was unquestionable. Ennis also attributes 'the sense of incompleteness characteristic of these photographs' to their subject matter, with 'Towns…shown either in the process of being constructed, or so recently completed that they do not seem to belong in the landscape. Their edges are still new and hard, not yet softened or buffered by gardens and other signs of extended occupation'.[742] Far from being a new goldrush township, when this photograph was taken in 1878-80 North Adelaide had been housing the wealthy of Adelaide for decades and was described as being 'an old established suburb' by 1861.[743] The Caledonian Hotel, on the right, had been quenching thirsts since 1859 and the tramway was a hot topic in the newspapers of 1878.[744] The city roads needed widening, raising or otherwise altering before tramlines could be laid.[745] Plate 145 shows the new tram tracks embedded in a muddy, rubbly and loose road surface in need of repair by the City Corporation. Plates 142 to 145 show all the intersections on the tram route along O'Connell Street. Some were taken before the tracks were laid, some afterwards. It is most likely that they were commissioned to aid in the dispute between the City Corporation and the Tramways Company.[746] I do not question the existence of Ennis's subgroup, just the place of Sweet's *O'Connell Street* within it. Such misinterpretations are understandable. Without knowing why the photograph was taken, Ennis seems absolutely right – it has no discernible subject and can only be interpreted as a compositional failure. The difficulty is that the key piece of knowledge only comes to light when the minutiae of the photograph are researched including its place, date, local history, the photographer and his business practice, his clients and the local photography market.[747] It also required access to well a preserved original print in which the tram tracks and rubbly road surface were readily surrendered to the naked eye. We should not assume that it is an inadequate image until we know what it is trying to achieve. Further photographs of roads (with and without tramlines) appear as Catalogue Plates 354 to 390. These, along with his images of the beach at Port Darwin (Plates 96 and 97) and the hundreds of masterful

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[740] ibid.
[741] ibid., p.57.
[742] ibid., p.58.
[743] Paula Nagel, *North Adelaide 1837-1901*, published by the author, Adelaide, 1971, p.39.
[744] Index to Hotels 1839-1875, compiled by J McLellan, SAA 1195; The North Adelaide Tramway was opened in December 1878: *Register* 28.12.1878.
[745] Nagel, op. cit.
[746] ACCA Parliamentary Records 1878-1880.
[747] In this instance it also involved stumbling across parliamentary records of the tramways dispute.

compositions in his oeuvre, are evidence that if a photograph appears to be a poor composition or to have no discernible subject, it either is not by Sweet or we have mistaken its purpose.

Social Infrastructure: Modernity Realised

Most of Sweet's photographs of the first two stages of colonisation pictured the dream of modernity, rather than its successful reality. The tents and huts of Darwin were enough to suggest the buildings that would follow. The image of Stapleton's telegraph hut was a dream of the moment when it might actually receive a signal. The railways were certainly modernity imagined – photographed before they had made their contribution to expansion. Some of those railways remained a dream, falling idle when the land returned to drought. Gilbert's Pewsey Vale estate was part reality and part fantasy. It had been successful since the 1840s, though Sweet elevated it to the dream of an English pastoral idyll. Sweet records the final stage of the colonial process as modernity realised in its social infrastructure. His images of the social and cultural infrastructure are evidence that this perfected version of England had been achieved. It was not only a place of production, but of culture, learning and leisure. Once sufficient funds had been invested in transport and communications, opening up more land for productivity, the increasing profits, from wheat, wool and copper, could be ploughed into the South Australian vision of a perfected England 'equipped with all the trappings of fashionable town life'.[748] Sweet captured this final stage of colonial success in his images of grand residences, churches, schools, gardens and leisure facilities. He also negotiated the delicate implications of the unimproved bush, rendering it as leisure space rather than a feared wilderness. This section of Chapter Five presents Sweet's visual evidence of modernity achieved. It also explores some further stylistic features of his work, using his photographs of the new gentry at leisure to examine exactly what is meant when his images are described as 'picturesque', and how a pictorial tradition involving rustic hovels could possibly help him to create a vision of colonial modernity.

Sweet's photographs of residences are a further example of his oeuvre portraying a highly selective version of colonial reality. Neither Sweet nor the views trade were interested in images of ordinary housing. No extant prints have been found of humble homes, and few of middle-class homes. There was no market for these and the photographing of residences was entirely commission driven. As Ennis points out, the views trade catered to 'well-to-do property owners wishing to immortalise

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[748] Marsden et al., op. cit., p.30.

their hold on a new life and new land'.[749] Sweet pitched his advertisements to photograph 'gentlemen's residences' to people who had something to boast about. This lucrative market could pay threefold – from the commission itself, from reprinting the photographs for retail sale and through further commissions to photograph the homeowner's business, as in the case of Dunn and Co. Photographs of the lavish homes of successful families (Catalogue Plates 655-780) made excellent advertisements for the opportunities the colony offered and were included in Sweet's contributions to the South Australian courts at world fairs.

Sweet's other photographs of the colony's social infrastructure pointedly reflect the unique values on which South Australia was founded. His photographs of churches (Catalogue Plates 502-534) reflect the founders' commitment to religious freedom.[750] They emphasise South Australia's difference from the other Australian colonies whose founders thought so little about religion that, when they dispatched the first convicts, 'they forgot, until the very last moment, to appoint a chaplain to go with them'.[751] Sweet's photographs of schools similarly reflect the value placed on education and the 1875 Compulsory Education Act which gave rise to the 'purpose built schools [that] sprang up in and outside the city' (Catalogue Plates 492-496).[752] Likewise, his images of cultural buildings (Catalogue Plates 941-956) are evidence that 'even before the settlement of South Australia, future colonists put cultural aspirations to the fore', reflecting South Australians' 'prevailing sense of prosperity and colonial pride'.[753]

Adelaide's Botanic Gardens boast more of Sweet's attention than any other subject (Catalogue Plates 562-654), reflecting not only their treasured role as a place to promenade and relax in an environment just like Kew, but also their scientific purpose as a centre for Economic Botany and 'the economic development of the colony.[754] Sweet's Botanic Gardens photographs also show that his style was not always composed of lines, angles and diagonals. He was also a master of curves, where curves existed.

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[749] Ennis, *Intersections*, op. cit., p.60.

[750] Derek Whitelock, *Adelaide: A sense of difference*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Kew Victoria, 2000, p.243.

[751] ibid., p.244.

[752] Marsden et al., op. cit., p.189.

[753] ibid., p.30.

[754] Pauline Payne, *The Diplomatic Gardener. Richard Schomburgk: Explorer and Botanic Garden Director*, Jeffcott Press, Adelaide, 2007, p.88. Many photographs were commissioned by the Garden's Director Richard Schomburgk.

Plate 146
The Willows, Adelaide Botanic Garden
1877-85, Adelaide

Plate 147
Botanical Gardens, Adelaide,
showing hexagonal shade house
c.1880, Adelaide

Plates 146 and 147 maintain a sense of directionality and depth, through curling paths but here the movement is slow – a strolling pace with a hint of new discoveries around the corner. In gardens (like pastoral estates) he used compositional techniques to create a sense of calm, effortless achievement. He kept the frame tight whenever he wanted to exclude any thing that might contradict this narrative. Curves are less common in Sweet's work than in, say, that of Charles Bayliss simply because Adelaide is built on a grid structure whereas Sydney follows the natural curves and undulation of its harbour. Sweet's ability to make the straight lines of Adelaide work for him was what set him apart from other Adelaide views photographers. If they turned to Bayliss and eastern colonies photographers for guidance they might find their approach did not translate well to Adelaide's topography.

Sweet's most intriguing photographs of people at leisure are those taken in the unimproved bush, which was not a popular views trade subject. Raw nature was the antithesis of colonisation and progress, containing notions of uncertainty and fear, but enters Sweet's oeuvre when customers answered his advertisements to photograph their picnics.[755] These photographs are opportunities to further unravel Sweet's visual influences and the strategies that enabled him to tame the wilderness. This involves asking what is really meant when the picturesque is discussed in relation to Australian views photography; how such influences find their way into these photographs; and how Sweet could use elements of a pictorial tradition of preindustrial poverty to create a vision of colonial modernity.

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[755] Peck, op. cit., pp.33, 351-352; For example, Sweet's advertisement *Register*, 21.11.1866.

Plate 148
Second Fall, Waterfall Gully
1866-85, Waterfall Gully

Plate 149
Second Fall
1866-85, Waterfall Gully

Compare Sweet's two waterfall views (Plates 148 and 149) with Charles Bayliss's *Mermaid Falls* (Plate 150). The graffiti carved into the rock behind Mermaid Falls is barely visible, leaving nothing to counteract the dark and fearsome location. Bayliss's viewpoint seems almost calculated to place the viewer in an inescapable pit. Bayliss's falls are far from a place of leisure.

Plate 150
Charles Bayliss (1850-1897)
Mermaid Falls
1888, New South Wales

In Plate 148 Sweet ensures that the light at the top and bottom of the frame negates any sense of enclosure. In Plate 149 he achieves the same sense of openness by using a landscape view, creating space either side of the dark centre of the pool. Unlike Bayliss's steep cliffs this space is walkable - the viewer can leave if they wish. But what makes Sweet's viewers most comfortable, envious even, are the beautifully dressed people, clearly relaxed and at leisure. Immediately this location becomes safe, accessible and pleasant to inhabit.[756]

Many of the stylistic devices at play in these images contribute to the palpable sense of safety and Sweet's careful balance of civilisation and wilderness. His skill with tonal balance is one of them. The man on the left in Plate 148 is holding a lady's hat which, in Plate 149, is worn by its owner: a young girl, her skirt pulled almost up to her knees allowing the air to cool her legs. Sweet has asked the man to hold her hat because it is white and Sweet wanted a stronger highlight in this portion of the picture to balance the lighter clothes of the man on the right and the central highlight of the falling water. Cover the hat with your finger and the small brilliant white patch of this man's shirt becomes a distraction. Reveal the hat and highlights, darks and mid-tones are in perfect balance. Sweet was keenly aware of such things. Examine any of his figures in the outdoors and you will find they are placed according to the tones of their clothes, adding to a sense of order and balance.

Comparison with other photographers can help to elucidate Sweet's unique methods of taming the wilderness. Ken Orchard has observed Lindt's capacity to render the bush harmless, highlighting Lindt's interest in 'the bush as a benign realm, capable of being portrayed "softly", tamed and non-threatening, easily accessible, a space for leisurely pursuits, rather than remote and hazardous'.[757] Lindt ascribed European romantic ideals to Australian bush scenes through creative titling.[758] He gave one photograph the poetic title *Sylvan Solitude* which Orchard links to a couplet featuring 'in countless poetry and prose works in the nineteenth century' including one of Lindt's favourite poets, Longfellow. [759] He equates the term to *Waldeseinsamkeit*, 'a descriptor that had been coined in the late eighteenth century to describe the evocation of a desired state of heightened emotional and spiritual awareness when in the presence of nature'.[760] In comparison, Sweet was less directly influenced by Goethe, poetry and Romantic ideals, and never ascribed grandiloquent titles to his images. He used other devices to tame the bush for photographic consumption. In Plate 148 the

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[756] Nicholas Caire's much later photographs *Waterfall Scene near the Buchan River [Victoria]*, c.1890, nla.pic-an23835840 and *Miss Kirkwood's Gully, Gilderoy* c.1900 nla.pic-an3129025 use the same device.
[757] Ken Orchard, 'J.W.Lindt's Characteristic Australian Forest Scenery (1875) and the construction of an emblematic Australian landscape', paper presented at the Migration and Exchange Symposium, op. cit., p.2.
[758] ibid., p.6.
[759] ibid. pp.6 & 3.

men are recumbent, like the solitary man 'recumbently at rest' in Lindt's *Sylvan Solitude*.[761] Their recumbency powerfully conveys messages of safety, relaxation and comfort. This neoclassical device was commonly used in landscape painting, bringing us to another strategy used to calm the wild Australian bush for the views trade: casting the image through the familiar pictorial language of the picturesque. Elspeth Pitt comments that 'Sweet made several images of waterfalls and these works represent the artist at his most picturesque'.[762] Smith has also identified the influence of the picturesque in some of Sweet's Northern Territory photographs.[763] Erika Esau selects Sweet's photograph, *Woman with an umbrella, Mitcham* (Plate 152) to illustrate her statement that 'by the mid-1880s, Australian photographers were completely well-versed in every picturesque compositional technique, and had, indeed, perfected their own variations on the standard visual tropes borrowed from landscape painting by all mid-nineteenth-century photographers'.[764] So far, however, no one has pinpointed exactly what was picturesque about Sweet's photographs or what that term really means in relation to colonial views photography.

The 'picturesque' is a slippery and problematic term that has 'undergone so many transformations since its initial discussion in eighteenth-century England that it is hard to say just what it is'.[765] Even those most deeply involved in originally defining the term conceded that 'there are few words whose "meaning has been less accurately determined than that of the word picturesque".[766] It has been 'closely connected with the transformation of the English countryside by the landed aristocracy' and Ann Bermingham makes the crucial point that 'the aesthetically pleasing [picturesque] landscape was not the economically productive one'.[767] She associates the picturesque with a nostalgia for a landscape and rural way of life that existed before the industrial revolution, examining its imagery of ruins, hovels and rural poverty, concluding that 'the aesthetic effect of the picturesque seems to be calculated precisely on poverty and misery'.[768] How can this correlate with Sweet whose style was based on his passion for progress and prosperity and whose images purposefully avoided symbols of ruin, hardship and poverty? Sweet's pursuit of progress barred all but the most tenuous of

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[760] ibid., p.4.
[761] ibid., p.3.
[762] Elspeth Pitt, 'Second Waterfall, First Creek, 1870s', in Robinson, *Century in Focus,* op. cit., p.90.
[763] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., p.178.
[764] Erika Esau, 'An American in Australia, 1888: Frederic Schell and the *Picturesque Atlas of Australia'*, paper presented at the Migration and Exchange Symposium, op. cit., p.10.
[765] SK Robinson, *Inquiry into the Picturesque*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991, p.xi. For the origins of the picturesque see William Gilpin, *An Essay upon Prints,* London, 1768.
[766] Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful, and on the Use of Studying Pictures for the Purpose of Improving Real Landscape,* p.37, cited by S Ryan, op. cit., p.62.
[767] S Ryan, op. cit., p.72; A Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: the English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860,* University of California Press, Berkeley, 1986, p.54.
[768] Bermingham, op. cit., p.69.

influences of the picturesque.[769] In newly colonised Australia, that kind of picturesque simply did not exist. Skilled as he was, even Sweet could not conjure gothic ruins out of brand new buildings. By the late nineteenth century the term was used so frequently and fluidly as to empty it of meaning.[770]

There are two ways in which the picturesque was used in colonial views photography. Firstly, as a marketing term used to sell photographs, meaning nothing more than 'aesthetically pleasing'. Secondly, it was a descriptor for a number of compositional devices that had become part of the broad visual vocabulary of the mid-nineteenth century. Sweet's advertised 'VIEWS of the Most Picturesque SCENERY on the GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY Line', most of which are the antithesis of any notion of the picturesque.[771] One remarkable exception, *Shepherd's Hut* (Plate 151), is the closest Sweet ever comes to using all of Gilpin's picturesque devices: 'one focus of interest rather than many; a clear planar division to establish the illusion of depth; a certain variety and contrast rather than smoothness; and, above all, a point of view which allows the framing of a limited scene rather than an endless expanse'.[772]

Plate 151
Shepherd's Hut, Parachilna
1882, Parachilna

In this remarkable exception to Sweet's progressive oeuvre, we find Bermingham's picturesque with its nostalgia for a pre-industrial rural life, its hovel and the implied poverty of a shepherd's lifestyle. This is a truly picturesque view of a sagging grass-thatched hut, a tatty rudimentary fence of crooked sticks, a humble stream and a nostalgic sense of rustic beauty. Everything except the smooth plane of still water denies Sweet's vision of progress and modernity. Yet this image passes the Gilpin test

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[769] For a more complex analysis of the Picturesque and exploration in Australia see S Ryan, op. cit., pp.54-87.
[770] Peck, op. cit., p.35.
[771] *Register*, 15.07.1882. Catalogue Plates 322-353.
[772] S Ryan, op. cit., p.63.

with such high marks that its pictorial beauty alone allows it into Sweet's album of views representing South Australian progress.

Sweet's waterfalls also use picturesque compositional devices including image framing and Gilpin's three-plane composition with a foreground of rocks and foliage; a middle ground of the pool, the gentlemen and the fall itself; and a background of dense ferns receding into the rock-face above.[773] They include Gilpin's obligatory 'roughness' in the rocks and the expanse of ferns broken with patches of rock and scrub. The picturesque's requirements of contrast and smoothness are also met. The perfect smoothness of the pool contrasts with the rough rocks and tousled ferns. And another kind of smoothness, present in those neatly turned out gentlemen, contrasts with the wildness of nature. Visual contrast is richly spread across the image with deep dark water and shaded recesses; bright highlights of falling water, sun kissed rocks and dapper outfits; and a perfect balance of mid-tones everywhere else. The balances and tensions reflect Martin Price's definition of the essence of the picturesque as an inherent instability whereby 'the picturesque in general recommends the rough or rugged, the crumbling form, the complex or difficult harmony. It seeks a tension between the disorderly or irrelevant and the perfected form'.[774] These tensions are evident throughout Sweet's work, both compositionally and narratively. His job as a views photographer was to make images that were both familiar (reassuring) and interesting (exciting). At *Second Fall* he created the perfect balance of rough and smooth, light and dark, adventure and safety. Fear and uncertainty are mitigated by the woman and two young men who have clearly arrived at this spot without ruffling their attire. The civilised ritual of the picnic has arrived in the Australian bush. It is not about the sandwiches. It is about the transmutation of the untamed bush into a place of leisure.

Many of Sweet's Northern Territory photographs also exhibit picturesque devices, most frequently Gilpin's three-plane composition with foreground foliage, centre of interest in the middle ground, a highlight of still water and and a background of trees under a diffusely lit sky.[775] The roughness of the rocks or bush often contrast with smooth water and dark trees often frame still, light water. *'S.S. Tararua' Roper River* (Plate 125) complies with several of Gilpin's requirements for planes, contrasts of texture and of light and shade, as well as the use of a coulisse whereby darker trees frame the

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[773] Gilpin, op. cit.
[774] M Price, 'The Picturesque Moment', in FW Hilles and H Bloom (eds), *From Sensibility to Romanticism: essays presented to Frederick A Pottle*, 1965, p.277, quoted by S Ross, 'Picturesque', in M Kelly (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Aesthetics*, available at *Oxford Art Online*, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t234/e0402> viewed 29 August 2008.
[775] *Tumbling Waters (Plate 98) and* Roper River photographs, e.g. Plates 123 and 66.

middle ground.[776] Like *Second Fall*, Sweet's Northern Territory photographs often exhibit 'picturesque' tensions between the orderliness of the Government Camp placed within in the heart of the untamed landscape. In his city views that tension is created between movement and stillness. In *Hollow Gum at Pewsey Vale* it exists between the inhospitable landscape with its ancient gum tree and the orderly placement of the landowners in their fine riding garb.

Few of Sweet's images can be considered 'picturesque' in Gilpin's sense because it requires them to comply with his entire 'complex network of codifications'.[777] So where does Sweet's work sit in relation to the picturesque? It was more than just an empty marketing term, although its use as such is an important indicator of the absorption of 'the picturesque' into the lexicon of popular visual culture. The picturesque gave Sweet a range of compositional and stylistic devices that enabled him to create images whose visual construction was familiar to his consumers. As Smith notes, 'The picturesque … provided a language through which landscape was already comprehended'.[778] Sweet's use of picturesque devices gave his photographs a structure and appearance that made them appealing and digestible to a wide audience. The familiarity of that pictorial language added another soothing layer to Sweet's mitigation of uncertainty and apprehension.

The question remains as to how the influence of the picturesque found its way into Sweet's photographs. One overlooked route was technical necessity. Picturesque devices became part of the views photographer's tool kit to compensate for the limitations of the camera. Nineteenth century cameras were 'designed to confront the world in terms of traditional perspective views, with a painter's relation of horizontals and vertical', requiring photographs to be 'made in accordance with the photographer's understanding of historical and contemporary pictorial construction'.[779]

It would be wrong to assume that any photographer's sensibility for the picturesque resulted from a direct personal connection with literature and fine art. Peck rightly argues that views photographs 'were the product of a culture that was aesthetically aware', allowing for the myriad ways in which those influences could enter an image.[780] By Sweet's time picturesque devices were so widely used in so many media – pictorial and literary – that they were part of a widely spoken visual language.

[776] S Ryan, op. cit., p.63.
[777] ibid.
[778] Smith, Policeman's Eye, op. cit., p.51. See also Warner Marien, op. cit., p.50.
[779] Paul Lewis, 'Photography and Art', in H Brigstocke (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*, Oxford Art Online, viewed 01.12.2008, <http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t118/e2037>.
[780] Peck, op. cit., p.24.

Neither can we be sure whether, with commissions, these qualities entered Sweet's work through his own aesthetic sensibilities or those of his customers.

Plate 152
Woman with an umbrella, Mitcham
1872-82, Torrens Park, Mitcham

Esau's evaluation of the picturesque in Plate 152 emphasises the 'picturesque bridge' and composition that 'could have been taken from an English painting'.[781] Esau declares that in the 1880s 'Australian [views] photographers… were already committed to the idea that photography *did* involve artistic creativity, a knowledge of the appropriate standards of picturesque composition, and aesthetic choice'.[782] This is true in a general sense. Picturesque devices were part of the (good) views photographer's toolkit. However, Esau's assessment implies that all views photographers had some kind of conscious aesthetic manifesto and ignores the individuality of each photographer and the operation of the views trade itself as the engine of style. Sweet did not mix socially with people who collected art. We cannot even be sure that, when he worked for them, he entered by the front door. Before ascribing a stylistic trait to a photographer (or the entire views trade) we should first consider the customer's influence. The point here is that we should not understand the views trade as a homogenous movement, nor its individual photographs as the result of a general set of influences. Each image, like each photographer, had its own set of circumstances and we can never be sure which ones we need to investigate in order to unlock the picture's secrets. In the case of *Hollow Gum at Pewsey Vale* it was the painting in the dining room. In Sweet's photograph of *O'Connell Street* it was the dispute between the City Corporation and the Tramways Company. In the *Roper River Fleet* it was the fact that Sweet himself had saved South Australia from ruin.

[781] Esau, op. cit., p.10.
[782] ibid., p.12.

Perhaps for the *Lady with an Umbrella* it was the customer, Robert Barr Smith's, fondness for the picturesque.[783] It is not until each photograph is examined in its own unique context that we can really begin to understand it.

What Sweet Did Not Photograph: A Selective Reality

Before concluding this chapter with Sweet's triumphal photographs of Adelaide City, it is necessary to consider what he did not photograph and to complete the exploration of the compositional strategies he used to mitigate any negative elements that could not be excluded from his photographs. This section of Chapter Five briefly lists the subjects he avoided and those that he subjugated to his own, and the colony's, ideals. It then focuses on his approach to Aboriginal subjects, which was entirely different from other views photographers. It shows how Sweet rarely photographed Aborigines outside the confines of the Aboriginal Mission Station, and how, in rare exceptions, he veiled them from the viewer's attention. It considers how his photographs, taken at two different Mission Stations, reflect their respective ideals and circumstances and, perhaps most importantly, demonstrates that his photographs of Ngarrindjeri people at Point McLeay are the most respectful and self-determined images of the period.

If we read Sweet's photographic oeuvre as an objective documentation of the colony we would believe it had few social problems. However, all was not sweetness and light in Trollope's 'Utopian Adelaide'. During Sweet's time the city's population doubled, causing a decrease in living conditions, overcrowding and the discharge of sewage into the parklands.[784] By their very nature, photographs hide the 'pungent smells from the cemetery, toxic fumes from factories, foul odours arising from the night soil trenches, [and] the sickening smells wafting from city drains'.[785] Sweet bypassed vital elements of infrastructure like sewage management, the city market, Corporation stockyards, slaughterhouses and factories. As Marsden et al. observe, 'Adelaide was... a city of contradictions.

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[783] Dirk Van Dissel, 'Barr Smith, Robert (1824–1915)', ADBO, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/barr-smith-robert-63/text7591>, viewed 04.12.2012. Plate 155 was taken during one of Sweet's Torrens Park commissions, probably during its ownership by Robert Barr Smith who was famous for his art collection and twice commissioned Sweet to photograph his estate, in 1874 and c.1882 (Catalogue Plates 720-732). Sweet also photographed the estate in1872 for the previous owner.

[784] Marsden et al., op. cit., p.27, with reference to WA Sinclair, 'Urban booms in nineteenth century Australia: Melbourne and Adelaide', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia,* vol. 10, 1982, p.3.

[785] Marsden et al., op. cit., p.27.

As cultural achievements were reflected in the erection of fine buildings, living conditions for many continued to deteriorate'.[786]

None of Sweet's photographs show people who are poor, sick or disabled. Unlike Freeman, whose photograph of the *Bank of Australasia* (Plate 72) includes an amputee, in Sweet's Adelaide disability does not exist. There are no beggars in Sweet's Adelaide and no criminals or prisons. There are certainly no Aborigines in city or town streets. Sweet did not ignore social issues altogether – it would be hard to believe that no-one in South Australia ever got sick or broke the law. What he did was to tidy all the problems away into their respective buildings and institutions, showing that Adelaide was well equipped to keep the sick, mad and bad off the streets. He photographed the institutions that contained them, but rarely the individuals inside. When he photographed hospitals, reform schools and asylums (Catalogue Plates 781-798) he infused their buildings with a sense of grandeur. His emphasis was on the provision of facilities and institutions for the containment of health and social problems.

Prisons, however, are notably absent from his subject matter and there is no hint of the presence of convicts or lawbreakers in this free-settled society which transported its own offenders to other colonies and declared that 'no convicted felon from any part of the world... is allowed to live in South Australia'.[787] There can be no mistaking Sweet's South Australia for the other colonies which were initially settled as penal establishments. He photographed court buildings as symbols of law enforcement and grand architecture (Catalogue Plates 800-804) but not one photograph of Adelaide Gaol has been found.

Sweet's selective reality is most apparent in his treatment of Aborigines as a subject. Colonisation, by its very nature, displaced Indigenous people and caused a wide range of serious health and social problems. White attitudes towards Aborigines included 'fear, abhorrence, disdain, pity, sympathy and admiration'.[788] The relationship between Aborigines and white settlement was complex and Sweet's camera was selectively blind to their presence in locations of white settlement. When he did photograph Aborigines he ensured they did not ripple his reflection of a perfect Colonial South Australia. One strategy he used was to relegate black people to the margins of an image where they could be cropped out. Plate 153 is the only one of six known prints of *Sheep shearers*,

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[786] ibid., p.31.
[787] Adelaide Proformat, *Convicts transported from South Australia*, Graham Jaunay, undated, viewed 20.03.2013, <http://www.jaunay.com/convicts.html>; Whitelock, op. cit., p.10.

Canowie Station in which the Aboriginal workers, crouched at either end, have not been cropped away.[789] This is an example of the 'contextual mobility' of Sweet's photography and his ability to make one photograph suit a range of purposes.[790]

Plate 153
Sheep shearers, Canowie Station
1866-85, Canowie Station

Campbell House Station, being near Point McLeay Aboriginal Mission, employed large numbers of Aboriginal workers and his commission there included Plate 154. The commission nature of the work took precedence over Sweet's usual 'rules' about labourers and Aborigines. The single extant print hints that it was less suitable for the views trade.

Plate 154
Shearers, Campbell House Station
1878, Campbell House Station, Point McLeay

[788] Jakelin Troy, 'Nineteenth Century Visual Images of Australian Aborigines' in James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001, p.19.
[789] Compare with Plate 135.
[790] Miles, op. cit.

In Plate 155, of the experimental garden and Head Gardener's residence in the Adelaide Botanic Gardens, Sweet obscured the presence of Aborigines by photographing them from a great distance as he had done in the Northern Territory (Plate 102).

Plate 155a
Experimental Garden and North Lodge
1866-85, Adelaide

Plate 155b
Detail showing group of four Aboriginal people

Only with a magnifying glass do we discover four figures in the centre: three Aboriginal men and one Aboriginal woman, all neatly attired in European dress, elegantly posed among the beds. Their Aboriginality is veiled behind distance, location, dress and pose which seem contrived to 'elevate' them to British standards of 'civilisation' (if the viewer can see them at all).

Aside from these few exceptions, Sweet rarely photographed Aboriginal subjects outside of the confines of the Aboriginal Mission Stations (Catalogue Plates 806 to 820). Mission Stations were a privately funded initiative with the 'primary aim [of] Christian evangelism' and were located far from Adelaide in remote areas.[791] They provided for Indigenous people whose traditional livelihoods had been destroyed by colonisation. Sweet visited Point McLeay Mission in 1878 and 1880, and Poonindie Mission in 1884.[792] In neither place did Sweet create photographs like any of his contemporaries.

Sweet was invited to Point McLeay Mission by its founder, Reverend George Taplin, who commissioned a photograph for the frontispiece of his new book on the Ngarrindjeri, although few

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[791] Peggy Brock, 'Aboriginal Missions' in Prest (ed.), op. cit., p.11.
[792] Today Poonindie is a 632km, 7hr drive from Adelaide, on the Eyre Peninsula. Point McLeay is a 192km, 2½hr drive. Point McLeay is now know as Raukkan. It is situated on the shores of Lake Alexandrina in the Lower Murray area, in Yaraldi country. The 'Ngarrindjeri nation' may 'never have existed as a tangible entity', being a term Taplin used to subsume other clan and language groups including Yaraldi and Tangani: Philip Jones, *Ochre and Rust*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town SA, 2007, p.55. See also Christobel Mattingley (ed.), *Survival in Our Own Land: "Aboriginal"*

editions actually contain Sweet's photographs.[793] Sweet's 1878 photographs are shown in Catalogue Plates 806 to 813.[794]

Plate 156
Point McLeay Mission
1878, Point McLeay

In Plate 156 – showing the mission's main buildings including the Reverend's house, school and cottages for the Aborigines living on site – Sweet again uses distance to control the viewer's relationship with the image content. His view is distanced enough not to force an unwanted degree of intimacy on the viewer, but close enough to show the solid, well constructed buildings that would reassure European eyes that the residents were well housed, well cared for and had a good Christian chapel as the central focus of the mission. No actual Aborigines can be distinguished and the single figure in the centre is unidentifiable by race, giving only scale and human presence. The figure is too small to provide real human interest and there are no visual pathways inviting the viewer to enter. Other small figure groups are barely discernible. Sweet uses distance, viewpoint and composition to control what he wants us to see and how much he wants us to imagine. He invites us to look but not to enter.

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experiences in "South Australia" since 1836, told by Nungas and others, co-ed. Ken Hampton, revised edition, Hodder & Stoughton, Sydney, 1992, p.183.
[793] Rev. George Taplin, *The Folklore, Manners, Customs and Lanugages of the South Australian Aborigines*, Wigg & Son, Adelaide, 1879. Many copies of the book contain entirely different photographs from each other as well as a variety of printed drawings.
[794] Sweet visited in July 1878. *Register*, 18.07.1878.

Plate 157
Black's Whurlie [A Ngarrindjeri Ngowanthi]
1878, Point McLeay

Plate 158
Karen Magee
Site of Plate 157
2007, Raukkan

Plate 157, *Black's Whurlie* [sic], is quite the reverse. It ostensibly shows the local Ngarrindjeri people in their natural environment, enjoying their traditional lifestyle, with fishing nets and spears stored on the Ngowanthi.[795] Yet it contains visual evidence of the order imposed by the Mission Station with western clothes and cooking pots, and that ever-present reassurance of the camera and photographer himself. It gives no indication of the Ngowanthi's distance from the mission, and the apparent difference in terrain from Plate 156 suggests it is far away – another safety net for the viewer. Ennis describes views like this as being of indeterminate place, 'one does not see a specific location but a generic or in-between space existing at the edge of white settlement'.[796] In fact, the site of the Ngowanthi (Plate 158) is just a two-minute walk over the ridge to the mission. This was a traditional Ngarrindjeri campsite long before the Mission was built. Yet, together with other photographs from Sweet's 1878 trip, it speaks loudly of the safe containment of Aborigines, far away from Adelaide and 'civilised' towns.

Sweet's image contrasts strongly with those of South Australian Aboriginal groups by other photographers. In an 1865 photograph of Ngowanthis in the centre of Strathalbyn (Plate 159), the Post Office – the symbol of colonial success – relinquishes centre stage to the Aboriginal camp, creating an uncomfortable scene of incongruity.

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[795] Ngowanthi is the Ngarrindjeri word for a summer shelter. Pulgi is a winter shelter (mud based and 'strong enough to ride a horse on'). The original title of the photograph was 'Blacks Whurlie' which is today considered offensive by many Ngarrindjeri people: conversation with David Waters, Manager, Point McLeay Community Council, 25.09.2007.
[796] Ennis, *Intersections*, op. cit. p.89.

Plate 159
Unknown photographer
The Post Office Strathalbyn and native encampment
1865, Strathalbyn

Plate 160
JH Nixon
Residents of Mount Gambier - Aboriginal Camp
c.1870, Anlaby

Plate 161
Fred Kruger
Aboriginal natives of Victoria fishing at the reservation
c.1880, Badger's Creek, Coranderrk

Blood and Nixon's 1867 photographs of Aborigines on *Anlaby* pastoral station (e.g. Plate 160) depict groups in some halfway state between traditional life and a semi-squalid European vagrancy implied by their worn European clothes and tatty top hats.[797] Neither does Sweet's image have much in common with Fred Kruger's views of Aboriginal people at Coranderrk Aboriginal Mission Station which Jane Lydon describes as 'Aboriginal Idylls'.[798] Lydon notes that 'Kruger's picturesque views of Coranderrk stressed harmony, productivity, and peace, assuring viewers of the residents' appropriation of a rural peasant lifestyle' as in Plate 161.[799] Kruger and Sweet take different approaches to making images about an uneasy subject comfortable for their viewers. Lydon explores the role that Aboriginal subjects at Coranderrk played in the way they were depicted by Kruger. There is also a strong sense that Sweet's subjects also controlled their own portrayal.

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[797] Taken for presentation to Prince Alfred during his 1867 royal visit. Philip Jones, 'Aboriginal Group Portraits,1860s', in Robinson, *Century in Focus*, op. cit., p.110.
[798] Lydon, *Eye Contact*, op. cit., p.126.
[799] ibid.

Unlike Plate 159, Sweet's *Black's Whurlie* mitigates any underlying guilt the viewer might feel over dispossession or cultural erosion by showing the group in a traditional setting, albeit in white men's clothes – perhaps also suggesting conquest and subjugation. Jenkins describes the image in his definitive work on the Ngarrindjeri with the caption 'The changing world of the Ngarrindjeri – traditional spears, nets, and baskets blend with European clothes, billies, and pannikins'.[800] It is in this enforced compromise of life between two cultures that we find the piece of contextual information that unlocks this image for us. This group of elders, including Pullami (Peter Campbell) were one of several living outside the mission who remained stalwarts of tradition.[801] Pullami 'adopted an English Christian name' but 'had not embraced the missionary's faith'.[802] He sent his children to the mission for a Christian education and had 'been one of his people's first leaders to recognise the necessity of accommodation with the Europeans', becoming Taplin's ally as part of 'the new political and social order which Pullami had helped to broker'.[803] Only with this knowledge do we see in the photograph evidence of Pullami's existence across both worlds – his refusal to give up his traditional life and beliefs but his acceptance that helping Taplin was necessary to survival. The photograph fully embodies this compromised existence. The triangular composition formed by the hill and Ngowanthi lends a sense of solidity and permanence to a structure that often appears shambolic and fragile in the hands of other photographers. The power of that triangular composition is echoed by the circle of seated men with two standing, centring the weight of the image in their circle, again implying permanence.

One other photographer did create a remarkably similar image of this group. Bernard Goode's photograph (Plate 162), taken at the same encampment about 11 years earlier, is described by Jones in words that could apply equally to Sweet's image.

> The tableau suggests the passing of the old ways and the end of a people. No children are evident; the bags and baskets have been supplanted by tins. In fact, these men and women chose to remain outside the mission boundary and were resisting attempts by the missionary, George Taplin, to abolish traditional marriage practices, initiation and burial rights'.[804]

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[800] Jenkin, op. cit., caption facing p.144.
[801] Jones, *Ochre and Rust*, op. cit., p.55. Pullami was Peter Campbell's Yaraldi name.
[802] ibid.
[803] ibid.
[804] Jones, 'Aboriginal Group Portraits', op. cit., p.110.

Plate 162
Bernard Goode
Aboriginal men in front of wurley
1866-67, Point McLeay[805]

Plate 163
Bernard Goode
Aboriginal men in front of wurley
1866-67, Point McLeay

However, where Sweet's group inhabit the space of Ngarrindjeri country, Goode separates them entirely from their environment. In another print from the same negative (Plate 163) Goode crops the image so tightly that two people are lost entirely and the rest barely squash within its frame.[806] Another difference is that Sweet's group are assembled in a strong circle of unity – engaged with one another, not the photographer. In Goode's image Pullami (left) fixes his gaze firmly on the photographer while his counterpart on the right looks on from a reclined position.[807] This engagement with the photographer, and therefore the viewer, is perhaps more confrontational, or at least questioning. There is a sense of interference by the photographic transaction that is not present in Sweet's image. Sweet maintains his ideal photographic world by separating the camp from any connection with white society, whilst also creating an honest representation of a group of elders who have established a balance between traditional and change. Perhaps it was these factors that made this Sweet's most widely circulated image.[808]

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[805] In 'Aboriginal Group Portraits', op. cit., p.110 Philip Jones attributes this image to Bernard Goode, dated 1866-67. However, in *Ochre and Rust*, op. cit., p.56 he attributes it to Captain Sweet, dated c.1887. I believe his attribution to Goode to be correct.

[806] Cropped to fit a carte-de-visite mount.

[807] Pullami, the Karatindjeri clan elder, was 'the last traditional *rupulle* or elected leader of the council of Ngarrindjeri elders': Jones, *Ochre and Rust*, op. cit., p.56.

[808] 19 prints have been catalogued so far.

Plate 164
Blacks' warfare
1878, Point McLeay

Plate 164 – a staged scene of eight armed Ngarrindjeri men in a mock warfare pose – seems more contrived, bearing none of the positive characteristics of Sweet's other Ngarrindjeri images. Any photographs that break Sweet's normal rules usually do so at the behest of the client. Perhaps Taplin wanted this image for his book. There is no sense here that these men own their pose. Their fighting stance is unrealistic and their muscles limp, suggesting a lack of enthusiasm. Sweet's other photographs show that these are men capable of great self-control, poise and strength. Neither Sweet not the men have utilised their abilities to create a stronger, more powerful image. Some circumstance of this photograph's creation will provide the reason but more research is needed to discover it. Why would Sweet create such a photograph when his other Point McLeay images exhibit Sweet's signature ability to order large groups with a strong sense of willing subject participation; comfortable, confident engagement with the photographer; and no blurred figures. Catalogue Plates 808 and 810 exhibit these traits. Catalogue Plate 808 shows a group of Ngarrindjeri men (standing and in boats), women and children (seated) on the shores of Lake Alexandrina at Point McLeay, in a scene of a well-organised, productive community and civilised industry. It is ostensibly an image of the fishing enterprise that Taplin encouraged.[809] Catalogue Plate 810 shows 'the largest group of natives' that the local reporter had ever seen photographed together.[810] Sweet's remarkable capacity to control a large group is unquestionable as is the reciprocal cooperation of around 100 people in the photograph. They are assembled on their traditional land on the hill at Raukkan with the Ngowanthis behind them.[811] The women and children

[809] Mattingley, op. cit., p.185.
[810] *Register*, 18 July 1878.
[811] Steve Hemming (ed.), *Troddin thru Raukkan, Our Home: Raukkan reunion 1994*, Raukkan Council & SAM, Adelaide, 1994, p.38.

are seated at the front with the men standing behind. All wear European dress and blankets but some have painted faces and some of the men hold long poles, suggesting that they are gathered for a ceremony.[812] Pullum the Rupulle stands in the centre of the group.[813] Like the rest of the 1878 photographs, Sweet keeps the Mission Station separate from the people who lived in its buildings and surrounds. Only his distant view of the Mission buildings (Plate 156) tells us that this is a mission station.

Sweet photographed Pullami and the other elders again when he returned to Point McLeay in 1880 at the request of George Taplin's son Frederick to photograph the grave of his father.[814] On this visit Sweet created the most dignified individual portraits of Aboriginal people that I have yet seen from this period. The main purpose of the visit was to photograph Taplin's grave and his son, Frederick wrote that 'Capt Sweet took another with some natives standing behind the railing... it looks very nice' (Plate 165).[815]

Plate 165
Pullami with other Ngarrindjeri elders at Taplin's graveside
2 November 1880, Point McLeay

Jones suggests that Taplin was unhappy with the earlier view of the native encampment (*Black's Whurlie*, Plate 157) 'which did not reflect as well on his own mission's progress'.[816] Although this was not the reason for the graveside photographs, Jones hints that they were somewhat of an antidote to the encampment image of those who did not wish to give up their traditions.

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[812] ibid. One print is mounted with the inscription 'native coroboree'.
[813] ibid.
[814] Frederick Taplin letters to Samuel Sweet from Point McLeay, 31.08.1880 and 27.10.1880 in Frederick Taplin's Letterbooks (letter numbers 136, 173), Marjorie Angas Collection, SAM Archives, transcribed by Philip Jones.
[815] ibid., letter number 187, op. cit. No other photograph of the grave has yet been found.

Frederick Taplin twice suggested that Sweet bring his 'portrait apparatus... it is most likely that you would get patronage sufficient to pay' and that 'The darkies [sic] I have no doubt would also go in for having their pictures made'.[817] The only portraits so far discovered from this trip are of Ngarrindjeri elders, suggesting that they were the customers to whom Taplin refers. This might explain why their portraits are more dignified, conveying a greater sense of self-determination, than any other Aboriginal photographs of the period.

These full-length individual outdoor portraits of Ngarrindjeri people (Plates 166 to 168) are quite different from trends in photography of Aborigines at the time, and the antithesis of the disenfranchisement Ennis has observed in Aboriginal people photographed in the natural landscape.[818] They were taken on the mission station, but the only evidence of that is the corner of a barn in Plate 166.
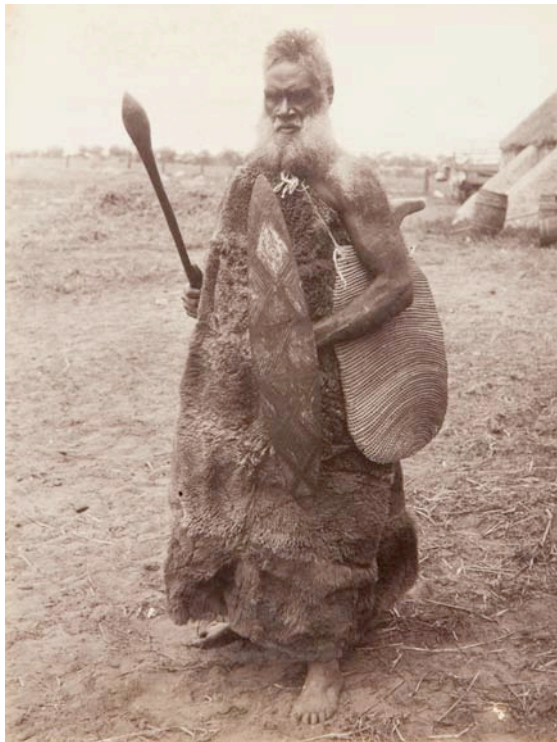
Plate 166
Peter Campbell [Pullami]
1880, Point McLeay

Plate 167
Nahraminyeri Campbell
1880, Point McLeay

[816] Philip Jones, 'Ethnographic Photography in South Australia', in Robinson, *Century in Focus,* op. cit., p.106.
[817] Frederick Taplin letters, op. cit.
[818] Helen Ennis, 'Australian Photography', in *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online,*
<http://oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T2083300>, viewed 18.10.2010.

Plate 168
Portrait of unidentified Ngarrindjeri elder
1880, Point McLeay

These three photographs are also quite different from several other Ngarrindjeri portraits from Point McLeay which others have suggested might be by Sweet. For example Jones identifies 'a series of portraits of men and women dressed neatly in European clothes' taken by Sweet in 1880.[819] Their technical and visual qualities make any attribution to Sweet doubtful. Only Plates 166 to 168 are signed in the negative and exhibit Sweet's technical characteristics. The subjects of two of the photographs have been confirmed through discussions with the Ngarrindjeri Community Council and Ngarrindjeri elders, as well as Point McLeay records.[820]

Nahraminyeri and Peter [Pullami] Campbell, and the third unidentified elder, are proud and dignified in Sweet's portraits. Their willingness to have their portraits made seems quite apparent in these striking works in which their expressions and body language emit a powerful sense of self-determination. They are wearing their own traditional cloaks and carry their own tools and weapons, not photographer's props.[821] They are standing proudly on Ngarrindjeri land and only the corner of

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[819] Jones, 'Ethnographic Photography', op. cit., pp.106, 116. Other images are reproduced in Jenkins, op. cit., facing pp.112 & 96, and in Robert Edwards, *Aboriginal Bark Canoes of the Murray Valley*, SAM and Rigby, Adelaide, 1972, pp.25, 44, 45, 46, 47.

[820] See also RM Berndt, CH Berndt & JE Stanton, *A World That Was: the Yaraldi of the Murray River and the Lakes, South Australia*, Melbourne University Press at Miegunyah Press, Carlton, Victoria, 1993; Hemming, op. cit.

[821] Berndt et al., op. cit.; Conversation with David Waters, Manager, Point McLeay Community Council, 25.09.2007.

the barn in Plate 166 hints that they are not in their unadulterated open country. Today, in our search for deeper meaning, we might speculate that Peter Campbell's position near the barn symbolises his existence across both worlds. What is unquestionable, though, is the proud, self-determined quality of three subjects, which is exceptionally rare in other photographs of Aborigines from this period.

Plate 169
Unknown
Native of South Australia

Plate 170
B Goode & Co.
Lubra and piccaninni
1864-1874, South Australia

Plate 171
Saul Soloman / The Adelaide School of Photography
Studio portrait of Aboriginal woman and child
Late 1870s, Adelaide

Plate 172
Saul Soloman / The Adelaide School of Photography
South Australian Aboriginal & child
1874-1879, Adelaide

Individual Aboriginal portraits were usually taken in a studio (either permanent or portable) and rarely was the sitter a customer, although they may have been paid with copies of the images. Many ethnographic or anthropometric images were far less dignified, even, than Plates 169-172, showing the sitter naked with a measuring stick.[822] Compared with Sweet's *Nahraminyeri Campbell*, Plates 169-172 remove their subjects from their natural environment, and, in Plates 169-70, show them clad in mission blankets and headscarves, rather than traditional skin cloaks. In Plate 173, Solomon has carefully staged the portrait in a contrived studio set, posed to suit contemporary taste, as did Victorian photographer Lindt whose inauthentic tableaux used studio props, not the sitter's own belongings.[823] Unlike Sweet, Lindt and Solomon were creating romantic, nostalgic pictures to emotionally engage the viewer, using foliage, furs and studio props for 'authenticity'. The sitter in Plate 169 has been placed on a chair in a semi-anthropometric style, ironically disconnected from everything that could tell the viewer about her Aboriginality. In Plate 172 Solomon aims for a hybrid of cultures with the mother wearing a European crinoline skirt but wrapped in a mission blanket, with a marsupial skin cloak bound to her back. Rather than being a realistic representation of the mix of European and Aboriginal culture within which this unnamed woman lived, it is the photographer's estimate of it, geared for a market that appreciated the fake setting far more than we would do today. Even the backdrop looks more like a Pacific Island than anywhere in South Australia.

In all these images the mothers and children appear mournful. They gaze at the photographer, trapped for that moment in a power imbalance where the subject has limited influence on the photograph. The mothers' slumped shoulders and the paucity of some of the studio sets also lend sadness to the images. These studio settings contrast heavily with Sweet's portraits. The studio backdrop contains its subjects, making them captive and isolating them from their own lives and personalities whereas Sweet places them on their own land. Sweet's *Nahraminyeri Campbell* stands tall in the great open space of her traditional lands, suggesting openness and freedom. Her head is erect and she looks assertively into the distance. Sweet adopts a low viewpoint that empowers *Nahraminyeri* by looking upwards to her, placing her against the sky. She is majestic, standing tall and strong, almost like a figurehead or the *Winged Victory of Samothrace*. Her head is high and her pose is full of energy and strength. She stands proudly against the skyline, looking ahead.

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[822] For examples of these see SLSA B 19714/6 (unknown photographer); Paul Foelsche, *Larrakia man Biliamuk Gapal*, May 1879, NT, SAM, reproduced in Jones, *Policeman's Eye*, op. cit., p.27; and B Goode & Co., *Portrait of unidentified Aboriginal man with beard and folded arms*, 1864-1874, NLA nla.pic-an24652963.

[823] Troy, op. cit., p.21. E.g. JW Lindt (1845-1926), *Portrait of three Aboriginal women partly clothed in European dress and one baby asleep on woman's lap*, 1874, SLV H1490. Saul Solomon (1836-1929) began his photographic career in Victoria, relocating to Adelaide in 1868, bringing Lindt's influence with him.

The motivations behind Sweet's portraits are intriguing. Ennis rightly observes that 'When Aboriginal people were depicted in the natural landscape they were typically shown to be disenfranchised, living either in impoverished conditions or on mission stations in remote areas of the outback'.[824] Cooper and Harris also acknowledge the 'degrading contexts in which many [photographs of Aborigines] were taken'.[825] Sweet's photographs are the antithesis of Foelsche's dehumanising ethnographic images with their anthropometric measuring rod and 'incredible starkness'.[826] Sweet engages with his three subjects as fellow people in contrast with Foelsche's studies 'in hostility and resistance'.[827] Jones suggests that Sweet's motivation for them was similar to Lindt's ethnographic tableaux, catering for the local and international market.[828] Although Sweet did reprint them for the views market, the motivation behind them seems to be that of the three Ngarrindjeri elders themselves. They speak more strongly of the power they held as traditional elders than of images created for the tastes of the views trade. Perhaps Pullami commissioned them as a record to pass on to his descendants. Pullami was in his 70s when Sweet photographed him, and the last Karatindjeri clan leader.[829] No more young men were initiated after his great-nephew Albert Karloan in 1882.[830] If Pullami (whose children were educated at the mission) believed he was the last traditional leader of his clan, he may well have wanted a record of that proud tradition of leadership for his descendants. Perhaps that is why both Sweet and the three elders have done everything in their power to allow the subjects' inner strength, beauty and pride to dominate the image.

Sweet's 1884 photographs from Poonindie Mission Station are entirely different, reflecting the very different natures of the two commissions and the missions themselves (Plates 172 and 173).

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[824] Ennis, 'Australian Photography', op. cit.
[825] Carl Cooper and Alana Harris, 'Dignity or Degradation: Aboriginal Portraits from nineteenth century Australia', in Annear, *Portraits of Oceanea*, AGNSW, Sydney, 1997, p.15.
[826] ibid., p.20.
[827] Isobel Crombie, *Body Culture: Max Dupain, Photography and Australian Culture, 1919-1939*, p.59.
[828] Jones, 'Ethnographic Photography', op. cit., pp.105-106.
[829] Jones, *Ochre and Rust*, op. cit., p.59.
[830] ibid., pp.71-72; Berndt et al., op. cit., p.167. Pullami died in 1887.

Plate 173
*Mr Satow taken with the school children
outside the Church, Poonindie Mission*
May 1884, Poonindie

Plate 174
Poonindie Mission
May 1884, Poonindie

Poonindie was the first major Aboriginal Mission established in South Australia.[831] It was founded on the principles of 'isolation, industrial education, as well as the usual schooling; marriage, separate dwellings, hiring and service for wages; gradual and progressive moral improvement based upon Christian instruction, Christian worship, and Christian superintendence'.[832] It was conceived as a training institution 'where children and young adults could be further educated and Christianised, away from the 'corrupting' influence of their parents'.[833] Point McLeay was established among the traditional lands of the people who lived there, and accommodated a blend of traditional and Christian cultures negotiated between Pullami and Taplin. Poonindie was intentionally built on the remote Eyre peninsular, with the specific intention of sending Aborigines there in order to completely sever their ties with country. Its intensive principles and regulations exemplified 'the authoritarian and paternalistic attitudes which sapped initiative and independence, and encouraged conformity and subordination'.[834] Today the mission is described by Nunga people as 'a deliberate assault on our identity, made with good intentions in an attempt to fit our people into Goonya society'.[835] The Nunga authors explain that at Poonindie

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[831] Brock, 'Aboriginal Missions', op. cit., p.11; Mattingley, op. cit., p.179.

[832] Augustus Short, Bishop of Adelaide, quoted by Mattingley, op. cit., p.179.

[833] Jane Lydon & Sari Braithwaite, 'Photographing 'the nucleus of the native Church' at Poonindie Mission, South Australia', manuscript of draft paper due for publication 2014, with reference to Peggy Brock and Doreen Kartinyeri, *Poonindie. The rise and destruction of an Aboriginal agricultural community*, Aboriginal Heritage Branch and SA Government Printer, Adelaide, 1989, pp.3-4; Brock, P., *Outback ghettos. A history of Aboriginal institutionalisation and survival*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1993, p.24.

[834] Mattingley, op. cit., p.181.

[835] ibid., p.179. Nunga is the name chosen by Aboriginal tribes of south and mid-north South Australia to describe themselves. Goonya means Europeans.

> The wisdom of elders and the dignity of self control were replaced by the powers of overseers, managers and superintendents. Calendars, clocks and bells controlled the cycle of living. Clothing and cleanliness were seen as the outer marks of Christianity and culture.[836]

Little wonder then that the Superintendent commissioned Sweet to take photographs demonstrating these values and confirming the assimilation of the residents. The children in Plate 173 were born at the mission and received an intensive Christian education. They are ordered neatly around the reverend in their clean uniforms. The location and clustering of the group indicates that they belong to the church. Plate 174 clearly shows that the Mission also operated 'a successful business, producing the best wool and wheat crops in western South Australia'.[837] There were no similar photographs at Point McLeay because their farming business was unsuccessful. The careful placement of Aboriginal workers among the latest farm machinery speaks loudly of order and industry in a community that 'lived according to a strict daily routine of prayer, work or schooling, and play'.[838] The Mission buildings are neatly ordered along the skyline with the church at the centre. Sweet has again captured an element of the colonial dream – with Aborigines living an industrious and Christian life, contributing to the colony's wealth, and all this in a Mission Station so remote that hardly anyone in South Australia would ever encounter it.

Lydon and Braithwaite have discovered that 'the Anglican church actively commissioned photographic portraits of its Indigenous congregation [at Poonindie] as part of a program of documenting its work', creating 'a narrative of redemption'.[839] Such images were used to defend the mission's existence amidst a decade of pressure from local farm owners to make the land available to white settlers'.[840] That pressure began around 1884 and, with Lydon and Braithwaite's argument in mind, it seems likely that the church commissioned Sweet to create more visual evidence to support their battle for survival. If they wanted a photographer who could convey order, progress and ideals, then Sweet was their man. The mission's story is all made clear in Plate 174, which is pure Captain Sweet. Only the Captain could choreograph people and farm machinery (the latest models) into a composition of such order, whilst incorporating the church and school buildings on the horizon using an extraordinarily elevated viewpoint in the middle of a paddock.

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[836] Mattingley, op. cit., p.181.
[837] Maria Zagala, 'Mr Satow taken with the school children…', in Robinson, *Century in Focus*, op. cit., p.120, citing Brock & Kartinyeri, op. cit., 1989, p.69.
[838] ibid., p.120.
[839] Lydon & Braithwaite, op. cit. The paper focuses on recently discovered individual portraits.
[840] Zagala, 'Mr Satow taken with the school children…', op. cit., p.120.

The Poonindie images are about assimilation because that is what the customer requested. When comparing his photographs from both Mission Stations, we can almost begin to imagine the different conversations that took place to negotiate the commissions. At Poonindie it is hard to imagine that any of the Aboriginal residents were involved. At Point McLeay we can imaging that George Taplin was the man with whom Sweet discussed the brief for the distant view of the mission and *Black's Warfare* (Plates 156 and 164). The portraits of the three elders, however, must have resulted from a conversation with the customers themselves. My impression of Sweet, from his photographs, notebooks and other scant sources, is of a man who would have treated Ngarrindjeri elders with respect.

Sweet spurned the opportunity to make a profit from the views trade with Aboriginal photographs filled with nostalgia, romanticism and pseudo-ethnographic influence. For other photographers, Mission Stations 'functioned as convenient locations for making portraits for sale as part of the "views" trade'.[841] Point McLeay was the closest Mission to Adelaide and received several visits from photographers including George Burnell (1862), William Barlow (1860s), Townsend Duryea (prior to 1874) and Bernard Goode.[842] Sweet visited twice yet never produced the kind of images that those photographers sold in vast numbers. Goode, Duryea and Barlow, set up 'studios' in the Mission's buildings and many of the resulting photographs were anthropometric in style.[843] No studio portraits of Aborigines have so far been correctly attributed to Sweet. Jones believes that four anthropometric photographs in Taplin's 1879 book were 'probably taken by the versatile and well-travelled Samuel Sweet'.[844] However, no evidence has been found to support this and Sweet's 1880 portraits are in such stark contrast with them that it seems unlikely.[845]

In his examination of Sweet's Point McLeay photographs, Jones rightly makes the important point that 'ethnographic photography requires careful contextual analysis'.[846] This is the key to understanding all of Sweet's photographs. The diversity of images from a single visit results from different commission briefs and the conversations that took place between Sweet and his customers. Mission Superintendents, especially at Poonindie, wanted evidence of their success in converting Aborigines to a European, Christian way of life. Aboriginal elders, who held on to their traditions, wanted a visual record that reflected the truth of their pride and power.

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[841] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.49.
[842] George Burnell visited in 1862. Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.49; Jones, 'Ethnographic Photography...', op. cit., p.105.
[843] Jones, 'Ethnographic Photography…', op. cit., p.105.
[844] ibid. Jones bases the attribution on Holden, op. cit., pp.49-50.
[845] Some of the portraits in question have been firmly attributed to Goode and to Duryea.

When there was no commissioning customer, Sweet selected his own views for the tastes of the market. That market had no taste for images of overcrowding, unmanageable effluent, poor people, sick people or Aboriginal people, outside of the 'proper' institutions for their care and containment. When it came to the less glamorous side of colonial life, Sweet maintained his civilised vision by focussing on the physical infrastructure for the containment of social problems. In the rare instances when Indigenous people entered his images away from the Missions, they were veiled by distance or cropped out of his retail stock. In his modern South Australia he was happy to photograph them within the Missions to which they had been driven, albeit with a compassion and respect that evaded his contemporaries. Whether photographing for a commission, or directly for the retail views trade, Sweet employed an astounding repertoire of visual devices to render any subject safe and positive. Nothing contradicted his vision of a modern South Australia.

City Views & Civic Buildings: Celebrating Modernity and Metropolis

Sweet's photographs of Adelaide City are his ultimate celebration of modernity and metropolitan progress.[847] They emphasise affluence, elegance, culture and modernity, and were taken during Adelaide's glory days of the 1870s and early 1880s when the colony was at the peak of its growth. They reflect the values of the colony's founders and his own customers. It is perhaps because of their dynamic compositions and their intense reflection of metropolitan progress that they are now his best-known images.

Sweet's city views, more than any of his other work, are bursting with the imagery of progress. They give testimony to the success of all the other aspects of progress Sweet photographed. South Australia's agricultural and mining success is implied in the grand city buildings built on their profits. In a single view one can see evidence of prosperity in the architecture, thriving businesses, banks, trams, telephone lines, cultural buildings and institutions of government and commerce. They emphasise the colony's productivity through a city built on wheat, wool and copper. In the 1870s, as a result of record wheat harvests from 1870 to 1880, South Australia's 'economy was growing at a faster rate than the rest of Australia [and] the profitable rural sector created a demand for goods and services supplied mostly from the colony's capital'.[848] Adelaide was South Australia's metropolis: its

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[846] Jones, 'Ethnographic Photography…', op. cit., p.106.
[847] Catalogue Plates 821-994.
[848] Marsden et al., op. cit., p.27, with reference to WA Sinclair, 'Urban booms in nineteenth century Australia: Melbourne and Adelaide', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, vol. 10, 1982, p.3.

hub for trade, economy, communications and culture. City businesses thrived, providing services and supplies to rural areas. Profits were reinvested in Adelaide and the metropolis became a symbol of the colony's success.

Wakefield's ambitious social plan was to create a utopian state with many of England's qualities but without her flaws. What emerged was an elegant and cultured city whose built environment reflected the values of its founders. This is exactly the image of Adelaide portrayed in Sweet's city views. Sweet's is the only complete visual record of the most booming 20 years of Adelaide's history. Compare Sweet's city views with Townsend Duryea's famous 360° 1865 panorama (Plate 175).

Plate 175
Townsend Duryea (1823-1888)
3 panels from *Panorama of Adelaide*
1865, Adelaide

Marsden et al. cite Duryea's panorama as a visual reference of the city's heritage, just before its transformation by the boom, noting the prevalence of 'low level structures' and vacant town acres – many given over to 'yards for builders, stonemasons and horses'.[849] They describe 1865 Adelaide as 'dominated by plain, utilitarian, and even crude structures' with only 'a few store buildings ... adorned with carvings, plasterwork or other ornament'.[850] In Sweet's Adelaide the vacant spaces and crude structures have gone, partly because of the city's rapid development and partly because of Sweet's selectivity. By 1882, 'the face of Adelaide had been transformed' and 'visitors admired a town of wide streets and boulevards graced by elegant buildings', like those in Plates 176 and 177.[851]

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[849] ibid.
[850] ibid.
[851] ibid.

Plate 176
Rundle Street, south side
1885, Adelaide

Plate 177
Town Hall, King William Street
1880-83, Adelaide

Most of Sweet's city views fall into two main categories: architectural portraits and dynamic streets scenes. Adelaide's grandest public edifices, like the Town Hall (Plate 177) were erected when 'funds in the treasury coffers enabled the government to erect several ambitious public buildings'.[852] Citizens took pride in their new civic buildings like the Town Hall and General Post Office, making 'their expectations plain' if plans for a new public building were not up to their standards.[853] This was pride but it was also the knowledge that Adelaide had to dress for success, so to speak. As such important symbols, Sweet often photographed the Town Hall and GPO, either as the focal points in views of King William Street or as architectural portraits. Adelaide General Post Office assumed a far greater practical and symbolic role then than it does today: 'Post and telegraph services were crucial to the spread of settlement as they also strengthened the influence of central administration. The construction of a grand GPO as the symbol of that progress was the ambition of every colonial capital'.[854] Sweet photographed Adelaide GPO repeatedly and the prints were reproduced in large numbers.

As an expert in architectural photography Sweet used corner views, elevated or sunken viewpoints (e.g. Catalogue Plate 946) and careful framing for technically accomplished images that were also superb compositions. Cornerwise views conveyed the maximum information about the building, emphasising its monumentality. What seems most remarkable is that Sweet's architectural style was firmly established by 1866, when he photographed Manning's residence (Plate 5) and changed little throughout his career. He framed and cropped photographs to centre attention on the building and strip away distractions. Photographs like Plate 178 are architectural portraits, showing as much

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[852] ibid., p.24.
[853] ibid., p.31.
[854] Marsden et al., op. cit., p.165.

of the building's personality and magnificence as possible and heightening their symbolism and monumental sense of permanence. Sweet photographed the grandest buildings several times and in Plate 179 adds more of the building's context and a sense of activity through the inclusion of transport.

Plate 178
Bank of South Australia, King William Street
1878-82, Adelaide

Plate 179
Bank of South Australia, King William Street
1878-82, Adelaide

Plate 180
King William Street, looking south
1878-82, Adelaide

However, it was with his dynamic views of Adelaide streets that Sweet really set himself apart from the competition. Sweet imbued city views, like Plate 180, with a strong sense of progress, modernity and dynamism that we can now reflect on as his signature style. The question is, how did he achieve this? He emphasised modernity with strong, orderly, uncluttered compositions. He used elevated viewpoints to create a sense of movement and energy. His images are powerfully structured around a strong single point perspective and are stylistically aligned with both market preferences and his own naval background.

One of the most striking things about Sweet's city views is his ability to create a balance between movement and stillness. Newton has observed Sweet's 'formal signature of novel angles, diagonals and interests in linear patterns'.[855] This formal signature is at its most extreme in his street views where his distinctive style created a dynamic sense of metropolis and modernity in an age of rapid progress. It is this remarkable sense of movement in images where, in fact, almost everything was still, that most characterise Sweet's city views until about 1883. He arrested movement and conveyed a sense of it at the same time using dynamic compositions to overcome the limits of collodion. Actual motion would have registered as unsightly blurs so Sweet kept his images crisp and clean by clearing streets and halting traffic. His maritime skills allowed him to coordinate and command over large distances, giving him a huge advantage over his competitors whose images were often streaked with blurry movement. He achieved this dynamic sense of movement through careful choice of viewpoint, asymmetrical composition and elevation.

Sweet used elevation in several ways: to obtain angles, diagonals and other compositional effects; to compensate for perspective distortion; to maximise the useful information in the picture frame; and to extend the view further into the distance. He achieved elevated viewpoints by leaning out of top floor windows (presumably with his camera on a steady plank), balancing on awnings or on top of his wagon, or even erecting a platform. These acrobatics were, of course, second nature to a seaman. In Plate 180 Sweet balanced on an awning to achieve strong diagonals with the street, pavement and rooflines. The powerful verticals of the Town Hall and Post Office add to the dynamism of the image – its movement echoed by the lines of carriages – forward moving even though stationery. If it were not for the two conversing figures, pulling us back into the middle space, we might be whisked along, centre left, into Victoria Square where all the diagonals lead, carried by the image's own momentum. Sweet's Adelaide is on the move. It is going somewhere.

In the 1880s the volume of traffic, increased population and bustle of the city outstripped Sweet's power to control it. The increase in traffic and horse-drawn trams made it difficult to clear the streets and his photographs began to convey a sense of the hustle and bustle of an economically vibrant city. They begin to steer away from the clear, orderly quiet of his earlier images as the population increased and pedestrians jostled among the shops and businesses, moving towards a greater 'tension … between order and disorder' which Ennis has observed in some of Sweet's other work.[856]

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[855] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.67.
[856] Ennis, *Intersections*, op. cit., p.76.

What is also striking about these later views is Sweet's emphasis on the telephone lines, which dominate his street views from the moment the first lines were installed in 1882.[857] These photographs seem to be a massive celebration of this transformatory leap in communications technology, as lines and poles were rapidly erected between 1883 and 1885.[858] Telegraph lines often play a central or framing role in Sweet's 1882-85 city images (Plates 181 and 182). Unlike other photographers, Sweet thought they made good central subjects for a photograph (Plate 183) with its the Christmas tree-like pole supporting the grid of wires, looking so much like ship's rigging that it is hard not to imagine that they held for him some sense of nostalgic familiarity.

Plate 181
King William Street
1883-85, Adelaide

Plate 182
Views of South Australia: Grenfell Street
1882-85, Adelaide

Plate 183
Grenfell Street
1883-85, Adelaide

What is even more remarkable is that, unlike any other photographer, Sweet made a conscious choice to include telephone lines and poles in his images. Sweet could easily have photographed a

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[857] See, for example, Catalogue Plates 822, 828, 832, 836, 838, 840, 841, 843, 844, 871, and 880.
[858] LA Griffiths, The Telephone in South Australia: Its Development and History, a lecture, Postal Institute Lecture Society, 20.06.1933.

street view from a building just in front of, rather than just behind, a telephone pole. The number of images dominated by telephone lines outweighs those in which they are blended into the composition. Sweet's intentionality is obvious when Plates 184 and 185 of *King William Street* are compared.

Plate 184
King William Street
1884, Adelaide

Plate 185
King William Street
1884, Adelaide
Reprinted by Wigg & Son

Plate 184 shows Sweet's original print. He could easily have blocked the lines out with masking – a technique he used elsewhere, yet none of Sweet's own views of streets where telephone lines had been erected show any evidence of blocking-out. However, in a later reproduction Wigg has blocked the pole and lines out (Plate 185). Sweet's fascination with telephone lines stemmed from his passion for all new progress in the colony. It may also have had its root in some visual correlation he found with ships' rigging (his visual world for over 20 years). However, like the GPO, they were a symbol of colonial progress, of modernity and of connectivity: the kind of imagery demanded by the photography market.

Plate 186
King William Street Adelaide, looking north from Victoria Square
1870-78, Adelaide

Plate 187
Unknown Photographer
King William Street
1870, Adelaide

Another feature of Sweet's city images is that they are very prescribed, with visual pathways created for the viewer. Our vision is directed by signposts, either linear or human (both are used in Plate 186). Usually his figures are just that – signposts serving to draw us in, provide human interest and a sense of scale. However, in Plate 186 attention is centred on two individuals who, whilst anonymous, are more than figures. They are well dressed, confident, apparently cultured, and they take centre stage. Their placement is unusual for Sweet in its theatricality and narrative content. There is a secret story here. A relaxed, well-heeled couple are out for an early afternoon stroll in a prosperous and cultured city. Various devices encourage the viewer's eye to move around within the image, increasing a sense of inhabiting it and of movement and eventfulness. Compared with a similar view by another photographer (Plate 187) we can see how Sweet accomplishes his powerful emphasis on progress, prosperity and culture. It is in his use of light, his sharp focus and in the trouble he has taken to construct an elevated viewpoint – creating depth with an otherwise spatially challenged medium. His elevation gives us an empowered view and emphasises movement into the distance, into the future. Rather than allowing the dull road surface to dominate the foreground, his early afternoon timing has transformed it into a spotlight, surrounding the couple with golden Adelaide sunshine. This is the image of Adelaide people wanted to see. Sweet's Adelaide is calm and strong but, even in this relaxed image, it is not static.

The dome of Adelaide Arcade in Rundle Street (Plate 176) was one of Sweet's last photographs and in it he captured Adelaide's coming of age. It presents all the symbols of the city's progress with a sense of movement and liveliness that reflects the hustle and bustle of the city centre. The telephone poles and horse tram tracks (just visible) speak of a city that has the latest in transport

and communication systems. The newly opened Adelaide Arcade suggests shops and businesses that could only succeed in a thriving economy, although, in fact, the owners had offered the first year rent-free as Adelaide began its plunge into recession. It acts as a summary of the major developments in place by 1885 that would equip Adelaide for the twentieth century. As Sutter puts it, 'The architecture of the growing city expressed the aspirations of the new modernity, and continued to reflect the heights of cultural progress and industrial fervour'.[859]

All of Sweet's stylistic tools contribute to what Ennis describes as Sweet's 'conspicuous ... love of order', commenting that 'Of itself this was not unusual as it was part of a larger agenda that dominated nineteenth-century thought – the desire for comprehensive or encyclopaedic knowledge'.[860] This level of organisation suggests his sophisticated analysis of the view, as if he placed gridlines over it and calculated the image result geometrically.

Sweet's city views did not only operate as evidence of the colony's progress. They were a way for people to come to terms with the rapid changes happening around them. Sutter has examined 'early South Australian photography… of the expanding modern city' as a way of understanding 'the social context of living in an isolated settlement town at [a time of] great industrial upheaval'.[861] She also reminds us that 'In Australia, the transition from small settlements to bustling cities occurred rapidly', arguing that photography was a tool for 'a viewing public trying to come to terms with the heightened fervour of city life'.[862] This seems plausible if we consider how the stillness of photography can today provide a moment of pause in a digital world that moves too fast for many of its inhabitants. Sutter cites Peter Ackroyd's argument that photography 'was used to enable city-dwellers to come to terms with their environment, which was expanding so rapidly that the population mass was almost incalculable', and noting the capacity of that immeasurability 'to render the metropolis as an unintelligible space and… a site of fear and misapprehension'.[863] Sweet's Adelaide customers may not have thought in these terms but perhaps 'By transposing the city onto small, two-dimensional, malleable forms, it is possible that nineteenth-century citizens could succumb to the passion for collecting, classifying, and controlling the facts of their environment'.[864]

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[859] Sutter, op. cit., p.13, with reference to IB White (ed.), *Modernism and the spirit of the city*, Routledge, London, p.24.
[860] Ennis, *Intersections*, op. cit., p.76.
[861] Sutter, op. cit., p.12. Note that Sutter's photographers were from a later period.
[862] ibid., pp.14 & 35.
[863] ibid., p.23, with reference to P Ackroyd, *London: the biography*, Chatto & Windus, London, 2000, p.577.
[864] ibid.

The remarkable sense of order in Sweet's city views owes much to his experience as a ship's captain and surveyor whilst also reflecting a pervasive societal need. Each one of Sweet's images contains its own sense of the orderly through careful composition, stillness and purpose, reflecting this need for order in times of massive change. It was a time of information overload and photographs like Sweet's helped in understanding and processing vast amounts of information. His photographs have an air of taxonomy and cataloguing – categorising progress, piece by piece.

Sweet's city views not only helped citizens come to terms with their rapidly changing surroundings, but also enabled them to create for themselves a perception of Adelaide that was more salubrious than its reality. The very speed of its development resulted in housing shortages and a lag in the provision of essential services for a rapidly increasing population. Like burgeoning Victorian London, Adelaide developed its own 'seedy underbelly of poverty and fear'.[865] Sweet completely eradicated Adelaide's inadequate sewerage, stinking night-carts and hovels. His city views turned a blind eye to the building works, abattoirs and cattle markets that lay behind its growth. His vibrant streets and elegant civic buildings created a reassuring vision of Adelaide's emergent modernity without alluding to any of her birthing process.

Chapter Summary

Sweet's photographs embody modernity as an idea of progress and constant improvement. Most of his subjects were fresh and new when they landed on his glass plate negative – taken when their subjects were newsworthy – the latest railway development, bridge or grand building. Sweet photographed progress with remarkable purpose, energy and vigour. His oeuvre describes the process of modernity and the establishment of English civilisation. Modernism in photography was a long way off but its early elements appear in Sweet's absolute focus on modernising forces. Like later modernists, he pictured the environments of the modern world and, arguably, invented 'compositional formats and systems of visual signage that parallel those of the forces of modernisation'.[866] Photography was itself a medium of modernity, especially in Sweet's hands with his technical and stylistic innovations.

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[865] ibid., p.13.
[866] 'Modernism', *Grove Art Online*, op. cit.

The infrastructure of industrial Britain had gradually emerged over a hundred years. In South Australia that infrastructure was reconstructed, from scratch, at high-speed, before Sweet's very eyes. In only 20 years he photographed every stage of the colonial process. Even its earliest stages, which elsewhere predated the camera, were re-enacted on the virgin land of the Northern Territory in front of his lens. His subjects ranged from successfully surveyed and settled land in the Northern Territory to the newly constructed railways that opened up new land for profit. These photographs present modernity imagined – the first incursions into new territory full of the hope of things to come. Not all of these dreams were realised. Then, he chose the visual appeal of pastoral estates – over the monotony of wheat fields or the grime of mining – to represent the primary production upon which the colony was built. These images are part dream and part reality with genuinely successful estates elevated to the pastoral idylls to which colonists aspired. He photographed modernity realised in Adelaide's rapid growth during the 1870s and early 1880s, as record harvests funded the completion of Wakefield's utopian vision, with elegant architecture, public gardens, cultural buildings and leisurely pursuits. Finally, he created triumphant city views as Adelaide emerged into the modern world with all her symbols of colonial success: the GPO, busy banks, vibrant streets, trams and telephone lines.

Sweet created the most comprehensive documentation of colonial South Australia by any single photographer. However, this chapter has established that it was neither socially comprehensive nor objective. Sweet carefully selected subjects and content to create images of the colonial dream, not its entire reality. He conveyed a 'positive' and 'civilised' vision of the colony through subject selection, style, framing, viewpoint, composition and exclusion of all 'negative' elements from the camera's frame. He used distance to minimise unwanted details and to reduce any visual invitation for the viewer to enter a scene that was not part of the colonial ideal. He framed images so that unwanted elements of a commission that were less desirable for the views trade, could later be cropped out. In the Northern Territory his photographs often told a story the opposite of reality: calm river excursions hiding the truth of a South Australian dream turned nightmare. Sweet limited any evidence of South Australia's social problems to beautifully photographed hospitals and institutions that speak more about architecture and benevolence than about their occupants.

Sweet was not the only photographer who created a selective reality for the views trade. However, he is the only one who photographed so much of Adelaide and South Australia and who did so more positively than anyone else. The influence of the colonial dream is intrinsic to and inseparable from Sweet's photography. It was what the views trade demanded but Sweet was not just a man taking

photographs to a formula because it was profitable. The formula was his own personal vision and passion. It was inseparable from his own dreams, instincts and from his style of photography. To create a damning image of Adelaide would have been anathema to him.

Each aspect of Sweet's oeuvre has also revealed something more about his style, motivations and influences. The sense of modernity and progress, created by his subject selection and exclusion, is reinforced with Sweet's masterful array of stylistic devices. His remarkably sophisticated level of pictorial organisation is revealed by images organised to meet a range of purposes and to reflect the era's passion for order and categorisation. Large views contained successful smaller compositions. Poonindie farm machinery and residents were choreographed into a level of order that could only have been contrived as evidence to keep the mission from losing its funding and land. Modernity elsewhere was emphasised with strong, orderly, uncluttered compositions, using elevation and angles of view, like no other photographer of the time, to create dynamic images vibrant with diagonals, movement and the spirit of the metropolis. Sweet's city views of the 1870s also convey his remarkable ability to create a balance between movement and stillness, generating harmony between the vitality of progress and the instability of rapid change.

Sweet had a wide range of pictorial devices at his disposal. Some had their origins in the technical requirements of photography (elevation avoided perspective distortion as well as aiding dynamic composition). Others had their roots in the pictorial traditions of the picturesque, pastoral painting and (in one instance) the conversation piece. In the Northern Territory, Sweet's photographs were taken with his surveyor's eye, capturing visual information about navigation, surveillance and security, as well as the ever present evidence of progress. There, and elsewhere, Sweet utilised the visual language of the picturesque to render images of wilderness more palatable and safe. This chapter argues, however, that picturesque devices were part of every views photographer's toolkit and had been subsumed into visual culture to such an extent that we cannot ascribe Sweet's use of them to any direct or conscious personal affinity with fine art traditions. Sweet's skill lay in his ability to know when to use the language of the picturesque to render the wilderness as a picnic spot or translate a remote shepherd's hovel into a scene of rustic calm. It has also shown that this influence may have entered the image through the client as much as through Sweet himself.

The people in Sweet's views speak of a strong rapport and connection between them and the photographer. They are engaged, attentive and obedient to his requests. His group photographs are remarkable acts of choreography. Sweet also seems to have given consideration to the viewer

by creating visual pathways into his images, directing our gaze with linear or human signposts. He placed figures in his views to draw us in, provide scale and human interest and to add contrast through the tones of their clothing. It is also sometimes when people are present that Sweet's wit emerges, most clearly in the neoclassical posses of the Murray Bridge workers. His outdoor portraits of Ngarrindjeri elders are exceptional. They are nothing like the work of other photographers and can only be explained as commissions by the elders themselves, taken by a man who could interpret any client's brief and enhance their wishes through sensitive composition and mastery of the photographic medium.

This chapter has highlighted some of the ways in which Sweet's photographs can be easily misunderstood. A portrait of an Aborigine may not be an ethnographic image created for the views trade (even if it was later used as such). A seemingly poor composition may actually have resulted from a commission to photograph the road surface. On occasions, the client's brief overrode Sweet's own style and the tastes of the views trade. The context and circumstances of each photograph can be crucial to its interpretation. The colonial views trade, its associated market and tastes are vital to understanding photographs by Sweet and his contemporaries. South Australia's market came with a different set of values from other colonies, emphasising a unique mode of colonisation, freedom of religion and freedom from crime and social problems. It also came with a city and terrains that were quite different in their topography and drama from other colonies, requiring different approaches to composition. In Sweet's case the unique qualities of the photographer himself were responsible in great part for the nature of his images, as the comparison with young Joseph Brooks showed. Sweet's passion for the colony, and the fact that photography was his livelihood, melded perfectly to create images that the views trade loved. Other individual circumstances can unlock a photograph's secrets including the nature of the commission, Sweet's own role in the narrative (as the pilot of the Roper River), or a painting in Jock Gilbert's dining room that determined a photographic composition.

Knowing the difference between what Sweet's photographs may appear to be, and what they really are, is crucial if they are to be used today as historical documents or art objects. This understanding unleashes their potential as historical documents, aesthetic objects and as a basis for understanding South Australian colonial views photography.

CHAPTER SIX

THE USE & SIGNIFICANCE OF SWEET'S PHOTOGRAPHS

Having established that Sweet's photographs are not always what they appear to be, this thesis would not be complete without considering how that knowledge affects the way they are interpreted and used today. This brief chapter explains Sweet's vast hold over perceptions of South Australia, through his original prints as well as the reprints, engravings, lithographs, reproductions and paintings that continued to re-embody his glorious vision of South Australia long after the end of his century. It also shows, however, that his vision was less influential in England, where his images were intended to increase migration and investment, than in the colony itself where they were a powerful aid to the colonial process and to the formation of South Australia's identity.

This chapter also considers how his photographs have been used, from the time of their creation to the present, demonstrating their significance and elucidating the problems that are encountered when they are interpreted out of their original context. It considers how these problems can be overcome to unleash the potential value of Sweet's work as historical documents, aesthetic objects and as a basis for understanding South Australian colonial views photography.

The colonial period

From the 1870s to 1890s, Sweet's photographs created a vision of colonial South Australia that was disseminated around the world. His known archive may represent only a tiny proportion of the photographic prints that were purchased individually and in albums, by South Australians, travellers and the government. They were sent overseas to friends, relatives, business partners and world fairs. Left for years in boxes, attics and cellars, many have not survived and we can only imagine what a vast number of prints originally spread Sweet's modern vision around the world. Sweet's photographs were intended to exert influence on the way the colony was visualised and perceived. As the greatest producer of South Australian views, we might imagine that Sweet's influence was considerable (although this chapter will show that it was not as great overseas as we might imagine). It was not only the vast number of original prints that spread Sweet's vision, but also their reproduction in many forms which have continued to re-embody his glorious vision of South Australia.

Sweet's views were commissioned and purchased in vast numbers by the South Australian Government to send to World Fairs in Sydney, Melbourne, London, Paris and Philadelphia.[867] They were intended to encourage migration and investment, playing their own role in the colonisation process and the reinforcement of colonial goals. Sweet's OT photographs were reproduced as engravings in the 1873 *Illustrated London News* (Plate 188). They were one of his most popular subjects for wider distribution through reprints, engravings and lithographs and even halftone newspaper reproduction in the twentieth century (Plates 189 and 190).

Plate 188
Unknown engraver
1873 *Illustrated London News*

Plate 189
Unknown engraver
Hand coloured wood engraving
c.1873

Plate 190
Frank Cork, Heroes of the Overland Telegraph
Mail Newspaper clipping, 22/8/1936

Sweet's photographs found an even wider audience through endless reprints, engravings and lithographs by views purveyors such as Wigg & Son.[868] After commercially viable halftone printing was introduced in 1893 they were disseminated even further.[869] For example, printmakers made direct copies of Sweet's compositions like *St Peter's Cathedral* (Plates 191 and 192). They were also used as source images by painters like water-colourist George Gregory (Plate 193) who perpetuated Sweet's dynamic and celebratory compositions. It is possible that Gregory has replicated Sweet's smokey sky, even though it results from photographic processes and not from real celestial features.

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[867] Appendix 6.
[868] ES Wigg & Son (publisher), undated album of 16 photomechanical prints, NLA Bib Util 10635520.
[869] Introduced in 1893 by Max Levy of Philadelphia. Jones, et al., *Encyclopedia of Photography*, op. cit., p.286.

Plate 191
Captain Samuel Sweet
St Peter's Cathedral
1876-85, Adelaide
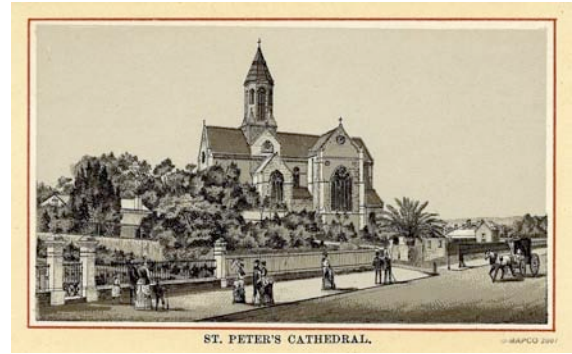
Plate 192
Unknown printmaker
St Peter's Cathedral
The New Album of Adelaide Views
c.1890, Adelaide

Plate 193
George F Gregory
St Peter's Cathedral Adelaide 1886
1886, Adelaide
watercolour on paper

Plates 194 to 196 show a similar progression from Sweet's photograph, to a painting and finally the reproduction of that painting on the jacket of the Corporation of the City of Adelaide's official record of city heritage. Some of Sweet's images found currency in the twentieth century as postcards, like his view of Robinson Bridge in Port Adelaide (Catalogue Plate 259).[870]

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[870] Reproduced as a twentieth century postcard by F Cockington & Co. Pty. Ltd., Port Adelaide, with the caption: 'Port Adelaide Series No 5 of 6 1885 Robinsons bridge opened 1883, named after Governor Robinson. Wharf Hotel in background. S.A. Company basin on left'. Inscribed l.l., scratched in negative, 'Sweet / Adelaide / 225'. Port Adelaide Historical Society Collection.

Plate 194
Samuel Sweet
Rundle Street
1885, Adelaide

Plate 195
Edmund Gouldsmith
Rundle Street, Adelaide 1885
1885, Adelaide
Watercolour on paper
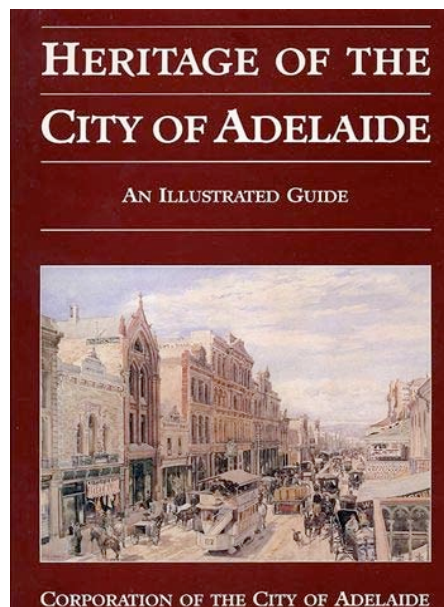
Plate 196
Edmund Gouldsmith, *Rundle Street, Adelaide 1885*
reproduced on the dust jacket of
Heritage of the City of Adelaide, 1990

What impact Sweet's photographs actually had on migration and investment is uncertain. Theorists argue that the power of such photographs to influence was enormous in an age when the veracity of the photograph was believed to be absolute. Several authors have written about the power of views photography at different stages of the colonial process. Ennis interprets some views photographs (like Sweet's) as a secondary form of occupation, giving 'visual form to the processes of colonisation and in doing so they re-enact them. In other words, the land appears to be doubly claimed and possessed by the white settlers, through the initial occupation and then through the photographing of it'.[871] Sweet's 1869 Northern Territory photographs are a perfect example of this, being used as

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[871] Ennis, *Intersections*, op. cit., p.56.

evidence of the success of Goyder's survey expedition. Gooding also asserts that in the nineteenth century 'visual culture played a key role in the construction of identity and authority structures required to manage newly won territory'.[872]

Having read so many enthusiastic accounts of the thousands of photographs and albums sent to Britain, and their subsequent wide disseminations through Great Exhibitions and the press, it seems reasonable to expect that their impact was significant. These nineteenth century accounts, together with the strong theoretical arguments of Gooding, Ryan and Schwartz, point to colonial views photographs having exerted a powerful influence in England. However, Peck's British-based research suggests that Britain was not really all that interested. She observes that 'the market for Australia's photographs displaying their modernity was less developed in Europe' especially given the British taste for views 'associated with the birth of Christianity and the founding of civilisation and not that of modern life'.[873] Peck concludes that 'The popular cultural dissemination of views photographs was an important… representational act that supported the creation and definition of empire but its significance was greater for colonists than for audiences in Britain'.[874] If this is the case, then their importance lay in enabling South Australia to create its own sense of identity. As well as re-enforcing the earliest stage of the colonial process, views photography went on, as Peck argues, to play a role in 'placemaking and belonging'.[875] For the South Australian Government Sweet's city views of public buildings, the GPO and Town Hall helped to cement Adelaide's civic identity. For successful pastoralists like Joseph Gilbert, Sweet's Pewsey Vale commission was a visual trophy. Even the simplest commissioned photograph of a home or business, hung in the living room or office, was an assertion and reinforcement of human achievement. When sent to relatives in England it was a proud boast of what migrants had accomplished, as well as reassuring proof that the migrant relative was safe and settled. Sweet's views also had a more subtle role in helping people to cope with the rapid changes in their new world. Whist embodying and celebrating progress, they also stilled its unsettling pace, allowing viewers a pause in which to adjust. By arresting time they created what we might today consider a restore point – a concrete point in time to which we can return when things move too fast or go wrong.

There is much stronger evidence for the role of Sweet's photographs in the creation and definition of South Australia within the colony than in Britain. On a large scale they became the dominant image

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[872] Gooding, op. cit., p.66.
[873] Peck, op. cit., p.58.
[874] ibid., p.347.
[875] ibid., pp.3 and 347.

of South Australia, entering public consciousness and acting as a powerful reinforcement of colonisation. In the act of 'taking' the photograph Sweet was re-taking the land itself. The press reports of Sweet's NT photographs were rich with excitement about this evidence of colonising progress in the north and about sending that evidence to England. It is within the colony that, as James R Ryan argues, 'photographic practices and aesthetics played a crucial role in expressing and articulating the ideologies of imperialism driving British exploration and colonisation'.[876] The ubiquity of Sweet's photographs created the dominant visualisation of the colony, consumed widely by most of its (white) inhabitants. In short, Sweet's photographs were a powerful influence in the creation of South Australia and the formation of its identity. The location in which Sweet's photograph exerted that power was within the colony. As Peck's findings suggest, their power in England was in the imagination and aspirations of the colonists. Whilst Sweet's photographs may not have had much actual influence on migration, what helps us to understand them is knowing that that Sweet took them with that purpose in mind. It is this that unlocks the intention within his images.

The twentieth century

When the droughts came and the boom-time ended, Sweet's vision of a successful colony continued both in the collective imagination and through the continued use of his images into the twentieth century. As 'temporally specific visual descriptions,' Sweet's photographs had the 'ability to stop the flow of time and thereby preserve appearances'.[877] As Schwartz puts it, 'Impressions of place delivered through photographs became fixed in the collective consciousness of western audiences and persisted long after change on the ground undermined the timelines of portrayal'.[878] Even if Sweet's impression of South Australia did not fix itself in English collective consciousness, it certainly did so within its own colony. His were the images, chosen to illustrate books and even newspaper articles into the twentieth century, that left an indelible impression of a South Australia that was progressive, modern, prosperous and that embodied Wakefield's plan for a Utopian society.

As time went on, Sweet's photographs shifted from walls and albums to shoe boxes. For the first 80 years of the twentieth century they lived a semi-dormant life, occasionally illustrating books (Sweet usually unacknowledged). Their potency in the nineteenth century settled into hibernation before a gradual re-entry into visual consciousness in the middle of the twentieth century. They began to re-emerge from shoeboxes into archives and libraries where they gained visibility through collection

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[876] JR Ryan, op. cit., jacket text.
[877] Schwartz & Ryan, op. cit., p.31.
[878] ibid.

digitisation. They were increasingly used as documentary evidence of the past, illustrating hundreds of books on history, place, culture and architecture (Plate 197). Through their increasing use as book illustrations, especially on book jackets, they continued to exert their presence.[879] They became historical documents, preserving the past and reconnecting us with history. They were relied upon as historical sources for building heritage and conservation, decorative arts and genealogy as well as Aboriginal family and cultural histories. The rise of interest in early photography in the 1980s also brought them into the art gallery where they sometimes hung uneasily next to the pictorialists and modernists of later decades. At no point did anyone question their place in the art world or their reliability as sources of historical evidence.

Plate 197
Sweet's pictures have been used since 1878 to illustrate hundreds of books on local and national history and culture

The twenty-first century

Today Sweet's photographs have survived in their thousands, partly due to their chemical stability and protective coatings, and partly due to inherent and recognisable qualities that made them worth keeping. Within Australia they are held in large numbers in public libraries, art galleries, archives and museums. As the most complete visual record of Adelaide's boom-time architecture, Sweet's photographs are the most often reproduced images of the period in publications on building heritage and conservation.[880] With 'over one third of the listed buildings' in *Heritage of the City of Adelaide* having been built between 1865 and 1884, they are an aid to conservation of the buildings that have survived as enduring symbols of the colony's success.[881] They are also a precious record of buildings that have not survived like the City Baths, the original Adelaide Railway Station and the

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[879] For book jackets see, e.g., Marsden et al., op. cit.; Ron Ritter, *Triumph, Tragedy and Port Adelaide*, Hyde Park Press, SA, 2005; Michael Burden, *Lost Adelaide: a photographic record*, Oxford University Press, 1983; Jenkin, op. cit.; and Pike & Moore, op. cit.
[880] See, e.g., Marsden, et al., op. cit.
[881] ibid., p.27.

Theatre Royal which was demolished to make way for a car park.[882] Sweet's photographs fill the pages of Burden's *Lost Adelaide* which 'traces the destruction of the city's architectural heritage'.[883] Often they are the only visual record of lost buildings from Adelaide's heyday. Sweet's pictures are also a treasured record of lost townships, such as Saltia in the Flinders Ranges, which did not survive the droughts of the far north (Plates 198 and 199).

Plate 198
Saltia Hotel
1882, Saltia, near Quorn

Plate 199
Karen Magee
The site of Saltia Hotel
2007, Saltia, near Quorn

Sweet's rich visual record of the grand houses of colonial South Australia has enabled curators and historians to research the history of interior design, fine art and decorative arts in South Australia in publications including Priess & Oborn's *The Torrens Park Estate* and Lane & Serle's *Australians At Home: A documentary history of Australian domestic interiors*.[884] His images of interiors have helped to confirm the provenance of fine and decorative arts that have found their way from gentlemen's residences to public collections, like the Barr Smith's collection from Torrens Park, some of which now resides in the Art Gallery of South Australia and in Carrick Hill.

Many of Sweet's photographs are also part of families' histories – of ancestors' houses, businesses, and occasionally the ancestors themselves. Although Sweet took few photographs of Aboriginal people, they are a vital part of descendants' family and cultural histories. 'Often', writes Capon (of similar photographs) they 'are all that remains of individuals and families whose lives and cultures were irrevocably changed by European settlement'.[885] Jones explains that

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[882] Catalogue Plates 309 and 956.
[883] Burden, op. cit., jacket text.
[884] Priess & Oborn, op. cit.; Terence Lane & Jessie Serle, *Australians At Home. A documentary history of Australian domestic interiors*, Oxford University Press, 1990.

By the 1970s, walls and mantelpieces of Aboriginal living rooms in country towns and suburban Adelaide were filled with portrait prints of relatives, living and deceased. And while the taboo on viewing images of recently deceased individuals remained strong in tradition-orientated communities such as the Pitjantjatjara of north-west South Australia, the underlying situation was changing. During the 1980s and 1990s the South Australian Museum's Aboriginal Family History Project was supplying dozens of 1930s and 1950s ethnographic portraits to Aboriginal visitors from a range of communities and was publishing many of these images.[886]

Sweet's Aboriginal Mission photographs also aid research into Aboriginal cultural history. Jones uses them in a 'brief survey of photographic encounters in a single South Australian Aboriginal Community' (Point McLeay) to 'chart both the shifting genres of ethnographic photography and the reactions of Aboriginal people'.[887]

Although Sweet's images have been of enormous importance to historical, cultural and family research, until recently Sweet was rarely acknowledged in the books that relied upon his work. More recently however, Sweet's photographs have been reproduced and credited with more respect for both the work and the creator. The best example of this is Aitken's *Seeds of Change* which not only acknowledges Sweet as the photographer and provides full references to the originals, but also prints the photographs with careful attention to their true colours and detail.[888] This shift reflects improved access to images and information about them, new printing technology, and increasing understanding of the importance of early photographs and their creators.

Understanding that Sweet's photographs are a visual embodiment of the emergence of modernity is the most important step in being able to engage with them. The technical and commercial contexts of their creation also help, as does an understanding of how they were influenced by South Australian colonial ideals; Sweet's own passions, skills and personality; and the customers who commissioned them. Even then, there may be some small piece of information, without which the photograph makes no sense. These barriers to understanding Sweet's photographs need to be overcome if their potential value as historical documents, aesthetic objects and as a basis for understanding South Australian colonial views photography, is to be unleashed.

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[885] Edmund Capon, 'Forward', in Annear, op. cit., p.4.
[886] Jones, 'Ethnographic Photography…', op. cit., p.105.
[887] ibid.
[888] Aitken, op. cit.

Struggling to connect with Sweet's photographs

Today's viewers can struggle to connect with Sweet's photographs, and others like them, when they are encountered out of their original context. Ennis identifies 'an extended moment in nineteenth-century photography when the gulf between the past and the present seems widest, when the photographs seem barely able to speak to contemporary viewers'.[889] There are many reasons why today's viewers struggle to connect with photographs like Sweet's. They are from a world so different from our own, with a dramatically different society, politics, ideals and technology. We have to understand their context and learn their unique pictorial language before we can begin to interpret them. The quiet visual simplicity of most of Sweet's work, by today's standards, can be unsatisfying to a general audience, used to information density and image saturation, who expect high levels of information, rich layers of input and interpretation.

Ennis also explains that the language of the photographic view of this period is one we do not understand in the way that we recognise photographic portraits of the same era. She argues that we can appreciate early portrait photographs because we are familiar with the conventions of portraiture.[890] Views photography created its own conventions. When earlier landscape conventions appear in Sweet's work, there is a way in for the viewer, as with *Hollow Gum at Pewsey Vale's* resemblance to conversation pieces by Stubbs, or the clear narrative of the *Murray Bridge Workers*. Otherwise, the language of the views trade is one that has been obscured from usage by the intervening styles of Pictorialism, Modernism and later photography with qualities that, as Ennis says, we have come to value. Without contextual information such as the brief for a commission, or the ideology that lies behind Sweet's oeuvre, viewers are faced with subjects that we cannot recognise. In this situation, Ennis explains 'the viewer literally fills in the gaps in the visual field with their own knowledge and experience of what was being depicted'. The accuracy of our interpretation relies entirely on what we know about the photographer's intentions as well as the wider context of ideas, attitudes, priorities, ideology, the photography market, commissions, and the capabilities and limitations of the technology. When supporting information is absent, partial or inaccurate (as it often is), the image is open to misinterpretation or being passed over altogether. It can be difficult to discover which tiny piece of information will unlock an image to our understanding. Our appreciation and accurate use of a Sweet photograph may depend entirely, for example, on knowing that Sweet photographed O'Connell Street to aid the Tramways Company debate with the City Corporation over road repairs. It makes more sense if we know that Sweet was a commercial photographer, and that

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[889] Ennis, *Intersections*, op. cit., p.55.
[890] ibid.

this was a commission. Suddenly we understand that Sweet was not having a bad day for compositions. We can finally connect with this photograph and begin to appreciate its other qualities: the golden glow of albumen, the perfect balance of composition, the remarkable detail in the road surface – the very subject of the picture. It might even jog a local viewer's memory of the rattly old Glenelg tram and trigger the realisation that, even back then, public transport companies and local councils had their arguments. Sweet can take us momentarily into another world because his photograph, at that moment and for those reasons, tells the absolute truth about the state of the road at the top of O'Connell Street.

Sweet's photographs do not speak loudly for themselves. Their complex nature and narratives are not always apparent and rarely is their full context provided as wall text or catalogue note. Authors, collection managers and curators, as interpreters of art and images, can give them more voice by considering them in the contexts of their original creation, including colonial economics and preoccupations; the lives and businesses of commercial photographers; the specific nature of each commission; and the beautiful materiality of the images themselves. Sometimes the key to an image can only be found by painstakingly researching every detail of its date, place, subject, commission brief and story.

As art

An awareness of the aesthetic significance of Sweet's work began in the 1980s when public art galleries began collecting it, following the 1970s resurgence of interest in early photography and discourse on its nature. The National Gallery of Australia began collecting photographs in 1972. Other public galleries followed, spurred on by interpretive discourse by key writers like Gael Newton, Helen Ennis, Isobel Crombie and Geoffrey Batchen who began to delve into the nature and meaning of these works, signalling their importance and reinforcing Gallery collection policies. Sweet's photographs were first exhibited in a major public art exhibition in the NGA's *Shades of Light* in 1988, giving other galleries the confidence to collect and exhibit early photographs. Their value in an art exhibition, however, depends on providing the viewer with the contextual information that enables them to engage with them, especially when they are exhibited alongside later photography with qualities we are better able to recognise.

As history

Today Sweet's NT photographs are of enormous significance as the first photographic documentation of the successful early stages of colonial settlement in Australia and form an important part of the history of the Northern Territory. Their significance also lies in their remarkable technical photographic achievement in the most adverse photographic conditions imaginable. Sweet's 1869-1871 photographs are the only visual record from which we can really imagine what emergent Darwin looked like. Unlike Brooks' 1869 stereographs, they allow the viewer to enter the space and look around. His later photographs are undoubtedly important as the only photographic record taken during the construction of the northern section of the Overland Telegraph line. However, as Chapter Five demonstrated, they are not straightforward. Their limited or tentative inclusion in books about Northern Territory history results from the difficulty researchers have had engaging with them and understanding their nature as tools of surveillance and colonisation. Many, especially during the Overland Telegraph episode, refuse to relinquish their stories without deep contextual research. Often they suggest a story quite the reverse of reality.

There are two major barriers to their effective use as historical evidence. One is that, as this thesis has shown, they are not an objective documentary record. They present only part of the truth and often it is layered with idealism and positive accents through Sweet's clever use of pictorial devices. As a picture of colonial South Australia Sweet's oeuvre is also incomplete. If we rely on his archive to know what Adelaide looked like in 1880, we would have a very slanted view. The second barrier to using Sweet's images as historical sources is inaccurate catalogue information. Most of the dates ascribed to them by collections are inaccurate. Some photographs (signed by Sweet himself) are even dated after his death. Subjects and titles are also prone to error or over generalisation. Erroneous catalogue data about his photographs is often relied on by researchers and reproduced in literature. The research undertaken for this thesis will help to rectify some erroneous catalogue data, but will have little effect on erroneous facts that have been reproduced in authoritative sources.

As Indigenous cultural and family history

Inaccurate catalogue information is especially problematic for Indigenous people trying to reconnect with their family history and culture. Photographs are important in the re-establishment of cultural history and pride. However, conversations with Ngarrindjeri elders revealed that some of their beliefs about their ancestors in nineteenth century photographs were based on incorrect cataloguing information that had been reproduced in history books. For example, Sweet's 1880 photograph of

Nahraminyeri Campbell is identified in Edward's *Aboriginal Bark Canoes of the Murray Valley* as Teenminne, the wife of 'Pelican'.[891] When I showed the photograph to a group of Ngarrindjeri elders, several identified her as Teenminne, having relied on erroneous research reproduced in books like Edwards'.[892] At the time the SLSA had blanket restrictions preventing any digitised images of Aboriginal people being viewed outside of the library building. This prevented further investigation of those images by rural and remote researchers, including the descendants of the people pictured. That obstacle is now being removed. Further research of Sweet's Mission photographs would allow them to be utilised to their fullest in reconnecting descendants with their ancestors and furthering accurate research on Aboriginal history and culture.

Geographical and temporal issues

Peck made the important point that 'Research into the photography from South Australia, Queensland and Western Australia is now needed to assess whether the photography from New South Wales and Victoria was typical of all Australian photography from this period'.[893] She speculates that regional variations are likely due to differences in landscapes such as greater crop production in Queensland and more fern-tree gullies in Victoria.[894] However, she does not question whether differences might arise from other factors, such as population and economic variations or the differences in the principles upon which each colony was founded. It has become clear that any suggestion of a national Australian style of views photography is a myth. This thesis has supported Peck's assessment that further research is need in this field, and has begun to suggest the types of regional variation that could be investigated. The differences between photographs of the early and late 1880s are also such that any images from this transitional period require careful analysis, taking into account the many technological, aesthetic and political changes that influenced photography during the end of the nineteenth century. This thesis has also identified a geographical imbalance of research on early Australian photography, weighted to the east with less attention paid to South Australian photographers and almost none to Western Australia. Given the importance of local knowledge and access to photographs in local archives it seems sensible that studies be encouraged from researchers in Western Australia, South Australia, the Northern Territory and

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[891] Edwards, *Bark Canoes,* op. cit., p.27.
[892] Meeting with Ngarrindjeri language group elders at Murray Bridge, 2007.
[893] Peck, op. cit., p.353. Peck notes that the NT was part of South Australia but she does not mention Tasmania.
[894] ibid.

Queensland.[895] Scholarship in early Australian photography has now completed sufficient groundwork for further research to proceed.

Chapter Summary

Sweet's photographs played an important role in the colonisation of South Australia, reinforcing its values and goals, helping to create a South Australian identity, and providing a sense of place and progress. For the people who purchased them they cemented their sense of achievement and helped them cope with the rapid pace of modernisation. They may not have substantially influenced migration and investment in South Australia, but the fact that they were intended for that purpose helps us to understand the photographer's intentions and the reason they were so valued as promotional images by the government and colonists. Sweet's glorious vision of South Australia continued to influence perceptions of the colony long after the end of the century.

From the mid-twentieth century they became increasingly important as historical, heritage and cultural records, as well as a valued source of Aboriginal and family histories. By the turn of the twenty-first century their appearance in art exhibitions had expanded their visibility to a new audience and implied their status as art – a role they had not previously enjoyed. Sweet's idealised vision of a glorious South Australia persists in Australian public consciousness, injecting our historical imagination with his own selective reality. Sweet's photographs reach into the future and influence our perception of the past and place. However, the increased use of Sweet's photographs, for a variety of purposes, is problematic if we continue to misinterpret them. This thesis has re-evaluated Sweet's work in relation to its original contexts, intentions and purposes. It demonstrates that Sweet's photographs can be far more valuable, as historical documents and aesthetic objects, if they are accurately researched, documented and interpreted within the full contexts of their creation.

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[895] Considerable research has already been undertaken in Tasmania, New South Wales and Victoria. The Australian Capital Territory did not exist until 1911 and any photographs from the region would have been of NSW.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to address the problem that today Captain Sweet's photographs are often judged by standards that misunderstand the nature of his work. It has established that Sweet's photographs were created for, and shaped by, the views trade whose tastes were driven by the colonial ideals of appropriation and settlement of territory, exploitation of raw materials and land for profit, and the establishment of British 'civilisation' and its infrastructures. It has shown how Sweet's photography reflected and reinforced the colonial dream of modernity and progress through his choice of subjects, composition and style, as well as the influence of his commissioning customers over those choices. It demonstrates that Sweet visually documented South Australia's economic and social infrastructure as it emerged during the boom time of its construction, but that his documentation was an idealised vision that excluded all negative elements. Sweet was a commercial photographer – an Englishman and a colonist participating in the creation of a new world. His photographs mapped an ideal of modernity onto photographic paper. Sweet was not simply photographing colonial South Australia, but rather the ideal that was being sought in its creation. When his work is approached from this perspective, we not only achieve a deeper insight into his oeuvre, but also the world he was picturing.

The methodology of this thesis has confirmed the importance of examining early photographs in the original context of their creation if we are to open them up to our understanding. By examining Sweet's work within all of its contexts – economic, political, social, biographical, material and technological – this thesis has shown the value of a multi-contextual approach to understanding views photographs, as well as how easy it is to misinterpret them if the relevant details of their creation are overlooked. It has also highlighted the value of digging through archives to discover the details of each picture's creation, demonstrating how a single piece of information can completely change the way we see and judge a photograph.

Biographical analysis has shown how aspects of Sweet's life, work and class influenced the technical, aesthetic and commercial aspects of his photography business. Sweet's photographic style and aptitude for photography have been traced back to his years as a Master Mariner, highly trained in optics, meteorology and surveying. Spending 11 months a year at sea for 20 years, his way of seeing (optically and ideologically) was deeply established by his maritime career. Most of that

career was spent on Empire business and Sweet himself became an agent of the British Empire. Shaped by that background, Sweet became an enthusiastic migrant with a passion for progress and for the exciting new colony of South Australia. His life, prior to becoming a professional photographer, explains how his photographic way of seeing evolved from his personal goals and experiences, and the ideas and values of the world around him. Those same values were reflected in the views trade. His failure to create the kind of photographic empire built by his contemporary, Townsend Duryea, has been explained by Sweet's low social position, and the distain felt by the upper classes for Naval men. The obstacles he faced as a man of humble origins have shown what a remarkable achievement it was to become the first South Australian photographer to make a living from the views trade.

This thesis has identified many elements of Sweet's technical and material practice and style that typify his work. Some are consistent with views photography in general and others are unique to him. They all firmly situate his work in the commercial practice of the views trade. Sweet was no gentleman amateur, free to indulge artistic penchants. Photography was his livelihood and every aspect of his practice was commercially aligned. Collodion wet plate negatives and albumen silver paper were the standard media of the views trade. What distinguishes Sweet is his technical excellence and leadership in the field of experimental and new technologies, including coatings and dry plates. His work was usually technically accomplished, with good contrast, clarity, perspective compensation and fine detail, preserved in prints that are chemically stable. As with most of his peers, there are some less than perfect examples among his oeuvre, resulting from poor climatic conditions, assistants-in-training or perhaps even from unlicensed copying by others. Some were the best he could achieve in challenging circumstances. Others have lost the battle against adverse storage conditions. The majority show him to be a leader in the latest photographic technology, which was itself at the forefront of the modern world.

An examination of Sweet's movement through a series of workrooms and studios show his struggle to build his views business, sometimes resorting to portraiture to fund prominent studio spaces, until he finally became the first commercially successful views photographer in South Australia. It shows how hard he worked to sell his photographs, through advertising, agents and other marketing strategies, and how essential his family assistants were – carrying equipment, washing negatives, making prints and running the shopfront. The analysis of Sweet's business shows how determined he was to make a living from outdoor photography, despite the hardship and exhausting years of work.

By placing Sweet's work in the context of the South Australian Views Trade, this thesis has shown how the ideals of progress, modernity and civilisation underpinned the market's tastes. South Australia was distinguished from the other Australian colonies by ideals of free settlement (no convicts), freedom of religion, access to education and, above all, the creation of wealth. South Australia was created as a modern vision. It is this vision of unfolding modernity that Sweet sought to capture in his photographs.

This thesis has also demonstrated _how_ Sweet's photography reflected and reinforced the colonial dream of modernity and progress through his choice of subjects, composition and style. His subjects were determined by what his views trade customers wanted to buy and what his commissioning clients asked of him. These determinants were in perfect tune with Sweet's own passion for the colony and its progress. It was for these reasons that he visually documented South Australia's economic and social infrastructure as it emerged during the boom time of its construction. His subjects included farms and pastoral estates; the railways, roads and ports that transported all the mining and agricultural produce for export; the communications systems that handled trade communication; government and financial buildings; and all the health, education and social infrastructure that serviced the increasing population of this expanding economy, including shops, hospitals, schools, churches, cultural buildings, university, botanic gardens and even the reservoirs and water reticulation system. Every subject is directly connected to the growth and progress of the colony and most were also popular views trade subjects in the other Australian colonies. What is remarkable about Sweet is that he photographed nothing else and that his oeuvre noticeably excludes anything that might contradict Wakefield's utopian vision for South Australia. Sweet's subjects did not include the Gaol or the Destitute Asylum. When he did photograph health and social institutions it was to show the grand buildings that contained Adelaide's sick and troubled people, never the inhabitants themselves. His views never contain anyone who is sick, poor or disabled, nor anyone who is Aboriginal unless in the safe confines of a Mission Station. Sweet's is a highly selective reality, tightly attuned to the unique modern vision on which South Australia was founded.

This thesis has also shown how Sweet used the wide range of pictorial devices at his disposal to emphasise modernity and success, whilst obscuring any elements that contradicted Wakefield's colonial dream. Some had their origins in the technical requirements of photography. Elevation avoided perspective distortion as well as aiding dynamic composition. Creating smaller compositions within larger ones allowed for different sales formats and for cropping elements from a commission

photograph that were less suited to general sales. Other aspects of his style can be traced to his maritime past and a life of seeing the world from a crow's nest, through rigging and the constant movement of the ocean. All of his stylistic choices appealed to the aesthetic tastes of the commercial market.

Sweet emphasised modernity with strong, orderly, uncluttered compositions. He adopted elevated, angled viewpoints to create dynamic images vibrant with diagonals, movement and the spirit of the metropolis. Elevated viewpoints also maximised visual information within the image – something that was essential in Adelaide's perfectly straight, flat streets. They also enabled him to maximise the surveillance, navigational and security information in his views around Darwin Harbour. This strong sense of order is also present when people enter Sweet's views. His group photographs are remarkable acts of choreography. The people in his images are engaged, attentive and obedient to his direction. There is always a sense that Sweet is in complete control of the people in his pictures: a control gained by respect and rapport. Sweet organises his photographs so that the (nineteenth century) viewer is never left feeling confused, uncertain or apprehensive. He creates visual pathways into his images, directing our gaze with linear or human signposts. He places figures in his views to draw us in, provide scale and human interest. The sense of order is even present in his careful placement of figures so that the tones of their clothing contrast with the background. He removes superfluous objects from his images and crops distractions from the margins. He does not take the viewer to uncertain places in the South Australian bush, only to designated picnic spots where leisure seekers reassure us this is a safe and relaxing place. Some of Sweet's visual devices had their roots in the pictorial tradition of the picturesque, which had become subsumed into the broader visual culture and the view's photographer's repertoire. Some of his commissioned photographs were also aesthetically influenced by the client, who must sometimes be recognised as co-author.

Finally, this thesis has revealed that the period of Sweet's South Australian photography business, from 1866 to 1886, exactly matched the boom period of the views trade and of the colony itself. All three were interdependent and mutually influential. As the foremost and most prolific South Australian views photographer of the 1870s and 1880s, Sweet's archive is the most comprehensive visual record of the South Australian boom time. Most importantly, this thesis establishes that, whilst Sweet can be seen as an exemplar of the South Australian views trade, he was in a unique position to create a vision of the modern colonial dream as it unfolded in South Australia and the Northern Territory. In doing so it was the ideal of modernity – rather than its reality – that he mapped onto albumen silver paper. He selectively excluded anything that contradicted the dream of South

Australia's progress and prosperity. When he could not exclude it, he veiled it with distance, visual distraction or the reassurance of the familiar pictorial language of the picturesque.

Sweet's photographs reflect Wakefield's utopian dream, ignoring the harsh realities that accompanied it. They are images of the colonial imagination.

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Captain Sweet's Colonial Imagination:

The Ideals of Modernity in South Australian Views Photography 1866 - 1886

VOLUME 2
APPENDICES

To the thesis submitted by Karen Magee

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

School of History and Politics

University of Adelaide

October 2014

APPENDIX 1

Catalogue of photographs
by
Captain Samuel White Sweet (1825-1886)

CATALOGUE TABLE OF CONTENTS

CATALOGUE KEY & INTRODUCTION TO CATALOGUE

This catalogue documents the photographs of Captain Samuel White Sweet that have been located, researched and catalogued as part of this research project. It is not a catalogue raisonné, nor is it exhaustive. It is intended as a visual reference for readers of the thesis and as a record of Sweet's work, as it stands at this stage of research. Sweet's photographs are catalogued in more detail on a database that will be made available to public collections. Examples of database entries are included as Appendix 2.

KEY TO CAPTIONS

	Image
King William Street	Title
1880-82, Adelaide	Date and place of creation
SLSA B 7871	Collection and collection catalogue number
SWS.8.051.01 [2]	Database number [number of prints from same negative]
821	Catalogue number

Images

The source of the image is listed on the third line, e.g. SLSA B 7871. Images are reproduced with the permission of the collection in which they are held. Images showing Aboriginal people are reproduced with the permission of the appropriate Aboriginal authority. Images may not reflect the actual colour or clarity of the original photograph.

Photographer

The photographer in all cases is Captain Samuel Sweet unless otherwise stated. In most cases this attribution is certain. In some cases it is probable (captions do not differentiate between certain and probable). Photographs that may have been taken by Sweet, but require more research for a firmer attribution, have not been included in this catalogue. They are, however, on the database.

Northern Territory photographs by Joseph Brooks and William Barlow have been included as a comparison with Sweet and to clarify who created which photographs (many of which are misattributed in collection catalogues).

Titles

Titles were provided by the researcher. They may differ from titles in collection catalogues. Preference has been given to any contemporary indications of title such as album inscriptions and titles in press reviews of photographs. Where no clear descriptive title was available, the researcher provided a title to reflect the subject. In the database, all prints from a single negative have been given the same title. The database also records the title given in the collection's own catalogue.

Date and place of creation

Dates refer to the date a photograph was taken, not the date it was printed. Date ranges reflect the best date obtainable with the research I have conducted so far. Where a specific year is given, e.g. 1869, there is strong evidence that the photograph was taken in that year. Where a date range is given, e.g. 1880-82, evidence has been found for earliest and latest dates but more research is required to determine the exact year of creation. Where the range is 1866-85, no firm dating evidence was available. This range, 1866-85, reflects Sweet's arrival in South Australia and his death. Although he died on 4 January 1886, it is highly unlikely that he took any photographs during the scorching heat of the first four days of the year. During those four days he developed heat stroke, while staying with his friend Captain Adams at Haldale near Riverton, a considerable distance from Adelaide. No photographs have been found that might have been taken in that region in January 1886. Hence, 1885 is a suitable last date for any photographs taken by Sweet. The extent of research undertaken to reduce a date range, the sources used, and scope for further research are all documented in the database.

All places are in South Australia unless otherwise stated.

Collection and collection catalogue numbers

Collection abbreviations are listed at the beginning of the thesis. Collection catalogue numbers may be accession numbers, archival numbers or other numbers that enable the work to be located within that collection.

Database number and number of prints catalogued from the same negative

The database number is the number under which the print has been recorded by the researcher in the Captain Sweet database, e.g. SWS.8.051.01. The number in square brackets indicates how many prints from the same negative have been recorded. For example, in the Key to Captions (page 3), 2 prints from the same negative are recorded: SWS.8.051.01 and SWS.8.051.02.

Catalogue number

This is the number that is given in the text of the thesis to direct the reader to a particular image in this catalogue.

NORTHERN TERRITORY

GOYDER EXPEDITION AND SETTLEMENT 1869-1871

Captain Sweet

Palmerston Beach[1]
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 9748
SWS.1.011.01 [3]
1

Fort Hill
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 4649
SWS.1.012.01 [2]
2

Fort Point & fishing boat
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 9749
SWS.1.004.01 [4]
3

Tumbling Waters
April 1869, Northern Territory
SLSA B 4654
SWS.1.005.01 [1]
4

Panoramic view of Fort Hill
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 4648
SWS.1.020.01 [1]
5

Stokes Hill and Bay
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 4646
SWS.1.023.01 [2]
6

Peel's Well
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 17389/4
SWS.1.026.01 [1]
7

Government Well
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 4651
SWS.1.009.01 [1]
8

Banyan Tree
1869, Northern Territory
SLSA B 4657
SWS.1.037.03 [5]
9

---

[1] Darwin was called Palmerston until 1911. Palmerston has been retained where it was used in the original title. It should not be confused with the satellite city of Palmerston, near Darwin, that was built in the 1980s.

Tents and both roads to Port Darwin
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 22244
SWS.1.043.01 [1]
10
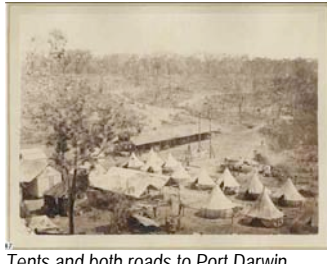
Tents and both roads to Port Darwin
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 9747
SWS.1.045.01 [1]
11

Port Darwin
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1866
SWS.1.044.01 [1]
12

Government base camp, Fort Point
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 4645
SWS.1.002.01 [2]
13

Port Darwin camp and stables
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 4653
SWS.1.003.01 [1]
14

Fort Hill, from camp
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 4647
SWS.1.006.01 [2]
15

The stables of the Goyder Survey Expedition party
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 4652
SWS.1.010.01 [4]
16

Birdseye view from Palmerston Hill
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 17389/33
SWS.1.007.01 [2]
17

Government Survey camp
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 4656
SWS.1.008.01 [2]
18

Middle portion of the Government camp
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 11398
SWS.1.047.01 [1]
19

Base camp in the Saddle
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 4650
SWS.1.015.01 [3]
20

Palmerston, harbour entrance
8 September 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 9750
SWS.1.013.01 [3]
21

Grave of JWO Bennett and Richard
Hazard
18 September 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 11523
SWS.1.027.01 [1]
22

Panoramic view of Government
Survey camp at Palmerston
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 13771
SWS.1.048.01 [1]
23

Landing place, Port Darwin
1870-71, Darwin
SLSA B 17389/20
SWS.1.018.01 [1]
24

Road to Palmerston, Port Darwin
1870-71, Darwin
SLSA B 17389/23
SWS.1.019.01 [1]
25

View from Government Residence,
Palmerston
1870-71, Darwin
SLSA B 9751
SWS.1.021.01 [1]
26

Panoramic view of Port Darwin
1870-71, Darwin
SLSA B 39594
SWS.1.014.01 [1]
27

The road and Fort Hill
1870-71, Darwin
SLSA B 4644
SWS.1.022.01 [1]
28

Jungle twelve miles from camp
1870-71, Northern Territory
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-34
SWS.1.034.02 [5]
29

Government House and camp
1870-71, Darwin
SLSA B 9746
SWS.1.059.01 [1]
30

The camp at Fort Hill
1870-71, Darwin
SLSA B 46850
SWS.1.058.01 [1]
31

Government Garden
1870-71, Darwin
Private Collection
SWS.1.049.01 [1]
32

Government Garden
1870-71, Darwin
Private Collection
SWS.1.016.03 [3]
33

Palmerston township
1870-71, Darwin
SLSA B 9753
SWS.1.025.01 [1]
34

Camp & Government Resident's house
1871, Darwin
SLSA B 4637
SWS.1.001.01 [1]
35

Stock fleet in Port Darwin Harbour
1871, Darwin
SLSA B 9743
SWS.1.050.01 [2]
36

Joseph Brooks, 5 - 28 February 1869 (before Sweet arrived in Darwin)

Mangrove tree roots
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1146
JB.1.025.01 [1]
37

Running water in the bushland
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1147
JB.1.026.01 [1]
38

Waterhole
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1148
JB.1.027.01 [1]
39

Waterhole
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1149
JB.1.028.01 [1]
40

Joseph Brooks
Tumbling Waters
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
AGSA 20047Ph39
JB.1.004.02 [4]
41

Entrance to a cave
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1141
JB.1.020.01 [1]
42

View of rocks and thicket at Point Elliott
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1144
JB.1.023.01 [1]
43

Moving a forward camp
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1150
JB.1.017.01 [1]
44

Men resting at their campsite
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1142
JB.1.021.01 [1]
45
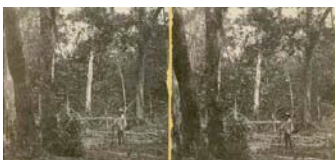
Man with his rifle amongst the trees at the campsite
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1143
JB.1.022.01 [1]
46

Expedition campsite with men tending to their daily chores
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1140
JB.1.019.01 [1]
47
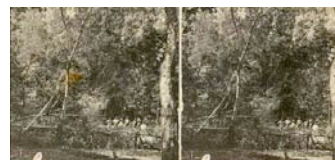
Men in enclosed section of the campsite
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1145
JB.1.024.01 [1]
48

*Fort Point showing timber partly removed
from top prior to erection of trig station*
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
NTLIS PH0837/0006
JB.1.018.02 [2]
49

Darwin
5 - 28 February 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1151
JB.1.010.01 [1]
50

Joseph Brooks, 5 February - 28 September 1869 (photographing without Sweet)

The main camp
5 May 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1153
JB.1.030.01 [1]
51

Main camp, with Fort Hill on the left
5 May 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1156
JB.1.033.01 [1]
52

Government survey camp, Palmerston
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 11595
JB.1.034.01 [1]
53

Main camp, with Fort Hill on the left
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1155
JB.1.032.01 [1]
54

Large group of surveyors
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 11600
JB.1.007.02 [2]
55

Government Survey Party, Palmerston
1869, Darwin
NTLIS PH0837/0017
JB.1.016.03 [3]
56

Government surveying party, Palmerston
1869, Darwin
NTLIS PH0837/0002
JB.1.006.03 [3]
57

Survey men and tents
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 11599
JB.1.003.02 [3]
58

*Northern Territory Survey Expedition
camp*
1869, Northern Territory
NTLIS PH0837/0008
JB.1.013.03 [3]
59

Government surveying party, Palmerston
1869, Northern Territory
SLSA B 11603
JB.1.001.01 [3]
60

Anthill, Northern Territory
1869, Northern Territory
AGSA 20041PH37
JB.1.014.02 [6]
61

[image not available]

Anthill, Dr Peel standing by
1869, Northern Territory
SLSA PRG 294/2/1
JB.1.015.01 [1]
62

Members of the Northern Territory Survey Expedition
1869, Northern Territory
SLSA B 60185
JB.1.037.01 [1]
63

Doctor's Gully: cutting for water
1869, Darwin
NTLIS PH0837/0005
JB.1.038.01 [1]
64
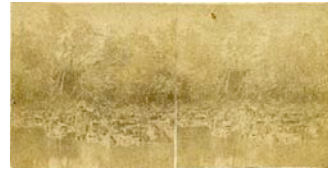
Elizabeth River landing
1869, Northern Territory
NTLIS PH0837/0013
JB.1.039.01 [1]
65

Tumbling Waters
1869, Northern Territory
NTLIS PH0837/0011
JB.1.040.01 [1]
66

View of river
1869, Northern Territory
NTLIS PH0837/0001
JB.1.041.01 [1]
67
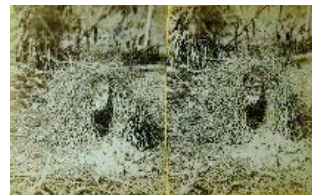
Bower birds playhouse
1869, Northern Territory
AGSA 20047Ph41
JB.1.029.01 [1]
68

Joseph Brooks, 27 March - 28 September 1869 (while out photographing with Sweet)

Stokes Hill and Bay
1869, Darwin
NTLIS PH0837/0010
JB.1.008.03 [3]
69

Tumbling Waters
April 1869, Northern Territory
NTLIS PH0837/0015
JB.1.009.03 [3]
70

Government surveying party, Palmerston
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 11602
JB.1.035.01 [1]
71

Fort Point from Stokes Hill, showing camp in saddle
5 May 1869, Darwin
SLSA B 1154
JB.1.031.01 [3]
72

Government survey camp, Palmerston
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 11596
JB.1.036.01 [1]
73

Government survey camp, Palmerston
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 11597
JB.1.005.04 [5]
74

Port Darwin camp beneath Fort Hill
1969, Darwin
SLSA B 1152
JB.1.011.01 [1]
75

Government survey camp, Palmerston
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 11598
JB.1.002.02 [4]
76

Graves of J.W.O. Bennett and Richard Hazard
18 September 1869, Darwin
NTLIS PH0837/0007
JB.1.012.02 [2]
77

William Barlow, 1869

Attributed to William Barlow
Water party at Donald's Well [Government Well] Northern Territory
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 56581
WB.1.010.01 [2]
78

possibly William Barlow
Camp for members of the Northern Territory Survey Expedition
1869, Darwin
SLSA B 60186
WB.1.011.01 [1]
79

Attributed to William Barlow
Stapleton Creek, Northern Territory
c1875, Northern Territory
SLSA B 56586
WB.1.002.01 [1]
80

William Barlow, Northern Territory, c.1875[2]

Premises of Mr Solomon's store in Darwin
c.1875, Darwin
SLSA B 56577
WB.1.001.01 [1]
81

Attributed to William Barlow
Darwin coastline
c.1875, Darwin
SLSA B 56587
WB.1.008.01 [1]
82

General view of the coastline and foliage
c.1875, Darwin
SLSA B 56555
WB.1.003.01 [2]
83

The Telegraph and Cable Office
c.1875, Darwin
SLSA B 56582
WB.1.004.01 [2]
84

Attributed to William Barlow
Early Darwin residence
c.1875, Darwin
SLSA B 56585
WB.1.005.01 [1]
85

The house owned by Mr. & Mrs. W. Barlow
c.1875, Darwin
SLSA B 56552
WB.1.006.01 [1]
86

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[2] These are included in order to clarify who took which photographs in the Northern Territory and when, so that they are not confused with Sweet or Brooks.

Early Darwin residence
c.1875, Darwin
SLSA B 56578
WB.1.007.01 [1]
87

NORTHERN TERRITORY OVERLAND TELEGRAPH LINE 1870-1872

*Darwent and Dalwood's OT Line
Construction Team at Southport*
Sept 1870, Southport
SLSA B 4655
SWS.1.031.01 [1]
88

*Darwent and Dalwood's OT Line
Construction Team at Southport*
Sept 1870, Southport
SLSA B 9763
SWS.1.042.01 [2]
89

The Gulnare at Southport
Sept 1870, Southport
SLSA B 840
SWS.1.041.02 [3]
90

Sweers Island
1871, Sweers Island, Queensland
SLSA PRG742/5/88
SWS.1.051.02 [2]
91

[image not available]
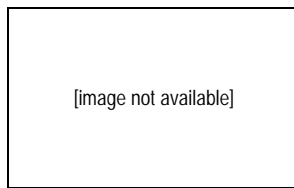
Sweers Island
1871, Sweers Island, Queensland
SLQ 67338
SWS.1.052.01 [1]
92

Ship off the coast of Sweers Island
1871, Sweers Island, Queensland
SLQ 67331
SWS.1.053.01 [1]
93

The Investigator Tree
1871, Sweers Island, Queensland
SLQ D12-1-94
SWS.1.055.01 [1]
94
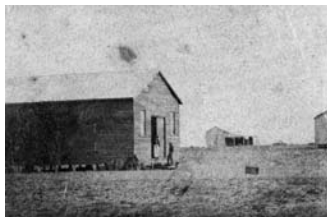
*Bonded Store and other buildings
on Sweers Island*
1871, Sweers Island, Queensland
SLQ 67335
SWS.1.056.01[1]
95

*The S.S. "Brisbane" and Schooner
"Seagull" at Port Darwin*
7 November 1871, Darwin
SLSA B 5780
SWS.1.063.01 [2]
96

14

Ceremonial Planting of the first OTL pole
15 September 1870, Darwin
SLSA B 4638
SWS.1.036.01 [3]
97

Southport jetty
September 1871, Southport
SLSA B 5783
SWS.1.061.01 [1]
98

Southport jetty showing the Estelle
September 1871, Southport
SLSA B 5781
SWS.1.062.01 [2]
99

Cable fleet in the harbour
Oct /Nov 1871, Darwin
SLSA B 9745
SWS.1.017.01 [2]
100

Landing the Telegraph Cable at Port Darwin
7 November 1871, Darwin
SLSA B 16
SWS.1.035.01 [3]
101

Telegraph Station, Darwin
1871, Darwin
SLSA B 9744
SWS.1.024.01 [3]
102

Roper River
1871-72, Roper River, NT
SLSA B 4636
SWS.1.066.01 [1]
103

Roper River Fleet
11 February 1872, Roper River, NT
SLSA B 4641
SWS.1.054.01 [1]
104

The Omeo, the Young Australian & the Bengal at Roper River
1872, Roper River, NT
SLSA B 21
SWS.1.064.01 [2]
105

Roper River Jetty
11 March 1872, Roper River, NT
SLSA B 9762
SWS.1.038.01 [3]
106

'S.S. Tararua' Roper River
1872, Roper River, NT
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-35
SWS.1.039.01 [5]
107

Roper River camp
1872, Roper River, NT
SLSA B 4635
SWS.1.040.01 [4]
108

OT Party
11 March 1872, Roper River Depot, NT
SLSA B 417
SWS.1.028.01 [3]
109

OT Party
11 March 1872, Roper River Depot, NT
SLSA B 4639
SWS.1.029.01 [3]
110

NT Survey Expedition at the base of Todd's Bluff
8 Feb - 22 March 1872, Northern Territory
SLSA B 4634
SWS.1.033.01 [1]
111

Hodgson River
13 March 1872, Roper River, NT
SLSA B 4642
SWS.1.065.01 [1]
112

AGRICULTURE & PASTORALISM

Dunn & Co. Flour Mills

Dunn & Co. Mill Port Adelaide
1877-78, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10811
SWS.5.038.01 [1]
113

Dunn & Co. Mill Port Adelaide
1877-78, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10812
SWS.5.039.01 [1]
114

Dunn & Co. Mill Port Pirie
1877-78, Port Pirie
SLSA B 10813
SWS.6.141.01 [3]
115

The 'Glaramara' at Dunn & Co's Wharf, Port Augusta
1877-78, Port Augusta
SLSA B 8439
SWS.5.115.01 [2
116

Dunn & Co. Mill Mount Barker
1877-78, Mount Barker
SLSA B 10616
SWS.6.142.01 [1]
117

Dunn & Co. Mill Wilmington
1877-78, Wilmington
SLSA B 10607
SWS.6.140.01 [1]
118

Dunn & Co. Store Gawler Place [Freeman St.]
1877-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 21713
SWS.8.025.01 [1]
119

Dunn & Co. Mill, Nairne [New Nairne Mill]
1877-78, Nairne
SLSA B 7801
SWS.6.208.01 [1]
120

Dunn & Co. Mill Bridgewater [aka Cox's Creek]
1877-78, Bridgewater
NGA 2007.81.121.27
SWS.6.211.01 [1]
121

Dunn & Co. Mill Bridgewater [aka Cox's Creek]
1877-78, Bridgewater
SLSA B 10605
SWS.6.010.01 [1]
122

Dunn & Co. Mill Bridgewater [aka Cox's Creek]
1877-78, Bridgewater
SLSA B 10606
SWS.6.011.01 [1]
123

Dunn & Co. Mill Bridgewater [aka Cox's Creek]
1877-78, Bridgewater
SLSA B 11481
SWS.6.008.01 [2]
124

Dunn & Co. Mill Bridgewater
[aka Cox's Creek]
1877-78, Bridgewater
SLSA B 11482
SWS.6.009.01 [2]
125

[no extant print]
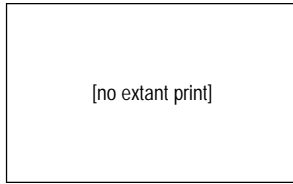
Dunn & Co's First Mill
1877-78, Hay Valley, near Nairne
SWS.6.217.01 [1]
126

Other Flour Mills
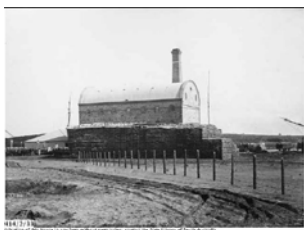
W. Thomas & Co. flour mill
1880-85, Port Augusta
SLSA B 62414/2/33
SWS.5.045.01 [1]
127

James Dawson's Albion Flour Mill
1869-85, Gawler
SLSA B 10592
SWS.6.037.01 [1]
128

Pastoralism at Pewsey Vale

Residence at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
Private Collection
SWS.10.076.02 [2]
129

Residence at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
SLSA B 10646
SWS.10.014.01 [1]
130

Hollow gum at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
NLA nla.pic-vn3083324
SWS.10.074.01 [3]
131

Hollow gum at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
SLSA B 62414/2/52
SWS.10.071.01 [1]
132

Station Bell at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
NLA nla.pic-vn3083339
SWS.10.072.01 [2]
133

The Ford, Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
Private Collection
SWS.10.077.01 [2]
134

Orchard at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
Private Collection
SWS.6.062.03 [3]
135

Church, Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
SLSA B 10574
SWS.10.073.01 [2]
136

The Drawing Room at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
Private Collection
SWS.10.078.01 [1]
137

The Dining Room at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
Private Collection
SWS.10.079.01 [1]
138

Mr Gilbert's Room and dressing room
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
Private Collection
SWS.10.080.01 [1]
139

Wine cellar at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
SLSA B 19003
SWS.10.075.01 [1]
140

Agriculture & Pastoralism

Canowie Station [Manager's residence]
1866-85, Canowie
SLSA B 10661
SWS.10.115.01 [1]
141

Canowie Station wool sheds
1866-85, Canowie
SLSA B 10662
SWS.6.154.01 [1]
142

Canowie Station homestead
1866-85, Canowie
SLSA B 10603
SWS.6.177.02 [2]
143

Canowie Station
1866-85, Canowie
SLSA B 12571
SWS.6.153.01 [2]
144

'Canowie 2' Prize Bull
1866-85, Canowie Station
SLSA B 17389/55
SWS.6.150.01 [2]
145

Canowie Sheep
1866-85, Canowie Station
SLSA B 17389/58
SWS.6.151.01 [1]
146

Sheep shearers, Canowie Station
1866-85, Canowie
AGSA 20063Ph26
SWS.6.018.03 [6]
147

Sheep shearers, Canowie Station
1866-85, Canowie
SLSA B 9339
SWS.6.017.02 [3]
148

Attributed to Captain Sweet
Canowie
1866-85, Canowie
SLSA B 62414/2/54
SWS.6.152.01 [1]
149

Prize Bull
1866-85, South Australia
SLSA B 17389/52
SWS.6.202.01 [1]
150

Prize Bull
1866-85, South Australia
SLSA B 17389/53
SWS.6.203.01 [1]
151

Shearers
1878, Campbell Park, near Meningie
SLSA B 10724
SWS.6.144.01 [1]
152

Campbell House, Campbell Park
1878, Campbell Park, near Meningie
SLSA B 10772
SWS.10.001.01 [1]
153

Campbell House, Campbell Park
1878, Campbell Park, near Meningie
SLSA B 10771
SWS.10.002.01 [1]
154

Bowmans Cattle
1878, Campbell Park, near Meningie
SLSA B 17389/51
SWS.6.145.01 [5]
155

Mr Taylor's Entire
1866-85, South Australia
SLSA B 17389/47
SWS.6.149.01 [1]
156

Bungaree Homestead
1866-85, Bungaree, Clare Valley
SLSA B 13400
SWS.10.116.01
157

Flock of sheep at Bungaree Station
1866-85, Bungaree, Clare Valley
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-30
SWS.6.014.02 [5]
158

Horse team and wagon laden with wool bales
1866-85, Bungaree, Clare Valley
NLA nla.pic-vn3083350
SWS.6.143.01 [1]
159

Clarendon from vineyard
1866-85, Clarendon
AGSA 975Ph26
SWS.6.022.02 [6]
160

Clarendon
1866-85, Clarendon
SLSA B 10593
SWS.6.042.02 [1]
161

On the Road to Mount Lofty
1866-85, Adelaide Hills
Private Collection
SWS.6.082.01 [2]
162

Hills near Adelaide
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
Private Collection
SWS.6.068.01 [1]
163

Waterfall Gully
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
AGSA 20041RJN374.23
SWS.6.126.01 [3]
164

Waterfall Glen
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
SLSA B 7313
SWS.6.125.01 [9]
165

View at Rock Tavern
1866-85, Rock Tavern
AGSA 811HP14
SWS.6.102.01 [3]
166

Rock Tavern
1866-85, Norton Summit
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-33
SWS.6.101.01 [3]
167

The Adelaide Plains from the road to Belair
1866-85, near Belair
AGSA 20063Ph63
SWS.6.166.01 [1]
168

Gully from 'Eagle on the Hill'
1866-85, Eagle on the Hill
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-63
SWS.6.127.01 [1]
169

Beaumont
1866-85, Beaumont
AGSA 991Ph1.68
SWS.6.005.01 [2]
170

Unley Park, Adelaide
1866-85, Unley Park
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-67
SWS.7.042.01 [4]
171

Group of Herefords
1866-1885, South Australia
Private Collection
SWS.6.210.01 [1]
172

Mount Lofty
1866-85, Mount Lofty
AGSA 20041RJN399
SWS.6.045.01 [1]
173

View of Mount Barker with horse and cart
1866-85, Mount Barker
Private Collection
SWS.6.067.01 [1]
174

Macclesfield
1866-85, Macclesfield
SLSA B 12540
SWS.6.063.01 [1]
175

Horse shoe, Noarlunga
1866-85, Noarlunga
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-81
SWS.6.065.01 [2]
176

Riverside
1880-81, Riverside (near Pewsey Vale)
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-38
SWS.6.100.01 [1]
177

Burnside, looking South
1866-85, Burnside
SLSA B 7311
SWS.7.004.01 [1]
178

Buckland Park
1866-85, Buckland Park
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-29
SWS.6.013.01 [1]
179

Sheep
1866-85, South Australia
NGA 2007.81.121.20
SWS.6.212.01 [1]
180

Woodley's Winery, Glen Osmond
1871-1873, Glen Osmond
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-73
SWS.6.050.01 [4]
181

Auldana Winery
1866-85, Auldana
SLSA B 10612
SWS.6.003.01 [1]
182

Auldana Winery
1866-85, Auldana
SLSA B 23664
SWS.6.004.01 [1]
183

Woollen Mill, Lobethal
1866-85, Lobethal
SLSA B 12411
SWS.6.060.01 [1]
184

Leg of Mutton Lake
1879-85, Mount Gambier
SLSA B 3559
SWS.6.059.01 [1]
185

Poonindie mission station
1884, Poonindie
NLA nla.pic-an24631105
SWS.4.013.01 [3]
186

Cart and hay stack
1866-85, South Australia
NLA nla.pic-vn3083343
SWS.6.180.01 [1]
187

Bullock Team and Wagon
1875-80, South Australia
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-83
SWS.6.155.03 [4]
188

Bullock Team and Wagon
1875-80, South Australia
SLSA B 62414/2/53
SWS.6.156.01 [2]
189

Agricultural show and fair [Frome Road]
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 62395
SWS.8.230.01 [1]
190

Wool plant, Hindmarsh
1866-85, Hindmarsh
SLSA B 10619
SWS.7.012.01 [1]
191

Murrays Biscuit Factory
1866-85, Craiglee, Coromandel Valley
SLSA B 12416
SWS.6.024.01 [1]
192

Oakbank Brewery
1866-85, Oakbank
SLSA B 8977
SWS.6.204.01 [1]
193

INDUSTRY

Mining

Burra Mines
1877-85, Burra
SLSA B 12538
SWS.6.016.01 [1]
194

Slate Quarry at Mintaro
1866-85, MIntaro
SLSA B 10597
SWS.6.071.01 [1]
195

Humbug Scrub gold camp
1866-85, One Tree Hill
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-87
SWS.6.056.01 [3]
196

General view of smelters and factory buildings [BHP]
1885, Broken Hill, NSW
SLSA TEMP #11 (uncatalogued)
SWS.6.219.01 [2]
197

Wallaroo [copper works]
1866-85, Wallaroo
SLSA B 10630
SWS.5.096.01 [2]
198

Copper Company's smelting works
1866-85, Port Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN398
SWS.5.042.01 [2]
199

INFRASTUCTURE

Urban Development: Suburbs & Towns

Bowden view
1866-85, Bowden
SLSA B 10595
SWS.7.001.01 [1]
200

View over Adelaide suburbs
1866-86 Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.7.047.01 [1]
201

Panoramic view of Hackney
1866-85, Hackney
SLSA B 10773
SWS.7.006.01 [1]
202

Kensington
1866-85, Kensington
SLSA B 39593
SWS.7.015.01 [1]
203

Panoramic View of Kent Town
1866-85, Kent Town
SLSA B 3114
SWS.7.016.01 [1]
204

Kent Town
1866-85, Kent Town
SLSA B 7869
SWS.7.017.01 [1]
205

Rundle Street, Kent Town
1866-85, Kent Town
SLSA B 2896
SWS.7.018.01 [2]
206

Mitcham
1866-85, Mitcham
SLSA B 10604
SWS.7.029.01 [1]
207

Looking east from Sir Thomas Elder's house
1875-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 10620
SWS.5.064.01 [1]
208

Glenelg
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 10745
SWS.5.053.01 [1]
209

Proclamation Tree, Glenelg
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 8861
SWS.5.068.01 [12]
210

The Aldgate Pump Hotel
1866-85, Aldgate
NLA nla.pic-an10608594-95
SWS.6.185.01 [1]
211

Street scene, Crafers
1866-85, Crafers
AGSA U0003Ph
SWS.6.025.01 [1]
212

Mount Barker
1866-85, Mount Barker
AGSA 20063Ph43
SWS.6.174.01 [1]
213

Clarendon Hotel
1866-85, Clarendon
SLSA B 11637
SWS.6.040.01 [1]
214

Balhannah
1866-85, Balhannah
SLSA B 62414/2/21
SWS.6.196.01 [1]
215

Willunga
1866-80, Willunga
SLSA B 10598
SWS.6.136.01 [1]
216

Gumeracha
1866-85, Gumeracha
SLSA B 10608
SWS.6.055.01 [3]
217

Mount Gambier
1866-85, Mount Gambier
NGA 86.1854
SWS.6.200.01 [1]
218

J Ferguson & Co. Murray St.
1866-85, Gawler
SLSA B 21710
SWS.6.036.01 [1]
219

Gawler opening of the Town Hall
1877, Gawler
SLSA B 10586
SWS.6.029.01 [1]
220

Gawler opening of the Town Hall
1877, Gawler
SLSA B 10588
SWS.6.031.01 [1]
221

Gawler opening of the Town Hall
1877, Gawler
SLSA B 10589
SWS.6.030.01 [1]
222

Gawler opening of the Town Hall
1877, Gawler
SLSA B 10587
SWS.6.032.01 [1]
223

Gawler opening of the Town Hall
1877, Gawler
SLSA B 10590
SWS.6.033.01 [1]
224

Wallaroo
1866-85, Wallaroo
SLSA B 10629
SWS.5.097.01 [1]
225

COMMUNICATION

Post Offices

Glenelg Post Office
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 11373
SWS.5.066.01 [1]
226

Post Office, Port Adelaide
1879, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10738
SWS.5.029.01 [1]
227

TRANSPORT

Ports, Jetties & River Transport

Port Adelaide Panorama A

Captain Samuel Sweet
Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879
1879, Port Adelaide
five albumen silver photographs
State Library of South Australia B 158/A - C
SWS.5.104.02 [2]
228

Detail from *Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879*
1879, Port Adelaide
SAMM HT 87.95 (M)
SWS.5.104.01 [2]
229

Port Adelaide Panorama B

[image not available]

Captain Samuel Sweet
Port Adelaide River
1879, Port Adelaide
five albumen silver photographs
South Australian Maritime Museum HT 94.2108(M)
SWS.5.011.01
230

Port Adelaide Panorama C

Captain Samuel Sweet
Ships sailing in the dock at Port Adelaide
1883, Port Adelaide
two panel albumen silver panorama
SLSA uncatalogued[3]
SWS.5.033.01
231

Individual Prints and Plates from Port Adelaide Panorama A Negatives

Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879: 1st Panel
1879, Port Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN374.32
SWS.5.041.02 [6]
232

Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879: 2nd Panel
1879, Port Adelaide
collodion wet plate negative (positive scan)
Private Collection
SWS.5.110.01 [1]
233

[no individual extant print or negative found]
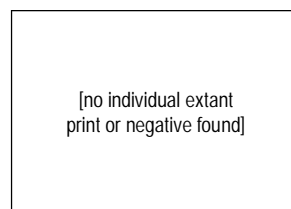
Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879: 3rd Panel
234

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[3] Image source: Ron Ritter, *Triumph, Tragedy and Port Adelaide*, published by the author, Adelaide, 2005.

Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879: 4th Panel
235

Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879: 5th Panel
1879, Port Adelaide
collodion wet plate negative negative (positive scan)
Private Collection
SWS.5.111.01 [1]
236

Port Adelaide
1879, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10852
SWS.5.017.01 [1]
(Created at the same time as the 4th Panel of Panorama A but from a different angle. Not used in the final panorama.)
237

Individual Prints and Plates from Port Adelaide Panorama B Negatives

Harbour, Port Adelaide
1879, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 47962
SWS.5.004.01 [1]
238

Harbour, Port Adelaide
1879, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 47963
SWS.5.010.01 [2]
239

Harbour, Port Adelaide
1879, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 47964
SWS.5.009.01 [1]
240

Harbour, Port Adelaide
1879, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 47965
SWS.5.008.01 [1]
241

Dockyard, Port Adelaide
1879, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10735
SWS.5.006.01 [2]
242

Individual Prints and Plates from Port Adelaide Panorama C Negatives

New Dock, Port Adelaide
1883, Port Adelaide
SLSA PRG 280/1/3/188
SWS.5.113.01 [1]
243

New Dock, Port Adelaide
1883, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 12
SWS.5.105.01 [3]
244

Port Adelaide (Single Views)

Port Adelaide
1881, Port Adelaide
NGA 86.1850
SWS.5.112.01 [2]
245

Port Adelaide Wharf
1881-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 3095
SWS.5.013.01 [1]
246

Port Adelaide Dock
1879, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10744
SWS.5.027.01 [1]
247

Port Adelaide Dock
1879, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10743
SWS.5.026.01 [1]
248

The 'Harbinger'
1866-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 11757
SWS.5.005.01 [1]
249

View of Port Adelaide
1866-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 11756
SWS.5.024.01 [1]
250

Queen's Wharf
1872, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 7878
SWS.5.025.01 [6]
251

Port Adelaide North Parade Wharf
1866-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 3106
SWS.5.014.01 [4]
252

Port Adelaide Wharf
1866-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 12240
SWS.5.022.01 [1]
253

Jervois Bridge, Port Adelaide
1877-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 12241
SWS.5.015.01 [1]
254

Jervois Bridge, Port Adelaide
1878-80, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10736
SWS.5.007.01 [1]
255

Port Adelaide
1876-78, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10853
SWS.5.018.01
256

Shipping, Port Adelaide
1878-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 9141
SWS.5.019.01
257

Robinson Bridge
1883-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 12418
SWS.5.020.01 [1]
258

Robinson Bridge
1883-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 12242
SWS.5.021.01 [1]
259

Port Adelaide
1866-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10734
SWS.5.012.01 [1]
260

'Torrens', Dredger
1866-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10733
SWS.5.035.01[1]
261

Port scene
1866-1885, Port Adelaide
NGA 2007.81.121.14
SWS.5.114.01 [1]
262

Yachting at Port Adelaide
1883, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 21718
SWS.5.023.01 [1]
263

Port Adelaide New Years Day Regatta
1883, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 15
SWS.5.116.01 [2]
264

Copper Company's smelting works at Port Adelaide
1866-85, Port Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN398
SWS.5.042.01 [2]
265

Glenelg

Glenelg from the jetty
1877-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 3089
SWS.5.057.01 [1]
266

Glenelg from the jetty
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 3091
SWS.5.058.01 [1]
267

Glenelg from jetty
1877-84, Glenelg
SLSA B 10624
SWS.5.062.01 [1]
268

Glenelg from the jetty
1877-84, Glenelg
SLSA B 53306/9
SWS.5.072.03 [3]
269

Glenelg from the jetty
1877-84, Glenelg
SLSA B 10623
SWS.5.061.01 [2]
270

Glenelg from the jetty
1877-84, Glenelg
SLSA B 62414/1/89
SWS.5.071.03 [3]
271

Glenelg from the jetty
1877-84, Glenelg
SLSA B 3088
SWS.5.055.01 [2]
272

Glenelg from the jetty
1884-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 3092
SWS.5.054.01 [2]
273

Glenelg, looking from the shore end
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 10622
SWS.5.070.01 [1]
274

Glenelg jetty
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 12570
SWS.5.056.01 [2]
275

Largs Bay & Semaphore

Jetty, Largs Bay
1882-85, Largs Bay
Private Collection
SWS.5.080.02 [2]
276

Largs Bay Jetty
1882-85, Largs Bay
Private Collection
SWS.5.078.01 [3]
277

Largs Bay Jetty
1882-85, Largs Bay
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-50
SWS.5.081.01 [5]
278

Largs Jetty
1882-85, Largs Bay
Private Collection
SWS.5.106.01 [1]
279

Pier Hotel, Largs Bay
1882-85, Largs Bay
SLSA B 12544
SWS.5.075.01 [1]
280

Pier Hotel, Largs
1882-85, Largs Bay
SLSA B 7310
SWS.5.079.01 [1]
281

Largs Hotel
1882-85, Largs Bay
SLSA B 3090
SWS.5.076.01 [1]
282

Largs Pier Hotel
1882-85, Largs Bay
SLSA B 3722
SWS.5.077.01
283

Semaphore Jetty
1868-85, Semaphore
SLSA B 10625
SWS.5.085.01 [1]
284

Anchorage and pier at Semaphore
1868-85, Semaphore
NLA nla.pic-an24188309
SWS.5.087.01 [1]
285

Semaphore Pier
1883-85, Semaphore
Private Collection
SWS.5.107.01 [1]
286

Attributed to Captain Sweet
Semaphore
1866-85, Semaphore
SLSA Uncatalogued
SWS.5.119.01 [1]
287

Yorke Peninsula & Northern Ports

Port Vincent Jetty
1868-85, Port Vincent
SLSA B 17389/71
SWS.5.093.01 [1]
288

Port Vincent Jetty
1868-85, Port Vincent
SLSA B 17389/70
SWS.5.094.01 [1]
289

Port Vincent
1866-85, Port Vincent
SLSA B 9143
SWS.5.095.01 [1]
290

Tassie Street, Port Augusta
1877-78, Port Augusta
SLSA B 9349
SWS.5.044.01 [2]
291

Port Augusta
1866-85, Port Augusta
SLSA B 914
SWS.5.043.01 [1]
292

Southern Ports

Attributed to Captain Sweet
S.S. Sorata, Cape Jervois
1880, Cape Jervis
AGSA 20041RJN374.14
SWS.5.074.01 [2]
293

Victor Harbour
1879, Victor Harbour
AGSA 20041RJN374.21
SWS.5.089.01 [1]
294

Picnic Point, Granite Island
1879, Victor Harbour
AGSA 991Ph1.86
SWS.5.092.01 [2]
295

Port Victor from North Road
1879, Victor Harbour
AGSA 20041RJN374.15
SWS.5.090.01 [2]
296

Port Victor
1879, Victor Harbour
SLSA B 62414/2/14
SWS.5.091.03 [4]
297

Rocks, Port Elliot
1879, Port Elliot
SLSA B 62414/2/15
SWS.5.048.03 [4]
298

Jetty, Port Elliot
1879, Port Elliot
SLSA B 6026
SWS.5.046.01 [3]
299

Port Elliot
1879, Port Elliot
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-84
SWS.5.108.01 [1]
300

Rocks near Port Elliot
1879, Port Elliot
AGSA 20063Ph46
SWS.5.047.01 [1]
301

Attributed to Captain Sweet
P.S. Waradgery
1866-85, Goolwa
SLSA B 62414/2/17
SWS.5.040.01 [1]
302

Causeway and jetty, Milang
1879, Milang
SLSA B 10610
SWS.5.002.01 [3]
303

Jetty at Milang
1879, Milang
SLSA B 3122
SWS.5.084.01 [4]
304

Point Malcolm Lighthouse
1878, Point Malcolm
SLSA B 9803
SWS.4.015.01 [1]
305

Other

The 'Isabella'
1866-85, South Australia
SLSA B 10524
SWS.5.003.01 [1]
306

Rail & the Great Northern Railway

Rail

King William Street, with Glenelg train
1867-82, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-56
SWS.8.066.02 [3]
307

Adelaide railway station
1876-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 3741
SWS.8.091.02 [2]
308

Railway station, Adelaide
1876-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 9193
SWS.8.092.01 [5]
309

Belair Railway Station
1881-85, Belair
SLSA B 13270
SWS.6.159.01 [1]
310

Railway Station, Mount Lofty
1883-85, Mount Lofty
SLSA B 11483
SWS.6.160.01 [1]
311

Railway Station, Mount Lofty
1883-85, Mount Lofty
SLSA B 3115
SWS.6.161.01 [1]
312

Hills railway, viaduct near Aldgate
1883-85, Aldgate
Private Collection
SWS.6.001.05 [6]
313
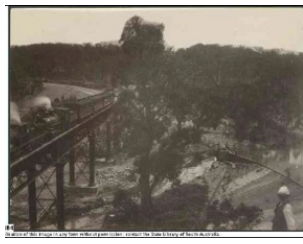
Rail Bridge, Bridgewater
1883-1885, Bridgewater
SLSA B 11484
SWS.6.012.01 [5]
314

Eden
1882-85, Eden
SLSA B 8862
SWS.6.027.01 [1]
315

Nairne railway viaduct
1882-83, Nairne
NLA nla.pic-an22985354
SWS.6.028.02 [2]
316

Nairne line viaduct
1882-85, Eden
Private Collection
SWS.6.181.01 [1]
317

Railway Station, Port Adelaide
1866-85, Port Adelaide
Reeder Fine Art
SWS.5.101.01 [1]
318

Tassie Street, Port Augusta
1877-78, Port Augusta
SLSA B 9349
SWS.5.044.01 [2]
319

Possibly Captain Samuel Sweet
Railway line
1866-1885, South Australia
NGA 2007.81.121.12
SWS.6.213.01 [1]
320

Sweet and Son
The first locomotive manufactured in South Australia
1890, Gawler
SLSA B 46771
SWS.6.209.01 [1]
321

Great Northern Railway 1882

Photographs are presented in the order in which these places are encountered as one travels from Saltia (near Port Augusta) to Farina along the original route of the Great Northern Railway.

Saltia
June 1882, Saltia
SLSA B 10681
SWS.3.008.05 [5]
322

Pichi Richi Pass
June 1882, near Saltia
Private Collection
SWS.3.004.02 [3]
323

Lattice Bridge
June 1882, Pichi Richi Pass (near Quorn)
SLSA B 62381
SWS.3.006.02 [2]
324

Pichi Richi Hamlet
June 1882, Pichi Richi Pass (near Quorn)
SLSA B 9350
SWS.3.007.01 [2]
325

French's Bridge
June 1882, Pichi Richi Pass (near Quorn)
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-40
SWS.3.005.01 [4]
326

Quorn Rail Station
June 1882, Quorn
SLSA B 62414/2/41
SWS.3.043.01 [1]
327

Rock formation on Kanyaka Station
June 1882, Flinders Ranges
[35km N.E. of Quorn]
SLSA B 62383
SWS.6.058.01
328

Death Rock, Kanyaka Station
June 1882, Flinders Ranges
[35km N.E. of Quorn]
NLA nla.pic-vn3083358
SWS.3.002.01 [1]
329

Hawker Rail Station
June 1882, Hawker
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-42
SWS.3.009.01 [2]
330

Hookina Railway Bridge
June 1882, Hookina
SLSA B 62388
SWS.6.157.01 [1]
331

Sheperd's Hut, Parachilna
June 1882, Parachilna
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-28
SWS.3.010.02 [4]
332

Beltana Railway Station
June 1882, Beltana
SLSA B 62376
SWS.3.015.01 [2]
333

Capt. Sweet, taking photos in the Far North
June 1882, Beltana
NGA nga 2007.81.120AB
SWS.3.041.01 [1]
334

Mrs Zillah Phillipson
June 1882, Beltana
SLSA B 10723
SWS.3.040.04 [8]
335

View of Beltana Station [Beltana Run]
June 1882, Beltana
SLSA B 11594
SWS.3.016.01 [1]
336

Camels and Afghan handlers, Beltana Station [Beltana Run]
June 1882, Beltana
SLSA B 62375
SWS.3.021.01 [1]
337

Afghan camel drivers [Beltana Run]
June 1882, Beltana
SLSA B 61979
SWS.3.022.01 [1]
338

Railway engineer's camp at Beltana
June 1882, Beltana
SLSA B 62389
SWS.3.020.01 [1]
339

Workmen at Beltana Creek
June 1882, Beltana
SLSA B 62377
SWS.3.026.01 [1]
340

Phillipson's lookout
June 1882, Sliding Rock
SLSA B 62385
SWS.3.029.02 [2]
341

Puttapa Gap Railway
June 1882, near Beltana
Private Collection
SWS.3.032.02 [2]
342

Puttapa Gap
June 1882, near Beltana
SLSA B 62380
SWS.3.033.01 [1]
343

Railway Bridge, Windy Creek
June 1882, Windy Creek
SLSA B 12651
SWS.6.158.01 [1]
344

Temple Bar [between Moolooloo and Beltana stations]
1882, Flinders Ranges
SLSA B 8378
SWS.3.014.01 [1]
345

Temple Bar [between Moolooloo and Beltana stations]
June 1882, Flinders Ranges
SLSA B 62386
SWS.3.012.01 [1]
346

Temple Bar [between Moolooloo and Beltana stations]
June 1882, Flinders Ranges
SLSA B 373
SWS.3.013.01 [1]
347

Temple Bar [between Moolooloo and Beltana stations]
June 1882, Flinders Ranges
SLSA B 10626
SWS.3.011.01 [4]
348

Great Northern Railway at Copley Crater
June 1882, Copley Crater [near Leigh Creek]
SLSA B 62379
SWS.3.025.01 [1]
349

Aroona Water
June 1882, Aroona Water [near Leigh Creek]
SLSA B 10627
SWS.3.035.02 [2]
350

Western view taken from Aroona
June 1882, Aroona Water [near Leigh Creek]
SLSA B 62384
SWS.3.036.01 [1]
351

Camel train
June 1882, Farina
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-39
SWS.3.042.01 [6]
352

Camels camped
June 1882, Farina
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-41
SWS.3.003.01 [2]
353

King William Street, looking south
1876-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 6578
SWS.8.048.02 [2]
354

King William Street, looking south
1876-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 21711
SWS.8.045.01 [1]
355

King William Street
1876-78, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.216.01 [1]
356

King William Street
1876-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 9174
SWS.8.069.01 [1]
357

King William Street [looking north showing tram tracks]
1878-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 9180
SWS.8.046.01 [1]
358

City Bridge, King William Road
1877-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 13268
SWS.8.068.01 [4]
359

King William Road [looking south]
1875-78, North Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.202.01 [1]
360

King William Road
1875-78, North Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-57
SWS.8.077.01 [7]
361

King William Road
1878-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 4188
SWS.8.043.02 [3]
362

North Terrace
1874-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 9165
SWS.8.104.01 [1]
363

North Terrace
1874-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 9168
SWS.8.106.01 [1]
364

North Terrace, looking west
1879-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 2919
SWS.8.114.01 [3]
365

North Terrace, looking west
1875-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 2918
SWS.8.113.01 [1]
366

North Terrace
1866-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 9162
SWS.8.107.01 [2]
367

North Terrace
1866-81, Adelaide
SLSA B 9179
SWS.8.105.01 [1]
368

North Terrace and Club
1881, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.121.01 [4]
369

See also City Views (pages 83-86) for more photographs.

Roads & Trams: North Adelaide

Adelaide from Montefiore Hill
1882-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 39587
SWS.8.192.01 [1]
370

Pennington Terrace
1866-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 2533
SWS.9.010.01 [5]
371

Brougham Place
1866-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 3907
SWS.9.009.01 [1]
372

O'Connell Street
c.1877 (1866-78), North Adelaide
SLSA B 9170
SWS.9.016.01 [1]
373

*Adelaide & Suburban Tramway Co.
Terminus at O'Connell Street*
c.1879 (Dec 1878-1880), North Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an10608594-86
SWS.9.015.01 [2]
374

Archer Street [from O'Connell St]
c.1877 (1866-78), North Adelaide
SLSA B 9167
SWS.8.012.01 [1]
375

Tynte Street [from O'Connell St]
c.1877 (1866-78), North Adelaide
SLSA B 21709
SWS.8.148.01 [1]
376

Gover Street [from O'Connell St]
c.1877(1866-78) North Adelaide
SLSA B 9171
SWS.8.027.01 [1]
377

Avenue Road
1874-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 9169
SWS.9.021.02 [2]
378

Roads & Trams: Suburbs

Port Adelaide
1880-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10741
SWS.5.030.01 [1]
379

Semaphore
1866-85, Semaphore
NLA nla.pic-an24188309
SWS.5.086.01 [1]
380

Jetty Road, looking west
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 9151
SWS.5.063.01 [1]
381

Looking east from Moseley Square
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 10621
SWS.5.065.01 [1]
382

The Parade, Norwood
c.1877 (1866-77), Norwood
SLSA B 7881
SWS.7.035.01 [1]
383

The Parade, Norwood
c.1877 (1866-77), Norwood
SLSA B 9153
SWS.7.034.01 [2]
384

Mitcham
1866-85, Mitcham
SLSA B 3563
SWS.7.030.01 [3]
385

Mitcham
1866-85, Mitcham
AGSA 20041RJN374.10
SWS.7.045.01 [2]
386

Horse Tram at Mitcham
c.1879 (1879-85), Mitcham
SLSA B 3561
SWS.7.031.01 [1]
387

Glen Osmond
c.1882 (1866-83) Glen Osmond
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-80
SWS.6.049.01 [3]
388

Glen Osmond
c.1882 (1866-83) Glen Osmond
SLSA B 13253
SWS.6.048.01 [1]
389

Glen Osmond
c.1882 (1866-83) Glen Osmond
SLSA B 10618
SWS.6.047.01 [1]
390

Roads & Trams: Country Areas

Road to Mount Lofty
1866-85, Adelaide Hills
SLSA B 3564
SWS.6.081.02 [2]
391

View from Mount Lofty
1866-85, Mount Lofty
Private Collection
SWS.6.083.01 [3]
392

Adelaide from Green Hill
1866-85, Green Hill
Private Collection
SWS.6.066.01 [1]
393

View of Norton's Summit Road, near Magill
1866-85, near Magill
AGSA 20063Ph32
SWS.6.098.05 [5]
394

The main street, Mt Barker
1866-85, Mount Barker
SLSA B 10614
SWS.6.076.01 [1]
395

The main street, Mt Barker
1866-85, Mount Barker
SLSA B 10613
SWS.6.075.01 [2]
396

Crafer's Hill
1866-85, Crafers
NLA nla.pic-an10608594-87
SWS.6.186.01 [1]
397

Strathalbyn
1866-85, Strathalbyn
SLSA B 23507
SWS.6.106.01 [1]
398

District Hotel, Gumeracha
1866-85, Gumeracha
SLSA B 11488
SWS.6.054.01 [2]
399

Hotel, Gawler
1866-85, Gawler
SLSA B 10591
SWS.6.038.01 [1]
400

Waterfall Gully Road
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
AGSA 991Ph1.69
SWS.6.124.01 [5]
401

Mannum
1866-85, Mannum
SLSA B 2535
SWS.6.064.01 [1]
402

Road to Morialta
1866-85, Adelaide Hills
AGSA 991Ph1.55
SWS.6.072.01 [4]
403

View on the road to Norton Summit
1866-85, Norton Summit
AGSA 20063Ph48
SWS.6.172.01 [1]
404

Bridges

Girders awaiting assembly for Murray Bridge
1868-73, Murray Bridge
NGA 86.1855
SWS.6.088.02 [2]
405

Bridge Building, Murray Bridge
1875, Murray Bridge
SLSA B 18647
SWS.6.085.01 [1]
406

Bridge Building, Murray Bridge
1873-79, Murray Bridge
SLSA B 18565
SWS.6.095.01 [1]
407

Bridge Building, Murray Bridge
1873-79, Murray Bridge
SLSA B 18558
SWS.6.094.01 [1]
408
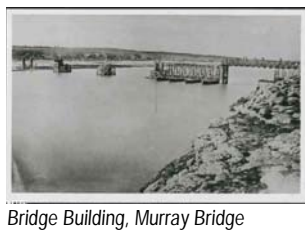
Bridge Building, Murray Bridge
1875, Murray Bridge
SLSA B 18642
SWS.6.086.01 [2]
409

Bridge Building, Murray Bridge
1873-79, Murray Bridge
SLSA B 62414/2/19
SWS.6.093.02 [2]
410

Railway Bridge, Murray Bridge
1873-79, Murray Bridge
SLSA B 5186
SWS.6.092.01 [2]
411

Railway Bridge, Murray Bridge
1873-79, Murray Bridge
SLSA B 3111
SWS.6.087.01 [3]
412

Murray Bridge Construction
1873-79, Murray Bridge
SLSA B 17389/38
SWS.6.084.01 [1]
413

Bridge Workers, Murray Bridge
1877-79, Murray Bridge
SLSA B 17389/59
SWS.6.089.01 [1]
414

Bridge Workers, Murray Bridge
1877-79, Murray Bridge
SLSA B 11708
SWS.6.091.01 [2]
415

Bridge Workers, Murray Bridge
1878-79, Murray Bridge
NGA 89.1594
SWS.6.090.02 [2]
416
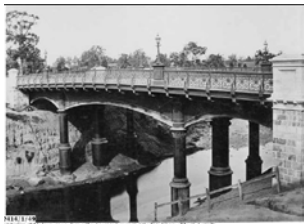
Albert Bridge, Frome Road
1879-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/49
SWS.8.227.01 [1]
417

City Bridge
1877-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7303
SWS.8.176.01 [1]
418

City Bridge
1877-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 21716
SWS.8.178.01 [1]
419

City Bridge
1877-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 13265
SWS.8.067.01 [3]
420

City Bridge
1877-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8868
SWS.8.177.01 [4]
421

City Bridge
1881-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 3566
SWS.8.179.01 [1]
422

Victoria Bridge
1871-81, Adelaide
SLSA B 1014
SWS.8.180.01 [6]
423

Torrens Railway Bridge
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 11707
SWS.8.183.01 [1]
424

Torrens Railway Bridge
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/51
SWS.8.228.01 [1]
425

Bridge, Hindmarsh
1866-85, Hindmarsh
SLSA B 17389/64
SWS.7.010.01 [1]
426

Military Bridge, Glenelg
1879-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 11751
SWS.5.050.01 [1]
427

Bridge at Felixstow
1873-85, Felixstow
SLSA B 17389/67
SWS.6.164.02 [2]
428

Orangery with rustic bridge
1866-85, Felixstow
AGSA 811HP15
SWS.6.165.01 [1]
429
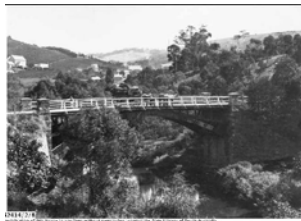
Clarendon Bridge
1866-85, Clarendon
SLSA B 62414/2/8
SWS.6.021.03 [3]
430
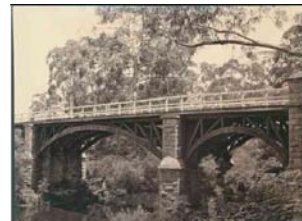
Onkaparinga Bridge [Hack Bridge]
1866-85, Mylor
SLSA B 10768
SWS.6.099.01 [1]
431

Gumeracha Bridge
1872-85, Gumeracha
SLSA B 13766
SWS.6.051.01 [1]
432

Gumeracha Bridge
1872-85, Gumeracha
SLSA B 9147
SWS.6.053.01 [1]
433

Gumeracha Bridge
1872-85, Gumeracha
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-32
SWS.6.052.02 [5]
434

46

Ledgard's Bridge
1871-85, near Gumeracha
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-65
SWS.6.201.01 [1]
435

Noarlunga
1866-85, Noarlunga
AGSA 20041RJN374.26
SWS.6.190.02 [3]
436

Magill Bridge
1866-85, Magill
Private Collection
SWS.7.048.01 [1]
437

Attributed to Captain Sweet
Bridge over the Hindmarsh River, Victor Harbour
1866-85, Victor Harbour
AGSA 811HP18
SWS.5.088.01 [1]
438

Foot bridge, Clare
1866-85, Clare
SLSA B 13398
SWS.6.162.01 [1]
439

For more bridges see also Port Adelaide (page 31), Rail & the Great Northern Railway (pages 37-40).

UTILITIES

Reservoirs, Pipelines & Water Supply

Hope Valley Reservoir
1872-85, Hope Valley
SLSA B 12541
SWS.6.119.01 [1]
440

Thorndon Park Reservoir
1866-85, Thorndon Park
SLSA B 9149
SWS.6.118.01 [1]
441
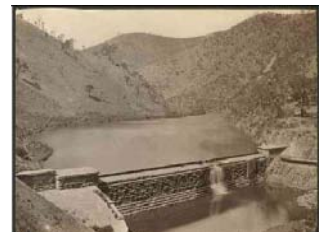
Torrens Gorge Weir
1866-85, Torrens Valley
SLSA B 13267
SWS.6.115.01 [1]
442

Torrens Gorge Weir
1866-85, Torrens Valley
SLSA B 9195
SWS.6.114.01 [2]
443

Torrens Gorge Weir
1866-85, Torrens Valley
SLSA B 13765
SWS.6.112.02 [3]
444

Weir and Pipe
1866-85, Torrens Valley
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-69
SWS.6.113.01 [5]
445
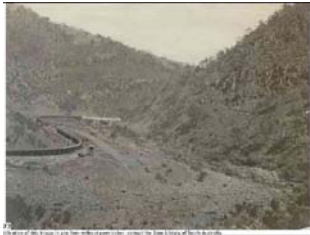
Torrens Gorge Aqueduct
1866-85, Torrens Valley
SLSA B 8872
SWS.6.116.01 [2]
446

Torrens Gorge Aqueduct
1866-85, Torrens Valley
SLSA B 10631
SWS.6.117.01 [2]
447

Old dam at the Gorge
1866-85, Torrens Valley
AGSA 991Ph1.54
SWS.6.109.01
448

Torrens River
1866-85, Torrens Valley
AGSA 991Ph1.50
SWS.6.110.01 [1]
449

Bridgewater Weir (Cox's Creek)
1877-85, Bridgewater
NGA 2007.81.121.4
SWS.6.214.01 [1]
450

Torrens Weir
1881-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-vn3083755
SWS.6.138.01 [1]
451

Currency Creek
1866-85, Currency Creek
AGSA 20063Ph22
SWS.6.039.01 [1]
452

Torrens River near Chain of Ponds
1866-85, Torrens Valley
SLSA B 58005/43
SWS.6.111.02 [2]
453

Clarendon and the River Onkaparinga
1866-85, Clarendon
SLSA B 6583
SWS.6.043.01 [2]
454

Clarendon and Onkaparinga River
1866-85, Clarendon
AGSA 991Ph1.62
SWS.6.023.01 [2]
455
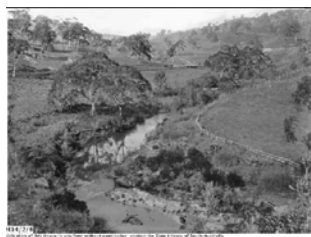
Onkaparinga River
1866-85, Clarendon
SLSA B 62414/2/6
SWS.6.193.01 [1]
456

Onkaparinga River at Clarendon
1866-85, Clarendon
SLSA B 62414/2/10
SWS.6.194.01 [2]
457

Onkaparinga River
1866-85, Clarendon
SLSA B 62414/2/11
SWS.6.195.01 [1]
458

Onkaparinga River
1866-85, Clarendon
SLSA B 62414/2/5
SWS.6.046.02 [2]
459

Valley 'Riverside', Lyndoch
c1880-81, Lyndoch (near Pewsey Vale)
SLSA B 23509
SWS.6.061.01 [1]
460

Morialta Falls
1866-85, Morialta
SLSA B 62414/1/75
SWS.6.121.04 [4]
461

Waterfall
1866-85, South Australia
AGSA 200011Ph5
SWS.6.123.01 [1]
462

Top Fall, Waterfall Gully
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-68
SWS.6.120.01 [1]
463

Waterfall Gully
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
SLSA B 62414/1/77
SWS.6.191.01 [1]
464

First Waterfall
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-62
SWS.6.130.02 [3]
465

First Waterfall
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
SLSA B 7312
SWS.6.131.01 [1]
466

First Waterfall
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
SLSA B 8871
SWS.6.132.01 [1]
467

First Waterfall
1866 -86, Waterfall Gully
AGSA 20041RJN384
SWS.6.107.01 [1]
468

First Waterfall
1866-80, Waterfall Gully
AGSA 991Ph1.48
SWS.6.129.01 [1]
469

49

Second Waterfall
1878, Waterfall Gully
SLSA B 53306/2
SWS.6.163.01 [1]
470

Views in the First Creek - near waterfall
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
SLSA B 62414.1.78
SWS.6.173.02 [2]
471

First Waterfall, First Creek
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
AGSA 20063Ph57
SWS.6.171.01 [1]
472

Second Waterfall, Fourth Creek, near Morialta
1866-85, Fourth Creek, Adelaide Hills
AGSA 20063Ph62
SWS.6.167.01 [1]
473

First Waterfall, Fourth Creek, near Morialta
1866-85, Fourth Creek, Adelaide Hills
AGSA 20063Ph61
SWS.6.168.01 [1]
474

Murray River at Mannum
1876, Mannum
SLSA B 58005/16
SWS.6.096.01 [1]
475

Near Gumeracha
1879, Gumeracha
SLSA B 9146
SWS.6.220.01 [1]
476

Leg of Mutton Lake
1879-85, Mount Gambier
SLSA B 3559
SWS.6.059.01 [1]
477

Mount Gambier Lakes
1866-85, Mount Gambier
AGSA 20041RJN374.18
SWS.6.078.01 [4]
478

Blue Lake, Mt Gambier
1866-85, Mount Gambier
NLA nla.pic-vn3083355
SWS.6.079.01 [2]
479

On the Para River, near Gawler
1866-85, near Gawler
AGSA 20063Ph23
SWS.6.044.01
480

On the East Para River near Gawler
1866-85, near Gawler
AGSA 20063Ph30
SWS.6.176.01 [1]
481

On the East Para River near Gawler
1866-85, near Gawler
AGSA 20063Ph24
SWS.6.179.01 [1]
482

Kensington Creek - 4km from Adelaide
1866-85, Kensington
AGSA 20063Ph42
SWS.7.043.01 [1]
483

Patawalonga Creek, Glenelg
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 11750
SWS.5.049.01 [1]
484

Patawalonga Creek, Glenelg
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 11753
SWS.5.052.01 [1]
485

Patawalonga Creek, Glenelg
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 11752
SWS.5.051.01 [1]
486

SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE

EDUCATION

St. Peter's College
c.1872-85, Hackney
SLSA B 3097
SWS.7.007.01 [4]
487

St. Peter's College
1878, Hackney
SLSA B 3128
SWS.7.008.01 [4]
488

Prince Alfred College
1881-82, Kent Town
SLSA B 9331
SWS.7.021.01 [3]
489

Prince Alfred College
1882-85, Kent Town
SLSA B 12545
SWS.7.022.01 [5]
490

Prince Alfred College
1881-82, Kent Town
SLSA B 13397
SWS.7.023.01 [4]
491

Norwood Model School
1877, Norwood
SLSA B 62414/1/65
SWS.7.037.02 [2]
492

Hindmarsh Model School
c.1878 (1878-85), Hindmarsh
SLSA B 62414/1/64
SWS.7.049.01 [1]
493

Flinders Street Model School
1878, Adelaide
SLSA B 10714
SWS.8.019.01 [3]
494

Training school and Model School, Grote Street
c.1876 (1876-85), Adelaide
SLSA B 10715
SWS.8.035.01 [2]
495

North Adelaide Model School, Tynte Street
1877, North Adelaide
SLSA B 10677
SWS.8.149.01 [1]
496

Whinham College, Jeffcott Street
c.1882 (1882-85), North Adelaide
SLSA B 10698
SWS.9.018.01 [1]
497

Whinham College, Jeffcott Street
c.1882 (1882-85), North Adelaide
SLSA B 7051
SWS.9.019.01 [2]
498

University of Adelaide, Mitchell Building
1883-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-6
SWS.8.119.01 [3]
499

University of Adelaide and public library
1883-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-53
SWS.8.120.01 [1]
500
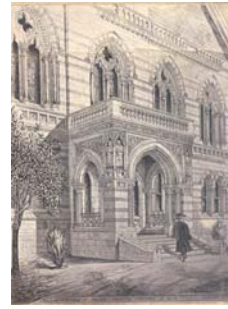
Mitchell Building, Principal entrance
1879, Adelaide
albumen silver photograph of a drawing
Barr Smith Library, 1151/ 25
SWS.8.232.01 [1]
501

CHURCHES

Chalmers Free Church
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10684
SWS.8.110.01 [1]
502

North Terrace east [with Chalmers Free Church]
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 9161
SWS.8.108.01 [1]
503

Flinders Street Baptist Church
C,1877 (1877-85), Adelaide
SLSA B 10692
SWS.8.020.02 [3]
504

Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Flinders Street
1872-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/5
SWS.8.021.01 [1]
505

Wesleyan Church, Gilbert Street
1869-85 Adelaide
SLSA B 10694
SWS.8.026.01 [1]
506

St. Luke's Church and Rectory, Whitmore Square
1874, Adelaide
SLSA B 10693
SWS.8.168.01 [1]
507

Baptist Church, Tynte Street
1872-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/57
SWS.8.146.02 [2]
508

Tynte Street Baptist Chapel
1875-85, North Adelaide
AGSA 991Ph1.16
SWS.8.147.01 [1]
509

Baptist Church, Tynte Street
1875-85, North Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-55
SWS.8.145.01 [1]
510

Congregational Church, Brougham Place
1876-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/56
SWS.9.007.01 [2]
511

St. Peter's Cathedral
1876-80, North Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-19
SWS.9.005.02 [8]
512

St Peter's Cathedral
1876-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/53
SWS.9.008.01 [1]
513

St. Peter's Cathedral
1876-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 10718
SWS.9.006.01 [1]
514

Pennington Terrace, North Adelaide
1883-85, North Adelaide
private collection
SWS.9.023.01
515

Pennington Terrace, North Adelaide
1876-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 2895
SWS.9.022.01 [1]
516

Church of England Cathedral, North Adelaide
1876-85, North Adelaide
AGSA 20063Ph40
SWS.9.020.01 [1]
517

Chapel, St Peter's College
1872, Hackney
SLSA B 10578
SWS.7.009.01 [1]
518

Church, Hindmarsh
1866-85, Hindmarsh
SLSA B 10602
SWS.7.011.01 [1]
519

St Matthew's, Kensington
1866-85, Kensington
SLSA B 10575
SWS.7.013.01 [1]
520

Clayton Church, Beulah
1866-83, Beulah Park
SLSA B 10571
SWS.7.051.01 [1]
521

Clayton Church, Beulah
1866-83, Beulah Park
SLSA B 10572
SWS.7.014.02 [2]
522

St Augustine Church
1870-85, Unley
SLSA B 10573
SWS.7.041.01 [1]
523

Port Adelaide [Congregational Church]
1868-85, Port Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.5.099.01 [1]
524

Presbyterian Church, Port Adelaide
1882-85, Port Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.5.102.01 [1]
525

St George's Church
1866-85, Woodforde (Magill)
SLSA B 10577
SWS.7.046.01 [1]
526

Wesleyan Church, Magill
1875-84, Magill
SLSA B 10580
SWS.7.027.01 [1]
527

St John's Church, Morialta
1873-85, Morialta
SLSA B 10579
SWS.6.073.01 [1]
528

Church at Strathalbyn
1879, Strathalbyn
SLSA B 3125
SWS.6.105.01 [3]
529

Baptist chapel, Angaston
1866-85, Angaston
SLSA B 1264
SWS.6.002.01 [1]
530

Nairne township [church]
1866-85, Nairne
SLSA B 7800
SWS.6.097.01 [1]
531

St Thomas' Church of England Port Lincoln
1865-85, Port Lincoln
SLSA B 3116
SWS.5.083.01 [1]
532

St Michael's Church, Bungaree
1866-85, Bungaree
SLSA B 12547
SWS.6.015.01 [1]
533

[image not available]
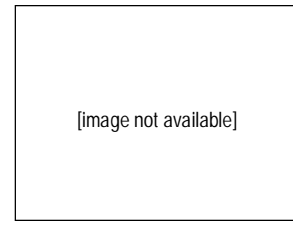
[Church with family and choir]
1866-85, South Australia
SLSA uncatalogued #9
SWS.6.218.01 [1]
534

SPORT, LEISURE & RECREATION

Victoria Park Racecourse
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7880
SWS.8.150.01 [2]
535

Morphettville Race Course
1875-85, Morphettville
SLSA B 11490
SWS.7.033.01 [1]
536

Oval from Montefiore Hill
1881-85, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN374.31
SWS.8.221.01 [1]
537

Adelaide Oval
1871-75, Adelaide
SLSA B 9138
SWS.8.197.01 [4]
538

Torrens Lake with eight boats
1881-85, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN374.27
SWS.8.220.01 [1]
539

City Bridge and Torrens Lake
1877-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8868
SWS.8.177.01 [4]
540

Adelaide Bridge
1881-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 3566
SWS.8.179.01 [1]
541

Torrens Lake
1881-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 3108
SWS.8.181.01 [1]
542

Torrens Lake, East of Adelaide
1881-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7304
SWS.8.186.01 [4]
543

Boat house, River Torrens
1881-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.211.01 [1]
544

Torrens Lake
1881-85, Adelaide
SLSA
SWS.8.182.01 [5]
545

River Torrens parklands
1881-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10708
SWS.8.184.01 [2]
546

River Torrens
1881-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10814
SWS.8.188.01 [1]
547

Long's Boat Shed
1881-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10815
SWS.8.189.01 [1]
548

Adelaide from Torrens Lake
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/38
SWS.8.185.01 [2]
549

Cricket match by the Angas River, Strathalbyn
1879, Strathalbyn
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-74
SWS.6.104.02 [5]
550

Elder Park
1882-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8853
SWS.8.016.02 [2]
551

Theatre Royal, Hindley Street
1881, Adelaide
SLSA B 2910
SWS.8.041.01 [3]
552

Group at Chain of Ponds
1866-85, Chain of Ponds
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-82
SWS.6.019.01 [6]
553

Bridgewater and river fishing
1866-85, Bridgewater
Private Collection
SWS.6.182.01 [1]
554
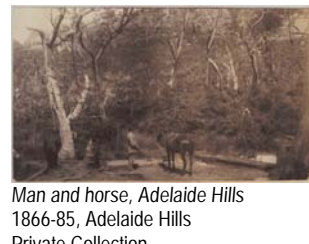
Man and horse, Adelaide Hills
1866-85, Adelaide Hills
Private Collection
SWS.6.183.01 [1]
555

Second Fall, Waterfall Gully
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
Private Collection
SWS.6.133.10 [10]
556

Second Fall, Waterfall Gully
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
SLSA B 11500
SWS.6.135.01 [2]
557

Group at Second Waterfall, Waterfall Gully
1866-85, Waterfall Gully
Private Collection
SWS.6.134.01 [1]
558

Brownhill Creek, Mitcham
1866-85, Mitcham
SLSA B 3723
SWS.7.032.01 [1]
559

Lacrosse team, Adelaide
1881-85, Adelaide
SLSA PRG 1399/196/4/2/3
SWS.11.015.01 [1]
560

Three acrobats and two young women
1866-85, South Australia
SLSA B 62396
SWS.11.008.01 [1]
561

BOTANIC GARDENS

Birds eye view of Botanic Gardens
1880-82, Adelaide
Adelaide Botanic Gardens Library
SWS.2.009.01 [7]
562

Botanic Gardens
1880-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 7842
SWS.2.010.02 [7]
563

Centre Fountain
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 13402
SWS.2.004.04 [4]
564

Fountain in main walk
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 5095
SWS.2.099.01 [2]
565

Entrance Path
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 13257
SWS.2.071.04 [4]
566

Victoria Regia House
1868-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-88
SWS.2.020.03 [3]
567

Basin in Victoria Regia House
1868-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-89
SWS.2.021.01 [5]
568

Interior of Fernery
1868-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-60
SWS.2.024.01 [1]
569

Interior of Victoria Regia House
1868-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-53
SWS.2.022.01 [2]
570

Interior of Victoria Regia House
1868-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-54
SWS.2.023.01 [2]
571

Director's Residence
1870-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 13260
SWS.2.028.02 [3]
572

Director's Residence
1870-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-8
SWS.2.030.01 [3]
573

Director's house
1870-85, Adelaide
AGSA 991Ph1.94
SWS.2.029.01 [3]
574

Rosery with Residence
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7306
SWS.2.087.01 [3]
575

Curator's [Director's] residence
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-65
SWS.2.068.01 [2]
576

Palm House, Botanic Gardens
1877, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN392
SWS.2.092.02 [2]
577

Palm House, Botanic Gardens
1877, Adelaide
Adelaide Botanic Gardens Library
SWS.2.014.04 [4]
578

Palm House, Botanic Gardens
1877, Adelaide
SLSA B 4145
SWS.2.098.01 [1]
579

Botanic Gardens Palm House
1877, Adelaide
SLSA B 10706
SWS.2.019.02 [6]
580

Interior of Palm House
1877, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-95
SWS.2.018.03 [3]
581

Fountain in Palm House
1877, Adelaide
AGSA 991Ph1.96
SWS.2.105.01 [1]
582

View from Palm House
1877-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-50
SWS.2.011.01 [1]
583

View from Palm House
1877-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-100
SWS.2.005.01 [2]
584

Botanic Garden [View from Palm House]
1877-85, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN397
SWS.2.006.04 [4]
585

View from the Palm House
1877-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an10608594-92
SWS.2.007.01 [4]
586

The Willows [from Palm House]
1877-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8865
SWS.2.042.02 [4]
587

Botanic Gardens [old museum]
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8990
SWS.2.027.02 [2]
588

Museum of Economic Botany
1881, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-56
SWS.2.025.01 [2]
589

Interior of Museum of Economic Botany
1881, Adelaide
Adelaide Botanic Gardens
SWS.2.026.02 [2]
590

Interior of Museum of Economic Botany
1881, Adelaide
NGA 86.1856
SWS.2.108.01 [1]
591

Adelaide Botanic Garden
1881-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-31
SWS.2.008.01 [2]
592

Walkways amongst garden beds
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-43
SWS.2.056.01 [2]
593

Conservatories
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-27
SWS.2.104.01 [1]
594

Conservatories
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8991
SWS.2.032.02 [3]
595

Conservatories
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-90
SWS.2.033.04 [4]
596

Rose bed and conservatories
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-22
SWS.2.043.01 [2]
597

Rosery
1881, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-96
SWS.2.039.03 [8]
598

Rosery
1867-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8989
SWS.2.106.01 [1]
599

Walkways amongst garden beds
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-37
SWS.2.041.01 [3]
600

Botanic Gardens
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10158
SWS.2.058.01 [1]
601

Poplars
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 13261
SWS.2.048.05 [7]
602

Geranium bed
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-92
SWS.2.044.01 [6]
603

Botanical Gardens [with bird cage]
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8986
SWS.2.047.02 [3]
604

Botanical Gardens [with bird cage]
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7307
SWS.2.046.03 [6]
605

Botanic Gardens [animal enclosures & Moreton Bay Fig avenue]
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8992
SWS.2.095.01 [1]
606

Menagerie [bird cage]
1866-85, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN375
SWS.2.054.03 [3]
607

Aquarium
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8984
SWS.2.052.03 [3]
608

Walkways amongst garden beds
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-44
SWS.2.057.01 [1]
609

Walkways amongst garden beds
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-25
SWS.2.053.01 [2]
610

Pathway with statues
1866-85, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN389
SWS.2.089.03 [3]
611

View from Niobe Hill
1873-78, Adelaide
Adelaide Botanic Gardens Library
SWS.2.091.01
612

Niobe
1867-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-23
SWS.2.035.01 [2]
613

Botanic Gardens
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8983
SWS.2.101.01 [1]
614

Walkways with fountain and statuary
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8985
SWS.2.049.04 [4]
615

Botanic Gardens
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10159
SWS.2.065.01 [1]
616

Walkways amongst garden beds
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8987
SWS.2.055.02 [2]
617

Grotto
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-21
SWS.2.060.01 [1]
618

Aloe Bed
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-20
SWS.2.066.01 [1]
619

Dolorosa Splendens tree
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-41
SWS.2.067.01 [1]
620

North Gate
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-69
SWS.2.031.01 [1]
621

Botanical Gardens and North Lodge
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 13255
SWS.2.064.04 [4]
622

Class ground
1876-85, Adelaide
Adelaide Botanic Gardens Library
SWS.2.040.01 [1]
623

Lake and Rotunda
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-11
SWS.2.063.01 [5]
624

Centre path
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-5
SWS.2.069.01 [2]
625

Entrance path
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-4
SWS.2.070.01 [2]
626

Moreton Bay Fig Avenue, Botanic Park
1874-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-93
SWS.2.073.01 [3]
627

Plane Avenue in Park
1876-85, Adelaide
Adelaide Botanic Gardens Library
SWS.2.072.02 [2]
628

Bridge and avenue
1866-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.2.102.01 [2]
629

Waterfall in Park
1866-85, Adelaide
Adelaide Botanic Gardens Library
SWS.2.074.01 [1]
630

Geese and Lake
1866-85, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN386
SWS.2.075.06 [6]
631

Round pond
1877-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7309
SWS.2.076.02 [3]
632

Pampas Grass and Lake
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-39
SWS.2.077.02 [4]
633

Lake and canoe
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 13263
SWS.2.078.02 [3]
634

Lake and boat
1866-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.2.079.04 [6]
635

View from park
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-63
SWS.2.080.01 [1]
636

Botanical Gardens, Adelaide
1866-85, Adelaide
Adelaide Botanic Gardens
SWS.2.094.01 [2]
637

The Lake
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8867
SWS.2.081.04 [4]
638

Lake and fountain
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-98
SWS.2.082.02 [7]
639

The Lake
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-9
SWS.2.083.01 [1]
640

Lake
1870-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-30
SWS.2.084.01 [4]
641

Lake
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7305
WS.2.085.02 [3]
642

Lake
1866-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.2.086.03 [3]
643

Venus and Aquarium
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-13
SWS.2.037.01 [3]
644

Venus and Fountain
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-34
SWS.2.038.01 [4]
645

Venus rising from the Sea
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-14
SWS.2.036.02 [3]
646

Attributed to Captain Sweet
Botanical Gardens, Adelaide (bridge to island)
1866-85, Adelaide
AGSA 819HP74
SWS.2.062.01 [1]
647

White Cedar
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-64
SWS.2.001.01 [1]
648
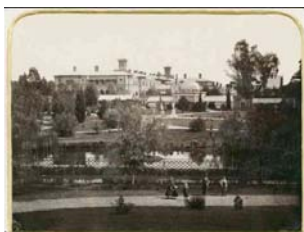
Botanic Gardens
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 4144
SWS.2.097.01 [1]
649

Botanic Gardens
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7308
SWS.2.100.01 [1]
650
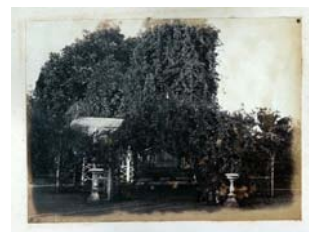
Trellis
1866-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.2.103.01 [1]
651

Trellis
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-26
SWS.2.003.01 [1]
652

Adelaide Botanic Gardens Employees in the year 1883
1883, Adelaide
Adelaide Botanic Gardens Library
SWS.2.002.01 [1]
653

Gardener working in the Botanic Gardens
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 62394
SWS.2.096.01 [1]
654

Morning room at 'Dimora' [Harry Lockette Ayres' residence]
1882-85, East Terrace, Adelaide
SLSA B 58689
SWS.10.093.01 [1]
655

Entrance Hall at 'Dimora' [Harry Lockette Ayres' residence]
1882-85, East Terrace, Adelaide
SLSA B 58692
SWS.10.094.01 [1]
656

Dining room at 'Dimora' [Harry Lockette Ayres' residence]
1882-85, East Terrace, Adelaide
SLSA B 58690
SWS.10.095.01 [1]
657

Dining room at 'Dimora' [Harry Lockette Ayres' residence]
1882-85, East Terrace, Adelaide
SLSA B 58691
SWS.10.096.01 [1]
658

Drawing room at 'Dimora' [Harry Lockette Ayres' residence]
1882-85, East Terrace, Adelaide
SLSA B 58688
SWS.10.097.01 [1]
659

Sir James Hurtle Fisher's dining room
1866-85, North Terrace, Adelaide
Private collection[4]
SWS.10.128.01
660

John Rounsevell's residence, Hutt Street
1874-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10761
SWS.10.100.01 [1]
661

Residence of John Dunn, Jr., Hackney Road
1873-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10649
SWS.10.099.01 [1]
662

Residence of John Dunn, Jr.
1873-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10650
SWS.10.098.01 [1]
663

Dr Way's, North Terrace east
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10752
SWS.8.116.01 [1]
664

Residence, North Terrace east
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10667
SWS.8.112.01 [1]
665

Bishops Court
1866-85, North Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-18
SWS.10.109.01 [1]
666

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[4] Image reproduced from Terence Lane & Jessie Serle, *Australians at Home. A documentary history of Australian domestic interiors*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1990, p.129.

Sir Samuel Way's Residence, Montefiore
1875-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 45857
SWS.10.105.01 [1]
667

Sir Samuel Way's residence, Montefiore
1875-85, North Adelaide
SLSA uncatalogued #191
668

Sir Samuel Way's Residence, Montefiore
1875-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 45856
SWS.10.104.01 [1]
669

Residence, Brougham Place
1866-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 10678
SWS.10.106.01 [1]
670

Kingsmead, Brougham Place
1866-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 21723
SWS.10.108.01 [1]
671

Kingsmead, Brougham Place
1866-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 10697
SWS.10.107.01 [1]
672

Strangways Terrace [George Catchlove's Residence]
1871-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 10763
SWS.10.103.01 [1]
673
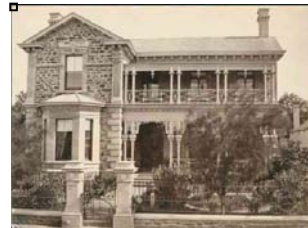
Strangways Terrace [George Catchlove's Residence]
1871-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 10762
SWS.10.102.01 [1]
674

Residence, Kent Town
1866-85, Kent Town
SLSA B 10653
SWS.10.042.01 [1]
675

Residence, Kent Town
1866-85, Kent Town
SLSA B 9154
SWS.10.041.01 [1]
676

Wright's residence [The Olives]
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 10747
SWS.10.024.01 [1]
677

Mrs Thomas's residence [Oriental]
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 10749
SWS.10.025.01 [1]
678

Letchford's Residence
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 10660
SWS.10.123.01 [1]
679

Cudmore's Residence [Paringa Hall]
1882-85, Glenelg
AGSA 819HP70
SWS.10.017.01 [1]
680

Interior view of John Brodie Spence's residence
1866-85, Robert St, Glenelg
SLSA B 12568
SWS.10.015.01 [1]
681

Drawing Room, John Brodie Spence's residence
1866-85, Robert St, Glenelg
SLSA B 12567
SWS.10.016.01 [1]
682

Glenara
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 69405
SWS.10.018.01 [2]
683

Glenara
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 56803
SWS.10.019.01 [2]
684

Glenara
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 56804
SWS.10.020.01 [1]
685

Glenara
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 56984
SWS.10.021.01 [1]
686

Garden of Glenara
1866-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 56993
SWS.10.022.01 [2]
687

Capt. Bagot's residence [Essenside]
1868-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 10748
SWS.10.027.01 [1]
688

Capt. Bagot's residence [Essenside]
1868-85, Glenelg
SLSA B 21722
SWS.10.026.01 [1]
689

Residence of Robert Tarlton
1866-85, Somerton Park
SLSA B 10657
SWS.10.081.01 [1]
690

68

Interior of Tarlton's House (showing square table)
1866-85, Somerton Park
AGSA 819HP67
SWS.10.090.01 [1]
691

Interior of Tarlton's House (showing statuettes)
1866-85, Somerton Park
AGSA 819HP71
SWS.10.089.01 [2]
692

Esplanade, Glenelg [Seafield Tower residence]
1877-84, Glenelg
SLSA B 7874
SWS.5.059.01 [6]
693

Mr Kay's House, Norwood
1866-85, Norwood
SLSA uncatalogued #189
694

The Briars, Menindie
1866-85, Menindie
SLSA uncatalogued #192
695

J.A. Holden's residence
1866-85, Kensington Park
SLSA B 10679
SWS.10.039.01 [1]
696

J.A. Holden's residence
1866-85, Kensington Park
SLSA B 10680
SWS.10.040.01 [1]
697

"Moorcraft"
1866-85, Burnside
SLSA B 12736
SWS.10.033.01 [1]
698

"Moorcraft"
1866-85, Burnside
SLSA B 12737
SWS.10.034.01 [1]
699

"Sunnyside" [Sir William Milne's residence]
1866-85, Beaumont [Leabrook]
SLSA B 10640
SWS.10.032.01 [1]
700

'Bellevesta'
1866-85, Goodwood Park
SLSA B 6582
SWS.10.036.01 [1]
701

'Bellevesta'
1866-85, Goodwood Park
SLSA B 6580
SWS.10.037.01 [1]
702

'Bellevesta'
1866-85, Goodwood Park
SLSA B 6581
SWS.10.038.01 [1]
703

'Bellevesta'
1866-85, Goodwood Park
SLSA B 10641
SWS.10.035.01 [1]
704

The Acacias [Sir E.T. Smith's residence]
1881-85, Marryatville
SLSA B 3932
SWS.10.044.01 [1]
705

The Acacias [Sir E.T. Smith's residence]
1881-85, Marryatville
SLSA B 3931
SWS.10.045.01 [2]
706

Dining room, The Acacias [Sir E.T. Smith's residence]
1881-85, Marryatville
AGSA 819HP69
SWS.10.050.01 [1]
707

Hall, The Acacias [Sir E.T. Smith's residence]
1881-85, Marryatville
Private Collection
SWS.10.046.01 [1]
708

Dining Room, The Acacias [Sir E.T. Smith's residence]
1881-85, Marryatville
Private Collection
SWS.10.047.01 [1]
709

'Oaklands', Marion
1876, Marion
SLSA B 23408
SWS.10.049.01 [1]
710

'Oaklands' gardens, Marion
1876, Marion
SLSA B 23409
SWS.10.048.01 [1]
711

Gardens at 'Oaklands', Marion
1876, Marion
SLSA uncatalogued #1
SWS.10.125.01 [1]
712

Gum Trees, Oaklands
1876, Marion
SLSA B 62414/2/51
SWS.6.187.02 [3]
713

Birksgate
1872-73, Glen Osmond
SLSA B 10632
SWS.10.006.01 [1]
714

Birksgate
1872-73, Glen Osmond
SLSA B 10635
SWS.10.003.01 [1]
715

Birksgate
1872-73, Glen Osmond
SLSA B 10633
SWS.10.005.01 [1]
716

Conservatory, Birksgate
1872-73, Glen Osmond
SLSA B 10636
SWS.10.013.01 [1]
717

Conservatory, Birksgate
1872-73, Glen Osmond
SLSA B 10634
SWS.10.004.01 [1]
718

Benacre, Glen Osmond
1870-80, Glen Osmond
SLSA B 10638
SWS.10.008.01 [1]
719

Benacre, Glen Osmond
1870-80, Glen Osmond
SLSA B 10639
SWS.10.007.01 [1]
720

Benacre, Glen Osmond
1870-80, Glen Osmond
SLSA B 10637
SWS.10.009.01 [2]
721

'Wootton Lea', Glen Osmond
1866-85, Glen Osmond
SLSA uncatalogued #2
SWS.10.126.01 [1]
722

Torrens Park Residence
1874, Mitcham
SLSA B 10645
SWS.10.062.01 [1]
723

Torrens Park Residence
1874, Mitcham
SLSA B 10643
SWS.10.057.01 [1]
724

Torrens Park Residence
1874, Mitcham
SLSA B 10644
SWS.10.061.01 [1]
725

The Lake, Torrens Park
1872-85, Mitcham
SLSA B 9155
SWS.10.060.01 [1]
726

The Lake, Torrens Park
1872-85, Mitcham
SLSA B 13401
SWS.10.058.01 [3]
727

Hall, Torrens Park
1880-85, Mitcham
SLSA B 39539
SWS.10.063.01 [1]
728

Dining Room, Torrens Park
1880-85, Mitcham
SLSA B 63079
SWS.10.059.01 [1]
729

Large drawing-room, Torrens Park
1885, Mitcham
SLSA B 39540[5]
SWS.10.065.01 [1]
730

Ante-drawing-room, Torrens Park
1880-85, Mitcham
SLSA B 17620
SWS.10.064.01 [1]
731

Dining-room, Torrens Park
1880-85, Mitcham
SLSA[6]
SWS.10.067.01 [1]
732

Dining-room, Torrens Park
1880-85, Mitcham
SLSA B 17619
SWS.10.066.01 [1]
733

Woman with an umbrella, Mitcham
1872-82, Mitcham
AGSA U0006Ph
SWS.10.069.01 [3]
734

Mitcham [Torrens Park House driveway]
1872-85, Mitcham
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-78
SWS.10.068.01 [2]
735

Letchford's residence
1866-85, Lower Mitcham
SLSA B 10659
SWS.10.043.01 [1]
736

John Gordon's residence [Auster]
1866-85, Parkside
SLSA B 10654
SWS.10.124.01 [1]
737

Luther Scammell's residence
1866-85, Unley
SLSA B 10651
SWS.10.084.01 [1]
738

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[5] Image reproduced from Terence Lane & Jessie Serle, *Australians at Home. A documentary history of Australian domestic interiors*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1990, p.147, due to poor quality of SLSA print.

[6] Image reproduced from Lane & Serle op.cit., p.161, Lane & Serle cite SLSA as the collection from which the image was reproduced but it cannot be found at SLSA.

Magill [residential gardens?]
1866-85, Magill
SLSA B 13764
SWS.7.026.01 [1]
739

"Stradbroke" residence at Rostrevor
1866-85, Rostrevor
SLSA B 10766
SWS.10.082.01 [1]
740

'Rostrevor' [Mr Ross T. Reid's residence]
1866-85, Woodforde
SLSA B 10765
SWS.10.085.01 [1]
741

Residence of John Acraman
1866-85, Walkerville
SLSA B 10770
SWS.10.092.01 [1]
742

Woodville Residence ['St. Clair']
1874-85, Woodville
SLSA B 10652
SWS.10.088.01 [1]
743

The Brocas
1870-85, Woodville
SLSA B 10655
SWS.10.086.01 [1]
744

The Brocas
1870-85, Woodville
SLSA B 10656
SWS.10.087.01 [1]
745

Woodhouse
1868, Summertown
SLSA B 10647
SWS.10.011.01 [1]
746
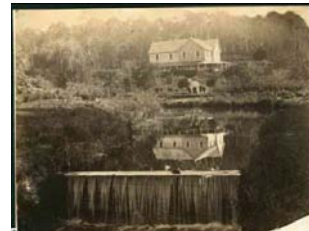
Woodhouse
1868, Summertown
SLSA B 10648
SWS.10.012.01 [1]
747

Mount Lofty [residential grounds]
1866-85, Mount Lofty
SLSA B 53306/11
SWS.6.080.02 [2]
748

John Dunn's Residence
1866-85, Mount Barker
SLSA B 10707
SWS.10.010.01 [1]
749

Turretfield [Richard Holland's residence]
1866-85, Rosedale
SLSA B 9139
SWS.10.083.01 [1]
750

[Johnston's] Residence at Oakbank
1866-85, Oakbank
NLA nla.pic-an2088659
SWS.10.070.01 [2]
751

Grove Hill Garden, Norton Summit Road
1866-85, Norton Summit, Adelaide Hills
AGSA 20063Ph60
SWS.6.169.01 [1]
752

Auldana Winery homestead
1866-85, Auldana
SLSA B 23664
SWS.6.004.01 [1]
753

James Pile's residence [Oaklands]
1866-72, Gawler
SLSA B 5954
SWS.10.029.01 [1]
754

James Pile's residence [Oaklands]
1866-72, Gawler
SLSA B 10642
SWS.10.030.01 [1]
755

Residence
1866-85, Gawler
SLSA B 10585
SWS.10.031.01 [1]
756

[no extant print]
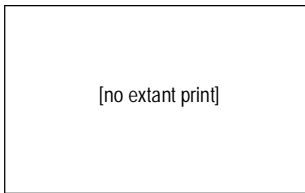
Walter Duffield's residence, Para Para
1868, near Gawler
757

Thomas Fotheringham's residence
1866-85, Gawler
SLSA B 10658
SWS.10.028.01 [1]
758

Gawler [residential gardens]
1866-85, Gawler
SLSA B 10584
SWS.6.035.01 [1]
759

Panoramic View of Gawler [from residence]
1866-85, Gawler
SLSA B 10583
SWS.6.034.01 [3]
760

Attributed to Captain Samuel Sweet
Martindale Hall, Mintaro
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 12420
SWS.10.120.01 [2]
761

Attributed to Captain Samuel Sweet
Martindale Hall, Mintaro
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 17732/3
SWS.10.118.01 [1]
762

Attributed to Captain Samuel Sweet
Martindale Hall, Mintaro
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 17736/3
SWS.10.117.01 [1]
763

Attributed to Captain Samuel Sweet
Martindale Hall Stables
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 17736/5
SWS.10.121.01 [1]
764

Picture Gallery, Martindale Hall
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 17732/4
SWS.10.054.01 [1]
765

Drawing Room, Martindale Hall
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 17732/8
SWS.10.056.01 [2]
766

Saloon, Martindale Hall
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 17732/7
SWS.10.055.01 [2]
767

Picture Gallery columns, Martindale Hall
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 17732/5
SWS.10.052.01 [1]
768

Interior, Martindale Hall
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 17732/6
SWS.10.053.01 [1]
769

Martindale Hall stables
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 17732/1
SWS.10.051.01 [1]
770

[image not available]
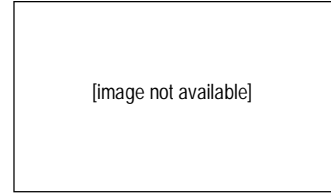
Martindale Hall, Mintaro
1880-85, Mintaro
Martindale Hall
SWS.10.122.01 [1]
771

Martindale Hall, Mintaro
1880-85, Mintaro
SLSA B 17736/1
SWS.10.119.01 [2]
772

Mintaro Station, River Wakefield
1880-85, Mintaro
AGSA 20063Ph25
SWS.6.178.01 [1]
773

Garden at McLaren Vale
1866-85, McLaren Vale
SLSA B 23517
SWS.6.070.01 [1]
774

Dashwood Gully
1866-85, near Kangarilla
SLSA B 18040
SWS.6.026.01 [1]
775

A Drawing Room
1866-85, South Australia
SLSA B 10726
SWS.10.091.01 [1]
776

Landeux
1878-85, South Australia
SLSA B 17389/49
SWS.6.147.01 [2]
777

A four horse carriage
1866-85, South Australia
SLSA B 10725
SWS.6.148.01 [1]
778

Mr Moorbridge's Ponies
1866-85, South Australia
SLSA B 17389/54
SWS.6.146.01 [1]
779

No title (Buck board buggy)
1866-85, South Australia
NGA 86.1847
SWS.6.199.01 [2]
780

HEALTH, SOCIAL WELFARE, LAW & ORDER

Hospitals, Asylums, Orphanages & Homes

Adelaide Hospital
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7868
SWS.8.122.01 [3]
781

Adelaide Hospital
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-54
SWS.8.123.01 [3]
782

Hospital, Adelaide
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-14
SWS.7.124.01 [3]
783
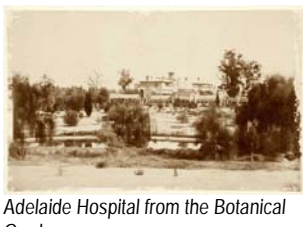
Adelaide Hospital from the Botanical Gardens
1866-85, Adelaide
AGSA 811HP21
SWS.8.125.01 [1]
784

Children's Hospital
1879-85, North Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-vn3083756
SWS.9.001.03 [3]
785

Children's Hospital
1879-85, North Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-54
SWS.9.002.01 [3]
786

Children's Hospital
1879-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 10696
SWS.9.003.01 [2]
787

Children's Hospital
1879-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 10695
SWS.9.004.01 [1]
788

Blind, Deaf and Dumb Asylum
1878-79, Brighton
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-16
SWS.7.003.06 [7]
789

Home for Incurables
1881-85, Fullarton
SLSA B 3113
SWS.7.050.01 [1]
790

Inebriates' Retreat
1881-85, Belair
SLSA B 3719
SWS.7.002.01 [1]
791

Lunatic Asylum
1866-85, Hackney
SLSA B 21721
SWS.7.005.01 [1]
792

Magill Orphanage
1873-85, Magill
SLSA B 9338
SWS.7.024.01 [3]
793

Magill Orphanage
1873-85, Magill
SLSA B 10596
SWS.7.025.01 [2]
794
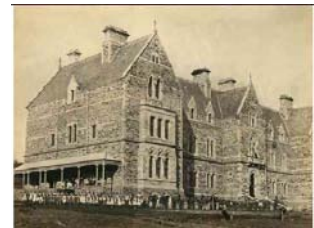
Magill Orphanage
1869-85, Magill
SLSA B 1976
SWS.7.028.01 [1]
795

Parkside Lunatic Asylum
1877-85, Parkside
SLSA B 10611
SWS.7.040.01 [6]
796

Parkside Lunatic Asylum
1880-85, Parkside
SLSA B 7495
SWS.7.038.01 [2]
797

Parkside Lunatic Asylum
1877-85, Parkside
SLSA B 7867
SWS.7.039.01 [2]
798

Prince Alfred Sailor's Home
1869-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10737
SWS.5.034.01 [2]
799

Courts
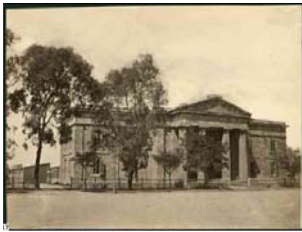
Supreme Court
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10717
SWS.8.155.01 [2]
800

Local and Insolvency Court
1869-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-9
SWS.8.154.02 [3]
801

Local and Insolvency Court
1869-78, Adelaide
SWS B 7491
SWS.8.153.02 [3]
802

Court House and Institute, Clare
1866-85, Clare
SLSA B 13399
SWS.6.207.01 [1]
803

Local Court, Clarendon
1866-85, Clarendon
SLSA B 10594
SWS.6.041.01 [1]
804

Members of Adelaide Rifles
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 11738
SWS.8.010.01 [2]
805

Aboriginal Mission Stations

Point McLeay Mission
1878, Point McLeay
AGSA 805HP83
SWS.4.011.01 [1]
806

Black's Whurlie [A Ngarrindjeri Ngowanthi]
1878, Point McLeay
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-72
SWS.4.004.03 [19]
807

Natives at Mission Station
1878, Point McLeay
Private Collection
SWS.4.001.01 [1]
808

Blacks' warfare
1878, Point McLeay
NLA nla.pic-an23419637
SWS.4.003.04 [5]
809

Group at Point McLeay Ceremonial Ground
1878, Point McLeay
NLA nla.pic-vn3083067
SWS.4.006.02 [3]
810

Ngarrindjeri weapons and hunting implements
1878, Point McLeay
Private Collection
SWS.4.008.04 [1]
811

Coorong
1878, Coorong [near Point McLeay]
SLSA B 23511
SWS.4.036.01 [1]
812

Narrung Jetty
1878, Narrung [near Point McLeay]
NGA 86.1849
SWS.4.035.01 [3]
813

Pullami with other Ngarrindjeri elders at Taplin's graveside
1880, Point McLeay
SAM
SWS.4.017.01 [1]
814

Peter Campbell [Pullami]
1880, Point McLeay
AGSA 20041RJN374.3
SWS.4.002.03 [6]
815

Nahraminyeri Campbell
1880, Point McLeay
NLA nla.pic-vn3083075
SWS.4.005.02 [4]
816

Portrait of a Ngarrindjeri elder
1880, Point McLeay
NLA nla.pic-vn3083072
SWS.4.007.01 [2]
817

Ngarrindjeri woman with baby
1880, Point McLeay
AGSA 20041RJN374.2
SWS.4.034.01 [1]
818

Ngarrindjeri woman with baby
1880, Point McLeay
NGA 2007.81.121.30
SWS.4.038.01 [1]
819

Mr Satow taken with the school children outside the Church,Poonindie Mission
May 1884, Poonindie
AGSA 20063Ph3
SWS.4.014.01 [2]
820

See also Catalogue Plate 186 (page 23) of Poonindie Mission Station.

CITY VIEWS & CIVIC BUILDINGS

CITY VIEWS

Adelaide

King William Street
1880-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 7871
SWS.8.051.01 [2]
821

King William Street
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8873
SWS.8.007.01 [3]
822

Hindley Street [from King William Street]
1878-80, Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/46
SWS.8.040.01 [4]
823

Howell & Co. Stationers, King William Street
1866-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 2904
SWS.8.064.01 [2]
824

King William Street from Hindley Street
1878-83, Adelaide
AGSA 991Ph1.29
SWS.8.087.01 [1]
825

Attributed to Captain Sweet
King William Street
1880-1882, Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/29
SWS.8.223.01 [1]
826

King William Street
1882-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.002.02 [3]
827

King William Street with town hall on left and post office on right
1883-85, Adelaide
AGSA20041RJN374.38
SWS.8.081.02 [2]
828

Either Captain Samuel Sweet or Charles Rudd
King William Street, Town Hall and G.P.O
1883-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.088.01 [1]
829

King William Street, looking south
1878-82, Adelaide
AGSA 991Ph1.36
SWS.8.078.02 [5]
830

King William Street, Adelaide
1882-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/29
SWS.8.063.01 [1]
831

King William Street
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7493
SWS.8.050.01 [2]
832

Attributed to the studio of Captain Sweet
King William Street, Adelaide
1883-86 Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.203.01 [1]
833

King William Street, looking north from Grenfell Street
1878-82, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-20
SWS.8.079.01 [6]
834

King William Street
1876-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 9175
SWS.8.058.01 [1]
835

King William Street [west side]
1884-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 3335
SWS.8.062.01 [1]
836

King William Street
1872-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/22
SWS.8.140.01 [1]
837

King William Street
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7294
SWS.8.049.01 [5]
838

King William Street
1880-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 10816
SWS.8.006.02 [4]
839

King William Street
1883-5, Adelaide
SLSA B 53306/3
SWS.8.042.01 [1]
840

King William Street
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 39590
SWS.8.044.01 [1]
841

King William Street
1876-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 13266
SWS.8.054.01 [2]
842

King William Street
1883-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.001.01 [1]
843

King William Street, Adelaide
1878-82, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an10608594-84
SWS.8.080.01 [1]
844

King William Street Adelaide, looking north from Victoria Square
1872-77, Adelaide
AGSA 805HP74
SWS.8.009.01 [2]
845

Adelaide Post Office
1876-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 21712
SWS.8.055.01 [1]
846

Post office, Adelaide
1876-82, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-1
SWS.8.156.01 [6]
847

General Post Office, Adelaide
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/11
SWS.8.082.01 [1]
848

Adelaide Post Office
1876-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 10689
SWS.8.057.01 [1]
849

Victoria Square
1876-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 7843
SWS.8.065.01 [1]
850

Post Office & Town Hall, Adelaide
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-52
SWS.8.157.01 [1]
851

Victoria Square
1872-82, Adelaide
SLSA B53306/7
SWS.8.004.07 [7]
852

View from Victoria Square, Adelaide
1876-82, Adelaide
AGSA 991Ph1.33
SWS.8.161.02 [4]
853

Victoria Square, Town Hall and Post Office
1875, Adelaide
SLSA B 7301
SWS.8.167.01 [4]
854

Victoria Square, Adelaide
1876-78, Adelaide
AGSA 991Ph1.34
SWS.8.160.02 [5]
855

Victoria Square, Adelaide
1875-82, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN374.34
SWS.8.004.02 [7]
856

*Corner of King William and Franklin
Streets [with Torrens Chambers]*
1876-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 69004
SWS.8.076.01 [1]
857

Looking west along North Terrace
1866-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 21715
SWS.8.109.01 [1]
858

Victoria Square, Adelaide
1881-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 13403
SWS.8.159.02 [5]
859

Victoria Square
1883, Adelaide
SLSA B 3096
SWS.8.162.01 [2]
860

Attributed to Captain Sweet
Victoria Square
1881-1885, Adelaide, South Australia
AGSA 20041RJN374.36
SWS.8.222.01 [1]
861

Victoria Square
c.1872 (1866-78), Adelaide
SLSA B 9164
SWS.8.164.01 [1]
862

Victoria Square
1884-85, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN374.35
SWS.8.158.02 [3]
863

Either Captain Samuel Sweet or Charles
Rudd
*Birds eye view of Adelaide from Victoria
Square*
1866-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.212.01 [1]
864

*Flinders Street, looking East from Victoria
Square*
c.1872 (1870-79), Adelaide
SLSA B 7844
SWS.8.018.01 [1]
865

Flinders Street, Adelaide
1879, Adelaide
SLSA B 482
SWS.8.231.01 [1]
866

Pirie Street, Adelaide
1880-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.205.01 [1]
867

Pirie Street, north side
1880-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7295
SWS.8.128.01 [1]
868

Grenfell Street
1880-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 2899
SWS.8.029.01 [2]
869

WB Stephens, Stationers and Booksellers, Grenfell Street
1883-85), Adelaide
SLSA B 2901
SWS.8.034.01 [1]
870

Grenfell Street
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 2902
SWS.8.028.01 [3]
871

Hindley Street
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7293
SWS.8.036.01 [1]
872

Rundle Street, Adelaide
1866-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 2891
SWs.8.008.02 [4]
873

Rundle Street, Adelaide
1866-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/48
SWS.8.005.01 [6]
874

Rundle Street
1878-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 53306/8
SWS.8.130.01 [1]
875

Rundle Street
1866-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 9166
SWS.8.134.01 [1]
876

North side of Rundle Street, looking east
c.1882 (1866-82), Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/45
SWS.8.138.01 [1]
877

Rundle Street
c.1882(1866-82), Adelaide
SLSA B 8874
SWS.8.135.01 [1]
878

Attributed to Captain Sweet
Rundle Street
1883-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.143.01 [1]
879

Rundle Street, south side
1885, Adelaide
SLSA B 7292
SWS.8.137.01 [2]
880

Attributed to the studio of Captain Sweet
Rundle Street, Adelaide
c.1885, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.204.01 [1]
881

Adelaide Arcade
1885, Adelaide
SLSA B 2903
SWS.8.199.01 [1]
882

Adelaide Arcade
1885, Adelaide
SLSA B 7496
SWS.8.200.01 [2]
883

York Hotel, Adelaide [cnr of Rundle and Pultney Streets]
1870-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/42
SWS.8.011.02 [2]
884

Rundle Street
1878, Adelaide
SLSA B 9177
SWS.8.133.01 [1]
885

Rundle Street, north side
1882-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 39589
SWS.8.132.01 [1]
886

Rundle Street, Adelaide
1866-78, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.215.01 [1]
887

View down Rundle Street, looking east
1882-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/47
SWS.8.139.01 [1]
888

Botanic Hotel and Chambers, North Terrace
c.1877 (1877-85), Adelaide
SLSA B 9178
SWS.8.103.01 [1]
889

Attributed to the studio of Captain Sweet
Jubilee Exhibition Building
1887, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.213.01 [1]
890

Government Printing Office
1874-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 6419
SWS.8.085.01 [1]
891

Attributed to the studio of Captain Sweet
North Terrace, Adelaide, looking east
1886-87, Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/35
SWS.8.117.01 [1]
892

North Terrace Adelaide, looking toward Institute and University
1882-85, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN374.37
SWS.8.090.03 [3]
893

North Terrace, Adelaide, looking west
1875-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 2910
SWS.8.113.01 [1] [N]
894

North Terrace, Adelaide, looking west
1879-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 2919
SWS.8.114.01 [3]
895

River Torrens [and Rotunda]
1882-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.206.01 [1]
896

Torrens Lake [and Rotunda]
1882-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-60
SWS.8.016.01 [2]
897

Elder Park
1882-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 3124
SWS.8.017.01 [1]
898

West Terrace, east side
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 9172
SWS.8.172.01 [1]
899

West Terrace
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 9173
SWS.8.171.01 [1]
900

West Terrace Cemetery
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 9142
SWS.8.170.01 [2]
901

Colonel Light Monument, Light Square
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10705
SWS.8.089.01 [1]
902

Views of Parklands & Adelaide from adjacent suburbs

View of Adelaide from Medindie Hill
1865-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.003.01 [1]
903

Adelaide from Hackney
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 9196
SWS.8.190.01 [1]
904

Adelaide from Hackney
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 39592
SWS.8.191.01 [1]
905

Adelaide from Hackney
1866-85, Adelaide
NGA 2007.81.121.9
SWS.8.233.01 [1]
906

Parklands, Adelaide
1866-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.210.01 [1]
907

Parklands, Adelaide
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 9420
SWS.8.194.01 [1]
908

East Park Lands, Adelaide
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 3744
SWS.8.015.01 [1]
909

Oval from Montefiore Hill
1882-85, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN374.31
SWS.8.221.01 [1]
910

Adelaide From Montefiore Hill
1882-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 39587
SWS.8.192.01 [1]
911

Adelaide From Montefiore Hill
1882-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 4072
SWS.8.193.01 [1]
912

Adelaide from Montefiore Hill
1866-85 Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.208.01 [1]
913

Adelaide, looking South East
1872-85, Adelaide
AGSA 991Ph1.44
SWS.8.196.02 [4]
914

Pennington Terrace, North Adelaide
1883-85, North Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.9.023.01 [1]
915

Pennington Terrace, North Adelaide
1877-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 2895
SWS.9.022.01 [1]
916

Panorama: North Adelaide View [from Stanley Street]

North Adelaide View [from Stanley Street]
1st section
1872-81, North Adelaide
SLSA B 6418
SWS.9.011.01 [2]
917

North Adelaide View [from Stanley Street]
2nd section
1872-81, North Adelaide
SLSA B 9202
SWS.9.012.01
918

North Adelaide View [from Stanley Street]
3rd section
1872-81, North Adelaide,
SLSA B 3334
SWS.9.013.01 [2]
919

North Adelaide View [from Stanley Street]
4th section
1872-81, North Adelaide
glass plate negative
SLSA B 1005
SWS.9.024.01 [2]
920

GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS

First Parliament House
1874-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 7488
SWS.8.102.03 [5]
921

Government House
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7302
SWS.8.093.01 [5]
922

Government House
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10702
SWS.8.209.01 [1]
923

Government House
1881, Adelaide
SLSA B 10701
SWS.8.094.02 [3]
924

Entrance to Government House
1874-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 9140
SWS.8.095.01 [2]
925

Government House and North Adelaide
1874-78, Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/2
SWS.8.096.08 [8]
926

Government House and North Adelaide
1883-85 Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.097.01 [1]
927

Governor's summer residence
1879-81, Marble Hill
SLSA B 62414/1/72
SWS.10.114.01 [1]
928

Governor's summer residence
1880-85, Marble Hill
SLSA B 4077
SWS.10.112.01 [3]
929

Governor's summer residence
1880-85, Marble Hill
SLSA B 3094
SWS.10.111.01 [2]
930

Marble Hill, Government House at top
1879-85, Marble Hill
AGSA 991Ph1.57
SWS.10.110.01
931

Government Offices [Treasury Complex]
1876-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 7486
SWS.8.060.01 [4]
932

Government Offices [Torrens Building]
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7492
SWS.8.151.02 [3]
933

Torrens Building [Government Offices]
1881-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-12
SWS.8.152.01 [2]
934

Town Hall, King William Street
1880-83, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-11
SWS.8.071.03 [5]
935

Adelaide Town Hall
1880-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 7870
SWS.8.072.02 [2]
936

Adelaide Town Hall, King William Street
1880-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 9176
SWS.8.070.01 [1]
937

Town Hall
1878-83, Adelaide
AGSA 991Ph1.23
SWS.8.086 [1]
938

Customs House, Port Adelaide
1879-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10769
SWS.5.031.01 [1]
939

Attributed to Captain Sweet
Customs House, Port Adelaide
1881-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 11749
SWS.5.032.01 [1]
940

CULTURAL BUILDINGS

South Australian Institute
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10703
SWS.8.098.01 [2]
941

South Australian Institute
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 7877
SWS.8.099.01 [2]
942

Port Adelaide Institute
1876-79, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 10740
SWS.5.028.01 [1]
943

Norwood Institute
1876-82, Norwood
SLSA B 10609
SWS.7.036.01 [1]
944

Glenelg Institute
1877-84, Glenelg
SLSA B 7875
SWS.5.060.01 [1]
945

Institute, Glenelg
1884-85, Glenelg
AGSA
SWS.5.073.01 [1]
946
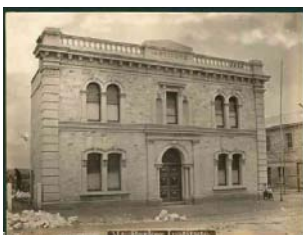
Mt. Barker Institute
c.1875 (1875-85), Mount Barker
SLSA B 10615
SWS.6.077.01 [1]
947

Public Library [Jervois Wing]
c.1884 (1881-85), Adelaide
SLSA B 3720
SWS.8.100.01 [3]
948

Public Library [Jervois Wing]
c.1884 (1881-85), Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-7
SWS.8.101.03 [4]
949

University & Institute
1883-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-53
SWS.8.120.01 [1]
950

Adelaide Town Hall organ
c.1877 (1877-85), Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/27
SWS.8.084.02 [2]
951

North Terrace East, south side
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10668
SWS.8.118.01 [2]
952

Adelaide Club, North Terrace
1883-85, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.8.201.01 [1]
953

German Club, Pirie Street
c.1880 (1880-85), Adelaide
SLSA B 10688
SWS.8.126.02 [4]
954

Bushman's Club
1878-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/41
SWS.8.174.02 [2]
955

Theatre Royal, Hindley Street
1881, Adelaide
SLSA B 2910
956

BANKS & FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Bank of Adelaide
1880-82, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-13
SWS.8.175.02 [3]
957

Bank of South Australia
1878-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 10670
SWS.8.053.01 [3]
958

Bank of South Australia
1878-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 7494
SWS.8.074.01 [1]
959

Bank of South Australia
1878-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 2534
SWS.8.075.01 [5]
960

Union Bank, Gawler Place
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10673
SWS.8.024.01 [7]
961

Savings Bank of South Australia
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 2920
SWS.8.073.01 [1]
962

Eagle Chambers
1880-83, Adelaide
SLSA B 10817
SWS.8.059.01 [1]
963

The Exchange, Pirie Street
1880-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 2897
SWS.8.127.01 [5]
964

South Australian Insurance Co.
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 69005
SWS.8.083.01 [1]
965

Bank of Australasia
1866-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 3333
SWS.8.013.01 [1]
966

BUSINESSES

ER Priestly & Co. wool warehouse, Currie Street
1877-88, Adelaide
SLSA B 10687
SWS.8.014.01 [1]
967

Trenerry's Butcher, Franklin Street
c.1879 (1879-85), Adelaide
SLSA B 10759
SWS.8.022.01 [1]
968

Tobacco factory and W Puplett, Wholesale Grocer, Grenfell Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10757
SWS.8.030.01 [1]
969

J.A. Holden & Co., Grenfell Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10671
SWS.8.031.01 [1]
970

Register, Observer & Evening Journal Newspapers Office, Grenfell Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10712
SWS.8.032.01 [1]
971

White Hart Hotel, Hindley Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10711
SWS.8.037.01 [1]
972

East End Market, Hindley Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10753
SWS.8.038.01 [1]
973

Hindley Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10686
SWS.8.039.01 [1]
974

Moseley's Oyster Rooms, King William Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 21720
SWS.8.052.01 [1]
975

Crown and Sceptre, King William Street
1877-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 21714
SWS.8.056.01 [1]
976

RH Wigg & Sons Wine and Spirit Merchants, King William Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10672
SWS.8.061.01 [1]
977

Johnsons Boot Factory, North Terrace West
1878-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10666
SWS.8.111.01 [1]
978

A Jones & Sons, Adelaide Foundry, North Terrace West
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10665
SWS.8.115.01 [1]
979

National Hotel, Pirie Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10758
SWS.8.129.01 [1]
980

T Howard Importer & Undertaker, Rundle Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10764
SWS.8.131.01 [1]
981

H.L. Vosz, Plumber [&c] Rundle Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10710
SWS.8.136.01 [1]
982

King of Hanover Hotel, Rundle Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10709
SWS.8.141.01 [1]
983

O.E. Tannert basket maker,
Rundle Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10754
SWS.8.142.01 [1]
984

Botanic Hotel, North Terrace
1877-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10685
SWS.8.144.01 [1]
985

Torrens Chambers, Victoria Square
1876-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10674
SWS.8.163.01 [1]
986

Torrens Chambers, Victoria Square
1876-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10675
SWS.8.166.01
987

Virgoe Son & Co., Importers, Waymouth
Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10713
SWS.8.169.01 [1]
988

LeCornu's, O'Connell Street
1866-85, North Adelaide
SLSA B 10719
SWS.9.014.01 [1]
989

Morcombe & Clarke Coach Builders,
Franklin Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10691
SWS.8.023.01 [1]
990

Kent Town Brewery
1866-85, Kent Town
SLSA B 10628
SWS.7.020.01 [1]
991

Premises of D. & J.
Fowler, King William Street
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 21708
SWS.8.234.01 [1]
992

Harrold Brothers Premises
1866-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA 10742
SWS.5.036.01 [1]
993

Sidney Malin, Land Agent
1866-85, Port Adelaide
SLSA B 21717
SWS.5.037.01 [1]
994

NON SOUTH AUSTRALIAN

Queensland

North Quay and Wickham Terrace, Brisbane
1864-66, Brisbane
albumen silver carte-de-visite
SLV H41050/a13788
SWS.12.001.01 [2]
995

Person standing at the base of a large fig tree, Fig Tree Pocket, Brisbane
1866, Brisbane
copy print (B&W)
SLQ 5684
SWS.12.002.01 [1]
996

New South Wales

John Manning's residence Merioola
1866, Woollahra, NSW
SLNSW
SWS.12.015.01 [1]
997

Sir W. M. Manning's residence, Wallaroy
1866, Woollahra, NSW
SLNSW
SWS.12.016.01 [1]
998

[image not available]
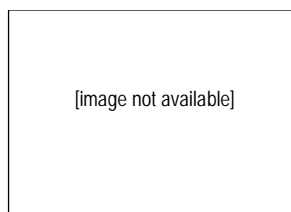
Attributed to Captain Sweet
Basalt formation, Newcastle Heads
1873-75, Newcastle, NSW
AGSA 2011Ph3
SWS.12.012.01 [1]
999

Tasmania

Henry Cook's monument in Fern Tree Bower, Tasmania
May 1878, Tasmania
SLSA B 62414/2/67
SWS.12.003.01 [1]
1,000

Fern Tree Bower, Tasmania
May 1878, Tasmania
SLSA B 62414/2/68
SWS.12.004.01 [1]
1,001

Russell Falls, Tasmania
May 1878, Tasmania
SLSA B 62414/2/69
SWS.12.005.01 [1]
1,002

Corra Linn, Tasmania
May 1878, Tasmania
SLSA B 62414/2/70
SWS.12.006.01 [1]
1,003

Corra Linn Bridge, Tasmania
May 1878, Tasmania
SLSA B 62414/2/71
SWS.12.007.01 [1]
1,004

[image not available]
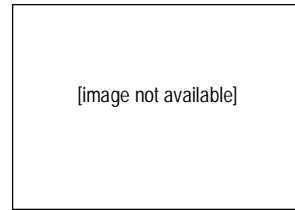
No title (View of Launceston)
May 1878, Tasmania
NGA 83.1379
SWS.12.008.01 [1]
1,005

No title (Silver Falls, Hobart, Tasmania)
May 1878, Tasmania
NGA 83.1380
SWS.12.009.01 [1]
1,006

No title (Cascade Brewery, Hobart, Tasmania)
May 1878, Tasmania
NGA 83.1381
SWS.12.010.01 [1]
1,007

Government House, Hobart
May 1878, Hobart, Tasmania
SLSA B 62414/2/66
SWS.12.011.01 [1]
1,008

[11 additional views of Tasmania
No extant prints found as yet]
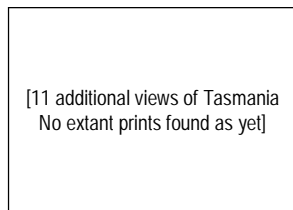
1,009-1,019

Victoria

Sweet E & Sons Studio
The sitting room at Terrinallum Station
1886-91 Camperdown, Victoria
negative - copy
Museum Victoria MM 006450
SWS.12.013.01 [1]
1,020

PORTRAITS

STUDIO OF CAPTAIN SWEET

Studio of Captain Samuel Sweet?
Captain Samuel White Sweet
1866-80 (1869?), Adelaide
SLSA B 3748
SWS.11.003.01 [1]
1,021

Captain Samuel White Sweet
1880-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 5959
SWS.11.002.01 [1]
1,022

Captain Samuel White Sweet
1880-1885, Adelaide
Private Collection
SWS.11.014.01 [1]
1,023

Captain Samuel White Sweet
1884-85, Adelaide
AGSA 991Ph2
SWS.11.001.01 [1]
1,024

Elizabeth Sweet
c.1879, Adelaide
SLSA B 60374
SWS.11.009.01 [1]
1,025

William R. Pybus
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 60361
SWS.11.005.01 [1]
1,026

Mr & Mrs W.R. Pybus
[Sweet's daughter Annie Emma and her husband]
1880-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 60363
SWS.11.006.01 [1]
1,027

Portrait of a small girl
[probably Sweet's granddaughter Iris Annie Pybus]
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 60379
SWS.11.010.01 [1]
1,028

Rosa Sweet
[Sweet's daughter]
1875-77, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN2236
SWS.11.011.01 [1]
1,029

Annie and Lilly Sweet
1853, England
SLSA B 45002/23
SWS.11.013.01 [2]
1,030

Composite portraits of Captain Sweet's daughters Annie and Lilly with their husbands and children
1880-c.1890, Adelaide
SLSA B 45002/3
SWS.11.019.01 [1]
1,031

Studio portrait of young girl reclining, with legs crossed
1872-74, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN2235
SWS.11.016.01 [1]
1,032

Grave of James Frew
1877, South Australia
SLSA B 60281
SWS.11.017.01 [1]
1,033

Remembrance plaque for Elizabeth Bisset
c.1885, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN2741
SWS.11.021.01 [1]
1,034

Grave of Catherine Annie Elvace
c.1885, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN2742
SWS.11.022.01 [1]
1,035

Headstone of John Lloyd Hyndman
1878?, South Australia
ACCA CC000479
SWS.11.012.01 [1]
1,036

Crayon portrait of young man wearing white ribbon tie
c.1870, Adelaide
AGSA 20041RJN1540
SWS.11.023.01 [1]
1,037

ALBUMS

Catalogue Number	Details	Photographers identified	Number of photographs by Sweet	Catalogue notes
A1	Captain Samuel Sweet[7] *Views in Botanic Garden and Park, Adelaide* 1886, Adelaide Photograph album (60 photographs) Botanic Gardens Adelaide Q58.006 (942) SWS100.01	Captain Samuel Sweet	60 / 60	All photographs on database.
A2	Captain Samuel Sweet *Botanic Gardens Adelaide* 1877-1891, Adelaide Photograph album (70 photographs) NLA nla.pic-an14484190 (PIC Album 939) SWS100.02	Captain Samuel Sweet	70 / 70	All photographs on database.
A3	Captain Samuel Sweet *Captain Sweet's views of South Australia* 1882-1891, Adelaide Photograph album (100 photographs) NLA nla.pic-an20886593 (PIC Album 951) SWS100.03	Captain Samuel Sweet	100 / 100	All photographs on database.
A4	Captain Samuel Sweet *Captain Sweet's views of South Australia* 1882-1891, Adelaide Photograph album (100 photographs) AGSA 991Ph1.1-100 SWS100.04	Captain Samuel Sweet	100 / 100	All photographs on database.
A5	Captain Samuel Sweet *Views of South Australia* c.1885, Adelaide Photograph album (12 photographs) SLSA B 53306 SWS100.17	Captain Samuel Sweet	12 /12	All photographs on database.
A6	Captain Samuel Sweet [*Album of photographs of early Adelaide*] c.1880, Adelaide Photograph album (50 photographs) SLSA B 58005/1-50 SWS100.18	Captain Samuel Sweet	50 / 50	All photographs on database.
A7	Captain Samuel Sweet *Views of South Australia* 1880-85 Photograph album (66 photographs remaining from original 90) SLSA B 62414/1/1-90 SWS100.24	Captain Samuel Sweet	66 / 66	Originally the album held 90 photographs. 24 have been removed. 55 are on the database. 11 are not on the database.
A8	Captain Samuel Sweet *Views of South Australia* 1882-1885 Photograph album (41 photographs remaining from original 90) SLSA B 62414/2/1- 71 SWS100.25	Captain Samuel Sweet	41/41	Originally the album held 90 photographs. 49 have been removed. 40 are on the database. 1 is not on the database.

[7] Sweet is listed as the creator if it is certain or likely that he created the album.
If the creator is unknown, or known to be someone other than Sweet, no creator is listed.

Catalogue Number	Details	Photographers identified	Number of photographs by Sweet	Catalogue notes
A9	Captain Samuel Sweet *South Australia. Country Scenes and Stock and Station Views* Undated [1884-], South Australia Album of 91 photographs Michael Treloar Antiquarian Booksellers SWS100.32	Captain Samuel Sweet	91 / 91	None on database.
A10	*Views of Victoria, South Australia, New South Wales and Tasmania* 1871-91 Photograph album (129 photographs) NLA nla.pic-an10608594 (PIC Album 19) SWS100.05	Samuel Sweet Fred Kruger Charles Nettleton Arthur Kipling Others	15 / 129	All Sweet photographs are on the database.
A11	*Album of views of Tasmania, Victoria and South Australia, from the private library of Harry Grattan-Guinness* 1883-91 Photograph album (94 photographs) NLA nla.pic-vn3077491 (PIC Album 1040) SWS100.06	Samuel Sweet Fred Kruger Stephen Spurling Others	36 / 94	All Sweet photographs are on the database.
A12	*Views of Adelaide* c.1885-1886, Adelaide Photograph album (25 photographs) SLNSW PXA 511 (Q983.1/S) SWS100.33	Captain Samuel Sweet Others?	10 or more[8] / 25	None on database (no online images or individual records for photographs at SLNSW).
A13	*Album of views of Adelaide, suburbs and industrial area, port and countryside* Undated Photograph album (24 photographs) NLA nla.pic-an10934236 (PIC Album 560) SWS100.08	Captain Samuel Sweet Others?	8 or more / 24	8 Sweet photographs are on the database. The remaining 16 are not on the database (no online catalogue records or images available at NLA).
A14	*Untitled* [South Australia] Undated Scrap-book (including 13 photographs) Unknown collection [Sold by Charles Leski Auctions 22/08/2007] SWS100.09	Captain Samuel Sweet	13 / 13[9]	No photographs on database (no reference images available).
A15	*Australian Views 1886* 1886 Photograph album (34 photographs) NLA nla.pic-an10608595 (PIC Album 20) SWS100.13	J.W. Lindt Charles Bayliss Captain Samuel Sweet Others?	Not known	One Sweet photograph is on the database (only 17 photographs are digitised by NLA, of which one is by Sweet). No online catalogue records or images available at NLA for the remaining 17.
A16	*Australian pictures, Rebecca Scrutton, 1887-88* [views of Adelaide and environs, Ballarat and Melbourne] 1887-1888 Photograph album (40 photographs) NLA nla.pic-an10782967 (PIC Album 246) SWS100.14	Captain Samuel Sweet Others	Not known	None on the database (no online catalogue records or images available at NLA).

[8] SLNSW catalogue record states that 10 are signed by Sweet.
[9] Auction catalogue states that all photographs are embossed with stamp "Captn Sweet, Landscape Photographer, Adelaide",

Catalogue Number	Details	Photographers identified	Number of photographs by Sweet	Catalogue notes
A17	*Photographs of Adelaide, South Australian country towns, NewZealand, Mount Morgan, Western Australia, Queensland, Port Moresby and Suva* 1887-1888 Photograph album (97 photographs) NLA nla.pic-an10608600 (PIC Album 22) SWS100.15	Captain Samuel Sweet Albert Lomer John Paine Others?	Not known	None on the database (no online catalogue records or images available at NLA).
A18	*Photographs of Australian cities* undated Photograph album (97 photographs) NLA nla.pic-an10929877 (PIC Album 497) SWS100.16	Captain Samuel Sweet Charles Nettleton Others?	Not known	None on the database (no online catalogue records or images available at NLA).
A19	*Australia, New Zealand, Malta & Oxford* undated Photograph album (71 photographs) Unknown collection [sold by Dominic Winter Book Auctions 20 June 2007] SWS100.20	Captain Samuel Sweet Unknown others	1 (possibly 8)[10] / 71	None on the database (no reference images).
A20	*Views in South Australia* c.1875 Photograph album (12 photographs) NLA nla.pic-an8960919 (PIC Album 254) SWS100.21	Captain Samuel Sweet Others?	1 or more / 12	One photograph is on the database (no online catalogue records or images for the others available at NLA).
A21	*Sweet, Lindt and Frith* [album] 1883-? Photograph album (58 photographs) AGSA 20041RJN374.1-58 SWS100.27	Captain Samuel Sweet Francis Frith J.W. Lindt Others?	39 / 58	All Sweet photographs are on the database.
A22	*Charles Cheney Simpson album of photographs* 1887-? Photograph album (48 photographs) SLV (not catalogued as album) SWS100.28	Samuel Sweet Charles Cheney Simpson Fred Kruger Others	5 / 48	All Sweet photographs are on the database.
A23	*Gwendolyn Keats album, South Australian and Port Said views* 1888 Photograph album (30 photographs)[11] NGA 2007.81.121.1-30 SWS100.29	Captain Samuel Sweet Others	27 / 30	All Sweet photographs are on the database.
A24	*Views of the Northern Territory of South Australia* 188-? Photograph album (25 photographs remaining) SLSA (not catalogued as an album) SWS100.31	Captain Samuel Sweet Paul Foelsche Others	8/25	It is uncertain whether the 8 Sweet photographs are on the database (unclear from SLSA catalogue whether any have been individually catalogued).

[10] Auction catalogue states that, of the 71 photographs, 8 are of Adelaide and 1 is identified by the vendor as Sweet.
[11] NGA only have 30 photographs catalogued for this album. As there are some accession numbers missing from the sequence it is possible there are more photographs that do not appear on the catalogue.

Catalogue Number	Details	Photographers identified	Number of photographs by Sweet	Catalogue notes
A25	*Views. Hills & Country Townships* Undated Photograph album (41 photographs) SLSA Uncatalogued SWS100.34	Captain Samuel Sweet Others?	21 or more / 41	It is uncertain whether any of the Sweet photographs in this album are on the database (unclear from SLSA catalogue whether any have been individually catalogued)
A26	*Untitled* Undated Photograph album (32 photographs) SLSA Uncatalogued SWS100.35	Captain Samuel Sweet Others?	Not known	It is uncertain whether any of the Sweet photographs in this album are on the database (unclear from SLSA catalogue whether any have been individually catalogued)
A27	*Views. Botanic Gardens, Trees etc.* Undated Photograph album (60 photographs) SLSA Uncatalogued SWS100.07	Captain Samuel Sweet Others?	Not known	
A28	*Untitled* Undated Photograph album (72 photographs) SLSA Uncatalogued SWS100.36	Captain Samuel Sweet Others?	29 or more / 72	It is uncertain whether any of the Sweet photographs in this album are on the database (unclear from SLSA catalogue whether any have been individually catalogued).
A29	*Untitled* Undated Photograph album (32 photographs) SLSA uncatalogued SWS100.37	Captain Samuel Sweet Others?	10 or more / 32	It is uncertain whether any of the Sweet photographs in this album are on the database (unclear from SLSA catalogue whether any have been individually catalogued).
A30	Untitled album Photograph album (107 photographs) SLSA uncatalogued SWS100.38	Captain Samuel Sweet Others?	Not known	It is uncertain whether any of the Sweet photographs in this album are on the database (unclear from SLSA catalogue whether any have been individually catalogued)

APPENDIX 2

Examples of

Captain Sweet Database Records

SWS number
SWS.1.034.02

Date
1870-1871

Image

Creator
Captain Samuel Sweet

Title
Jungle twelve miles from Camp

Caption
Captain Samuel Sweet
Jungle twelve miles from Camp
in the album 'Captain Sweet's Views of South Australia'
1870-1871, Darwin
albumen silver photograph, 14.5 x 20.0 cm
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-34

Collection
National Library of Australia

Collection number
nla.pic-an20886593-34

Inscriptions
Inscribed, scratched in negative, bot. c., '7' and '[Sweet's anchor trademark]' (on the log).

Keywords
Darwin
Northern Territory
William Bloomfield Douglas
Government Resident
Harriet Douglas
Dominic Daly
Jungle
Picnic

NOTES

Taken during Sweet's 4th voyage to the NT: arrived Darwin 24 June 1870. Departed Darwin 3 June 1871 (Clune, 1955). Sweet was captain of the 'Gulnare', aiding the early settlement of Darwin (1869-1870) and then supporting the construction of the Overland Telegraph Line (1870-1872). It shows Harriet Douglas, her father (William Bloomfield Douglas, Government Resident) and their picnic party (possibly including her fiancee, Dominic Daly). Harriet recalled: 'Our favourite camping ground for a picnic was "the jungle," twelve miles from Palmerston, a lovely shady spot, ... Altogether it was a perfect paradise to look at, and had it not been for the presence of leeches, and of an especially cruel species of mosquito, one could have wished to have remained there forever. When we arrived at our camping ground, the horses were unsaddled and hobbled. We then unpacked our lunch, and lit a fire. On this I put the quart pot full of fresh spring water, and when it boiled, I made tea ... When lunch was over, the gentlemen usually went away in search of something to shoot; there were lagoons not far off where wild duck was to be found, and in some parts of the jungle good geese shooting was to be had. ... My sister and I employed our time in looking for ferns and flowers, while the gentlemen were shooting or mustering cattle ... Before we left for our return ride, I made a fresh brew of tea, and those who smoked enjoyed a pipe or cigar, until it was time to resaddle our horses. We always enjoyed the cool ride home ... They were certainly pleasant rides to look back to. ' [Mrs Dominic D Daly, 1984 (republished), pp.59-60.]   Newspaper review of photographs: 'It will be observed from an advertisement in another column that photographs of scenery in the Northern Territory can be purchased at Mr J. William's, King William Street. They are from negatives taken by Captain Sweet, of the Gulnare, and are worth possessing, not only because of their execution, but the class of landscapes represented. The luxuriant foliage, which forms the chief feature in the views of "Stoke's Hill" and the "Jungle, twelve miles from Camp," is clearly brought out, and in the foreground of the latter picture are to be seen the figures of the Government Resident and several other persons. The views of "Fort Hill," the "Garden and King's Table," and the "Camp and Government Resident's House" give a good idea of the progress of settlement and the primitive style of architecture adopted in the Northern Territory. Altogether the series will well repay inspection.' [Register, 15 July 1871]

NLA COLLECTION CATALOGUE INFORMATION: NLA Sweet, Samuel White, 1825-1886. Jungle Port Darwin [picture]. between 1869 and 1889. 1 photograph : gelatin silver ; 20 cm. x 14.5 cm. Part of Sweet, Samuel White, 1825-1886. Captain Sweet's views of South Australia [picture]. http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an20886593-34 nla.pic-an20886593-34 vn2266750 PIC Album 951 *

References/Further research

Samuel Sweet, Diary of four voyages on H.M.C. Schooner Gulnare 1869-1870, B 781 microfilm CY 4603, frames 29-121 SLNSW.
Samuel Sweet, 'Roper River notebook 1872-1872', in the possession of Mrs D Foote, transcribed by Karen Magee 2006 from a partial photocopy held at SAGHS.
Frank Clune, Overland Telegraph : the story of a great Australian achievement and the link between Adelaide and Port Darwin, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1955.
Mrs Dominic D Daly, Digging, squatting and pioneering life in the Northern Territory of South Australia, Facsimile ed., Hesperian Press, Victoria Park, WA, 1984; Originally published Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, 1887, pp.59-60.
South Australian Register, 15 July 1871.

Prints from same negative
SWS.1.034.01: SLSA B 17389/1.
SWS.1.034.02: NLA, nla.pic-an20886593-34.
SWS.1.034.03: AGSA, 20041RJN374.9.
SWS.1.034.04: SLV.
SWS.1.034.05: NLA nla.pic-an10608594-12.

Status
Entry completed

CAPTAIN SWEET

SWS number

SWS.10.096.01

Date

1882-85

Image

Creator

Captain Samuel Sweet

Title

Dining room at 'Dimora', East Terrace [Harry Lock…

Caption

Captain Samuel Sweet
Dining room at 'Dimora', East Terrace [Harry
Lockette Ayres' residence]
1882-85, Adelaide
albumen silver photograph, 15.5 x 20.0 cm
SLSA B 58691

Collection

State Library of South Australia

Collection number

B 58691

Inscriptions

Nil.

Keywords

Dimora
Harry Lockette Ayres
Ada Ayres (nee Morphett)
East Terrace
Adelaide

NOTES

Dimora, 120-124 East Terrace, Adelaide. Earliest date 1882 when the house, built by Harry Lockette Ayres, was completed (Marsden et al., 1990, p.130). The house was 'almost certainly' designed by William McMinn. It has been subdivided for multiple occupancy (Marsden et al., 1990, p.130). It was the home of Henry (Harry) Lockett Ayers (1844–1905) and his wife Ada Fisher Morphett (daughter of John and Elizabeth Morphett). Mrs H.L. Ayres was still living at Dimora in 1923 (Miss Marianne Fisher spent Christmas Day with her there). The Register, 28 Dec 1923, p.7.

The large painting also appears in SWS.10.128 in a room described by Lane & Serle as Sir James Hurtle Fisher's Dining Room, in a house on North Terrace. Mrs H.L. Ayres (nee Ada Fisher Morphett) was Sir James Hurtle Fisher's granddaughter, so the painting may have come to her after her grandfather's death in 1875. The painting is described by her sister Marianne Fisher in 1923: "Miss Fisher said there was a notable group painted in 1828 by the renowned artist Say... The Fisher group is still hanging in the historic old home at Cummins" (The Register, 28 Dec 1923, p.7). Cummins House was the home of Mrs H.L. Ayres' parents Sir John Morphett and his wife Elizabeth (nee Fisher, James Hurtle Fisher's daughter). It seems, then that the panting once hung in Sir James Hurtle Fisher's dining room on North Terrace, then at Dimora and later at Cummins House. The Fisher children in the painting are: Marianne (the baby); Elizabeth (b.1815, later Lady Morphett); James (b. 1816); C. B. Fisher (b.1817); Fanny (b.1823, later married Mr. J.V. James) and George (b.1825 who later drowned in the wreck of the Admella).
("A PIONEER OF 1836." The Register, 28 Dec 1923, p.7. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65061515)

SLSA COLLECTION CATALOGUE INFORMATION: Title Dining room at 'Dimora', East Terrace. Creator Sweet, Samuel White; photographer. Description ACRE 286: The dining room at 'Dimora', East Terrace. Subject Interior Architecture -- South Australia -- Adelaide. Subject Interior Decoration -- South Australia -- Adelaide. Subject Furniture -- South Australia -- Adelaide. Image number B 58691 Format Photograph;, 20 cm x 15.5 cm. Managed by Item held by the State Library of South Australia Collection or series Is part of the Mortlock Pictorial Collection Date or place 1895. Rights Reproduction rights: State Library of South Australia.

References/Further research

S Marsden, P Stark & P Sumerling, Heritage of the City of Adelaide: an illustrated guide, Corporation of the City of Adelaide, 1990, p.130.

Lane, T and J Serle, Australians at Home. A documentary history of Australian domestic interiors, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1990.

Did James Hurtle Fisher move to Dimora from North Terrace?
Further research, try:
ACCA City Rates (Assessment) Books for North and East Terraces.
E.J.R. Morgan & S.H. Gilbert, Early Adelaide Architecture 1836-1886, OUP, Oxford, 1969 [SLSA 720.99423 M847 Ready Ref collection, or ask].
State Heritage Branch, File 6628-107060 Dimora.
"A PIONEER OF 1836." The Register, 28 Dec 1923, p.7. http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/65061515

Prints from same negative

None known.

Status

More research needed

CAPTAIN SWEET

SWS number

SWS.2.010.02

Date

1880-82

Image

Creator

Captain Samuel Sweet

Title

Entrance Gate, Botanic Garden, Adelaide

Caption

Captain Samuel Sweet
Entrance Gate, Botanic Garden, Adelaide
1880-82, Adelaide
albumen silver photograph, 15.5 x 20.7 cm
SLSA B 7842

Collection

State Library of South Australia

Collection number

B 7842

Inscriptions

Signed, l.l., scratched in negative, 'Sweet/ Adelaide/ [134?]'

Keywords

Botanic Gardens
Adelaide
Gates
Wardian cases

NOTES

Earliest date based on erection of gates in 1880 (Marsden et al., 1990; Aitken, 2006, p.102). Latest date 1882 when wardian cases (present in photo) were removed) (Aitken, 2006, p. 95).

New iron front gates erected at North Terrace 1880 and "their inclusion in the suite of photographs captured by Captain Sweet ensured that this new embellishment was seen around the globe at intercolonial and international exhibitions" (Photograph caption Aitken p. 95). The wardian cases lining the main walk were removed in 1882 - spikey contents vulnerable to theft or vandalism by cactophiles or cactophobes (caption p. 95 Aitken).

SLSA COLLECTION CATALOGUE INFORMATION:
Name   Sweet, Samuel White, 1825-1886
Title   Botanic Gardens
Dates/Publication Details 1877
Pictorial Collection   B 7842   ONLINE
Description/Quantity Photograph; 20.7 cm x 15.5 cm
Collection   Adelaide Views Collection
Botanic Gardens Collection
Sweet Collection
Copyright   No known copyright restrictions
Summary   Entrance Gates, Botanic Gardens
 Permanent Link - http://www.catalog.slsa.sa.gov.au:80/record=b2065521~S1

References/Further research

Richard Aitken, Seeds of Change. An illustrated history of Adelaide Botanic Garden, Adelaide Botanic Garden, Adelaide, 2006.

Marsden, Stark & Sumerling, Heritage of the City of Adelaide - an illustrated guide, Corporation of the City of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1990.

Prints from same negative

SWS.2.010.01: NLA, nla.pic-an14484190-1 (PIC/3010/1 LOC Album 939)
SWS.2.010.02: SLSA, B 7842.
SWS.2.010.03: SLSA, Z994.2T S974b.
SWS.2.010.04: Botanic Gardens Adelaide (BG Library).
SWS.2.010.05: AGSA, 991Ph1.90.
SWS.2.010.06: NLA, nla.pic-vn3084881 (PIC/8510/69 LOC Album 1040).
SWS.2.010.07: SLV, H24737.

Status

Entry completed

CAPTAIN SWEET

SWS number

SWS.3.040.04

Date

1882

Image

Creator

Captain Samuel Sweet

Title

Mrs Zillah Phillipson

Caption

Captain Samuel Sweet
Mrs Zillah Phillipson
1882, Beltana
albumen silver photograph, 15.5 x 20.5 cm
SLSA B 10723

Collection

State Library of South Australia

Collection number

B 10723

Inscriptions

Nil.

Keywords

Zillah Phillipson
Beltana
Camels
Great Northern Railway
Government Gums Railway
Flinders Ranges

References/Further research

SA Register 15.07.1882
SA Register 15 July 1882, p.4, plus advertisement.
SA Chronicle, 20 May 1882 and 27 May 1882.
KM research trip Oct 2007.

NOTES

Taken June 1882 when Sweet traveled on the newly opened Great Northern Railway from Adelaide to Farina. Albumen silver print from gelatin dry plate negative. All prints from this trip bear the same evidence of light leaking into the camera along the vertical edges. Collodion wet plates would have been impractical on the 'whistle-stop' nature of the trip. SA Register 15 July 1882, p.4: 'Captain Sweet's Photographs.- We have been shown 39 photographs taken by Captain Sweet along the route of the Port Augusta and Farina Railway. They embrace the prominent natural features of the country, the most notable bridges, and other works along the line, and several pictures in which the Beltana caves are remarkable objects. The views have all the clearness and brilliance for which Captain Sweet's photographs are widely known'.

Zillah Phillipson (nee Levien) was the wife of Nathaniel Edmund Phillipson, co-Manager of the Beltana Run (i.e. Beltana Station). He was the first Station Manager to learn the Afghan camel breeders' language and develop a good relationship with them. Mrs Phillipson became an accomplished camel rider. Sweet may have stayed with them at Beltana Homestead, as he took several photographs there. Travel from the rail station to the homestead was by rail hand carts (usually used for moving goods between the railway station and homestead). The NGA photograph 'Captain Sweet taking photos in the far north' (nga 2007.81.120AB) shows Sweet on the handcart with his gear. Some (now rusting) handcarts are at the gates of the homestead as ornaments (site visit 2007). No evidence has been found of Sweet travelling this far north on any other occasion.
References to this being Bridget Darmody (e.g. summary in SLSA catalogue) are INCORRECT. SLSA states: 'Bridget Darmody on a camel at Parachilna. Bridget married William Rieken (Ricken) at Parachilna on 23 November 1892. A sketch of this photograph appears in Frearson's Monthly Illustrated Adelaide News, June 1883, Pg 89.' HOWEVER: Bridget Darmody was born Oct 1866 - making her 15 in 1882. This lady is much older. Also, an NGA print from same negative is inscribed 'Mrs Philipson Bel[area of loss]' (86.1852). Presumably it read 'Mrs Phillipson, Beltana' (area of loss led to photograph being incorrectly catalogued as Mrs Phillipson Bellamy).
REPRODUCTION NOTES The photograph of the lady on the camel has been reproduced in many history publications, some citing the woman as Mrs Phillipson, but more as Bridget Darmody.

SLSA COLLECTION CATALOGUE INFORMATION:
Bridget Darmody on a riding camel, B 10723, Sweet, Samuel White, 1825-1886, 1882, Pictorial Collection - B 10723, Photograph; 20.5 cm x 15.5 cm , General Collection
Note- No known copyright restrictions
Summary, Bridget Darmody on a camel at Parachilna. Bridget married William Rieken (Ricken) at Parachilna on 23 November 1892. A sketch of this photograph appears in Frearson's Monthly Illustrated Adelaide News, June 1883, Pg 89.
Subject: Darmody, Bridget; Clothing and dress -- South Australia -- Parachilna
Camels -- South Australia -- Parachilna.

Prints from same negative

SWS.3.040.01: AGSA, 991Ph1.70.
SWS.3.040.02: SLV, H 15058.
SWS.3.040.03: NLA, nla.pic-an20886593-44.
SWS.3.040.04: SLSA, B 10723.
SWS.3.040.05: SLSA, Z994.2T S974b.
SWS.3.040.06: Charles Leski Auctions, Auction 311 / Lot 977.
SWS.3.040.07: AGSA, 20041RJN374.5.
SWS.3.040.08: NGA, 86.1852.

Status

Entry completed

CAPTAIN SWEET

SWS number

SWS.5.020.01

Date

1883-85

Image

Creator

Captain Samuel Sweet

Title

Robinson Bridge

Caption

Captain Samuel Sweet
Robinson Bridge
1883-85, Port Adelaide
albumen silver photograph, 15.9 x 21.6 cm
SLSA B 12418

Collection

State Library of South Australia

Collection number

B 12418

Inscriptions

Signed, l.l., scratched in negative, 'Sweet/ Adelaide/ 226'.

Keywords

Bridges
Port Adelaide
Robinson Bridge
Harrold Brothers
Todd Street

NOTES

Earliest date is 1883, when the bridge was completed. Likely to have been photographed upon bridge completion.

Reproduction from this photograph, or from an image from the same negative, is in the collection of the South Australian Maritime Museum, Acc. 4583, title "Port Adelaide". Inscribed, l.l., scratched in negative, 'Sweet/ Adelaide/ 226'. Inscribed verso, 'Robinson Bridge/ 1883 - 86.'
Reproduced in R Ritter, Spanning Time and Tide: bridges of the Port Adelaide River, ed. E Chinner, Para Vista SA, 1996, p.62, with the caption: 'This fine photograph by Capt. Sweet was probably taken around the time of the completion of the bridge in 1883. Robinson Bridge spans the entrance to the Basin, part of which can be seen at left. Building at right is Harrold Brothers warehouse on Todd Street. Photo courtesy Port Adelaide Historical Society'.

SLSA COLLECTION CATALOGUE INFORMATION: Number B 12418 Phys. desc Photograph; 21.6 cm x 15.9 cm Author Sweet, Samuel White, photographer Title Robinson Bridge Year 1883 Summary Robinson Bridge, Port Adelaide Remarks Date is approximate. Collection Port Adelaide Collection Subject Bridges -- South Australia -- Port Adelaide Wagons -- South Australia -- Port Adelaide Robinson Bridge (Port Adelaide, S. Aust.)

Prints from same negative

None confirmed.

References/Further research

R Ritter, Spanning Time and Tide: bridges of the Port Adelaide River, ed. E Chinner, Para Vista SA, 1996, p.62.
Ron Ritter, Triumph, Tragedy and Port Adelaide, ed. E. Chinner, Ron Ritter, Adelaide, 2005.
John Couper-Smartt and Christine Courtney, Port Adelaide "Tales from a Commodious Harbour", Friends of the South Australian Maritime Museum, Adelaide, 2003.

Status

Basic data entered

APPENDIX 3

Captain Sweet's
Studios & Residences

CAPTAIN SWEET'S STUDIOS & RESIDENCIES

It should be noticed that some Adelaide City Council Archives records, such as Assessment Books and Citizen's Rolls, report information in the year following information collection e.g. 1868 Assessment Book provides information collected in 1867. Similarly, advertisements appearing in annual publications like Boothby's are usually a year out of date.

Year	Location	Sources
	QUEENSLAND	
1864	Arrived Maryborough QLD aboard the *Flying Cloud*.	*Brisbane Courier*, 20 February 1864, p.2. Mary Clay (nee Tilly), letter to George Tilly Jnr, 18 April 1863, reproduced in Norma Tilly-Roberts, *Tilly Family History 1690-1994*, South Australian Genealogical Society of South Australia, Adelaide, 1994, p.246. Mary Clay (née Sweet) letter to George Tilly Jnr, 18 November 1863, reproduced in Norma Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.247
1864	The Photographic Studio, South Brisbane.	*Brisbane Courier*, 14 June 1864, p.1. *Brisbane Courier*, 5 July 1864, p. 2.
1864	Violet Cottage, Grey Street, South Brisbane.	*Brisbane Courier*, 3 December 1864, p.3. *Brisbane Courier*, 5 December 1864, p.3.
1865	Brisbane.	George Tilly Snr, letter to George Tilly Jnr, 19 May 1865, reproduced in Norma Tilly-Roberts, op. cit., p.248.
1866	c/o Agent, Mr Slater, Bookseller, Queen Street, Brisbane.	*Brisbane Courier*, 19 January 1866.
	SYDNEY	
1866	Rushcutters Bay.	*Sydney Morning Herald*, advertisements, 13 June 1866, p.1; 16 June 1866, p.3; 20 June 1866, p. 1. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 11 July 1866.
	GOUGER STREET	
1866 - 1867	Gouger Street, Adelaide acre 390. Residence and workrooms. SLSA photographer, *Gouger Street*, 1957 SLSA B13954	*Register*, 21 November 1866. ACCA C40 S55 1867-68, Grey ward, no 2159; Samuel W. Sweet, 'House', acre 390, Gouger. ACCA C5 S34 1868, ass no: 827, Occupier: Sweet, Owner: E. White (C. Haufsen, agent), Description: House, Value: £11-, rates pd: £12/10/0 on 27.6.68. Boothby's 1868, p.23 '... ph^r., Gouger St'.

	222 RUNDLE STREET	
1868	222 Rundle St, Adelaide acre 34. Residence and commercial studio. Unknown photographer, *Rundle Street,* 1972 SLSA B 27060 Advertisement Boothby's South Australian Almanac Advertiser, 1869	ACCA C40 S55 item 2 1868-69 roll no. 1088. ACCA C5 S34 vol. 16, 1869 ass. no. 167. ACCA C5 S34 vol. 15, 1868, ass. no. 827. ACCA C5 S34 vol. 16 1869 ass. no. 167. SAA,GRG 35, 1394/1868, 03 November 1868 [addressed from 222 Rundle Street]. ACCA C40 S55 1868-69, Hindmarsh Ward, No 1088, Samuel W Sweet, House, Acre 34, Rundle. ACCA C5 S34 1869, vo. 16, Ass no: 167, Occupier: Samuel White Sweet, Owner: W[J] Sayers, Description: House, Value: £22/-/-, rates pd: £1/2/- on 23.9.1869. Boothby's, 1869, advert p.112 '222 Rundle Street'.
	STURT STREET	
1869	Sturt Street, Adelaide acre 548. Residence and workrooms. Unknown photographer, 219 Sturt Street, 1965 SLSA B16206	ACCA C40 S55 1869-70 Grey Ward, No 2367, Samuel White Sweet, house, Acre 548, Sturt. ACCA C5 S34 vol. 17, 1870, ass. no. 1045; Occupier: Samuel Sweet, Owner: A McGoverin, house, Value: £16/-/-, rates pd: £-/16/- on 8.12.1870.
	GILLES STREET	
1870-1871	Gilles Street, Adelaide acre 645. Residence and workrooms. The Gilles Street house no longer exits.	ACCA C40 S55 1870-71 Grey Ward, No 2414, Samuel W. Sweet, house. ACCA C5 S34 1871, Ass no 2890, Occupier: Samuel W. Sweet, Owner: [J or T], Martin (agent P. Santo), house, Value: £21. ACCA C40 S55 1871-72 Grey Ward, No 2481, Samuel W Sweet, house. ACCA C5 S34 1872, Ass no 2834, Occupier: Samuel W. Sweet, Owner: T Martin (agent P. Santo), house, value: £21. Boothby's 1872, alphab, '... Gulnare,... Gilles St'.

	PROSPECT	
1872- 1875	Prospect. Residence and workrooms.	Boothby's 1873: 'Sweet, GW [sic], [phr] Prospect, NA'. Boothby's 1874, " " p.210. Boothby's 1875 " " p.238. Boothby's 1876 " " p.257.
	BOWDEN	
1875-1917	51 Park Terrace, Bowden-on-the-Hill. Residence and workrooms.	*Register* advertisement, 13 July 1875. Boothby's 1877, 'Sweet G.W. [sic], photographer, Park Lnds, Bwdn', p.272. Boothby's 1878, " " p. 279. Boothby's 1879, " " p. 289. ACCA C15 S3 24 January 1884, letter to town clerk from Sweet at Bowden on the Hill. Reply sent to Sweet at Rundle Street.
	FLINDERS STREET	
1879-1882	3, Flinders Street , Adelaide acre 270, Hindmarsh Ward. Commercial studio. Flinders Street, Adelaide 1880, Adelaide Lawton Detail from Flinders Street, Adelaide 1879, Adelaide	Advertisement, *South Australian Register*, 22 November 1879. ACCA C40 S55 1879-80, no 1195, AS Molton House , (6 votes). ACCA C40 S55 1878-80, no 1664, Captain Sweet, Photographic rooms, (6 votes). ACCA C5 S34 1880 vol 27, No 14434, Occupier: AS Molton, Owner: AS Molton, 'Shop & premises', Value £105/-, rates pd £7/17/6 on 13.07.1880. [refers to Molton's downstairs]. ACCA C5 S34 1880 vol 27, no 1444, Occupier: Capt Sweet, Owner: AS Molton, 'photo gallery', Value: £70, rates pd £5/5/- on 27.04.1880. [refers to Swete's upstairs]. Boothby's 1880, p.331 alphab. '... portrait rooms, Flinders St'; p.33 under street listing for Flinders St south side. Advertisement, *Northern Argus*, 21 December 1880, 'imperial portrait rooms, Adelaide' ACCA C15 S3 22 September 1880, letter from Town Clerk to Mrs Sweet (re her request to borrow chairs for daughter's wedding). ACCA C40 S55 1880-81, no 1213, AS Molton House, (6 votes).

	  Advertisement Frearsons Weekly, 23 July 1881	ACCA C40 S55 1880-1881, no 1700, Captain Sweet photographic rooms, (6 votes). ACCA C5 S34 1881 vol 28, No 1324, Occupier: AS Molton, Owner: AS Molton, 'Shop & Premises', rates pd on 21.06.1881. ACCA C5 S34 1881 vol 28, no 1325, Occupier: Capt Sweet, Owner: AS Molton, 'photo gallery', Value: £70, rates pd £5/10/- on 28.06.1881. Boothby's 1881, p. 299. *Frearsons Weekly*, advertisement, 23 July 1881; *Frearsons Weekly*, advertisement, 15 October 1881 ACCA C15 S3 letter from Sweet to Town Clerk, 24 November 1881 (3640) ACCA C15 S3 letter from Town Clerk to Sweet, 26 November 1881 (p.644) ACCA C5 S34 1882 vol 29, No. 1609, Occupier AS Molton, Owner AS Molton, Value £115, rates pd £9/2/1 on 4.07.1882. ACCA C5 S34 1882 vol 29, No.1610, Occupier Capt Sweet, Owner AS Molton, 'photo gallery', Value £90, rates pd £7/2/6 on 08.08.1882, (p.30). ACCA C15 S3: letter from Town Clerk to Sweet, 12 January 1882 (p.792) letter from Sweet to Town Clerk, 24 January 1882 (0229) letter from Town Clerk to Sweet, 24 January 1882 (p.837) letter from Sweet to Town Clerk, 1 February 1882 (0330) letter from Town Clerk to Sweet, 24 February 1882 (p.965) letter from Sweet to Mayor, 24 April 1882 (1375) letter from Town Clerk to Sweet, 28 April 1882 (p.208) letter from Town Clerk to Sweet, 23 June 1882 (p.373). *South Australian Register* item, 15 July 1882, 'Flinders St'
	25 RUNDLE STREET	
1883-1885	25 Rundle Street, Adelaide acre 80.	ACCA C40 S55 1883-84, no 1860, Capt. Sweet Photo Rooms. ACCA C15 S3 9 January 1884, letter from Town Clerk to SW Sweet at 'Rundle Street';

	attributed to Captain Samuel Sweet Detail from *Rundle Street* private collection 25 Rundle Street is now 27 Rundle Mall.	ACCA C15 S3 21 March 1884, memo from Mrs Sweet re. sign permission ACCA C40 S55 1884-5, no 1950, Captain Sweet, Photo rooms, (6 votes). ACCA C5 S34 1885 vol 32, No 411, Occupier: Capt Sweet, Owner: Thomas Martin (owns whole acre on Rundle st), Agent: May & Co. [illeg. Heath J.R.?], 'photo gallery', Value: £80, rates pd £6/-/- on 21.04.1885. Boothby's 1885, p.396 (alphab) 'Sweet, W. photo portrait rooms, Rundle Street'; p.30 under Rundle St. listing, directly under John May, Stationer (no street numbers). ACCA C15 S3 12 January 1885, letter from SW Sweet to Town Clerk from 25 Rundle Street. ACCA C15 S3 21 January 1885, letter from Town Clerk to SW Sweet at 25 Rundle Street.
	99 KING WILLIAM STREET	
1885	99 King William Street Adelaide acre 202 Gawler Ward	*Register* 6 June 1885, 'premises in King William St'. *Register* 27 June 1885, 99 King William St. ACCA C40 S55 1885-86, Captain Sweet, Shop, (6 votes). ACCA C5 S34 1886, Ass no 1689, Occupier: Capt Sweet; Owner: Montefiore Estate, Agent/ leaseholder: J. Tasker, 'shop'.
	SHOP 31 , ADELAIDE ARCADE	
1885 - 1891	Shop 31 Adelaide Arcade Rundle St Adelaide acre 84 Captain Samuel Sweet *Adelaide Arcade* December 1885, Adelaide SLSA B 12564	ACCA C5 S34 1886 vol 33, Ass no. 486-509, Occupiers: all listed as [illeg. scrawl] - ?vacant, Owner of all: PR Deloney, Agent (all): Adelaide Arcade co. / Solomons. Boothby's 1886 '... Arcade, Rundle St...' (no occupiers listed in Arcade under Sweet listing). ACCA C40 S55 1886-87, no 1818, Mrs Sweet, Shop , (3 votes). ACCA C5 S34 1887 vol 34, Ass no 505, acre 84, Occupier: Mrs Sweet, Shop 31, Owner: GR Deloney, Agent: Adelaide Arcade Co/ Solomons, Value: £29, Rates pd £ on 18.10.1887. Boothby's 1887. ACCA C15 S3 18 July 1887, memo to Town Clerk from Mrs Sweet at 'Captn Sweets'. Boothby's 1888 – Mrs Sweet at Arcade (see copy)

120	Mrs Sweet continued to run the studio after Captain Sweet's death in 1886, until 1891.	*Adelaide Observer* item, 25 February 1888 – Messrs Sweet & Sons Boothby's 1889 – Mrs Sweet, lsc. phr. Boothby's: Mrs Sweet listed in Bowden in Boothby's 1888, 89, 90 & onwards. ACCA C5 S34 1890 vol 37, Ass no 493, Occupier: Mrs Sweet, 'Shop 31', Annual value: £36, Rates pd. £2/4/- (on time). Boothby's 1890 – Mrs Sweet, lsc. phr. ACCA C40 S55 1891-92, no 1797, Mrs Sweet, Shop, (3 votes). ACCA C5 S34 1892 vol 39, Ass no 489, Occupier: Mrs Sweet, Shop [illeg. ?], Annual value: £36. ACCA C5 S34 1893 vol 40, Ass no 493, Occupier: Adelaide Fine Payment Company (Co.), Shop 31, Annual value: £36 [i.e. NO Mrs SWEET].

APPENDIX 4

Captain Sweet's
Techniques & Processes

CAPTAIN SWEET'S TECHNIQUES & PROCESSES

This appendix provides additional detail of Sweet's technical practice as a supplement to Chapter Three. Its purpose is to demonstrate the difficulty of the processes with which he worked and why becoming the first commercially successful outdoor photographer was such a remarkable achievement. It also provides a better context within which the main processes of the views trade can be understood and demonstrates Sweet's own innovations more clearly, especially his astounding mastery of gelatin dry plates. There is inevitably some overlap with Chapter Three, in order that the processes can be fully described here, in one place. Nowhere has the complete photographic process of the views trade in Australia been previously documented. This appendix is based on original sources which include:

> T Rodger, *Paper on the wet collodion process read to a meeting of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts*, Edinburgh, February 1854.

> D van Monckhoven, *A Popular Treatise on Photography, also a description of, and remark on, the stereoscope and photographic optics, etc. etc.*, trans. WH Thornthwaite, Virtue Brothers & Co., London, 1863.

> J Towler, *The Silver Sunbeam*, Joseph H Ladd, New York, 1864, facsimile edn. of Morgan and Morgan Inc., Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, 2nd printing, 1974.

It is also supplemented with James Reilly's seminal work on albumen paper printing, *Albumen and Salted Paper Book*, from which all of the non-photographic illustrations are taken.[12]

The dominant commercial photographic processes of the views trade were collodion wet glass plate negatives and albumen silver printing out paper. Sweet adhered to these, adding gelatin dry plates as an additional negative process from 1878. He did not abandon collodion wet plates, as dry plates had many disadvantages, despite their convenience.

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[12] JM Reilly, *The Albumen and Salted Paper Book: The history and practice of photographic printing, 1840-1895*, Light Impressions Corporartion, Rochester, 1980, available at <http://albumen.conservation-us.org/library/monographs/reilly/>.

An analysis of the dimensions of Sweet's prints and a few extant negatives confirm that, for landscape work, he predominantly used 8 ½ x 6 ½ ″ glass negatives (a standard British full-plate) and a corresponding British sliding box camera.[13] He also used an 8 x 10" box camera with corresponding negatives. The sliding box camera underwent several improvements between the 1850s and 1880s, giving Sweet the choice of a basic sliding box camera, a folding sliding box camera or a model with bellows (Plates A4-1 and A4-2). By the 1880s a range of more sophisticated field cameras were available which were capable of all manner of technical adjustments. One of Sweet's 1875 advertisements included a crude illustration of a sliding box camera.[14] Soon after, he advertised in the 'wanted column' for a 'Full-Plate CAMERA; also, a First-Class PHOTOGRAPHIC LENS'.[15]

Plate A4-1
A simple sliding box field camera, with chemicals and glass negative.

Plate A4-2
Thomas Ottewill & Co. Folding Sliding Box Camera for collodion wet plates, 1853

Most early models did not have a shutter – exposure was obtained by removal of the lens cap and timing with a pocket watch. Focal length (lens) was fixed, and focus was adjusted by sliding the

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[13] BE Jones, PC Bunnell & R Sobieszek (eds), *Encyclopedia of Photography*, Cassel, London, 1911. Reprinted by Arno Press, New York, 1974, p.494.
[14] *Register*, 03.07.1875, p.2. Image not of reproducible quality.
[15] *Register*, 13.07.1875, p.1; also 17, 15 & 24.07.1875.

inner box back or forth. For close-up work the camera was fully extended and for distance, it was used at its most compact. Sweet made expert calculations concerning the lens, light and exposure time. This was possible with a basic sliding box camera, but it would have been easier with a bellows camera (Plates A4-3).[16] However, the sliding box camera was more durable than bellows which could rot in the humid climate and salt-sea air of the Northern Territory, especially with constant exposure to damp chemical emulsions.[17] Wet plate photographers experienced constant problems with the wet corrosive chemistry damaging equipment. Plate-holders, camera backs and even the entire camera had to be replaced regularly.[18] This might explain Sweet's 1875 advertisement.

Plate A4-3
Ottewill Collis & Company, London
Improved Kinnear Sliding Box and Bellows Camera c.1864-1868.
(8 x 10" wet plate)

With few adjustable parts, the early cameras were very limited. The following example demonstrates how Sweet's technical competence overcame camera limitations. One of the greatest challenges was the camera's lack of capacity for adjusting the front and rear planes to compensate for perspective distortion, especially when photographing buildings, as demonstrated in Chapter Three of the thesis. Perspective distortion was a particular problem for architectural photography. Sweet dealt with the problem by using a viewpoint on the first floor of the opposite building. Placing the camera level with the vertical mid point of the building avoided perspective distortion (also known as the keystone effect). By the mid-1870s lens boards could be raised and lowered 'making it possible to include more or less sky in the picture without tilting the camera box, which would cause distortion'.[19] Of even more value to photographers of architecture, were later cameras with a tilting back, allowing adjustment of the focal plane.[20]

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[16] M Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', in MR Peres (ed.), *The Focal Encyclopedia of Photography*, 4th edition, Focal Press, USA, 2007, p.56.
[17] Conversation with Tim Smith, expert in early photography in the Northern Territory.
[18] Conversation with Stephen Beckett, specialist in nineteenth century photographic processes, Adelaide, 14.01.2010.
[19] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.56.
[20] ibid.

Field Equipment

Plate A4-4
Thomas Ottewill's folding sliding box camera, 1853, with handcart dark-tent and photographic kit

Kit

In addition to a camera, a views photographer needed a complete set of field equipment and something to transport it in. Plate A-4-4 shows a handcart and views photographer's kit which included:

- Portable dark tent
- Tripod
- Plate holders (dark frames)
- Boxes of glass plate negatives
- Bottled chemicals
- Developing dishes
- Spirit lamp
- Measures
- Buckets
- Access to a clean water supply
- Assistants to help carry everything, collect extra water, and help with washing negatives.

Cost

In 1856, a complete set of apparatus for collodion wet plate and albumen silver photography (without a dark-tent) could be purchased in Britain for £37 for 6½ x 8½" plates.[21] Camera lenses cost up to £16 16s. A portable dark-tent resembling Sweet's cost £5 5s. Then there were all the consumables and chemicals, like silver nitrate which cost 4s an ounce.[22] Costs were much higher in Australia due to importation costs as Australia did not have the population size to support the mass production of photographic materials that made them much cheaper in America.

The collodion – albumen combination

Collodion wet plate negatives were introduced in 1851 and remained the most popular negative process from 1855 until the mid-1880s.[23] The advent of wet plate negatives was accompanied by that of albumen silver paper for making contact prints. Invented in 1850, albumen silver became the prevalent photographic printing method until about 1890.[24] These processes ideally suited each other, creating the perfect negative / positive pair. They revolutionised the photography industry as the first processes capable of mass-producing photographs on a commercial scale. They were equally suited to both outdoor and studio photography and were taken up by portrait and landscape photographers alike. Collodion and albumen quickly replaced earlier processes but some alternatives persisted, like the tintype, which remained popular for portraiture from the 1850s until the end of the century.[25] Some other processes continued in the margins, within artistic circles and for specific purposes. Both processes were well evolved in Australia by the mid-1860s.

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[21] EdinPhoto website, published by Peter Stubbs, Edinburgh, http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/index.htm, viewed 18.08.2009.
[22] Bland & Long 1856 catalogue, reproduced EdinPhoto website, published by Peter Stubbs, Edinburgh, http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/index.htm, viewed 18.08.2009.
[23] G Baldwin, *Looking at Photographs: a guide to technical terms*, J Paul Getty Museum, British Museum Press, Los Angeles and London, 1991, p.27; F Scott Archer (1813–1857) published the first practical instructions for collodion wet plates in 1851; see also 'The early history of the wet collodion process', The *British Journal of Photography*, 08.01.1875, p.16.
[24] Baldwin, op. cit., p.7.
[25] ibid., p.81; particularly in America where they were inexpensive and often created by street vendors.

Plate sizes

At the time of writing, only three of Sweet's glass plate negatives have been closely examined. All closely match British standard 8 x 10″ (20.3 x 25.5cm) plates.[26] The slightly irregular size of one could indicate that it was hand-made. However, plate-holders were only made in standard sizes and significant variation from standard plate sizes suggests that the plate had been cut (after development).[27]

Plate A4-5
Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879
(2nd panel)
1879, Port Adelaide
positive scan of a wet plate negative
private collection

Plate A4-6
Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879 (5th panel)
1879, Port Adelaide
positive scan of a wet plate negative
private collection

A large pile of damaged negatives was discovered in the basement of Sweet's house in Bowden by its current owner who threw them away before realising their significance.[28] Anecdotal family stories report that many of Sweet's negatives were stripped for their silver content and used to build a greenhouse.[29] The SLSA has several uncatalogued negatives which have not been examined for conservation reasons.

In the absence of sufficient available negatives Sweet's plate size(s) have been calculated from his print dimensions. Contact prints are always the same size as the negative. As Sweet always cropped his prints, we can be certain of his minimum plate size for each print, but not the maximum. An analysis of the dimensions of 1,429 catalogued prints reveals that the majority (1,042) were created from a minimum plate size of 8 ½ x 6 ½" (21.6 x 16.5 cm) which was a British Full Plate.

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[26] Captain Samuel Sweet, *Rundle Street,* Adelaide, 1866-85, Adelaide, wet plate glass negative, private collection. Also Plates A4-5 and A4-6. BE Jones et al., op. cit., p.494.
[27] Conversation with Stephen Beckett, specialist in nineteenth century photographic processes, Adelaide, 14.01.2010.
[28] Conversation with owner of 51 Park Terrace, Bowden, November 2007.
[29] Conversation with Julian Moore, co-author of *Captain Sweet's Adelaide.*

However, 206 were created from a minimum plate size of 8 x 10" (20.3 x 25.3 cm). These correspond with the three negatives examined. It is possible that some of his smaller prints could have been created with 8 x 10" negatives and cropped down, especially given Sweet's tendency to crop images heavily. Yet it would have been wasteful to use an 8 X 10" camera to create so many smaller prints. The larger the plate, the more chemicals were needed. The economics of commercial photography, and Sweet's 1875 advertisement for a Full Plate camera, suggest that he worked predominantly with British Full Plates, but also had a larger 8 x 10" camera and corresponding negatives.

Ninety-seven prints exceed 8 x 10″. Their dimensions would have required three different larger cameras but this seems unlikely for so few large prints.[30] Sweet would have found it more economical to make enlargements. Contrary to popular belief, enlargements were possible in the 1860s and 1870s, either by making enlarged copy negatives, or by enlarging prints directly from 8 x 10″ negatives. Another way to enlarge negatives was by solar enlarging although this 'was rarely done in the nineteenth century except by the largest urban studios or by speciality enlarging houses'.[31] Given the very small number of extant Sweet prints larger than 8 x 10″, and the expense of enlarging equipment, he would have used an enlarging specialist.

Fifty smaller views could have been taken with a 5 x 7″ camera or could easily have been cropped from Full Plate prints. Some were certainly from the same negatives as larger prints, suggesting that any wastage in extra chemicals, incurred by using a larger camera, was offset by the ability to create a variety of sizes of print from a single negative, thereby achieving more sales.[32] What this all suggests is that Sweet adapted his standard sized prints to offer a variety of sizes for retail customers. He avoided the expense of extra equipment by outsourcing enlargements for specific commissions.

The collodion process

The wet collodion process was known as the 'black art' because of the silver nitrate stains on photographers' hands and the danger from explosive chemicals.[33] Osterman provides a very concise summary of the process:

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[30] The cameras required would be one 10 x 12″ (20 prints), one 11 x 14″ (54 prints) and one 14 x 17″ (one print)
[31] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.115. For more on solar enlarging see ibid., pp115-115.
[32] See example in Chapter Three.
[33] Edinphoto website, op. cit.

A 2 percent solution of collodion, bearing a very small percentage of potassium iodide, was poured over a plate of glass, leaving a thin, clear film containing the halide. The plate was then placed in a solution of silver nitrate. When removed from the silver, the collodion film contained a translucent yellow compound of light-sensitive silver iodide. The plate was exposed still wet and then developed by inspection under red light using acid-restrained pyrogallic acid. The developer was then washed off with water and brought into sunlight, where it was fixed in sodium thiosulphate to remove the unexposed silver iodide. Once the plate was washed and dried, it was coated with a protective varnish.[34]

Osterman (an expert in collodion wet plate) has simplified the process for the benefit of his readership. The details of the process are only evident in the nineteenth century literature with instructions on its fifteen major steps and innumerable ancillary and additional operations. There were also innumerable variations on formulae and techniques.

Obtaining Collodion

In the early days, the process for making a collodion plate began by cutting high quality plate glass to the size required for the camera and making collodion from painstaking directions by John Towler, whose 1864 publication *The Silver Sunbeam* was one of the foremost references for photographers.[35] Even Towler concluded 'that it is by far the most advisable plan for a practical photographer not to manufacture his own collodion'.[36] Commercial photographers needed a much more efficient supply of ready cut glass plates and bottled collodion, both of which could be bought commercially by the 1860s, although Towler warned photographers to 'make your purchases at first-class houses in large cities, who make it their sole business to supply unadulterated materials'.[37] In his early Brisbane days Sweet could buy collodion from George Slater, the Bookseller. In Sydney he bought collodion supplied by Charles Johnson of Melbourne.[38] In Adelaide supplies were available from the well-known photographer and importer Bernard Goode who claimed his chemicals 'were made to his special order ... suitable for use in a hot climate' and were supplied to him fresh every month.[39] Other suppliers of the period included FH Faulding & Co with whom Sweet also had other

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[34] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.61.
[35] J Towler, *The Silver Sunbeam.* Joseph H Ladd, New York, 1864, electronic edition prepared from facsimile edition of Morgan and Morgan Inc., Hastings-on-Hudson, New York, 2nd edition, 1974, <http://albumen.stanford.edu/library/monographs/sunbeam/index.html>, viewed 01.04.2009.
[36] ibid.
[37] ibid.
[38] *SMH*, 11.07.1866.
[39] RJ Noye, 'Dictionary of South Australian Photography 1845 - 1915', CD-ROM, AGSA, 2007, p.446; *Register*, 16.09.1863.

business dealings.[40] Good quality photographic supplies became increasingly available as the photography industry grew through the 1860s and 1870s.

If necessary, photographers could make their own collodion using guncotton dissolved in alcohol and ether, ensuring its quality and freshness.[41] Nitrous vapours were given off during the preparation of collodion, and pyroxyline burned violently if exposed to a flame.[42] Explosions and fires were common.

Sensitising Collodion

Plain collodion had no photographic properties. These were added by the photographer in the form of bromides and iodides. Once reactive, collodion only remained useful for a few days, even if stored in well-stoppered bottles in the dark. Its thickness and sensitivity were affected by age, temperature and humidity. Adjustments had to be made for the extreme temperatures and climatic conditions of South Australia (hot and dry in the summer) and the Northern Territory (hot and humid in the wet season) in order to maintain the appropriate thicknesses and to avoid film detachment and unevenness.[43]

Coating the Plate

Once on site, the photographer had to set up the portable dark-tent and arrange all the equipment and chemicals. He set up the camera and composed the view, before entering the dark tent where most of the remaining stages of the process took place. A clean glass plate was carefully coated with collodion (Plate A-4-7). It was tricky and some prints still show the evidence of uneven, streaky collodion application (Plates A4-8 & A4-9).[44] Wet plate streaks are easy to identify when they occur in two prints from the negative (the marks cannot have been caused in the printing process).

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[40] *Register*, 06.06.1884.
[41] ibid.
[42] van Monckhoven, 1863, op. cit.
[43] ibid.
[44] It is almost impossible to be certain which anomalies in a print result from which stage of the process as streaks could be caused during plate coating, developing, washing, fixing or in the printing process.
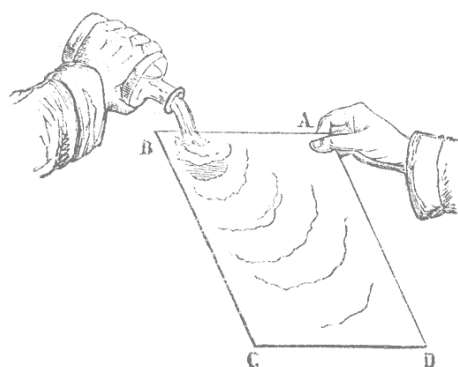
Plate A4-7
Coating the plate

Plate A4-8
King William Street, with Glenelg train
1880, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an20886593-56

Plate A4-9
King William Street, with Glenelg train
1880, Adelaide
SLSA B 62414/1/9

Sensitising the Plate

Once the collodion was sufficiently set, but before it became too dry, it was sensitised in a bath of silver nitrate solution, taking care over the technique and duration of immersion (Plate A4-10).[45] Towler considered that there was 'no preparation in the art of photography which produces so many difficulties and troubles ... as the sensitizing bath for the iodised or bromo-iodised collodion plates'.[46]

Exposing the Plate

It was vital that, from the beginning of sensitisation until the plate was finally fixed, the plate was not exposed to light except in the camera, so it was carried to the camera in a plate holder (Plate A4-11) while the collodion was still wet. Wet plate negatives can be identified by the mark of the staple which held the plate securely in the plate holder (Plate A4-12) and occasionally by a thumbprint in

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[45] van Monckhoven, 1863, op. cit.
[46] Towler, 1864, op. cit.

the corner.[47] Staple marks rarely appear in Sweet's prints because he cropped them to remove the untidy edges and any marks that would detract for his clean, orderly compositions.
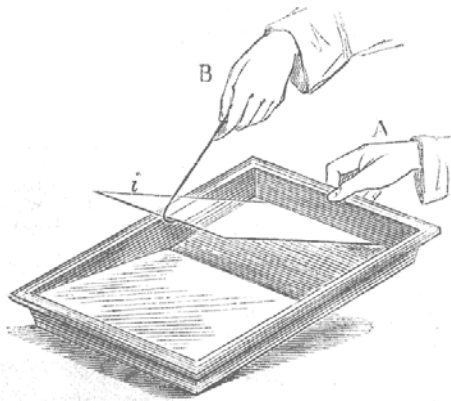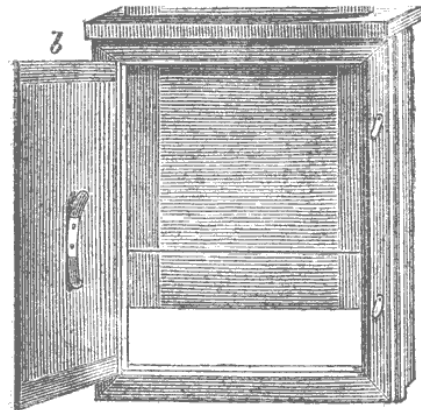

Plate A4-10
Sensitising the plate

Plate A4-11
Dark Frame (plate holder)

Plate A4-12
The S.S. "Brisbane" and Schooner "Seagull" at Port Darwin
7 November 1871, Darwin
Positive scan of a collodion wet plate negative
SLSA B 5780

Showing staple mark, top right.

The holder with the damp plate was then inserted into the camera and the dark-slide was removed. The plate was exposed to the scene by removing the lens cap. Exposure times varied from eight to twenty seconds or more, according to the light. Sweet grew accustomed to various lighting situations in South Australia and the Northern Territory and would have kept a notebook of

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[47] Dry plates have no staple marks because they were held in the plate holder by a rebate (like a picture frame) which creates a clean image border by masking the edges of the plate. Wet plates were sticky and required the minimum contact of a staple to hold them in place. Source: conversation with Stephen Beckett, specialist in nineteenth century photographic processes, Adelaide, 14.01.2010.

calculations for exposure time in different situations.[48] Plate A4-13 of Rundle Street shows that the exposure time was long enough for a tram to approach, round the corner into King William Street and leave the frame of the picture. It leaves a ghost of itself while it slowed to round the corner.
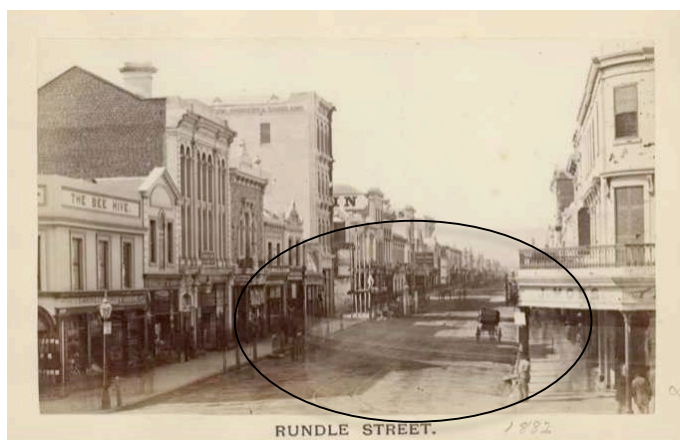
The 'ghost' of a tram is caught by a slow exposure.
Plate A4-13
Rundle Street
1878-82, Adelaide
SLSA B 53306/8

Ghosts commonly occurred with transport, people, flags (Plate A4-14) trees and animals, sometimes to comic effect as when ducks were crossing the road in front of the Commercial Hotel in Gawler (Plate A4-15). These features give an indication of the length of exposures. Blurry figures are usually passers-by and any clear people in images may have been posed by the photographer. We should bear in mind, though, that in the wind, trees pass through their neutral position more often than any other and so long exposure times could result in apparently still trees.

Plate A4-14
Gawler, opening of the Town Hall
1877, Gawler
SLSA B 10587

Showing flags blurred by the wind

Plate A4-15
Hotel, Gawler
1866-85, Gawler
SLSA B 10591

Showing 'ghost' duck crossing the street

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[48] Conversations with Mike Ware, 01.09.2009, and Tim Smith, 30.04.2008: standard practice among photographers.

Developing the Plate

After exposure, the plate had to be developed in the dark tent immediately.[49] If the developer pooled, the plate would be unevenly developed. Developing time varied and the plate had to be observed by filtered light (Plate A4-16) in the dark-tent 'until the required amount of intensity is obtained and the plate is then rinsed with water to remove the developing fluid, so as to prevent its continued action'.[50] Van Monckhoven explained, 'experience alone can give the knowledge necessary to determine exactly the when and how in this delicate operation'.[51] One of the first magical moments in the photographic process occurs when the developer slides over the plate:

> the sky and the highlights of the picture begin to appear on the rose-tinted film of iodide of silver; a few seconds after, the minor details make their appearance, becoming more and more vigorous, and, as often occurs in a landscape, the sky darkens so much, that it is even difficult to see the sun through it.[52]

Plate A4-16
Developing a negative by inspection

Even at this early stage of the photographic process, several complex technical judgments had already been made regarding exposure times, developing time, strength of the developing solution and so on, all according to light, temperature and subject.

Contrast Control

Contrast control was achieved by adjusting the amount of acetic acid in the pyrogallic developer – adding more where there were large areas of white, as in Plate A4-17, and less for large grey

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[49] van Monckhoven, 1863, op. cit.
[50] ibid.
[51] ibid.

buildings[53]. All these adjustments required photographers to carry all their chemicals with them, no matter how remote the site.

Plate A4-17
Overland Telegraph construction party
1872, Roper River, NT
SLSA B 4639

More acetic acid was required in pyrogallic developer for images with large areas of white.

Washing and Fixing... and more washing

Next the plate was washed and fixed with, for example, sodium thiosulfate, and washed again.[54] Washing was vital for removing reactive substances but the vigour required could cause the emulsion to lift away and it would have to be replaced by carefully manoeuvring the detached parts of the emulsion back into place with 'a very fine and light jet of water'.[55] Van Monckhoven claimed to 'have often in this way replaced a film upon the glass after it has been entirely removed and torn at the edges, and in spite of all obtained good results'.[56] Plate A4-18 contains an area where the emulsion has been lost and only part of it replaced. Plate A4-19 shows the lost emulsion (from another negative) appearing in the print as a black area.

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[52] ibid.

[53] ibid.

[54] Towler, 1864, op. cit.: sodium thiosulfate was mistakenly referred to as hyposulphite of sodium (or soda), giving rise to the term 'hypo', still used today; Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p. 79.

[55] van Monckhoven, 1863, op. cit.

[56] ibid.

Plate A4-18
Panorama of shipping Port Adelaide 21st April 1879 (5th panel)
1879, Port Adelaide
positive scan of a wet plate negative
private collection

Showing area of lost emulsion, part of which has been replaced.

Plate A4-19
The Gulnare at Southport
1871, Darwin
SLSA B 840

Albumen silver print from a collodion wet plate negative, showing black area where emulsion was lost from negative.

Drying and Varnishing

At last, the plate was dried in the dark-tent away from wind and dust. Plates dried quickly in the Australian summer. On cool or humid days it was gently dried over a spirit burner. The plate was then packed back into the negative box and returned to the studio or workroom where varnishing increased its longevity and avoided damage from repeated contact with paper during the printing process. Negatives of Sweet's most popular images endured considerable wear and tear, some being used hundreds of times to make contact prints. As well as varnishing, it was common practice to make copy negatives for mass production, explaining why some prints of the same image exhibit different markings or characteristics in the negative.[57]

Gelatin Dry Plates

In 1878 Sweet was the first photographer in South Australia to use the new gelatin dry plates. They were originally invented in Britain in 1871 by Richard Maddox (1816–1902) but were plagued with problems. Sweet mastered them while other photographers, worldwide, were still struggling with them, or were avoiding them altogether. Gelatin dry plates were commercially available in the late 1870s but 'were a hard sell to professional photographers who were used to getting excellent results with the wet collodion process'.[58] Although they were being manufactured on a larger scale by 1880, they did not achieve general acceptance until the mid-1880s.[59] It was not until the 1890s that 'commercial and amateur photographers came to realise how to properly process their

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[57] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.65.
[58] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', in Peres, op. cit., p.34.
[59] ibid.

materials'.[60] Sweet was remarkably ahead of the field by introducing dry plates to South Australia in 1878.

Plate A4-20
Bowman's Cattle
1878 Bowman's Station, Campbell House Park
albumen silver photograph from a gelatin dry plate negative
NGA 2007.81.121.22

The press reported that Sweet's photograph of Bowman Brothers' cattle (Plate A4-20) was 'executed under the instantaneous process'.[61] We should not automatically assume that this referred to gelatin dry plates, as the term 'instantaneous' was an elastic one. Phillip Prodger explains: 'Instantaneity in photography is a relative term, the meaning of which changed repeatedly throughout the nineteenth century as a result of technological improvements'.[62] It often referred to the subject matter of the photograph and not the method by which it was taken. Long before collodion wet plates, 'instantaneous photography' was a common salon competition category, with 'trees blowing in the wind, flowing water, the sea, storms, sailing ships, clouds and justling crowds' being listed as 'worthy instantaneous subjects' as early as 1841.[63] The term had also been used to describe collodion wet plates, to distinguish them from earlier types of negative with longer exposure times. However, this was the first time the phrase 'instantaneous process' appeared in the press in relation to Sweet and it appeared in the same year that dry plates became commercially available in England. Stephen Beckett considers it most likely that the reference refers to gelatin dry plates.[64]

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[60] ibid..
[61] *Adelaide Observer*, 23.11.1878.
[62] P Prodger, 'Instantaneous Photography', in J Hannavy, *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-century Photography*, Vol. 1, CRC Press, 2008, p.746.
[63] ibid.
[64] Conversation with Stephen Beckett, specialist in nineteenth century photographic processes, Adelaide, 14.01.2010.

Plate A4-21
A pack of Bennett's Instantaneous Gelatine Photographic Plates
- first sold by the Liverpool Dry Plate Company in 1878

According to Osterman, 'As far as can be ascertained, the first ready-made dry plates were advertised in April 1878 by Wratten and Wainwright and the Liverpool Dry-Plate Company'.[65] Emulsions, for photographers to coat their own plates, were available from in England 1873, although the product did not travel well.

> On July 18, 1873, J. Burgess, of Peckham, England advertised ready-made emulsion, with which photographers could coat glass to make their own dry plates; Kennett followed suit and on November 20 of the same year took out a patent for "pellicle," with which photographers could make their own plates.[66]

Sweet's dry plate photograph of *Bowman's Cattle* was taken when he visited the Bowman Brothers' Stations and nearby Aboriginal Mission Station in the first week of July 1878.[67] It is curious that no mention of the instantaneity of the photograph appears in the July review of the photographs from that trip.[68] The reference does not appear in the *Observer* until November 1878.[69] Other photographs from that trip were almost certainly taken with wet plates, including Plates A4-22 and A4-23, both of which exhibit classic wet plate evidence. However, the images of the Bowman Brothers' residence, Campbell House (Plates A4-24 and A4-25) are quite different in appearance. They are sharper and have excellent cloud detail with no evidence of clouds having been printed in separately. These prints are much more likely to have been made from dry plates. It is likely Sweet was using both while he adjusted to the new plates. He was remarkably abreast of British innovation and must have been the first photographer in Australia to use them successfully.

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[65] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.71.
[66] ibid.
[67] *Register*, 18.07.1878.
[68] ibid.
[69] *Adelaide Observer*, 23.11.1878.

Plate A4-22
Black's Whurlie
1878, Point McLeay
NLA nla.pic-an23419653

Plate A4-23
Black's warfare
1878, Point McLeay
NLA nla.pic-an23419637

Plate A4-24
Campbell House, Campbell Park
1878, Lake Albert, near Meningie
SLSA B 10771

Plate A4-25
Campbell House, Campbell Park
1878, Lake Albert, near Meningie
SLSA B 10772

By 1879 there were several British companies from whom he could order ready-made plates including Mawson & Swan, and the Britannia Works Company.[70] However, it remained extraordinarily difficult to make the transition from wet to dry plates and Sweet succeed where most others did not. Their increased sensitivity took a lot of getting used to. They were easily overexposed, especially as photographers were used to much longer wet plate exposure times.[71] Fractions of a second are much more difficult to time than, say, ten seconds and the margin for error much less. Shutter technology tried to keep up with the increasing sensitivity of dry plates throughout the 1880s but was still in its infancy.[72] Dry plates required much longer fixing and washing times as Osterman explains.[73]

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[70] Hannavy, op. cit., p.213.
[71] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.34.
[72] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.91.
[73] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.79.

Many photographers were accustomed to the short washing times of wet plates. Many were not prepared for the extended fixing and washing that was required for gelatin emulsions. As a result, many plates ... were ruined because of insufficient fixing and washing.[74]

Their increased sensitivity to light also meant that darkrooms had to be genuinely dark.[75] The filtered light with which wet plates could be processed caused fogging in dry plates, something that can be seen in Plate A4-26 and other photographs from Sweet's 1882 trip on the Great Northern Railway.[76] The new dry plates were ideal for a rail trip when he had only brief train stops to capture photographs. Collodion wet plates would have been impossible with Sweet getting off the train to photograph every bridge and major property along the route.
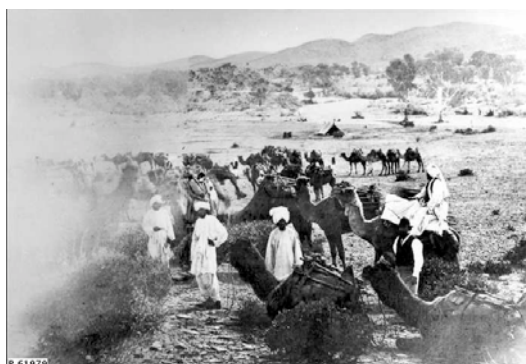

Plate A4-26
Afghan camel drivers
1882, Beltana
SLSA B 61979

Showing dry plate fogging from light leak.

It was not until the 1890s that most 'commercial and amateur photographers came to realise how to properly process their [dry plate] materials'.[77] Osterman points out that the 'quality of commercial plates also varied considerably, and not just between suppliers'.[78] Sensitivity varied from batch to batch, making it even more difficult to obtain correct exposures. Even the leading US manufacturer George Eastman's plates 'suffered such a serious loss of sensitivity his factory had to be shut down and large stocks of defective plates recalled'.[79] When it came to Australian photographers, this battery of problems were just the beginning. South Australian photo-historian Bob Noye explained that,

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[74] ibid., p.79.
[75] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.79.
[76] ibid., p.34; also known as the Government Gums Railway.
[77] ibid.
[78] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.34.

While photographers were able to take advantage of the new plates as soon as they were available, they did not gain immediate acceptance in Australia. Batches of the plates were often spoiled by the time they reached Australia, due to the effects of ageing on the voyage to Australia and the effect of heat and humidity while passing through the tropics.[80]

In 1887 gelatin dry plates were still proving problematic. The South Australian photographer Dittrich returned from the Royal Geographical Society 1887 expedition with his dry plates to discover that 'the photographs ... which he had taken right across Australia proved, on being developed in Adelaide, to be quite worthless, the majority of the plates being blanks'.[81] According to Noye this disaster was not Dittrich's fault:

he was using the new dry-plate process which had only been in use in Australia for a few years. The new plates were much more sensitive to light than the old wet-plates that photographers had been using, and this, coupled with the intensely bright sunlight experienced in central Australia, could have led to severe over-exposure, resulting in a dense, unusable negative. Also, the keeping quality of the new dry-plates varied, and Dittrich's plates, if manufactured overseas, could have been many months old when he received them. They had also been carried on an expedition for thirteen months in temperatures which, Lindsay said, had sometimes reached 110 to 125 degrees in the shade.[82]

Even the South Australian Photographer Philip Marchant, who sold 'the first commercial dry plates made in Australia' in August 1880, experienced problems with the keeping quality and consistency of the plates and ceased production some time after 1882.[83] Sweet's success with them at least seven years earlier is a clear testament to his technical abilities, passion for new technology and versatility as a photographer. He must have also worked extremely hard to master them.

Although the disadvantages of dry plates were not fully ironed out until the late-1880s, their potential for revolutionising outdoor photography was vast. As Osterman puts it, 'they had great potential in skilled hands'.[84] Their short exposure times made a dramatic difference in out-door photography, particularly of living things. Their exposure time could be one seventh of that for collodion wet plates.[85] Once perfected, they could be stored for many months without detriment (in the right

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[79] Noye, 'Dictionary of South Australian Photography', op. cit., p.86.
[80] ibid., p.198.
[81] ibid., p.85. citing Mr Lindsay, leader of the SARGS 1887 Expedition.
[82] ibid., p.86.
[83] ibid., pp.195 & 199.
[84] Osterman , 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.34.
[85] Noye, 'Dictionary of South Australian Photography', op. cit., p.198;
<http://www.artgallery.sa.gov.au/noye/Photogs/March_pj.htm>.

conditions).[86] They were much easier to use, doing away with all the messy chemicals of wet plates and could be pre-loaded into plate holders in the darkroom and used immediately on site without any need for sensitising in a dark tent.[87] Once exposed, they could be kept in the plate holder until they could be conveniently developed in a darkroom.[88] Their commercial potential was obvious: less hassle, faster processing and the ability to take more photographs per day.

However, dry plates had not been completely perfected by the end of Sweet's career, and were still not capable of the remarkable detail of wet plates. It is unlikely that Sweet abandoned wet plates altogether and he is thought to have continued to use both wet and dry plates well after 1880.[89] References to his use of dry plates continued in the press until the end of his career. In February 1882 one review described his photographs 'taken by the "lightning flash" process' which Noye interprets as Sweet using dry plates and a shutter.[90] The drop-shutter was 'designed for instantaneous exposures' and was the first shutter made specifically for gelatin dry plates.[91]

By June 1884 Sweet was using Athenian Brand dry plates as part of an arrangement with the photographic suppliers, FH Faulding & Co, with whom he had a business arrangement.[92]

TO PHOTOGRAPHERS.

ATHENIAN DRY PLATES,

a favourite Brand, ON SALE by the undersigned, who will supply Sample Pictures taken with these

Plates on application. Views taken by Captain Sweet with them to be seen at our Warehouse.

Prices – C. de V., 2s. 6d. ; Cabinets, 5s. per dozen.

F. H. FAULDING & CO.[93]

Although dry plate exposure times were fast compared with wet plates, they were much slower than the rapid exposures of today and the presence of blurred moving figures was still common. In Sweet's case there were often more blurry figures in his dry plate views of Adelaide city centre, simply because the streets were so much busier in the 1880s (Plate A4-27).

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[86] 'Caring for Cultural Material', reCollections: Caring for Collections Across Australia, Heritage Collections Council, <http://archive.amol.org.au/recollections/1/3/18.htm>, viewed 13.11.2009.

[87] ibid.

[88] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.34.

[89] Conversation with Gael Newton, senior curator of photography, NGA, 01.09.2009.

[90] Advertiser, 20.11.1882; Register, 20.02.1882.; RJ Noye research notes, Noye collection, AGSA.

[91] Osterman, 'The technical evolution of photography in the 19th century', op. cit., p.112.

[92] Register, 06.06.1884.

[93] ibid.

Plate A4-27
King William Street
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 8873

Whether working with wet or dry plates, most of what is admired in Sweet's photographs today was achieved during the negative creation, as part of the alchemy of the process itself, or in his subject choices, composition and photographic style. Each negative is a unique repository of his creative decisions. In some senses it is the negative, not the print, that is the original work, yet it is the print that we usually encounter as viewers. Understanding the incredible complexity of his negative processes can greatly add to our appreciation of his skill and of an aspect of technological history that becomes increasingly fascinating as the photographic technologies of our own become increasingly automated.

Albumen Silver Prints

Understanding albumen silver printing - and its alignment with mass-produced images - is also an important part of placing Sweet's work in its original context and of enhancing our appreciation of his remarkable craftsmanship today.

Albumen silver printing-out-paper

Albumen silver photographs are contact prints made by exposing light sensitive albumen silver paper to sunlight through direct contact with the negative. It is known as a printing-out-paper (as opposed to a developing-out-paper which uses a chemical process capable of producing enlargements). As a contact print, the albumen photograph is always the same size as the negative.

Like its negative counterpart, it involved considerable technical skill as well as decisions regarding toning, coatings and final image presentation. Today the albumen silver process is used by a few

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photographic artists who value its inherent aesthetic qualities and the pleasure and complexity of the process itself. When new, 'The large albumen prints of the 1860s were characteristically rich brown-purple in tone and glossy'.[94] Today most have faded and changed colour to a liver-yellow hue but some, especially those protected by Sweet's unique coatings, retain their rich deep purple-brown tones. In Sweet's time the overwhelming majority of photographs were printed on albumen silver paper using sunlight.[95] Approximately 85% of surviving nineteenth century photographic prints are on albumen paper.[96] Throughout his career Sweet solely used the albumen silver process to create photographic contact prints on paper. Sweet's adherence to albumen silver as his only printing process has been confirmed by preliminary testing of samples by the National Gallery of Australia Conservation Department and comparison of their findings to all other prints inspected by the researcher.[97]

Albumen silver made the perfect partner for wet plate negatives as they shared a very wide contrast range and 'the increased capacity for detail in the albumen print exactly answered the needs of the new [collodion] glass negative'.[98] Together their capacity for mass-producing prints led to the dramatic growth of the photography industry and by 1864, when Sweet arrived in Queensland, both processes were well beyond the experimental stage. The nature of albumen silver paper and mechanics of the process hardly changed during Sweet's life.

In the early days, photographers made their own albumen solutions and coated the paper themselves. In brief, the process uses albumen as a binder to contain silver chloride on the paper's surface. Sweet is unlikely to have made his own albumen paper. As the following brief description shows, it was far too time consuming for a man who had so many other elements of the photographic process to attend to. A mixture of egg white, ammonium chloride, glacial acetic acid and water was beaten to a froth, strained and aged for a week.[99] The resulting yellow, smelly, homogenous liquid remained viable for several weeks. The end of its viability period could be detected by the terrible smell. The solution was coated onto a good quality thin paper. Just as with coating a negative with collodion, the coating of paper with the albumen solution was painstaking. Although Reilly notes that many experienced photographers continued to produce their own papers,

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[94] Newton, *Shades of Light*, op. cit., p.35.
[95] By 1855 most photographers had some experience of using albumen paper and by 1860 it was the dominant medium for printing photographs: Reilly, op. cit.
[96] ibid.
[97] Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, James Ward, Paper Conservator, and Karen Magee, Researcher, NGA, Conservation Department, 1-2.09.2009.
[98] Conversation with Stephen Bennett, specialist in nineteenth century photography, Adelaide, 14 .01.2010; Reilly, op. cit.
[99] ibid.

by 1866 most photographic manuals 'warned the novice photographer to ... select his paper ready-made'.[100] Sweet could not have maintained a viable business, making thousands of prints, without factory albumenised paper.[101] The hand-made process was labourious, prone to human error, and barely viable on a 40°C Adelaide summer day. A watermark present in the paper of many of Sweet's prints indicates that he used Rives paper - the best quality paper from the Blanchet Frères et Kléber Co. at Rives in France - one of two companies who supplied the majority of paper to albumen paper factories.[102] The other mill which produced paper of the required quality was Steinbach & Company in Malmedy in Germany (now in Belgium). Both the Rives and Saxe (Steinbach) papers were rag papers, made with mountain lake water (avoiding mineral impurities which would react with photographic chemicals) and sized with starch and resin soap. Both papers could be purchased raw for photographers to coat themselves. Rives and Saxe were also the main suppliers to albumen paper factories.

It is when we think about that paper, and the all eggs broken to coat it, that we can really imagine the vast impact of the photographic industry on trade and local economies. The views trade work can be contextualised as part of a massive industry supporting a web of capitalism. The photographers profited from commissions and sales. Photographic suppliers, like Bernard Goode, profited by supplying photographers with collodion, glass, chemicals, cameras, equipment and albumen silver paper. Behind the suppliers were the paper mills, albumen silver paper factories, and then the egg farmers. The impact of photography on egg production alone was phenomenal. In 1888 just one albumen paper manufacturer in Dresden used over 6,000,000 eggs in that one year (just the whites).[103] When we consider Sweet's work we should think of him not as a sole practitioner (he was no artist in a garret) but as part of a massive industry with its own momentum, market and economy.

Factory-made albumen paper was fairly consistent in its appearance but two of Sweet's photographs are confirmed as being printed on pre-tinted paper (Plates A4-28 and A4-29).[104] This was popular for portraiture and came in a variety of aniline dyed colours including yellow and pink.

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[100] Reilly, op. cit.

[101] ibid.

[102] For example, *Clarendon*, Album 560 / 18A, NLA, which bears a watermark along the left edge, 'BFKS'. BFK stands for Blanchet Frères et Kléber. An additional letter (here 'S') was added for security; *Looking down onto gardens*, uncatalogued SLSA is watermarked 'BFK Rives No 79'; Reilly, op. cit.; the other company was Steinbach & Company in Malmedy in Germany (now in Belgium).

[103] The Dresdener Albuminfabriken AG. For more information on the factory process for making albumen paper see the excellent account in Reilly, op. cit.

[104] Consultation with Dr Mike Ware, early photographic processes expert, during his visit to the NGA, 01.09.2009; ultraviolet testing by Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, NGA, 02.09.2009.

Plate A4-28
West Terrace Cemetery
1866-85, Adelaide
Photograph on pre-tinted pink albumen paper
Private Collection

Plate A4-29
Pichi Richi Pass
1882, Pichi Richi Pass (near Saltia)
Photograph on pre-tinted yellow albumen paper
Private Collection

Having purchased his albumenised paper the photographer faced challenges at every step of the printing process, for which there were no factory-made shortcuts. He needed the work ethic of a trojan, reliable assistants and efficient, almost production-line, work practices in his studio. To really appreciate how much work was involved in the albumen printing process, one would have to read Reilly in full.[105] The following summary gives an idea of the stages involved. It also highlights the number of challenges encountered at every step of the process.

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[105] Reilly, op. cit.

Sensitising and drying the albumen paper

The albumen silver printing process began with sensitising and drying the paper. Factory made albumen printing out paper was purchased unsensitised and was sensitised by hand, by the photographer in the dark room, and then dried.
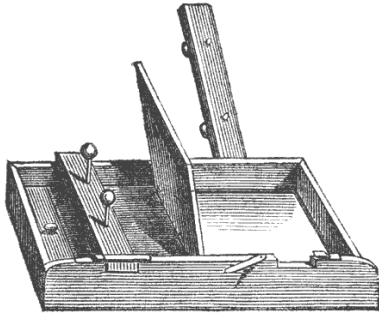
Exposing the Print
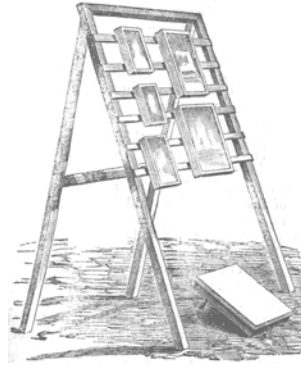
Plate A4-30
Printing frame

Plate A4-31
Moveable framework for printing positives.

In order to print the image from the negative on to the albumen paper, both were placed in tight contact with each other in a printing frame in the darkroom. Then they were carried out and exposed to a light source: either outside or in a sunroom (Plate A4-32). There being no suitable artificial light sources in Sweet's time, the only option was direct sunlight. Several frames could be processed at once on a framework outside (Plate A4-31) or in the skylight room of the studio (Plate A4-32). During busy periods one worker could be in the work-room loading printing frames, another stacking them onto the framework, and another checking exposures and taking them to the darkroom for fixing. Meanwhile, Sweet could be out taking more photographs while Mrs Sweet was minding the shop. It was quite a team effort.
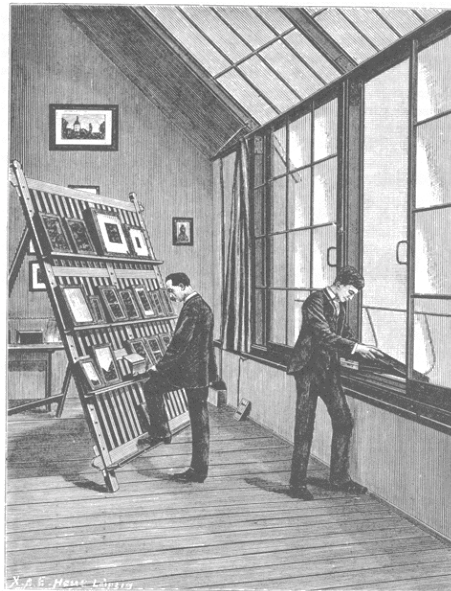
Plate A4-32
An indoor printing studio, c.1890.
An assistant is checking accelerating printing process at the window.

The first major challenge was making adjustments for the intensity of Australian light and its colour, which affected contrast during the printing process.[106] Reilly explains that 'the higher the proportion of blue light and the lower the proportion of yellow light ... the greater will be the tendency towards a softer, blacker print'.[107] A greater proportion of yellow light gave a more contrasty print but needed a larger exposure time.[108] In my own experiments I have noticed that bright sunlight produces rich, deep prints, whereas on overcast days the prints remain weak and flat, no matter how long I leave them outside. Sunny days can also have a downside as Australian high summer temperatures adversely affect the process.[109]

The success of the print depended on the quality of the light as well as the duration of the exposure. The density of the negative was another variable and Sweet knew from publications like Towler's *Silver Sunbeam* that a very dense negative should be exposed to diffused light whereas a very thin negative needed full sun and to be printed very quickly.[110] Imagine trying to make a print from a thin negative on a dull day for a customer in a hurry. Temperatures and humidity also had to be allowed for and the only way to determine when a print was ready was to check it, without disturbing its registration (contact) with the negative. Even this was fraught as the print at this stage does not

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[106] ibid.
[107] ibid.
[108] ibid.
[109] Dr Mike Ware, The Alternative Processes Seminar, Gold Street Studios, Trentham, Victoria, 12.09.2009.
[110] Towler, 1864, op. cit.

resemble the finished product. Sweet had to reinterpret what he saw in the printing frame in light of his experience and what he knew would happen to it during processing.[111]

Plate A4-33
How to examine the action of light on the paper.

An issue specifically for wet-plate landscape photography – that also affected the printing process – was the tendency for skies to be overexposed due to long exposure times. Collodion wet plates were equally sensitive to blue and white light, so white clouds in a blue sky were rarely recorded at all.[112] Unfortunately, rather than giving the impression of an everlasting summer of cloudless skies, it left 'large areas to feature the chemical and procedural mishaps of the photographer' including 'the indelicate handling of the plates and of applications of collodion, silver and developer'.[113] There was also a tendency for skies to appear muddy (Plate A4-34).

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[111] van Monckhoven, 1863, op. cit.

[112] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.47; Before the advent of orthochromatic emulsions in the 1880s the tonal values of photographs 'did not correspond to actuality. Red and yellow areas appeared too dark, blues and violets too light', Baldwin, op. cit., pp.62-63.

[113] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., pp.47 & 61.
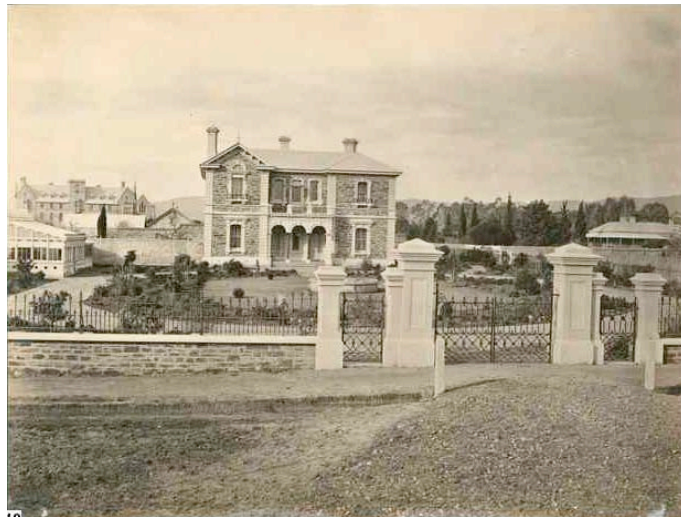
Plate A4-34
Residence of John Dunn, Jr., Hackney Road
1873-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 10649

Example of a muddy sky

One remedy Sweet used was to block out the sky during printing, leaving a blank sky in the print either by painting the sky area with 'opaque' (pigment in a gum binder) or applying a paper mask to the glass side of the plate.[114] Both methods have been observed in Sweet's negative of *Rundle Street* which was retouched on the emulsion side with red opaquing fluid and has a paper mask adhered to the glass side over the sky.[115] Blocking-out is evident in *Black's Whurlie* (Plates A4-35 a to h) where the spears cropped out by the masking process have been drawn into the negative by hand. Other prints from the same negative exhibit different marks from the masking processes, indicating its inexact and error-prone nature.

a

b

c

d

e

f

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[114] ibid., p. 47.

[115] *Rundle Street*, Adelaide, collodion wet plate glass negative, 20.2 x 25.5 cm, private collection, viewed 30.04.2008.

Plates A4-35 a-h
Blacks Whurlie
1878, Point McLeay
various collections

g

h

In many prints no blocking out is evident, as in Plate A4-36 where telephone wires can just be seen crossing the sky. Sweet liked to keep telegraph and telephone wires in his prints which also meant keeping in evidence of his 'procedural mishaps' such as the 'cloud' to the right of the club, which may have been caused by pooling developer.

Plate A4-36
Adelaide Club, North Terrace
1878, Adelaide
private Collection

(The telegraph lines are visible in the original print)

Another remedy for problem skies was to print in clouds from a separate negative, although this does not seem to feature in Sweet's work.[116] Plate A4-37 is a clear example of real skies captured by dry plate. A variety of other peculiarities are occasionally found in Sweet's skies (and those of other photographers) which result from either the problems caused by wet plates or from the remedies employed to correct them (Plates A4-38 and A4-39).

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[116] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p. 61.

Plate A4-37
Elder Park
1882-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 3124

Clouds successfully captured by the gelatin dry plate.

Plate A4-38
The Brocas, Woodville
1870-85, Woodville
SLSA B 10656

Unusual sky features

Plate A4-39
Woodhouse, Summertown
1868, Summertown,
SLSA B 10647

Unusual sky features

Washing and Toning

After exposure, the print was taken straight to a darkened workroom for washing to remove excess silver nitrate (Plate A4-40).
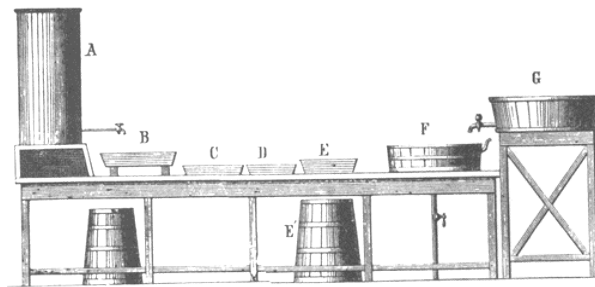

Plate A4-40
A processing line for albumen prints.
Trays B & C are for the initial wash, D is the toning tray, and E is the fixer tray. F and G are for washing the prints.

The next stage was toning the print – an area in which Sweet exhibited considerable variety and inventiveness, and one which can greatly enhance our appreciation of work once we understand it. It is another magic moment in this cumbersome process. Reilly describes toning as 'the focal point of the whole processing operation' and 'the largest single factor in determining the final color of the print'.[117] Toning was standard practice to give the image permanence and to cool the naturally warm, yellowish-brown tones of the untoned print.[118] Sweet's prints exhibit a wide variety of tones and these rich colours from soft yellow browns to rich glossy purples form part of the fascinating aesthetic of his work. Plates A4-41 a to d give an idea of the tonal variations within Sweet's oeuvre, bearing in mind that storage conditions, ageing and image reproduction processes (scanning, printing etc.) result in further layers of colour change. They are all from the same 1882 dry plate negative.

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[117] Reilly, op. cit.

Plates A4-41 a to d
Mrs Zillah Phillipson
1882, Beltana
Various collections:
a nla.pic-an20886593-44-v
b SLSA B 10723
c SLV H15058
d NGA 86.1852

Showing toning variations

Whilst other factors account for some colour variations, these prints certainly exhibit variations of the gold toning process. Variations in tone could result from the toning formula used, its strength, temperature, pH and age, duration of immersion as well as variables present in the pre-toned print. Good results required considerable practice and experience. Reilly explained that it was an inexact process and that 'standardised, repeatable results come only with experience and the attainment of repeatability in all other parts of the printing process'.[119] An additional factor at play is the involvement of Sweet's staff (often his wife and children) in the printing and toning processes which visibly reflect the experience and idiosyncrasies of each individual. Add to this Sweet's occasional use of tinted paper and it becomes impossible to isolate specific causes of variations in tone, let alone Sweet's specific toning practices. However, Reilly confirms that 'for glossy albumen paper ...

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[118] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment, processes, and definitions of the 19th century', op. cit., p.118.
[119] Reilly, op. cit.

there can be little question of which toning method was usually applied'.[120] There were innumerable variations and 'many 19th-century manuals contain 10 to 15 different formulae, most of them variations on the alkaline principle'.[121] It is highly likely that Sweet used these alkaline gold toning formulae, although many of his extant prints exhibit 'a colder image tone, generally deep purple tending to black', associated with Thiocyanate gold toners which were available after 1867.[122] Although the thiocyanate gold toners became popular they consumed more gold and 'never eclipsed the alkaline toners so beloved by albumen printers'.[123] The *Observer* reported that Sweet's photographs destined for the 1878 Paris Exposition Universelle were 'enhanced by a warm tint like that produced by sepia being imparted by a process of Captain Sweet's own invention'.[124] Sweet's 'invention' was probably a variation on one of the many gold toning formulae available.

As to why so many toning variations should arise among prints from a single negative, the explanation also lies in commercial practice. Sweet would initially have made a small batch of prints from the negative to display in his studio, exhibit with his agent and send to the newspaper. Thereafter prints would be made to order. So, he could be making an aesthetic decision to tone prints differently, or simply be toning with whatever formula he happened to be using at that time. Groups of prints within an album from Sweet's studio often show identical toning, suggesting that they were all printed up with the same toner on the same day.

Washing and Fixing

As soon as the print reached the required tone, Sweet washed and fixed it to render the image stable.[125] Prints were invariably fixed with sodium thiosulfate (then mistakenly called hyposulphite of sodium).[126] The chemistry of fixing was not always understood and many prints faded from exhausted fixer or insufficient washing.[127] Most of Sweet's prints have only limited fading – a testament to his good fixing and washing practices. Fixing, like toning, improved the permanence of the print and revealed a colour change from the purple hues of the toning bath to a more yellow / dull brown hue.[128] Achieving the desired final colour was a complicated business requiring considerable experience and pre-planning.

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[120] ibid.
[121] ibid.; Alkaline gold toning first proposed by James Waterhouse c.1855.
[122] Reilly, op. cit.
[123] ibid.
[124] *Adelaide Observer*, 15.09.1877.
[125] Reilly, op. cit.
[126] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.79.
[127] van Monckhoven, 1863, op. cit.; Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.79.
[128] Reilly, op. cit.

Thorough washing was essential to the durability of the print but access to running water in the nineteenth century was limited, let alone water that was pure and consistently the same temperature as the other processing solutions. It is possible that insufficient washing was responsible for the drastic deterioration in Joseph Brooks' print of *Tumbling Waters* (Plate A4-42), particularly if he printed it at Port Darwin camp, where he would have to make do with a couple of buckets.
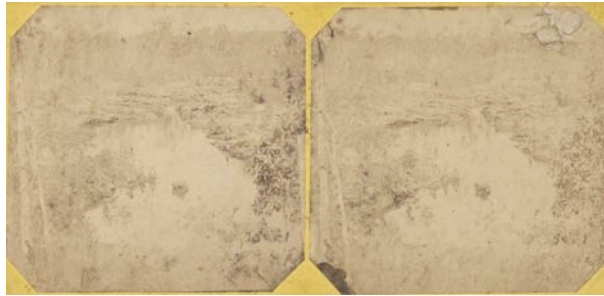

Plate A4-42
William Barlow
Tumbling Waters
1869, South Arm, Northern Territory
albumen silver stereograph
SLSA B 56589

Plate A4-43
Captain Samuel Sweet
Tumbling Waters
April 1869, Northern Territory
SLSA B 4654

Sweet's *Tumbling Waters* print (Plate A4-43) contrasts starkly with its crisp clarity. It was thoroughly fixed and washed showing Sweet's superior understanding of the actions and care needed to counteract the effect of Darwin's humidity. As a Ship's Captain Sweet also had stores of fresh water and better on-board facilities than the two other photographers on this expedition, many of whose prints have suffered a high level of deterioration and fading.

Drying

After the final wash the prints were dried using various strategies, including blotting paper, squeegees and air drying.[129] The very thin paper tended to curl as the albumen dried, particularly if the albumen coating was thick, and most photographers mounted their prints while they were still damp (Plate A4-44).
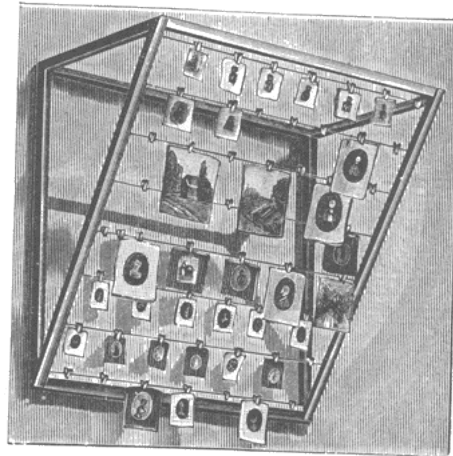

Plate A4-44
A drying rack for prints.
The prints were not allowed to become truly dry, but were mounted while still damp.

Coatings

Although the albumen prints were ready once they were dry, they would look much better, and last much longer, if they were coated. Captain Sweet's prints exhibit a wide variety of surface finishes from a soft satin gloss to a highly polished gloss finish. This aspect of Sweet's practice merits detailed consideration because it demonstrates his effort to conform to the commercial tastes of the day and to establish himself as the market leader in glossy photographic coatings.

In contrast with today's tastes, nineteenth century photographers, newspaper reviewers, and customers judged the quality of a photograph by its gloss and the associated improvements in detail and contrast – the glossier the better. The preference for gloss was not universal. In the 'early decades of photography' it was 'viewed by many as inartistic'.[130] Von Waldhaussen cites the following 1862 article by way of example:

> To our own taste the use of albumenized paper, although under existing circumstances a necessary evil, is bad enough; but the additional use of varnishes is worse. The use of glazed surfaces for

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[129] ibid.
[130] C von Waldhaussen, 'Coatings on Salted Paper, Albumen, and Platinum Prints', in C McCabe (ed.), Coatings on Photographs: materials, techniques and conservation, Washington, 2005, p.80.

photographic pictures is, we believe, purely a conventional taste, which has arisen rather out of the exigencies of the art, than from any beauty such as surfaces possess. We cannot doubt for a moment that if prints equal in depth and vigour, purity, brilliancy, and detail could be produced on plain paper, albumenized prints would be at once scouted as vulgar and inartistic, and varnished prints no less so.[131]

Gloss soon became the dividing line between artistic and commercial photography. The artistic community considered the appearance of gloss varnishes to be unattractive, preferring the matte surfaces which were more akin to drawings and engravings.[132] Glossy photographs could also be difficult to exhibit because of reflections.[133]

It was a different story in commercial photography and by the 1860s a glossy finish was 'the aesthetic standard for commercial work'.[134] The *Photographic News* praised a new machine which gave 'a most perfectly even burnished surface ... to the print, which seems to have a similar effect to the varnishing of a painting or polishing of wood; detail before scarcely seen seems to bear out in a most surprising manner, giving the utmost delicacy and finish to the print'.[135]

Sweet's photographs were usually highly glossed, placing him firmly in the commercial aesthetic. Not only that, but he singled out this feature as his primary selling point throughout his career. 'Captain Sweet's Wax Process' was frequently mentioned in his advertisements and newspaper reviews, first appearing in an 1866 Sydney review of Sweet's photograph of *Wallaroy* which was 'subjected to a process of which Mr Sweet claims to be the originator, called the "ceratype" process, wax forming an element in the materials used'.[136] The term 'ceratype' was not in general use but cerate paste was a term for encaustic paste – 'a waxy mixture for surface application in finished prints'.[137] Photographs had been waxed since the 1840s but according to von Waldthausen 'information on encaustic [wax] paste was first published in the English literature in The Photographic News in 1868'.[138] If Sweet was coating his photographs with an encaustic wax paste in 1866, he was well ahead of his time, especially if he was the originator of the 'ceratype' process. This,

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[131] ibid; original source: *Editor*, 21.02.1862, p.85.
[132] von Waldhaussen, op. cit., p.80.
[133] Stephen Beckett, specialist in nineteenth century photographic processes, Adelaide, 14.01.2010.
[134] M Harnley, M Salazar & D Stulik, 'Coatings on the Photographic Prints of Gustave Le Gray', in McCabe op. cit., p.290.
[135] von Waldhaussen, op. cit., p.80; original sources 'Varnishing Photographs,' *The Photographic News* 6, no.194, 23.05.1862, p.248; *Editor*, 'Hints on Rolling Prints', *The Photographic News* 6, no.184, 14.03.1862, pp.121-122.
[136] J Kerr (ed.), *The Dictionary of Australian Artists: painters, sketchers, photographers and engravers to 1870*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1992, p.774; original source *SMH*, 11.07.1866.
[137] BE Jones et al., op. cit., p.99.
[138] von Waldthausen, op. cit., p.85.

together with constant later references to Sweet's wax process, is strong evidence that he was using encaustic wax paste as a coating and may have been the first photographer in Australia to do so. No further use of the term 'ceratype' has been found but from Sweet's first Adelaide advertisement with Gibson in November 1866 – which refers to 'Gibson & Sweet's wax views ... taken by their Wax Process' – his creation of gloss was variously referred to as 'wax process', 'waxed views', Sweet's 'special process', his 'glazing process' and his 'enamelled views'.[139] It was consistently described as a process of his own invention. Although occasionally photographs are referred to as having been 'taken by' his wax process, it is certain that this was not meant literally, and that all references to Sweet's Wax Process pertain to a finishing process.

In 1873 the *Register* described Sweet's views for the London Exhibition as having 'been submitted to what is known as the waxing process, by means of which a solution of collodion is applied to the surface of the picture, where it is allowed to harden, the result being to render the picture as glossy as though a plate of glass were placed before it'.[140] This is quite a different process from wax-based coatings, now termed collodion enamelling.[141] It may account for those prints described as 'enamelled views'. However, the matter of photographic coatings and finishing processes is more complex than it might seem. The first challenge is that in the nineteenth century the terms for various types of coatings were used interchangeably:

> The diverse vocabulary used to describe a coating may or may not accurately describe the material that is implied by its name, which could include terms such as encaustic, varnish, enamel, glaze, paste, size, polish, wax ... When discussing the action of coatings, descriptions such as finishing, gelatinizing, enamelling, waxing, varnishing, and glossing may be employed interchangeably.[142]

Sweet was not unusual in using more than one coating process, nor in describing them with the confusingly interchangeable terms of waxing, glazing and enamelling. There is no other documentary evidence (so far) regarding Sweet's wax processes and, in Taylor's words, 'for any hope of [further] answers, we must turn to the field of photograph conservation'.[143]

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[139] *Register*, 21.11.1866 and, for example, *Bunyip*, 04.01.1868; *Adelaide Observer*, 15.06.1878; ibid. 15.09.1877; *Advertiser*, 03.04.1877.

[140] *Register*, 27.01.1873.

[141] Osterman, 'Introduction to photographic equipment and processes in the 19th century', op. cit., p.63.

[142] von Waldthausen, op. cit., p.79.

[143] R Taylor, 'Forward', in McCabe, op. cit., p.vii.

When it comes to scientific analysis, one advantage of coatings is that they are physically present in a way which negative and printing processes are not: photographic processes (negative and positive) are complex reactions with light which leave behind only limited evidence of the original solutions and formulae which triggered them. Most of the evidence was washed down the sink. Photographic coatings and finishing processes leave more evidence – flattened paper fibres, wax, collodion, shellac and other ingredients. Coatings are the most tangible aspect of Sweet's practice – a physical element of his photographs with which we can directly engage and one which might allow us to find out more about Captain Sweet and his photographs.

Unfortunately, scientific identification of coatings and finishing processes is plagued with its own set of challenges. A detailed analysis of Sweet's printing and coating methods would be 'a PhD in itself'.[144] However, with the help of the Conservation Department of the National Gallery of Australia, it has been possible to conduct a preliminary analysis of a small (non-representative) sample of Sweet's prints.[145] This involved direct observation by two conservators, comparison with control samples, observation under 50x magnification, solvent testing, observation under UV light, and FTIR analysis.[146] The results confirm Sweet's use of the albumen silver process and identify a range of papers and coatings he used.

Microscopic analysis proved particularly helpful, with several of Sweet's prints exhibiting the coating features described by Von Waldthaussen:

> Microscopic analysis often makes it possible to attain an even clearer view of brush streaks, embedded partial brush hairs, microscopic cracking, and gloss. These features are most likely to be found along the edges or corners of the image, where coated and uncoated areas are most likely to meet. Magnification can also reveal certain characteristics, such as the gloss of a coating that has flowed onto the secondary support; rings associated with broken air bubbles; embedded fingerprints; uneven yellowing; and peaks, crevices, and hand-colored regions that may exhibit variations in gloss.[147]

Two of the prints had a coating which had been applied with a brush, giving a slightly uneven application. The application method was confirmed by the discovery of a brush hair caught in the

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[144] Conversation with Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, NGA, 01.09.2009.
[145] Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, James Ward, Paper Conservator and Karen Magee, researcher, NGA Conservation Department, 1-2.09.2009.
[146] Fourier transform infrared spectroscopy.
[147] von Waldthausen, op. cit., p.92.

coating in a section of *West Terrace Cemetery* (Plate A4-45). Coincidentally, these are the only two prints in the samples found to have been printed on pre-tinted paper. They also both originated from the same source, being mounted on identical board bearing the stamp of 'W.W. Courtney Cheltenham [Chemist phone 233]'. The blob which appears in the magnified section of *Pichi Richi Pass* appeared to be part of the coating (Plate A4-46).

Plate A4-45
Section of *West Terrace Cemetery* under 50x magnification showing a brush hair caught in the coating.
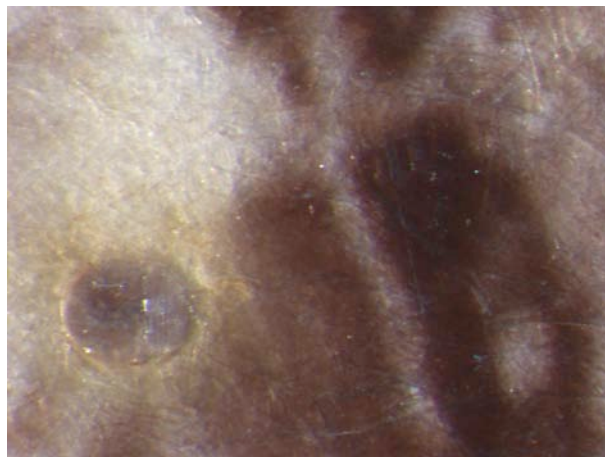
Plate A4-46
Section of *Pichi Richi Pass* under 50x magnification showing blob in the coating.

A print of *St Peters Cathedral* was found to have an unidentifiable coating which contained a substance that fluoresced unevenly under ultraviolet light.[148] A print of *Road to the Falls* proved to have a collodion coating. Plate A4-47 shows a section of *Road to the Falls* before testing with acetone. The edge of the print is curling slightly towards the viewer, allowing the edge of the print to be seen, between the two parallel vertical lines crossing the centre of the image. The line on the right is the image layer (the paper and albumen coating). The line on the left is the edge of the layer of coating. The opalescence along the edge of the coating is caused by light refraction. When

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[148] Captain Samuel Sweet, *St. Peter's Cathedral*, 1876-85, Adelaide, albumen silver photograph, private collection.

tested with the application of acetone the coating began to dissolve, as can be seen in the increased area of opalescence in Plate A4-48. Therefore the coating on this print 'responded in the way you would expect collodion to respond to acetone'.[149] This print has a coating which is probably collodion. Several other prints among the samples exhibited similar characteristics.
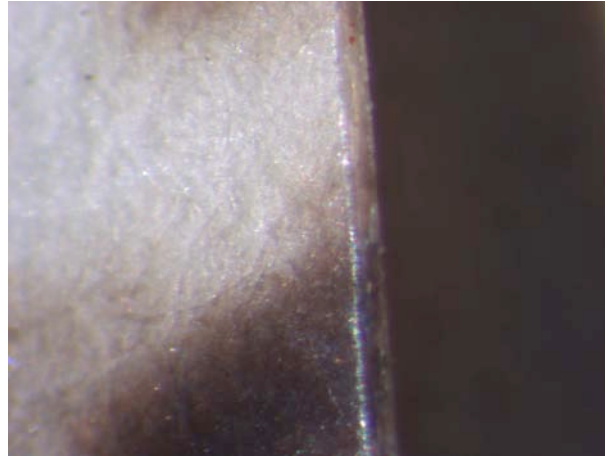

Plate A4-47
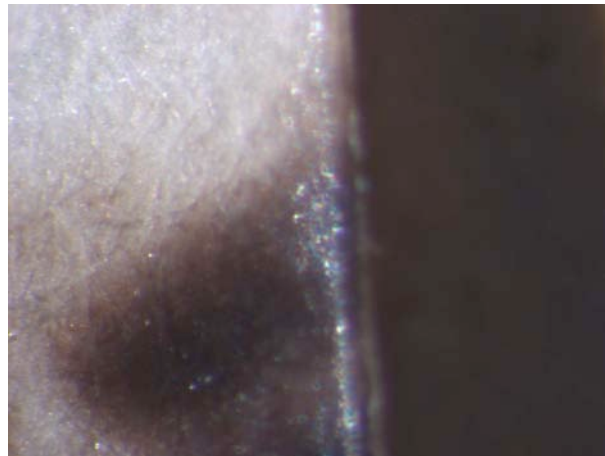Section of *Road to the Falls* under 50x magnification, showing coating on right, before acetone.

Plate A4-48
Section of *Road to the Falls* under 50x magnification, showing coating on right, after acetone.

The sample that proved most interesting was a print of *Residence at Pewsey Vale* (Plate A4-49) which exhibited such a thick layer of coating that under 50x magnification the image appeared deep below the surface like the ground under a thick, frozen puddle (Plate A4-50).

[149] Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, NGA, 01.09.2009.

Plate A4-49
Residence at Pewsey Vale
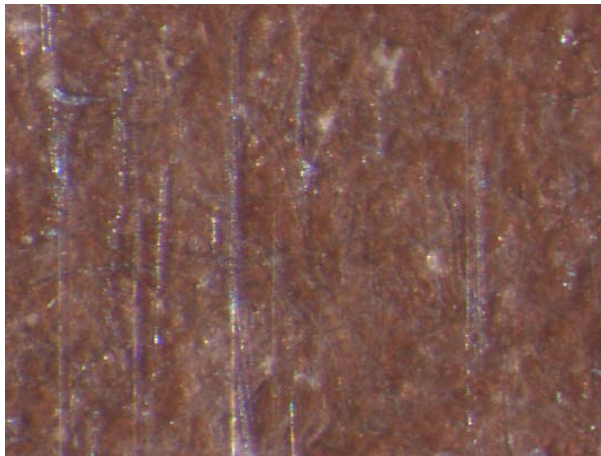1880-81, Pewsey Vale
private collection

Plate A4-50
Section of *Residence at Pewsey Vale* under 50x magnification showing image deep below a thick coating with surface scratches.
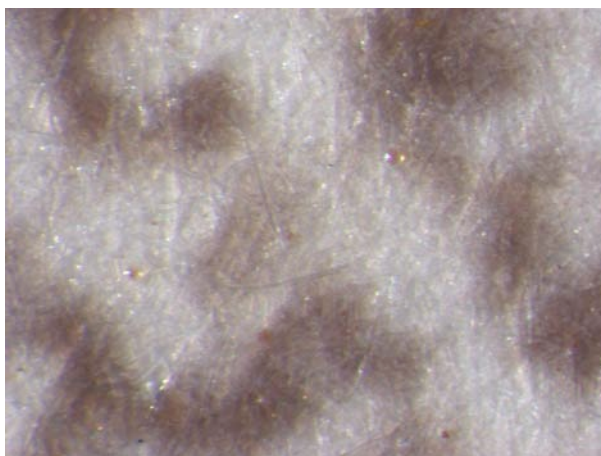

Plate A4-51
Section of *Residence at Pewsey Vale* under 50x magnification showing amber coloured beads in the coating – possibly shellac.
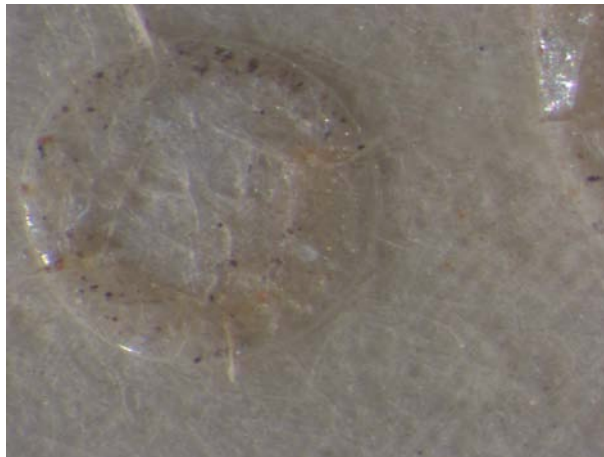
Plate A4-52
Section of *Residence at Pewsey Vale* under 50x magnification showing bubble in the coating before testing with acetone and ethanol.
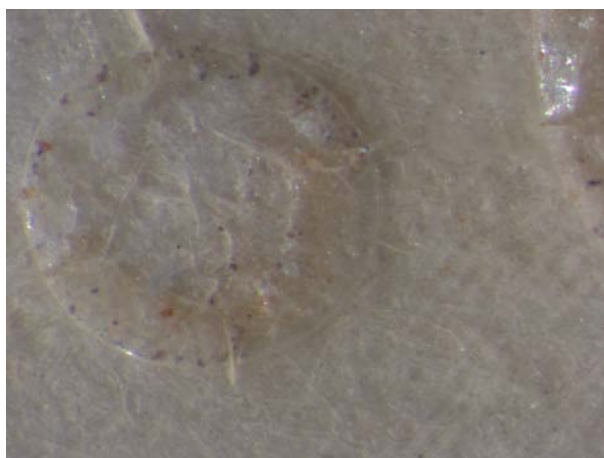

Plate A4-53
Section of *Residence at Pewsey Vale* under 50x magnification showing bubble in the coating after testing with acetone and ethanol (no change).

Plate A4-54
Section of *Residence at Pewsey Vale* under 50x magnification showing other bubbles in the coating.

The thick coating of *Residence at Pewsey Vale* was found to contain tiny amber-coloured beads within the coating layer. These could be shellac but further testing would be required to be sure. Bleached shellac (white lac) was used in several formulae for photographic varnishes and, although

bleached, returns to its original amber colour with age (Plate A4-51).[150] A bubble was located which had occurred and burst during the coating process (Plate A4-52). The bubble was tested with acetone and then ethanol which produced no reaction (Plates A4-52 & A4-53) suggesting that no collodion was present. This supports the possibility that this is a shellac coating. Other similar bubbles were located in the coating (Plate A4-54), like those described by von Waldthausen (Plate A4-55) suggesting a bubble-prone coating process.

> The detail of an albumen print illustrates a broken bubble in the coating. The density of the image is the same in the centre and at the outer edges, indicating that the bubble is in the coating rather than the binder.[151]
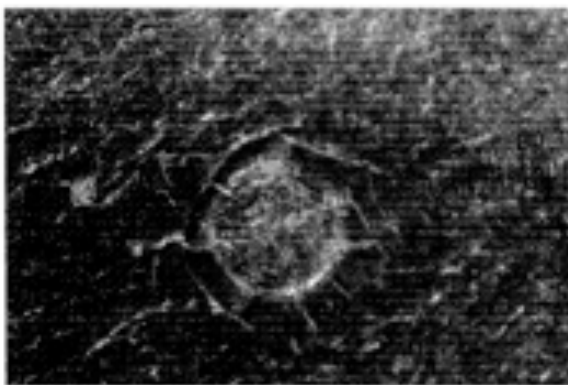

Plate A4-55
Broken bubble in the coating of an albumen print.

Several of the prints appeared to have no coating whatsoever, such as *Hills Railway, viaduct near Aldgate* (Plate 56) which exhibits limited sheen and did not fluoresce under ultraviolet light.[152] Other samples, such as *Roper River Camp*, had little or no coating (Plates A4-57 and A4-58).[153]

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[150] Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, NGA, 01.09.2009.
[151] von Waldthausen, op. cit., p.88.
[152] Observations under normal and UV light by Andrea Wise, Senior Paper Conservator, and James Ward, Paper Conservator, NGA, 01-02.09.2009.
[153] ibid.

Plate A4-56
Hills railway, viaduct near Aldgate
1882-85, Adelaide Hills, near Aldgate
Private collection

Albumen silver photograph without coating.

Plate A4-57
Roper River camp
1872, Darwin
Private collection

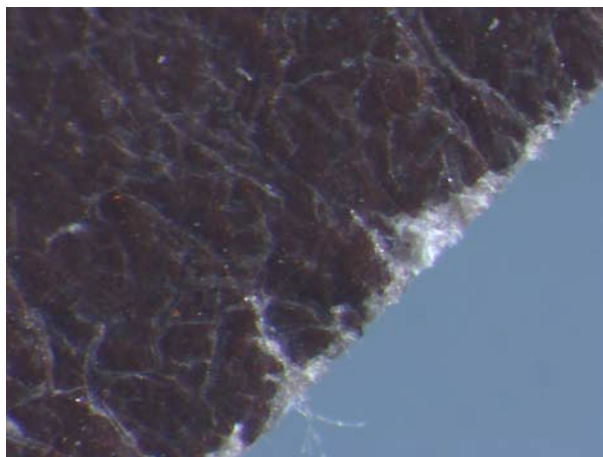Albumen silver photograph without coating.

Plate A4-58
Section of *Roper River Camp* under 50x magnification.

Under 50x magnification it could be seen that the edge of this print of *Roper River camp* was crushed (Plate A4-58). The print was tested with the application of ethanol and then acetone, neither of which produced any reaction, indicating that no collodion was present. Usually collodion dissolves immediately on contact with acetone or ethanol.

At the end of the preliminary testing Wise concluded that the samples provided were all quite different. They were all albumen silver prints. Some had no coating, while the rest had a range of different coatings. The coatings had been applied in different ways and were also breaking down in different ways. Among them, one appeared to contain shellac, and others collodion. Three photographs from the sample were selected for further instrumental analysis by FTIR. All three tested positive for collodion but no wax was found. According to Wise this does not mean that wax was not present. Given the variety of coatings among Sweet's oeuvre, and his advertisement of 'ceratype' and 'wax process', it would be worthwhile conducting a more comprehensive analysis of his photographs. In order to obtain more meaningful results a full investigation would be required which is far beyond the scope of this thesis.

These preliminary findings, press reviews and a general survey of his extant prints, confirm that Sweet usually applied a coating to his prints. The thickness and gloss of his coatings varied, as did his coating processes. They included encaustic wax pastes, collodion enamelling and possibly shellac varnishes. The prints with a visible coating were less faded than those without, in keeping with Mike Ware's findings that sulphurisation by exposure to air is a far greater cause of fading in albumen prints than exposure to light.[154] Coatings effectively sealed the print.

The variety of Sweet's coatings, like his varied toning practices, confirms him as a highly experimental photographer. As Roger Taylor explains, this was not unusual:

> From the very earliest days, the goal of all photographers has been to secure better results from their equipment, chemistry, and materials. Cameras were modified, recipes were "improved," and finer materials sought. By its very nature, photography is susceptible to adaption. By adding a pinch here, or an extra minute or two there, the end result could be altered and improved. In most cases it was a matter of personal satisfaction, in others a matter of artistic or commercial advantage.[155]

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[154] Mike Ware, seminar presentation on conservation issues in salt and albumen paper prints, NGA, 01.09.2009.
[155] R Taylor, op. cit., p.vii.

The French photographer Le Gray 'constantly explored ways to increase the technical possibilities of photography through experimentation and innovation'.[156] Sweet was no different but, by all accounts, he was one of the most innovative in Australia. Taylor tells us 'It is safe to assume that no two photographers ever followed the same procedure or working patterns' and that 'being something of a solitary profession, it meant these subtle variations in technique were often left unrecorded'.[157] Sweet is typical in this respect and there are no records of his experiments or adaptations. This makes it difficult to determine exactly how he worked:

> Sadly, much of the work they created often comes down to us stripped of the context of its production. We have little real knowledge of how individual photographers developed their negatives, made and finished their prints, or the degree to which they intervened at every stage. In this sense, their work remains mysterious and unknown.[158]

Nowhere is nineteenth century solitary experimentation more evident than in coating and finishing processes:

> Some of the most elaborate interventions happened at the very last stage of making a photograph, when the print or negative was retouched and finished. Varnish, wax, and color were skilfully applied to the surface to improve the tonal scale, give greater depth, or make the finished result appear more appealing.[159]

Of course, experimentation is rarely conducted for its own sake. The quest for gloss and its associated benefits was fuelled by a variety of motivations, both aesthetic and commercial. Norris and Kennedy argue that 'in many situations a photographer's original intent' when using a coating 'may be vague or unknown'. They explain that some photographers began using coating 'as a protective measure only ... others for aesthetic reasons', adding that 'In many cases coatings served both practical and artistic purposes'.[160] Sweet's intentions, however, are becoming clear. He was passionate about photography and based his practice firmly in the commercial sphere, adopting techniques aligned with a commercial aesthetic. That aesthetic was not divorced from art, but held within itself its own artistic values. As a commercial photographer, Sweet adhered to strong aesthetic values. This might later help to explain why the work of a commercial photographer has come to be viewed as art by our major institutions.

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[156] Harnly et al., op. cit., p.290; original source: Sylvie Aubenas, *Gustave Le Gray: 1820-1884*, Los Angeles, 2002, p.26.
[157] R Taylor, op. cit.
[158] ibid.
[159] ibid.

Cropping and formats

The next stage of the process was to crop the print and prepare it for sale which could involve mounting it in a variety of formats. What is most striking about Sweet's variety of formats and the way he used them is his ability to get the most out of every single negative.

Sweet consistently cropped his prints (with a sharp knife) to remove untidy evidence of the negative processes and to enhance the composition. Prints from the same negative were often cropped differently, as can be seen by comparing Plates A4-59 and A4-60. Plate A4-60 has been heavily cropped, removing half of Sweet's signature on the left, and creating a much tighter composition for use in a smaller album. Prints in Sweet's albums and on his own mounts were certainly cropped to his own specifications. However, prints may have been further cropped by purchasers or publishers who pasted Sweet's photographs into illustrated books.[161]

Plate A4-59
Glenelg
1877-84, Glenelg
NLA nla.pic-an10608594-89

Plate A4-60
Glenelg
1877-84, Glenelg
SLSA B 53306/9

Prints could be mounted onto a variety of supports including bristol board album pages, plain board or paper, and preprinted card stock for cartes de visite or cabinet cards. Sweet made use of all of these types of mount (Plates A4-61 to 70). He used some plain mounts, some pre-printed with a border and sometimes his name and studio. He may have had mounts printed by Wigg & Son, stationers, with whom he had a close business relationship. When dating photographs we should not always rely on printed studio card-stock as some prints were mounted on card-stock left over

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[160] Ibid.
[161] Conversation with Stephen Beckett, specialist in nineteenth century photographic processes, Adelaide, 14.1.2010; albumen silver photographs were often produced in large numbers and pasted into books for illustration or in books of views produced by a publisher rather than the photographer.

from a previous studio and others were mounted on much later card-stock, long after the photograph had been taken.[162]

Plate A4-61

An unmounted (heavily coated) print affixed through slots on a paper mount

Plate A4-62

Pink carte de visite card stock pre-printed with Sweet's home address in Bowden (1876 onwards)

Plate A4-63

The reverse side of Sweet's pre-printed carte de visite cardstock from his Flinders Street Studio (1879-1882)

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[162] For example, Sweet's 1862 portrait of his daughters is mounted on cardstock from his Flinders Street studio which he occupied 1879-82.
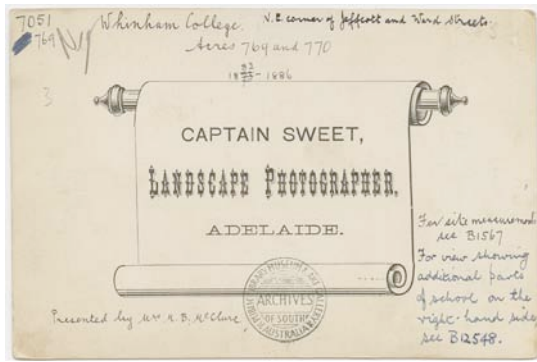
Plate A4-64
Sweet's pre-printed general cardstock

Plate A4-65
Thin paper mount

Plate A4-66
Window mounted for framing

Plate A4-67
Window mounted for framing

Plate A4-68

Mounted on Sweet's pre-printed board with
simple red border

Plate A4-69

Mounted on board printed with bronze powder
decorative border

Plate A4-70

Mounted on board printed with bronze powder
decorative border and with Sweet's name and
'FLINDERS STREET, ADELAIDE'
(1879 – 1882)

The choice of mount depended on the size and purpose of the image. Although the majority of
Sweet's landscape photographs in public collections are of a similar size (cropped from 8x10" or Full-
plate prints) a view of his shop window in Adelaide Arcade (Plate A4-71) shows a variety of
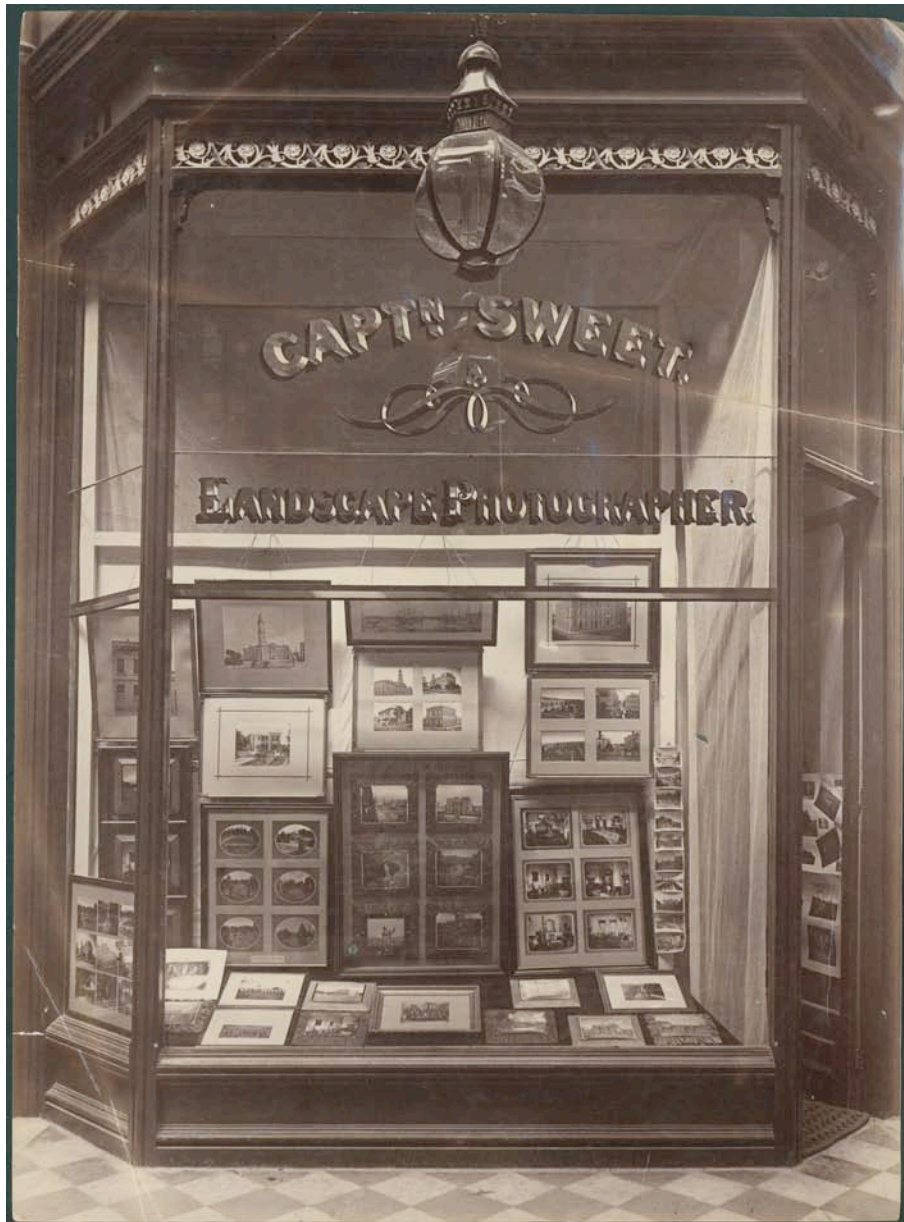photographic formats, many of the smaller images being heavily cropped from larger views.

Plate A4-71
detail from *Adelaide Arcade*
1885, Adelaide
SLSA B 12564

His shop window mostly displays large prints, framed singly or in sets. At the far right is a fold-out photo-booklet with several small prints glued to a long paper mount, folded concertina-style, like the strips of postcards that became popular in the early to mid-twentieth century. It resembles Sweet's 'Views of South Australia' in the State Library of South Australia which contains fourteen 5½ x 3¼″ views mounted concertina style between two card covers (Plates A4-72 and 73). Some, like Plate A4-74 show Sweet's signature placed as close to the centre as he dare so that it appears in the heavily cropped prints as well as the the larger ones.
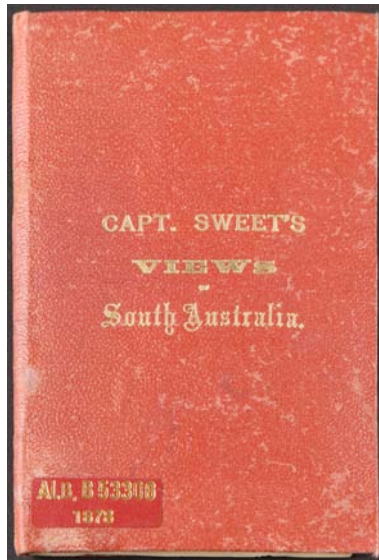
Plate A4-72
'Views of South Australia'
1885, Adelaide
Photographic Album
SLSA B 53306

Plate A4-73
'Views of South Australia'
1885, Adelaide
Photographic Album
SLSA B 53306

Plate A4-74
King William Street, looking South
in the album 'Views of South Australia'
1883-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 53306/3

Larger pictures were suited to framing and including in albums. These have survived well and feature strongly in public collections. Smaller formats, like the carte-de-visite and cabinet card, were popular for posting individually to friends and relatives and as such have met a variety of fates. Customers could order images mounted on card pages to make up into an album or they could ask for a print on a lightweight plain paper mount which they could paste in at home or post overseas. Sweet also produced his own elaborate albums of views of Adelaide and South Australia, in which case he selected the appropriate album pages for mounting. In July 1882 Mrs Sweet's sister had read about Sweet's albums of views in the newspaper: 'I received the paper with account of the famous Albums ... I hope dear Sam will be well paid for them'.[163]

Albumen paper remained prevalent until 1895 (when gelatin and collodion printing-out papers assumed dominance).[164] New photographic processes began to emerge around the time of Sweet's death, too late for him to try them. Speculation that posthumous prints created by Mrs Sweet were gelatin silver has been disproved.[165] Every one of the hundreds of original prints examined during this project is albumen silver. Gelatin silver printing-out and developing-out papers were introduced in 1882 but did not reach general use until later in the 1880s. They did not fully displace albumen prints until 1895, after Mrs Sweet had closed the business.[166]

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[163] Letter from Mary Clay to her sister Elizabeth Sweet, 31.07.1882, reproduced in Norma Tilly-Roberts, *Tilly Family History 1690-1994*, Tilly Book Committee, Kensington Park, South Australia, 1994, p.250
[164] *Die Photographische Industrie*, 27, 116 (1929). See for example <www.albumen.stanford.edu>; Gold Street Studios, <http://www.goldstreetstudios.com.au>.
[165] AGSA, Captain Samuel Sweet, artist file; NGA, Conservation Department testing, 1-2.09.2009.
[166] Baldwin, op. cit., p.49.

APPENDIX 5

Captain Sweet's
Authorship & Signatures

Signatures and Plate Numbers

Only some of Sweet's photographic prints are signed. The reasons for some being signed and others not is unclear. From his arrival in Adelaide in 1866, until his death in 1886, the only style of signature Sweet used, with one exception, was 'Sweet / Adelaide', sometimes accompanied by a three digit negative number, below 'Adelaide', as in Plate A5-1. The only exception has been found in *First Fall, Waterfall Gully* (Plate A5-2).

Plate A5-1
Captain Samuel Sweet
detail from *Semaphore Pier*
1878, Semaphore
private collection

Plate A5-2
Captain Samuel Sweet
detail from *First Fall, Waterfall Gully*
1866-80, Waterfall Gully
SLSA B 8871

Sweet never signed his name without inscribing 'Adelaide' below it. His signature was created by scratching into the emulsion of the negative with a sharp point like a needle. It had to be inscribed as a mirror image, which accounts for the discrepancy between Sweet's signature and his usual handwriting. It also led to the occasional error when inscribing negative numbers. Plate A5-3 appears to read 'P10' but was intended to read '910'.

Plate A5-3
Sweet's numbering error
Captain Samuel Sweet
detail from *View of Adelaide from Green Hill*
c.1878, Green Hill (Adelaide Hills)
private collection

Occasionally his signature was scratched with a flatter blade, like a calligraphy nib, which created smoother lettering (Plates A5-4 and A5-5).

Plate A5-4
Captain Samuel Sweet
detail from *Road to the Falls*
1866-80, Waterfall Gully
private collection

Plate A5-5
Detail of Sweet's signature in *Road to the Falls*
under 50x magnification
James Ward, Paper Conservator, National Gallery of
Australia, microscopic examination of *Road to the Falls*,
2 September 2009

Less than half of Sweet's catalogued prints carry his signature. One print from a negative may be signed while another is not. For example, Plate A5-6 is unsigned whereas Plate A5-7 is signed.

Plate A5-6
Captain Samuel Sweet
Sheep shearers, Canowie Station
1866-85, Canowie Station
SLSA B 9339

Unsigned

Plate A5-7
Captain Samuel Sweet
Sheep shearers, Canowie Station
1866-85, Canowie Station
NGA 89.1593

Signed

This anomaly came about through Sweet's use of copy negatives, creating some prints from a signed negative and others from an unsigned one, although his rationale is unclear. There has been speculation among experts that for copyright reasons Mrs Sweet removed Sweet's signatures[167]. Evidence of signature removal can be seen in Plate A5-8.

A5-8
Captain Samuel Sweet
detail from *Road to Mount Lofty, Adelaide Hills*
private collection

Sweet's signature is sometimes accompanied by a negative number inscribed beneath the word 'Adelaide'. Unfortunately his negative log book has never been found but may have resembled the one kept by his friend Paul Foelsche, now in the R.J. Noye collection at the Art Gallery of South

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[167] Various records and conversations at AGSA, 2003 to 2006.

Australia. Sweet's three digit negative numbers reveal no clear pattern. There is a rough correlation to dates (higher numbers being later) but with several exceptions. Groups of photographs from one trip also tend to have consecutive negative numbers but in general Sweet's system appears a little ad hoc. Single or double digit numbers occasionally appear in addition to the negative number or alone (as in Plate A5-9), often located bottom centre, unconnected to the signature (if there is one). Their relevance is uncertain.

Plate A5-9
Captain Samuel Sweet
Lower lake view, Adelaide Botanic Garden
1866-85, Adelaide
SLSA B 58005/18

The purpose of Sweet's signature was twofold. Firstly it served to identify him as the true creator of the image, and protect his authorship rights. This was a serious concern as adverts like this one demonstrate.

> NORTHERN TERRITORY VIEWS (REGISTERED) From Captain SWEET'S NEGATIVES to be had ONLY of B. GOODE, RUNDLE-STREET. As the above views are registered, any person Copying them will be proceeded against according to the law.[168]

Secondly it served as free advertising. Had his signature consistently been confined to the corner of the image, this purpose might not have been obvious. However, Sweet frequently placed his

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[168] *Advertiser,* 14.06.1869, p. 4.

signature in a prominent position which, had he been a painter, would have been considered shocking (Plate A5-10). It was quite unique among Australian photographers of the time and knocks rather a hole in Rosalind Krauss's argument that notions of authorship are inappropriate for the views trade given its commercial nature.[169]

Plate A5-10
Walkways amongst garden beds, Adelaide Botanic Gardens
1866-85, Adelaide
NLA nla.pic-an14484190-25

The only conceivable explanation is that he was making sure that anyone who saw his images interstate or overseas could contact him if they wanted a copy. Mail addressed to 'Mr Sweet, Photographer, Adelaide' would easily reach him. His photographs were sent to hundreds of households and World Fairs – a marketing opportunity not to miss. This explanation also accounts for his unfailing inclusion of 'Adelaide' in his signature.

Trademark

In addition to his signature, in 1872 Sweet began using an anchor symbol, scratched in the negative, as a trademark to protect against the Government claiming ownership of his Northern Territory photographs. It was not long after his return from the Northern Territory, on 24 April 1872, that he applied to the Registrar of Trademarks to register the small anchor symbol for use in his photographs

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[169] Rosalind Krauss, 'Photography's Discursive Spaces: Landscape/View', *Art Journal*, Vol. 42, No.4, The Crisis in the Discipline, Winter 1982, p.314. Krauss's argument is discussed by Julia Peck, 'The Making of the Australian landscape: Photographic contributions to the construction of a nation from New South Wales and Victoria 1870-1917', PhD thesis University of Wales, Newport, 2008, p.20.

under the Trademarks Act 1863 (Plates A5-11 & A5-12).[170] Employment of the trademark anchor symbol can be seen in Plate A5-13. The trademark was created for the Northern Territory photographs and is generally restricted to them.
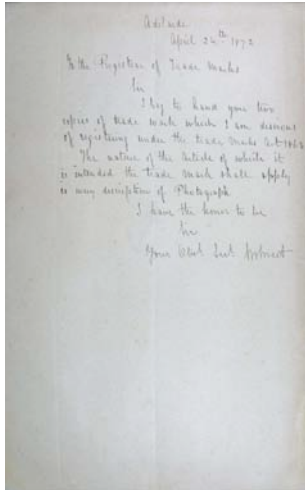

Plate A5-11
Sweet's application for registration of his trademark

Plate A5-12
Sweet's trademark anchor symbol, April 1872
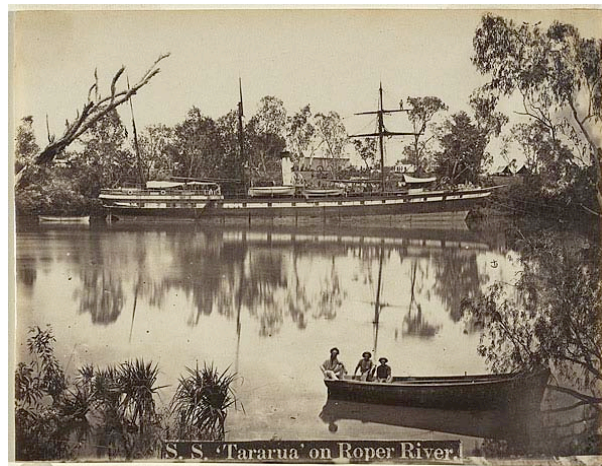Attached to his application for trademark registration

Plate A5-13
Captain Samuel Sweet
'S.S. Tararua' Roper River
1872, Roper River, NT
NGA 88.1445

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[170] NAA, A1183, Application for Trademark depicting an anchor – in respect of every description of photograph by SW Sweet, 1872–1872, 6; Application also reported in the *SA Government Gazette*, 10.06.1869, p.824.

The use of a trademark in this way was rare but not unique to Sweet. Townsend Duryea registered his own trademark in 1867 when he was the official photographer for the royal visit.[171] His was a triangle with a T on the top, scratched into the negative. It was common for Adelaide photographers to copyright individual photographs by taking a print to the Town Hall where it was pasted into a book and copyright assigned to the photographer for a small fee.[172] It was more practical for Sweet to use a trademark for photographs which he expected to tempt illicit copiers – something that was often reported in the press – especially given the prolific numbers of images that Sweet produced.

Blind-stamp

The inscriptions in the negatives were not Sweet's only form of identification. Many of his prints bear a stamp. Like his signature, his stamp appears on some images and not others, with no clear pattern to its application. Sweet's earliest known use of a stamp is an oval pink ink stamp but once established in Adelaide began using a circular blind-stamp which embossed the words 'CAPTN SWEET/ LANDSCAPE/ PHOTOGRAPHER/ ADELAIDE' directly into the photograph itself. Blind-stamps were quite common in nineteenth century photography and Sweet's was a fairly standard example, as can be seen in Plates A5-13 & A5-14, which show Sweet's stamp next to that of Nadar, the famous French photographer.

Plate A5-13
Sweet's blind-stamp

Plate A5-14
Nadar's blind-stamp

Labels

Another form of identification which Sweet used was a printed label which is occasionally found adhered to the reverse of a mount (Plate A5-15), although very few have survived.

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[171] K Orchard, 'Townsend Duryea 1823-1888', in J Robinson, *A Century in Focus: South Australian Photography 1840s – 1940s*, Art Gallery of South Australia, 2007, p.78; original source SA Government Gazette, 28.11.1867.
[172] Adelaide City Council copyright books were destroyed in a flood of the Town Hall.
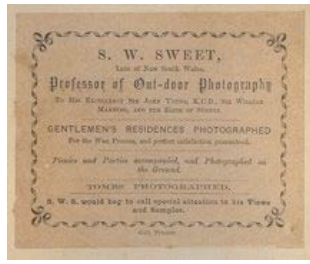
Plate A5-15
Captain Sweet's label (verso mount)
Residence at Pewsey Vale
1880-81, Pewsey Vale
private collection

Authorship

Plate A5-16
Captain Samuel Sweet
Portrait of Elizabeth Sweet
c.1879, Adelaide
SLSA B 60374

Sweet's primary inscriptions, scratched by his own hand in the negative, can be taken as reasonable evidence that he created the negative. However, it was a family business, involving his wife and children in most areas of photographic production. In July 1875 the *Register* reviewed Sweet's photographs of 'a number of the pretty things in our Botanic Gardens ... the pictures have been printed by Mrs Sweet from Captain Sweet's negatives'.[173] Elizabeth Sweet (Plate A5-16) was clearly involved in the business as early as the 1870s and continued to run it for seven years after her husband's death, as 'E Sweet & Sons'. A view of Captain Sweet's own grave, displaying his usual technical characteristics, suggests Sweet had trained someone in the family to take photographs. As

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[173] *Register*, 02.07.1875.

yet, little evidence has been found that many new photographs were taken after he died. It appears that reprinting from Captain Sweet's negatives was the mainstay of Mrs Sweet's business. The family nature of the business also suggests that there is little difference, in cultural, artistic or commercial value, between a photograph printed in 1880 and one printed in 1890. We may never know which pair of family hands printed any of his photographs. What is important is that he trained his family himself and that all of them were part of Captain Sweet's studio. Without Mrs Sweet and the young Sweets, the business would not have succeeded.

APPENDIX 6

Captain Sweet
at the
World Fairs

CAPTAIN SWEET AT THE WORLD FAIRS

The most obvious Government use of Sweet's photographs as promotional images was at world fairs. The South Australian Government sent his elaborate albums and photographs to at least seven international exhibitions in London, Paris, Philadelphia, Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. Sweet's panorama of Port Adelaide hangs on the far wall of the South Australian Court at the Sydney International Exhibition 1879-1880 (Plate A6-1). His specially commissioned photographs hang at the 1878 Philadelphia Exhibition in Plates A6-2 and A6-3.

Plate A6-1
Richards and Co.
Entrances to the Colonial Courts – South Nave
1880, Sydney
NLA nla.pic-an10697085-14

Sweet's panorama of Port Adelaide hangs on the far wall.

Plates A6-2 (left) and Plate A6-3 (right)
Centennial Photographic Co.
South Australian exhibit - Main Building
[South Australian Court of the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition]
Albumen silver photographs
Free Library of Philadelphia c021389 and c021390

Plate A6-4
Saul Solomon
Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition 1887-1888: Wool & Wheat Exhibit
1887, Adelaide
SLSA B 10212/54

Plate A6-4 shows how views photographs, like Sweet's, were used to promote agriculture and pastoralism at World Fairs. In addition to Sweet's photographs submitted by the Government, other exhibitors, like Dunn & Co. entered his photographs as part of their own displays. When included as part of a private exhibitor's display, Sweet's name did not necessarily appear in the exhibition catalogue. This image also shows how Sweet's photographs of prize bulls and sheep were often displayed.

Table of Sweet's photography at World Fairs[174]

World Fair	Sweet's known exhibited photographs
London 1873 Third Annual International Exhibition	Northern Territory and Residences (Torrens Park and Birksgate). Some of them were displayed at the South Australian Institute in Adelaide prior to shipping to London (*Register* 27 January 1873).
Philadelphia Centennial Exposition 1876	80 views including 40 Northern Territory, 28 Botanic Gardens, 12 miscellaneous landscapes. All ordered by the SA commissioner for the Exhibition. 'All of a convenient size' (*Register* 18 October 1875).
Paris Exposition Universelle 1878	Adelaide Bridge from the west, views of the Botanic Gardens, including exterior of new palm house and several of interior, new model school at Norwood, and 'a delightful rural scene in the newly laid out suburbs of Upper Kensington' (*Observer*, 15 September 1877).
Sydney International Exhibition 1879	Panorama of Port Adelaide (*Register* 1 July 1879). 511 photographic views commissioned (via Mr Rigby) by Mr S Davenport, Executive Commissioner. Sweet's albums included: *Hills & Country Townships* *Public Buildings and Churches* *Business Premises, Adelaide and Port Adelaide &c.* *City, Suburban & Marine* *Private Residences* *Botanic Gardens* *Miscellaneous* *Northern Territory, Bridges &c.* (*Register* 11 September 1879).
Melbourne International Exhibition 1880	Three frames of landscape photographs containing 65 views. Also photographs submitted by the SA Commissioners and John Dunn & Co. (*Register* 10 July 1880; Melbourne International Exhibition 1880, South Australian Court Catalogue of Exhibits, Sands & McDougall, Melbourne, 1880, p.4; *Frearsons Weekly*, 10 July 1880).
London Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886	Botanic Gardens album commissioned by Gardens Director Richard Schomburgk (*Adelaide Observer*, 30 January 1886; Melbourne *Argus*, 14 August 1886).
Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition 1887	Sweet 3rd order of merit (*Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition 1887, official catalogue of the exhibits*, printed by Webb, Vardon & Pritchard, Adelaide, 1886).

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[174] The information in this table only presents firm evidence so far found of Sweet's exhibits. Catalogues are yet to be checked for the following exhibitions: Sydney 1873, London 1874, Melbourne - Victoria Intercolonial Exhibition 1875, Sydney Intercolonial 1875, Melbourne Victoria Jubilee Exhibition 1885, Sydney 1886, Calcutta International Exhibition1883.