

**ASPECTS OF PLACE:  
THE QUEENSLAND IMAGES OF COLONIAL  
PHOTOGRAPHER RICHARD DAINTREE**

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October 2018

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Art History and Curatorial Studies (Advanced) in the College of Arts and Social Sciences. © Catherine Webb 2018

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that, except where it is otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents my own original work.

All versions of the submitted thesis (regardless of submission type) are identical.

## HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS

This thesis did not require human research ethics approval.

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# LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

All photographs are by Richard Daintree and were taken between 1864 and 1870 unless otherwise indicated.

Specific permission has not been sought to reproduce most photographs. The images have been reproduced under the general permission granted by institutions for use for educational purposes. In addition, the vast majority are no longer in copyright.

All reprography by the author unless otherwise indicated.

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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The majority of this thesis was completed on the lands of the Ngunnawal and Ngambri people, and many of Daintree's photographs were taken on Gudjala country. Others of his photographs were taken of Aboriginal people whose language groups are no longer known. The author acknowledges all the traditional owners and pays respects to elders past and present.

No research can happen without help. Warmest thanks go to the following people and institutions who have been abundantly generous in terms of time, access to research materials, knowledge and interest.

At the Centre for Art History and Art Theory, Australian National University, thesis supervisor Professor Helen Ennis has been a kind, patient and wise advisor throughout. Dr Sarah Scott provided additional supervisory guidance and many supportive words. Also working on Daintree material, Associate Professor Martyn Jolly and Dr Elisa de Courcy unstintingly shared information.

Dr Judith Hickson, curator at the Queensland Museum, generously provided access to the Daintree images, and two versions of a thumbnail database of the Daintree collection that proved invaluable.

Dr John Neldner and the staff of the Queensland Herbarium kindly addressed a question about the vegetation in a Daintree photograph.

The staff of the John Oxley Library at the State Library of Queensland was unfailingly helpful. In particular, Rachel Spano provided access to works currently in conservation.

The staff of many other libraries provided considerable assistance: the James Cook University libraries in both Townsville and Cairns; the Townsville Municipal Library; the Fryer Library of the University of Queensland; the State Library of New

South Wales, and the National Library of Australia, who have retrieved countless books and pictures over the year.

The staff of the National Museum of Australia and the National Gallery of Australia who kindly arranged access to material not on display, particularly Rasha Ajaj and Rose Montebello.

Thanks to Dr Mary Webb and Tina Campbell who provided general editorial advice and proofreading.

Thanks particularly to Jamie and Jen, and the rest of my wonderful family and friends who have tolerated and supported me this year, and who didn't know who Richard Daintree was before but certainly do now.

## WARNINGS

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are warned that this thesis contains images of people who have died.

Further, to provide a substantive context for Daintree's photographs, this thesis has extensively investigated nineteenth century sources. These contain language considered acceptable in the nineteenth century, but which is now deemed racist and inappropriate. It has been necessary to cite this material, but apologies if offence is taken.

# ABSTRACT

Richard Daintree was a photographer and geologist who spent the years 1864 to 1870 in North Queensland. Close to unique, Daintree's Queensland photographs form an exceptional body of work, significant for its size and representation of the early colonial period. He was the first European to make photographs that visually engaged with the dry tropical inland, and was one of very few Europeans creating any form of visual record in such remote locations. Daintree's photographs are from on and beyond the frontier of European colonial expansion that dispossessed Aboriginal people of their land. Particularly, his images of Aboriginal people illustrate the complexities of relationships with Europeans. This thesis uses primary sources to analyse and contextualise Daintree's photographs and answers the question of what place meant to him, determining three key aspects. The first was an experiential understanding of place, both in the pastoral industry and in his geological work. The images tell a personal story of life on the Queensland frontier, as he was involved in the earliest pastoral development. They also speak of a relationship with science, and document expeditions researching geology he saw as new. The second aspect of place involved the representing of Queensland to an international audience. In the six months prior to Daintree's departure from Queensland, he took many photographs specifically to interpret place for others, focussing on the nascent pastoral and mining industries. Finally, a third aspect of place considers the expectations of that wider audience and Daintree's attempts to cater to those expectations.

# 1 INTRODUCTION

Richard Daintree's Queensland photographs were made between 1863 and 1870 and describe the earliest days of the European colonisation in the north of Australia. The oeuvre is influenced by Daintree's time spent on and beyond what was then the furthest edge of European pastoral expansion and documents aspects of life on that frontier, including interaction with Aboriginal people in those earliest years. Ideas of place are central to an understanding of Daintree's Queensland photographs, and this thesis will posit that place takes three differing forms in Daintree's photography. The first is a personal, experiential viewing of place as Daintree documented his move to a pastoral enterprise in Queensland with his family, and then photographed several geological expeditions. The second expression is representative of place and lies in the creation of a visual interpretive account for an external audience in England that he made by taking images of mining camps and other aspects of colonial life. A third aspect took the form of a response to the expectations of that international audience as a result of their understanding of the distant colony. In total these three understandings of place amount to an early visual description of Queensland seen through the eyes, and camera, of one dedicated individual who brought his own specialities and sensibilities to the narrative. The result is an extraordinary corpus that can be seen as the pinnacle of his achievement.

## Place

This thesis suggests that notions of place are central to Richard Daintree's images and such considerations require an understanding of 'place' in a broader sense. Ideas of place, particularly in a colonial context, have been investigated extensively by historiographer Paul Carter. His much cited work *The Road to Botany Bay* explored the nature of place via spatial history to arrive at an understanding of the European colonial experience. He wrote of the nexus between European exploration, use of language and the naming of places, suggesting that 'the spatial effect was to render what lay "yonder" as central, to transform a former boundary into a communicable space; "there" became

“here”...’<sup>1</sup> Much of what makes the Queensland photography of Richard Daintree so compelling is the idea of an alien, European presence in an ancient landscape that he saw as new. By his own explorations he was actively engaged in the conversion of ‘there’ to ‘here’. In a related analysis of place, art historian Catherine Speck described the concept of ‘expatriate artist’ and the cultural relationships between England and Australia as also being spatial, as well as cognitive and cultural, suggesting that ‘antipodes’ can occur in either direction.<sup>2</sup> In fact, Daintree could be said to be an expatriate at either end of the cultural relationship, again ‘there’ and ‘here’ in both places, and engaged in the production and display of images located in both.

In the main, Daintree’s relationship with place, while in Queensland and at a distance in London, amounts to one with landscape. Philosopher Edward Casey described in detail that relationship, concluding:

Place is the module of landscape – indeed its very element. Landscapes are, in the final analysis, placescapes; they are congeries of places in the fullest experiential and represented sense. *No landscapes without place* [his italics]: this much we may take to be certainly true.<sup>3</sup>

For Daintree, the reverse can be argued: there is no place without landscape, as his visual record of colonial Queensland is almost entirely an exploration of outdoor environments. Extending this, in a wonderful and more general summary of the idea of place, Melissa Miles has suggested:

Place can be understood broadly as a meaningful location tied to a sense of being in the world ... Place is both “real” and imagined - a fusion of material form and meaning. As a result, place must not be seen as a site

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Carter. *The Road to Botany Bay: an essay in spatial history*. Faber and Faber, 1987 137

<sup>2</sup> Catherine Speck. ‘Re-reading Bernard Smith on what constitutes Australian art’. In Jaynie Anderson, Christopher R. Marshall and Andrew Yip. *The Legacies of Bernard Smith: essays on Australian Art, History and Cultural Politics*. Power Publications in association with the Art Gallery of New South Wales, 2016 144-145

<sup>3</sup> Edward S. Casey. *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps*. University of Minnesota Press, 2002 271

that is waiting passively to be captured by a photographer. In making images, the photographer actively helps to produce place.<sup>4</sup>

These perceptions of place reveal a level of engagement by the explorer/photographer in the process of making images that is not dispassionate. His contribution to the history of photography, and the history of Queensland contributes to the defining of place.

### Background history

However, the places Daintree explored and photographed were neither new nor undiscovered. Aboriginal occupation and ownership of the area now known as North Queensland stretched far back in time. One piece of research set that date at 40,000 years<sup>5</sup>, while archaeological dating for elsewhere in northern Australia suggests dates of a minimum of 65,000 and as much as 80,000 years.<sup>6</sup> Aboriginal culture has evolved over eons in a deep relationship between people and place.

Europeans visited the country now known as Australia over several centuries, but the process of colonisation began in earnest with the landing in Sydney Cove in 1788 of a fleet of ships from England carrying convicts. Exploration to the north of the east coast occurred over the next thirty-six years, with the first permanent settlement being a convict colony at Moreton Bay in 1824. Concurrently, European explorers began to move further up the coast and inland, and so began the process of colonial expansion. Expeditions such as those undertaken by Ludwig Leichhardt in 1843, Edmund Kennedy in 1848, and the Gregory brothers in 1855-6, travelled through the northern inland of Australia looking for land

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<sup>4</sup> Melissa Miles. *The Language of Light and Dark: Light and Place in Australian Photography*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015 18-19

<sup>5</sup> Anna-Sapfo Malaspinas, Michael C Westaway, Craig Muller, Vitor C Sousa and Oscar Lao et al. 'A genomic history of Aboriginal Australia.' In *Nature*. Oct 2016, Vol 538, no 7624 207-214 <https://www.nature.com/articles/nature18299> Accessed August 2018

<sup>6</sup> Chris Clarkson, Zenobia Jacobs, Ben Marwick, Richard Fullagar, Lynley Wallis, et al. 'Human occupation of northern Australia by 65,000 years ago.' In *Nature*. July 2017 Vol 547, no 7663 306-310 <https://search-proquest-com.virtual.anu.edu.au/docview/1922889395?pq-origsite=summon> Accessed August 2018

suitable for pastoral enterprise and possible mineral wealth.<sup>7</sup> The Gregory brothers in particular praised the area around the Burdekin River saying, 'the extent of country suitable for squatting purposes is very considerable'.<sup>8</sup> Following the explorers, pastoralists - 'squatters' - came north looking for new fields for their sheep and cattle, as did miners searching primarily for gold. In order to address several problems associated with the future of economic development and the remoteness of the north of Australia from Sydney, in 1859 the state of Queensland separated from New South Wales. One of the first acts of the new government was to control the expansion of the pastoral industry by promulgating a Land Act in 1860, creating a leasehold system that enabled regulation of development on crown lands, and to extract fees and annual rents.<sup>9</sup> The 'taking up' of leases was strongly encouraged by colonial governments, and pastoral and agricultural expansion was seen as improving of the land. In the nineteenth century notions of improvement and progress were the hallmarks of economic and social growth.<sup>10</sup>

This was land owned by Aboriginal people, who strongly resisted the invasion. The result was a bloody, Australia-wide conflict that has been described as the 'Frontier Wars'. Scholar Richard Broome has written:

The weight of evidence has clearly shown violence and a culture of violence initially permeated most frontiers. Settlers did not doubt they were fighting a war and called it such. Aboriginal people who carried the

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<sup>7</sup> A comprehensive description of the European exploration of North Queensland can be found in many sources, for example Noel Loos. *Invasion and Resistance: Aboriginal-European Relations on the North Queensland Frontier 1861 – 1897*. First published Australian National University Press, 1982, this edition Boolarong Press, 2017 13-19; or in various individual explorer diaries online at Project Gutenberg Australia

<http://gutenberg.net.au>

<sup>8</sup> AC and FT Gregory. Entry for 30 October 1856, in *Journals of Australian Explorations*. James C Beal, Government Printer, Brisbane, 1884

<http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks14/1402621h.html> Accessed March 2018

<sup>9</sup> Anne Allingham. *Taming the Wilderness: the first decade of pastoral settlement in the Kennedy District. Studies in North Queensland History No. 1*. James Cook University of North Queensland, 1977 17-19

<sup>10</sup> John Gascoigne, with the assistance of Patricia Curthoys. *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*. Cambridge University Press, 2002 10

buckshot in their bodies and mourned their many dead had no doubt either.<sup>11</sup>

The violent aspects of the frontier were not only a clash between pastoralists and Aborigines. With an escalating level of actions and reprisals on both sides, governments became involved. A specialist police force was created by New South Wales, and maintained by the new Queensland government to safeguard Europeans moving into Aboriginal lands. Official justification saw the force as 'both preventative and retaliatory' and their primary role was supposedly to prevent crime.<sup>12</sup> Called the Native Police (or occasionally the Black Police) this force was modelled on similar forces created in India and other parts of the British Empire<sup>13</sup>, and usually consisted of a single European policeman accompanied by up to six armed Aboriginal troopers.<sup>14</sup> These men were recruited from far afield so they would not be sympathetic to the local Aboriginal people. Their brief was to ensure the safety of Europeans, but far from supervision this was done with considerable intimidation, bloodshed and violence, in a vicious and indiscriminate way. Regularly referred to euphemistically as 'dispersal', Aboriginal people were shot and injured or killed in large numbers.<sup>15</sup> Bruce Elder has written:

The history of the Native Police is an ugly chapter in the expansion of the white frontier in Queensland. It is a history of kidnapping of Aboriginal women and children, the casual shooting of prisoners, and the indiscriminate butchering of innocent Aboriginal people. The details are shrouded in silence. All that is left are the oblique hints of the carnage.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Richard Broome. *Aboriginal Australians: A history since 1788*. Allen & Unwin, 2010 37

<sup>12</sup> Jonathon Richards. *The Secret War: A true history of Queensland's Native Police*. University of Queensland Press, 18-19

<sup>13</sup> Jonathon Richards. *The Secret War* 185-186

<sup>14</sup> Noel Loos. *Invasion and Resistance* 24

<sup>15</sup> Jonathon Richards. *The Secret War* 4

<sup>16</sup> Bruce Elder. *Blood on the Wattle: Massacres and maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians since 1788*. New Holland Publishers, third edition 2003 157

In the absence of the Native Police, some pastoralists themselves took violent action to ensure exclusive occupation of the land.<sup>17</sup>

Europeans created a fiction of an Aboriginal absence, or lack of 'appropriate' use of the land in order to justify the taking, and until surprisingly recently historians maintained this fiction.<sup>18</sup> In 1968, anthropologist WEH Stanner gave a speech he called *The Great Australian Silence* in which he outlined the absence of Indigenous people in the histories of Australia, describing the lack of a record of key events such as massacres and invasion. He argued:

It is a structural matter, a view from a window which has been carefully placed to exclude a whole quadrant of the landscape. What may have begun as a simple forgetting of other possible views turned under habit and over time into something like a cult of forgetfulness practised on a national scale. We have been able for so long to disremember the aborigines [sic] that we are now hard put to keep them in mind ...<sup>19</sup>

Considerable effort has been made to redress the balance in the fifty years since those remarks, with many historians, art historians and artists working to re-establish the presence of Aboriginal people in history.

### Daintree in context

A central tenet of this thesis is that context is critical to understanding, and the notion that meaning in photographs is established by the situation in which an image was taken. There is an argument that photographs can be appreciated in the absence of context, but Melissa Miles has outlined the discussion, and stresses that historical context is an essential component of a visual analysis.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Noel Loos. *Invasion and Resistance* 22-27

<sup>18</sup> Bruce Elder. *Blood on the Wattle* 267-286

<sup>19</sup> WEH Stanner. 'The Great Australian Silence'. Boyer Lecture #2 in *After the Dreaming* Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1969 25

<sup>20</sup> Melissa Miles. *The Language of Light and Dark* 22-23

The Queensland photographs of Richard Daintree form a record of the colonising of North Queensland in the time of the Frontier Wars, but have been largely separated from the original context of their making which this thesis will attempt to restore. Initially a detailed methodological and art historical framework will be established, and a brief overview of Daintree's biography and photographic practice provided. Often pictures illustrate history, but in this instance the process will be reversed, and history will be employed to provide context for the pictures. Where these photographs include both European and Indigenous people, their presence will be discussed in detail. Utilising primary source material, the main body of the text will, for the first time, undertake a detailed and extensive visual analysis of Daintree's Queensland photographs.

## 2 METHODOLOGY

This thesis is based on the question of what place meant to Richard Daintree. To provide an answer, several key activities were undertaken.

### Collection assessment

The initial research activity was to establish an overview of the various collections with holdings of Daintree material, and led to the conclusion there are two major collections, in the John Oxley Library of the State Library of Queensland (the John Oxley Library) and the Queensland Museum. These are supported by smaller public collections elsewhere. The two large collections were assessed in depth.

The John Oxley Library holds a wealth of material some of which was donated by the Daintree family in the 1960s.<sup>21</sup> The visual imagery consists of loose photographs and hand-assembled albums containing original albumen prints, as well as published albums and lantern slides. Additionally, there are reproductions of photographs from other sources, and six enlarged, hand-coloured images. The library also holds a substantial collection of Daintree's writings. It is a complex collection and a full list with catalogue references is included as Appendix 1. The collection was visited twice in March and May 2018.

The Queensland Museum holds an exceptional collection of between 230 and 250 enlarged hand-coloured photographs that were produced by Daintree in London from negatives taken in Queensland. Prints were created for display in several International Exhibitions, beginning with London in 1871. Each time an

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<sup>21</sup> Dianne Reilly and Jennifer Carew. *Sun Pictures of Victoria: the Fauchery-Daintree Collection 1858*. Melbourne: Currey O'Neil Ross on behalf of the Library Council of Victoria, 1983 131 Also Elizabeth Willis. 'People undergoing great change: John Hunter Kerr's photographs of Indigenous people at Fernyhurst, Victoria, 1850s' in *The LaTrobe Journal*. State Library of Victoria, Spring 2005 No 76 51 <http://www3.slv.vic.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-76/t1-g-t4.html> Accessed June 2018

exhibition concluded he sent the set of pictures back to Brisbane. The variation in number is a reflection of the fact that duplicates exist within the collection. This is due to Daintree having reproduced his negatives a number of times for different display purposes. Where duplicates do exist, they are hand-coloured very differently and are on varying surfaces. Some are on timber stretchers on linen, and others are on card. The assessment of this collection was undertaken both in person in May 2018, and using a thumbnail database, generously provided by the Museum. As well as a qualitative analysis, a quantitative analysis was performed, and the results are provided in Appendix 2.

Other collections were investigated in person. Also in Queensland the Fryer Library of the University of Queensland holds seven of Daintree's day diaries, field notebooks and photographs, and the Hann Family and Daintree Family Archives were viewed in the libraries of the Townsville and Cairns campuses of the James Cook University. In Sydney the State Library of New South Wales holds material sent by Daintree to friend and fellow geologist William Branwhite Clarke, including letters, handwritten drafts of scientific papers, and some photographs. In Canberra, the National Library of Australia holds six enlarged, hand-coloured photographs by Daintree within its Rex Nan Kivell collection, and a wealth of print material. The National Museum of Australia holds ten glass plate positives and the National Gallery of Australia has a published album of photographs.<sup>22</sup> The National Art Library and the Archives of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London hold publications pertinent to the London International Exhibitions, and the records of the (then) Photographic Society of London. Daintree material in online collections was also viewed, including the collections of the State Library of Victoria and the Anthropology Museum of the University of Queensland.

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<sup>22</sup> Richard Daintree (attributed). *Queensland. Photographs from Nature and Life, Descriptive of the Country*. Unpublished or self-published, between 1871 and 1876. Collection of the National Gallery of Australia

## Determining actual places

Early research included discussions with the Queensland Herbarium to identify whether actual places in the Daintree photographs could be determined by an analysis of vegetation. *Fair exchange - no robbery* [fig 6.10] was the image assessed and the presence of two distinct species of cycad<sup>23</sup> identified the location as slightly to the north or northwest of Rockhampton. This work was superseded by the database provided by the Queensland Museum, with its more accurate explanatory titles. However vegetation analysis remains a viable option for better identifying photographs in the future.

## Titles

Daintree provided titles for only some of his works and compounded confusion by giving several different titles to the same work, and identical titles to different works, depending on context. All stem from the same time period, and there is difficulty in teasing these apart. Subsequently some untitled works have been provided with descriptor titles by the institutions holding them, but without reference to the titles for the same image in other collections. Further, authors have retitled works to fit current cultural standards, particularly with regard to those depicting Aboriginal people. In 2013 the Queensland Museum undertook a project to assess their collection and link individual images to a list of photographs from the 1879 Sydney International Exhibition, on the understanding that this list was closest to the original lists created by Daintree himself. This process has provided titles for many previously untitled works.

For this thesis, Daintree's own earliest published title has been used where known. Where this has not been possible, the default is the Queensland Museum title.

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<sup>23</sup> The cycads were identified as *Cycas ophiolitica* and *Macrozamia miquelii*.

## Literature review

There are not large numbers of scholarly papers and books dedicated entirely, or even partially, to the life and work of Richard Daintree. The following is a catalogue of the most significant.

### Nineteenth century

A primary contemporary source is Daintree's own writings. He was a prolific author, producing four distinct bodies of material. The first was a series of both published and manuscript scientific papers dealing with first-hand observations of the geology of both Victoria and Queensland.<sup>24</sup> The second is comprised of reports to the Queensland Government, initially in his role as Government Geologist, and later as Agent-General in London.<sup>25</sup> Thirdly, as Agent-General, Daintree wrote for a more general audience to encourage emigration to the new colony<sup>26</sup>, and fourthly he maintained a personal correspondence.<sup>27</sup>

Others wrote about Daintree during his lifetime and immediately after his death. Important contemporary sources are the various Hann family diaries that documented the period in Queensland.<sup>28</sup> Another is a lengthy obituary published by friend and colleague Robert Etheridge.<sup>29</sup> This glowing tribute outlined in

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<sup>24</sup> For example Richard Daintree. 'Notes on the Geology of Queensland' from the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*. Geological Society, August, 1872 272-317

<sup>25</sup> For example Richard Daintree. 'Report on the Gilbert Ranges Gold Fields, by R. Daintree, Government Geologist, Northern Queensland.' In *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*. Legislative Assembly of Queensland, 1869 167-171

<sup>26</sup> Richard Daintree. *Queensland, Australia: Its Territory, Climate and Products Agricultural, Pastoral and Mineral &c, &c., with Emigration Regulations*. G. Street, London, c.1872

<sup>27</sup> For example Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke.] Various dates 1863 – 1876. Unpublished, SLNSW, MLMSS 139/36X.

<sup>28</sup> Harry Clarke (transcriber and editor). *Joseph Hann and Family. Settlement in North Queensland 1861-1871*. Unpublished, James Cook University, undated [1970s?]. This reference is a series of diaries compiled into one volume. They were written by Joseph Hann, and then carried on by William after his death. They are not a complete record - the years 1867 to 1869 are missing. Also Ian Elliot, (transcriber and editor). *Frank Hann's Lolworth Diaries 1866 – 1875*. Hesperian Press, 2013

<sup>29</sup> Robert Etheridge. 'Obituary: Richard Daintree, CMG, FGS' in the *Geological Magazine*. Geological Society, 1878. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/geological->

considerable detail Daintree's geological career and mentioned his other passions for photography and chemistry. It became a key document for subsequent biographers.

### Twentieth century

One of the first twentieth-century references to Daintree was Jack Cato's classic work *The Story of the Camera in Australia* and was a very brief reference that appeared to make use of the Etheridge obituary.<sup>30</sup>

A number of important publications were written in the 1960s. The first, by historian Geoffrey Bolton, was the earliest history of North Queensland, published in 1963, and it drew on the Etheridge obituary and the papers of the Hann family.<sup>31</sup> Realising that Daintree was a figure of considerable historic interest, Bolton went on to research and publish a separate biography in 1965.<sup>32</sup> Between the two iterations of Bolton's work, Anne Mozley continued to develop the biographical and historical detail around Daintree's geological career.<sup>33</sup> Bolton then cited this in the biography that documents in detail Daintree's life story and his professional geological investigations. Almost all of the more recent publications use to some extent the biographical material collected and interpreted by Bolton in this work.

In 1977 curator Ian Sanker authored a text summarising highlights of the Queensland Museum collection.<sup>34</sup> In the style of an exhibition catalogue, several longer background essays precede shorter text describing specific images,

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[magazine/article/richard-daintree-cmg-fgs/C6EB5817620857A29B62A18122AC380D](https://www.queenslandmuseum.qld.gov.au/magazine/article/richard-daintree-cmg-fgs/C6EB5817620857A29B62A18122AC380D)

Accessed December 2017

<sup>30</sup> Jack Cato. *The Story of the Camera in Australia*. First edition Georgian House, 1955. Second edition The Institute of Australian Photography, 1977

<sup>31</sup> Geoffrey C. Bolton. *A Thousand Miles Away: A History of North Queensland to 1920*. The Jacaranda Press, in association with the Australian National University, 1963

<sup>32</sup> Geoffrey C. Bolton. *Richard Daintree: a Photographic Memoir*. The Jacaranda Press in association with the Australian National University, 1965

<sup>33</sup> Anne Mozley. 'Richard Daintree: First Government Geologist of Northern Queensland.' In *Queensland Heritage*. John Oxley Library for the Library Board of Queensland, 1965

<sup>34</sup> Ian Sanker. *Queensland in the 1860s: the photography of Richard Daintree*. Queensland Museum, 1977

mostly reproduced in black and white, but with a few colour plates. This is the only published record of the Queensland Museum Daintree holdings.

The 1980s saw several significant publications. The first was in 1983 when Dianne Reilly and Jennifer Carew wrote of Daintree's time in Victoria and brief photographic partnership with French photographer Antoine Fauchery that resulted in the album *Sun Pictures of Victoria*. Reilly and Carew's work was a catalogue to an exhibition of the pictures from that album.<sup>35</sup> It shed considerable light on Daintree's professional and photographic practice in Victoria, providing new biographical detail and analysis of the images. Also in 1983 Peter Quartermaine produced a paper that undertook two tasks – the first was to sift through and analyse Daintree's communications with the Queensland Government, particularly during his period as Agent-General in London. The second was to provide some analysis of the photographs from both Victoria and Queensland. Quartermaine also considered the role and effect of hand-colouring in some detail.<sup>36</sup> In 1988, Gael Newton included Daintree in her comprehensive catalogue to the exhibition *Shades of Light*.<sup>37</sup> She subsequently published one of the few art-historical analyses of a Daintree picture from Queensland in 1992-93. Her essay *Spell O: Richard Daintree and the Australian Image* provided both depth and breadth.<sup>38</sup>

Jennifer Carew published a paper in 1999 analysing Daintree's letters to fellow geologist WB Clarke.<sup>39</sup> Her paper primarily looked at the content of those letters, and reinserted them back into the biographical context.

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<sup>35</sup> Dianne Reilly and Jennifer Carew. *Sun Pictures of Victoria: the Fauchery-Daintree Collection 1858*. Currey O'Neil Ross on behalf of the Library Council of Victoria, 1983

<sup>36</sup> Peter Quartermaine. 'International Exhibitions and Emigration: the photographic enterprise of Richard Daintree, Agent General for Queensland 1872-76'. In *Journal of Australian Studies*. Vol 7 No 13 Taylor and Francis 1983 40-55

<sup>37</sup> Gael Newton. *Shades of Light: Photography and Australia 1839 – 1988*. Australian National Gallery, 1988

<sup>38</sup> Gael Newton. 'Spell O: Richard Daintree and the Australian image.' In *Voices: a National Library of Australia Quarterly*. National Library of Australia, Summer 1992-1993. <http://www.photo-web.com.au/gael/docs/Daintree-SpellO.htm> Accessed July 2018

<sup>39</sup> Jenny Carew. 'Richard Daintree: Photographs as history.' In *History of Photography* Vol 23.2. Taylor and Francis, first published 1999 online version 2015. <https://www->

## Twenty-first century

Since the turn of the century, attention to Daintree has been somewhat scant. However in 2004 Judith McKay published a book based on her PhD thesis that looked at Queensland's participation in world exhibitions from 1862 to 1988.<sup>40</sup> This included further investigation into Daintree's participation in the London Exhibitions of 1871 and 1872, and those in Vienna and Philadelphia, and his use of hand-coloured photographs as a basis for the displays.

In 2007 the National Museum of Australia acquired ten Daintree glass plate positives in an original purpose-built wooden box. Curator Martha Sear gave a presentation in the *Behind the Scenes* series providing a wide-ranging historical context, discussing the plates as objects and speculating on their purpose.<sup>41</sup>

Among the most recent additions to the Daintree scholarship was a chapter by Michael Aird from 2014, listing some of the photographers who photographed Aboriginal people in colonial Brisbane, and questioning Daintree's place among them.<sup>42</sup>

## Analysis of the literature

In summary, there is a limited amount of literature providing a thorough visual analysis of Daintree's Queensland photographs. The publications provide an excellent appreciation of Daintree's life and work, particularly with reference to his time in Victoria and in London, but a less than comprehensive analysis of the social, historical and scientific context of his photographic practice in

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[tandfonline-com.virtual.anu.edu.au/doi/abs/10.1080/03087298.1999.10443816](http://tandfonline-com.virtual.anu.edu.au/doi/abs/10.1080/03087298.1999.10443816) Accessed November 2017

<sup>40</sup> Judith McKay. *Showing off: Queensland at World Expositions 1862 to 1988*. Central Queensland University Press and the Queensland Museum, 2004

<sup>41</sup> Martha Sear. 'Photographer Richard Daintree's glass plates' in *National Museum of Australia audio on demand transcript*. National Museum of Australia, October 2007 [http://www.nma.gov.au/audio/transcripts/NMA\\_sear\\_20071010.html](http://www.nma.gov.au/audio/transcripts/NMA_sear_20071010.html) Accessed January 2018

<sup>42</sup> Michael Aird. 'Aboriginal people and four Brisbane photographers.' in Jane Lydon (ed). *Calling the shots: Aboriginal photographs*. Aboriginal Studies Press, 2014 133-154

Queensland. Bolton included twenty pages of reproductions of pictures from both Victoria and Queensland, with descriptive captions, but these were relatively brief and somewhat idiosyncratic. Sanker's book was of its time, but can now be regarded as under-referenced as statements were not qualified or explained, nor were the images fully titled. Reilly and Carew's solid investigation extended only to the Victorian photographs. Quartermaine did much to provide depth, but leant heavily towards the material during its exhibition in London, rather than its genesis in Queensland. However this and Newton's work are the only papers providing any deeper art historical analysis of the Queensland images. Apart from Aird, whose analysis is specific to portraiture, none of the authors address the presence of Aboriginal people in the images, of which there are many, except in the most cursory and superficial manner.

### 3 ART HISTORICAL

#### Daintree's place in the history of Australian art

It is likely that Daintree would have been surprised to find an analysis of his photography being undertaken in the field of art history. Its primary role for him was scientific illustration within the field of geology, and later, images taken for promotional purposes. Even subsequent authors have not seen it as art. For example, Jenny Carew wrote in 1999, that 'communication, through clarity, order and completeness (in his terms) was the aim, not self expression'.<sup>43</sup>

Daintree embraced a scientific or topographical approach, making use of the capacity of the camera to record what he saw as an accurate likeness. Concepts of realism, absolutism and subjectivity are much discussed and contested in the history of photography, but Daintree engaged with the medium so as to provide, as far as possible, an accurate visual account of place.<sup>44</sup>

In his classic work *European Vision and the South Pacific*, art historian Bernard Smith anointed photography as the heir to topographical art and the natural history illustrator in the very last pages, drawing it into the canon of art history.<sup>45</sup> Indeed, it was Smith who expanded a discussion of topographic art into art history in his earlier book *Place Taste and Tradition*.<sup>46</sup> More recently, Kathleen Davidson further developed and neatly summarised the argument for consideration of scientific photography within art history. She drew together several aspects of Smith's thinking, noting:

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<sup>43</sup>Jenny Carew. 'Richard Daintree: Photographs as history' 160

<sup>44</sup> For a comprehensive overview of this discussion see Jennifer Green-Lewis. *Framing the Victorians: Photography and the Culture of Realism*. Cornell University Press, 1996 25-31

<sup>45</sup> Bernard Smith. *European Vision and the South Pacific*. Oxford University Press, second edition, 1989 PP 337 - 339

<sup>46</sup> Bernard Smith. *Place, Taste and Tradition*. Oxford University Press first edition 1945, this edition 1979 For example, P 44

Smith's interdisciplinary study provides a model for examining the complex role of visual media in the work of empire and thus also for considering the different ways photography would be taken up for imperial science as part of that process.<sup>47</sup>

She then used this argument to suggest that nineteenth century scientific photography fulfilled a broader cultural purpose than the obvious one of illustration. Within this concept of illustration of the culture of empire, Daintree's work sits very comfortably. Photographs taken in Queensland and exhibited in London perfectly follow a pathway of imperial information exchange.

The vast majority of Daintree's oeuvre falls within the category of landscape photography. Rod Giblett suggested that this field has been poorly researched in Australia compared to America, and bemoaned what he regarded as an absence of dedicated or systematic scholarship.<sup>48</sup> One of the few authors to address the genre, Helen Ennis has pointed out that there were multiple approaches, but the single unifying factor is that landscape photography in Australia always told the story of colonisation from the point of view of the coloniser.<sup>49</sup> Daintree's photographs are no exception.

There is an overt relationship between Daintree's works and landscape painting from the same era, and Mary Warner Marien has suggested this is not unique. She wrote 'those who took up the new medium found themselves refitting traditional visual arts subjects such as landscape, to photography's capabilities'.<sup>50</sup> It seems Daintree was well aware of developments in the field of painting, evidenced by his oblique, and possibly satirical, reference to Manet's

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<sup>47</sup> Kathleen Davidson. *Photography, Natural History and the Nineteenth-Century Museum: Exchanging Views of Empire*. Routledge, 2017 7

<sup>48</sup> Rod Giblett. Shooting the Sunburnt Country, the Land of Sweeping Plains, the Rugged (sic) Mountain Ranges: Australian Landscape and Wilderness Photography'. In *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies*. Routledge; Taylor and Francis Group, 2007 21:3 335-346 335

<https://www.ecu.edu.au/fas/EcoECU/docs/competition/Article%20by%20Rod%20Giblett%20Reference%20Reading.pdf> Accessed February 2018

<sup>49</sup> Helen Ennis. *Photography and Australia*. Reaktion Books, 2007 51

<sup>50</sup> Mary Warner Marien. *Photography: a cultural history*. Laurence King Publishing, 2006 26

*Dejeuner sur l'herbe* in *Bush travellers, Queensland* [fig 5.3]. He also seems to have engaged with ideas of the picturesque, framing his photographs with trees or geological features as in *Burdekin River* [fig 6.7]. Some of his work could even be described as sublime, invoking a sense of awe in the power and wonder of nature emphasised by the inclusion of a tiny figure as in *Creek cutting through solid marble, Queensland* [fig 5.9].<sup>51</sup> A further relationship with painting can be identified for Daintree's work, in the choice to hand-colour the prints with oil paints: they seem to hover between photography and painting.

### Composition

As a geologist, Daintree worked with order and definition. Although an ardent seeker of the new all his life, he managed that new information within the known boundaries of geological classification systems, looking to place new material within the structures of the old. Not surprisingly he applied systems to his photography, and most of his images conform to the so-called rule of thirds. First described by John Thomas Smith in 1797 as a structure for landscape painting, this rule says that the most pleasing composition is based on an imaginary grid where two vertical and two horizontal lines are placed equidistant in a picture plane. Key compositional elements are then placed on the intersections within this grid.<sup>52</sup> It is difficult to find Daintree images that don't conform in some way, especially with regard to the horizontal axis and a particularly fine example can be found in *Copperfield River, Alligator Pool* [fig 5.7].

### Exhibition history

Daintree pictures were shown in major groups at exhibitions in the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, since then it has not been possible to find any

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<sup>51</sup> For a discussion of the picturesque and sublime in Australian colonial painting, see Terry Smith. *Transformations in Australian Art: The Nineteenth Century – Landscape, Colony and Nation*. Volume 1 Craftsman House, 2002 53-57

<sup>52</sup> Seyed Ali Amirshahi, Gregor Uwe Hayn-Leichsenring, Joachim Denzler, and Christoph Redies. 'Evaluating the Rule of Thirds in Photographs and Paintings' in *Art and Perception*. Brill, 2014 Vol 2 164  
<http://booksandjournals.brillonline.com.virtual.anu.edu.au/content/journals/10.1163/22134913-00002024> Accessed August 2018

evidence of a dedicated exhibition of his work. Individual images have been displayed in thematic exhibitions in galleries all around Australia, in this and the last centuries, but the entire body of his exceptional, hand-coloured photographs appears not to have been exhibited together since 1879.

### Daintree's place in the visual record of North Queensland 1855–1880

Daintree created the majority of his Queensland work in the dry tropical environment of the Kennedy District, to the north and west of (now) Charters Towers, inland from Townsville and Bowen. Additionally, he spent time around Rockhampton. The following analysis will investigate the possibility that there were very few people producing visual art in the European manner, in the same geographic spaces and timeframe.

Of course, Aboriginal people created the first visual culture in Australia. Art has been made in the region now known as North Queensland for the last 65,000 years or possibly longer, was certainly being made in the nineteenth century and throughout the nominated date range, and continues to be made to this day. Aboriginal artists and craftspeople created both permanent and ephemeral expressions of culture that recorded and transmitted knowledge about events, history, geography, botany, zoology, astronomy, animal and plant husbandry, geology, and creation and spirituality. These expressions were achieved using a vast array of media including but not limited to: carving and painting with ochre on rock surfaces and more ephemeral works on bark and bodies; forms of adornment made from feathers and furs; weavings and basketry; and carved designs on timber objects such as shields.<sup>53</sup>

European-style art came to be produced in Queensland when Europeans colonised the land. Exploration concentrated on coastal regions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but before long attention turned to the inland. Among the first inland expeditions in North Queensland were those by Ludwig Leichhardt in 1844, and the ill-fated Edmund Kennedy in 1848, both of whom

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<sup>53</sup> Wally Caruana. *Aboriginal Art*. Thames and Hudson, third edition, 2012 7-11

took no artist.<sup>54</sup> Another land-based exploration was the North Australia Expedition of 1855 to 1857 led by Augustus Gregory. This expedition travelled by ship northwards up the coast of Queensland and around to the mouth of the Victoria River in the (now) Northern Territory with the goal of exploring the headwaters of that river, then moved east and south by land across the Top End to the Queensland coast. The artist Thomas Baines accompanied this expedition, but only for the time spent travelling up the coast of Queensland and in the Northern Territory. At the end of the Victoria River exploration Baines was sent by Gregory to restock supplies, the rendezvous on the Queensland border was missed and the expedition went on without their artist.<sup>55</sup> Robert O'Hara Burke and William John Wills also travelled through Western Queensland in 1861, but their artist, Ludwig Becker, died on the southern edge of the state.<sup>56</sup>

In the period before photography became more generally accessible, many people were proficient amateur artists and created works from the early days of the colonising of North Queensland. Mark Watt Reid was one such artist and in 1865 made the pencil drawing *The Homestead at Woodstock*, on a property located inland from Townsville.<sup>57</sup> Two surveyors who arrived in North Queensland also made art: Clarendon Stuart in 1858 and Alfred Arthur Hull in 1870. Stuart surveyed Rockhampton then Bowen, and his sketches were exhibited in Sydney from 1875. Hull was based in the Kennedy District and his drawings were published in journals.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Renee Erdos. 'Leichhardt, Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig (1813-1848)' in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, published in hard copy 1969 <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/leichhardt-friedrich-wilhelm-ludwig-2347> Accessed 11 June 2018 John Macgillivray. *Narrative of the Voyage of the Rattlesnake, to which is added the Account of Mr. E.B Kennedy's Expedition for the Exploration of the Cape York Peninsula*. Two volumes. T&W. Boone, 1852, facsimile edition 1967

<sup>55</sup> Russell Braddon. *Thomas Baines and the North Australian Expedition*. Collins, published in association with the Royal Geographic Society, 1986 23

<sup>56</sup> Marjorie Tipping. 'Becker, Ludwig (1808 – 1861)'. In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, published in hard copy 1969. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/becker-ludwig-2961> Accessed June 2018

<sup>57</sup> Ross Searle. *Artist in the Tropics: 200 years of art in North Queensland*. Perc Tucker Regional Gallery, 1991 14

<sup>58</sup> Ross Searle. *Artist in the Tropics* 15

Among the most important of these amateur artists was Lucy Sarah Gray, who accompanied her husband Charles to Hughenden in 1868 and lived there, on and off, until 1875. She kept a diary to chronicle her life in the 'bush' for family and friends and illustrated it with quick sketches. She also made more complex, finished watercolours of these remote properties, including Aboriginal people.<sup>59</sup> Gray would have travelled close to or through the Hann/Daintree properties to reach Hughenden from Townsville.

Whilst on a world tour from 1868, an Englishman, Charles Harris Allen, kept a journal or memoir that he published in 1870.<sup>60</sup> He also sketched and either took or collected photographs in Rockhampton, Bowen and Townsville while he travelled, which he assembled into a separate scrapbook.<sup>61</sup> He was in these districts during the same period as Daintree, and was aware of his geological explorations.<sup>62</sup>

In the 1880s, a young Aboriginal man named Oscar, on a property near Camooweal in North-west Queensland, was given a sketchbook that he filled with images of Aboriginal people, stock work, Europeans and animals.<sup>63</sup> While not in precisely the same geographic area or date range, these images capture colonial interactions and pastoral station life in a similar timeframe with astute, and sometimes wry, observations. Almost uniquely, he also recorded aspects of Queensland frontier violence from the Aboriginal point of view.<sup>64</sup>

Apart from Allen, there do not appear to have been other photographers inland in north Queensland at the time.

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<sup>59</sup> Meg Vivers. *Castle to Colony: the remarkable life and times of Lucy Sarah Gray (1840 – 1879)* Self-published, 2011

<sup>60</sup> Charles Harris Allen. *A Visit to Queensland and her Goldfields*. Chapman and Hall, 1870.

<sup>61</sup> Charles Harris Allen. *Scraps*. Unpublished photograph album, National Library of Australia, 1868-1872 PIC/8277/1-136 LOC Album 280D

<sup>62</sup> Charles Harris Allen. *A Visit to Queensland* 154-158

<sup>63</sup> Oscar. *Oscar's sketchbook*. Unpublished, National Museum of Australia, 1880s <http://www.nma.gov.au/collections/highlights/oscars-sketchbook> Accessed April 2018

<sup>64</sup> Kim McKenzie and Carol Cooper. 'Eyewitness? Drawings by Oscar of Cooktown'. In Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook and Andrew Reeves (eds). *Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia*. Cambridge University Press, 2001 160

In other states photographers were producing bodies of work with which some of Daintree's Queensland photographs can be compared. One of the most important is Daintree's own work produced in Victoria with Antoine Fauchery and published as *Sun Pictures of Victoria*. Four other photographers whose work is comparable are:

- John Hunter Kerr in Victoria whose work dates from the 1850s,<sup>65</sup>
- Fred Kruger who photographed at Corranderk in Victoria for twenty years from the 1860s,<sup>66</sup>
- Paul Foelsche whose work in the Northern Territory is also from the late 1860s,<sup>67</sup> and
- Frederic Bonney's photographs of the Paakantji people on the Paroo River in far western NSW taken between 1865 and 1880.<sup>68</sup>

In summary, this investigation has shown that there appear to be few extant bodies of visual work produced in a European manner - painting, drawing or photography - that are exactly contemporaneous with Daintree's oeuvre, produced in the 1860s in North Queensland. There are certainly bodies of illustrations that were scientific in purpose, but these were confined to the depiction of the coastal strip, and for the most part were generated by expeditions of exploration in an earlier timeframe. There are also works that depict aspects of pastoral station life in a similar period, but from more to the south of the state. Photographers were working much later, or in places far removed. The three exceptions to this are Mark Watt Reid's drawing *The Homestead at Woodstock* that was made inland from Townsville in a landscape Daintree knew, and dated from the same time he was there. The second

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<sup>65</sup> Elizabeth Willis. 'People undergoing great change: John Hunter Kerr's photographs'

<sup>66</sup> Isobel Crombie. *Fred Kruger: intimate landscapes, photographs 1860s -1880s*. National Gallery of Victoria, 2012

<sup>67</sup> R.J. Noye. 'Paul Heinrich Matthias Foelsche' in the Australian Dictionary of Biography. Australian Centre for Biography, Australian National University, 1972

<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/foelsche-paul-heinrich-matthias-3543> Accessed September 2018

<sup>68</sup> Jeannette Hope and Robert Lindsay. *The People of the Paroo River: Frederic Bonney's photographs*. Department of Environment, Climate Change and Water, NSW 2010

exception is the work of Charles Harris Allen that was created in the same temporal and geographic frame. The third relevant body of work is the sketches of Lucy Sarah Gray. It would seem therefore that Daintree's body of work is close to unique, and of great importance.

## 4 BIOGRAPHY/PHOTOGRAPHY

This chapter provides a brief biography of Richard Daintree and provides a background to his approach to photography.

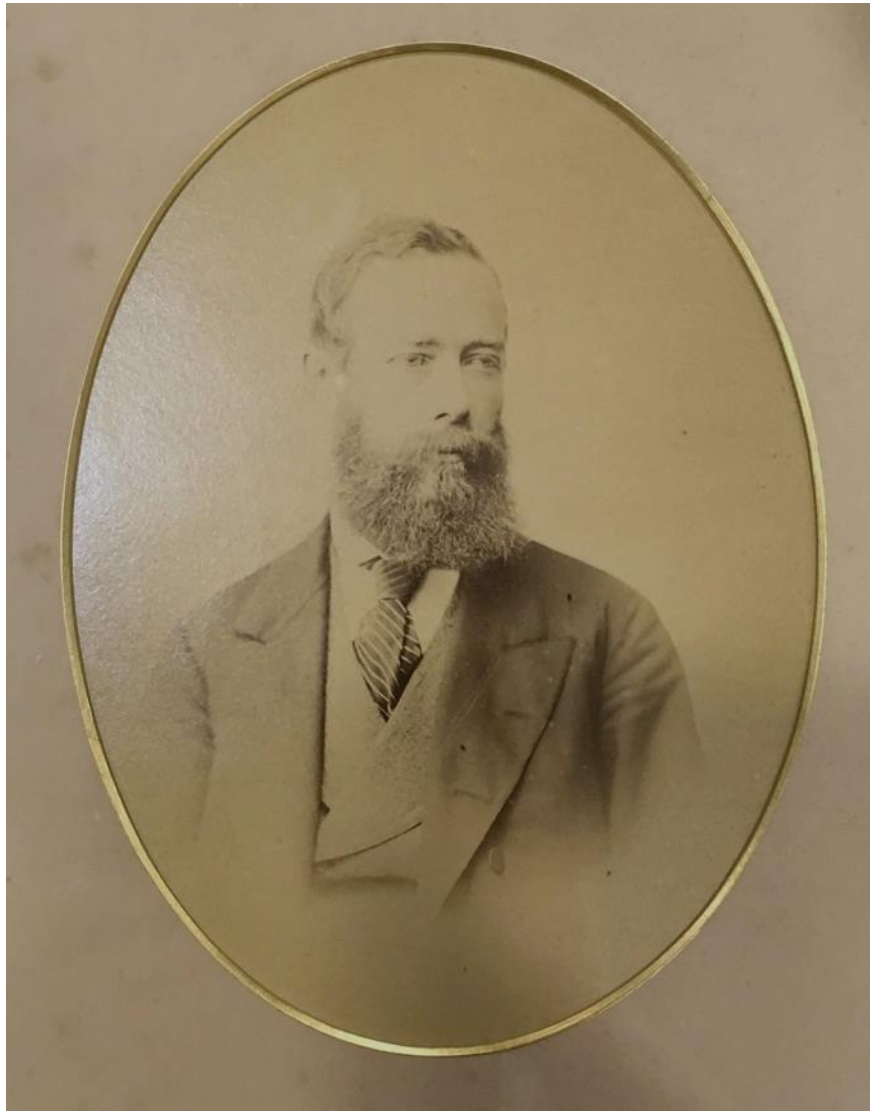


Figure 4.1 Unknown photographer  
*No title [Portrait of Richard Daintree] nd*  
Daintree Family Archive, James Cook University, Cairns

## Biography<sup>69</sup>

Richard Daintree [fig 4.1]<sup>70</sup> was born in Hemingford Abbots, Huntingdonshire, England in 1831 to a farming family.<sup>71</sup> After attending various schools and gaining entry to Christ's College, Cambridge University, he withdrew from a degree and travelled to Australia on medical advice in 1852, where he was attracted to the Victorian goldfields.<sup>72</sup> In 1854 he joined the Victorian Geological Survey and began work as a professional geologist, surveying widely throughout Victoria. In 1856 he returned to England for further study. Upon his return to Victoria, in December 1857 he married Lettice Agnes Foote (called Agnes),<sup>73</sup> and set up a commercial photographic enterprise with Antoine Fauchery where they produced several albums for sale including *Sun Pictures of Victoria* and *Australia*.<sup>74</sup> However, by mid-1858 he was back with the Victorian Geological Survey where he stayed for a number of years.

In 1863 Daintree travelled to the Kennedy District in the newly created state of Queensland to visit pastoralist friends, the Hann family. Inspired by what he saw, he became a partner in the enterprise and moved his family in May 1864. Records show Daintree was, at least initially, fully engaged in the pastoral

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<sup>69</sup> A comprehensive biography is beyond the scope of this thesis. For further information, see authors Bolton, Carew, Etheridge, Mozley, McKay, Quartermaine, and Reilly and Carew.

<sup>70</sup> This portrait was used as the basis for a better-known picture of Daintree published in the *Australian Sketcher* 17 May 1873  
<https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/167544961?q&versionId=182605257> Accessed September 2018

<sup>71</sup> This research has raised doubt regarding the date of Daintree's birth, generally given as 1832. This is based on biographer Geoffrey Bolton's citing of Daintree's enrolment record for Cambridge University. However, Robert Etheridge's obituary gives the date as 1831 as does a gravestone located in 2012. Given the gravestone was organised by the family, and the Cambridge date could have been a clerical error, it seems reasonable to assume the date of 1831 is correct. However there are no details online, birth records for England are incomplete before 1850 and his death certificate shows no date of birth.

<sup>72</sup> Robert Etheridge. 'Obituary: Richard Daintree, CMG, FGS' 429

<sup>73</sup> Anne Mozley. 'Richard Daintree: First Government Geologist of Northern Queensland'

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<sup>74</sup> Dianne Reilly and Jennifer Carew. *Sun Pictures of Victoria* 9

enterprise.<sup>75</sup> In 1868 he was appointed to the post of Government Geologist for North Queensland and in this role travelled extensively, being responsible for the finding of several new gold- and coalfields.<sup>76</sup>

On 3 November 1870 Daintree and his family left Maryvale,<sup>77</sup> and moved via Melbourne to London, as Daintree had accepted the position of Special Commissioner, taking responsibility for the inclusion of a Queensland display in the London International Exhibition of 1871. Despite being shipwrecked on the journey and temporarily losing his geological samples, he completed the task successfully and became Agent-General for Queensland, organising participation in a number of international exhibitions, including one the following year in London.<sup>78</sup> In this role he also encouraged emigration. He resigned from the position due largely to stress and ill health in 1876, and died prematurely at the age of 47 in 1878. He was buried in the village of Lolworth.<sup>79</sup> He left Agnes a widow with seven children, two of whom were born in Victoria, two in Queensland, one in transit in Victoria on the way to England, and two in England.<sup>80</sup>

### Early death

Daintree's health was compromised early in his life, and certainly in the last few years he was very unwell. In 1876, two years before his death, he wrote to NSW geologist, mentor and friend William Branwhite Clarke:

My dear Clarke, I suppose you thought you were never to hear from me again, and in fact at one time I thought you would not, for I have been very

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<sup>75</sup> Harry Clarke (transcriber and editor). *Joseph Hann and Family*. [Hann diaries] There are many references to Daintree's pastoral work e.g. 73, 74, 79.

<sup>76</sup> Geoffrey Bolton. *Richard Daintree: A photographic memoir* 7

<sup>77</sup> Harry Clarke. *Joseph Hann and family* [Hann diaries] 117

<sup>78</sup> Judith McKay. *Showing off* 21-23

<sup>79</sup> Mike Rimmer. *Up the Palmerston – a history of the Cairns hinterland up to 1920*. Vol 1. Self published, 2012. PP 114, 115. <https://www.northqueenslandhistory.com/pdf/up-the-palmerston-volume1.pdf> Accessed March 2018

<sup>80</sup> Unknown. *Richard Daintree Cosmopolite*. Unpublished typescript, Daintree Family Archive, James Cook University, Cairns. Location 425 L-M, Folio 508 Document number DCDM34

ill indeed for the last three months & am only now regaining strength very slowly. The attack began with bronchitis when I was in a weak state from worry & over work, & severe haemorrhage of the lung followed. I then had several very severe attacks of fever and ague, with a light recurrent haemorrhage so you can fancy I have been in no fit state for work of any kind, & letter writing is more an effort than anything else.<sup>81</sup>

Daintree himself blamed his time in Queensland and ascribed his health issues to liver damage, 'thanks to hard work and rough food in a tropical climate'.<sup>82</sup> However, he suffered from 'fever and ague' on more than one occasion,<sup>83</sup> and it seems more likely he contracted malaria, then rife in the north of Australia until it was eradicated in the mid-twentieth century.<sup>84</sup>

Additionally, some of his problems may have been exacerbated by exposure to photographic chemicals. Protective clothing, respirators and gloves were rare, and the materials had to be handled. Respiration of fumes and dusts would have been inevitable, particularly in the confined space of darkrooms or tents. Nineteenth century photographic chemistry included silver nitrate, cyanide of potassium, and iodide of cadmium amongst others.<sup>85</sup> These, along with many of the other chemicals, have a degree of toxicity, particularly over repeated or prolonged exposure. Silver nitrate in particular can cause respiratory tract irritation and lung damage.<sup>86</sup> Long-term exposure was certain, and without protective clothing health-related consequences were more than probable.

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<sup>81</sup> Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter from Bournemouth, dated April 20<sup>th</sup> 1876. Unpublished, SLNSW, MLMSS 139/36X

<sup>82</sup> Robert Etheridge. 'Obituary: Richard Daintree, C.M.G, F.G.S,' P 431

<sup>83</sup> For example, Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter from Brisbane dated April 11<sup>th</sup> 1866. Unpublished, SLNSW MLMSS 139/36X

<sup>84</sup> Graham Brown. 'Control and Eradication of Malaria: Past, Present and Future' in *Health*. Future Leaders, 2011.

<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1ad4/4ed5446869bc5c86250c1dd46b9d6e92dc2f.pdf>  
Accessed September 2018

<sup>85</sup> Robert Hunt. *A Manual of Photography*. Richard Griffith and Company, publishers to the University of Glasgow, 1857 106, 111 and 115

<sup>86</sup> Science Lab.com. *Material Data Safety Sheet: silver nitrate*. Science Lab.com, 2013  
<http://www.sciencelab.com/msds.php?msdsId=9927411> Accessed August 2018

## Photography

Daintree was an enthusiastic photographer, and according to family sources, 'his camera accompanied him on all his journeys'.<sup>87</sup> However until he travelled to London for further study in November 1856, he was not a photographer. He attended the laboratory of Dr John Percy in the Royal School of Mines, where he learned assaying; the science of determining the quantity of a metal in an ore, and metallurgy, which is that of the removal of pure metals from those ores, useful skills indeed for a field geologist.<sup>88</sup> In this laboratory Daintree also learned another vital set of skills, as Dr Percy, who was a founding member of the (then) Photographic Society of London, was experimenting with the very new science and art of wet plate or collodion photography.<sup>89</sup> Daintree was there until May 1887, when he returned to Victoria, but his fondness for Dr Percy was such that he would later (re)name a Queensland river after him.<sup>90</sup>

The wet plate or collodion process Daintree learned from Percy was awkward and time-consuming, requiring considerable enthusiasm and commitment. While there are no actual records of the equipment and techniques Daintree used in Queensland, it is clear he had both stereoscopic and large format cameras. In order to create images in the field, Daintree would have required at least one camera, a tripod, glass plates, dry chemicals, solutions and possibly clean water in glass bottles, and various equipment for developing and fixing images on the plates, and this list presupposes that the printing was done after the event, back at home.<sup>91</sup> From the packing list of a Scottish photographer, it has been

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<sup>87</sup> Unknown. [Handwritten, untitled biographical document largely based on Etheridge, with additions.] Unpublished, Daintree Family Archive, James Cook University Library, DCDM41

<sup>88</sup> Robert Etheridge. 'Obituary: Richard Daintree, C.M.G, F.G.S' 429

<sup>89</sup> John Percy at the School of Mines and the one at the Photographic Society must be one and the same, as (now Royal) Photographic Society minutes books in the Archives of the Victoria and Albert Museum refer to 'John Percy, FGS', being Fellow of the Geological Society.

<sup>90</sup> Richard Daintree. 'Report of Mr. Daintree, Government Geologist, North Queensland, on Gold Discoveries in the Gilbert Ranges' in *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*. Legislative Assembly Queensland, 1869. Queensland rivers already had names.

<sup>91</sup> For a comprehensive video description of the wet plate process see J Paul Getty Museum. *Photography: the wet collodion process*. J Paul Getty Museum, 2016

estimated he was carrying fifty-five kilograms of equipment and materials into the field, and this might be a minimum depending on the nature and duration of travel.<sup>92</sup> Many photographers, including Daintree himself in Victoria, travelled with small horse-drawn mobile darkrooms,<sup>93</sup> but for at least some of the Queensland journeys in rough country with no tracks this would not have been practicable. The implication is that he carried this vast amount of equipment, including bottles of solutions, in the heat of the tropics, on horses. This is confirmed in an obituary published in 1878 that noted 'at every suitable halting place ... out came his handy little camera from the sides of the pack-horse'.<sup>94</sup>

There is another intriguing glimpse into the practicalities of engaging in photography in tropical Queensland, miles from anywhere. Although there is little documentary evidence about how Daintree took his photographs other than the images themselves, in a small black notebook in the University of Queensland Fryer Library, full of lists, addresses and back-of-the-envelope maths, there is a note that says 'Photographic materials at Berkeley's (sic) Alcohol, Collodion, Acetate of Morphia.'<sup>95</sup> The only Berkeley's within hundreds of kilometres was a druggist and chemist in Queen Street, Brisbane.<sup>96</sup> Coupled with the note on the same page, saying 'Deliver note to Premier', and a list of fabrics for purchase, it is likely he was taking advantage of a trip to the capital, running errands including restocking the photographic chemicals. Clearly photographic supplies (and fabrics) were not easily accessed and had to come from far afield.

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<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/video/399915/photography:-the-wet-collodion-process/>  
Accessed July 2018

<sup>92</sup> Martha Sear. 'Photographer Richard Daintree's Glass Plates' 4

<sup>93</sup> Peter Quartermaine. 'International Exhibitions and Emigration: the photographic enterprise of Richard Daintree' 51

<sup>94</sup> The Queenslander. 'Death of Mr. Richard Daintree' in *The Queenslander*. Brisbane Newspaper Company, Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> July 1878 434

<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/19774824> Accessed April 2018

<sup>95</sup> Richard Daintree. [Fryer Library notebook #1]. Unpublished, Fryer Library, University of Queensland. UQFL370. Unpaginated. Acetate of Morphia is not a photographic chemical. In the nineteenth century it was being used as a painkiller. See George Rees. 'Doses of the Acetate and Muriate of Morphia. In *The Lancet*. Vol 31 Issue 798 December 1838 453-454. <https://www-sciencedirect-com.virtual.anu.edu.au/science/article/pii/S0140673602838739> Accessed June 2018

In its many forms it is very addictive and has numerous side effects. If Daintree was taking this himself, he may have unintentionally exacerbated his underlying health problems.

<sup>96</sup> Queensland Post Office. *Brisbane Classified Directory*. Queensland Post Office, 1868

A range of photographic quality throughout the Daintree oeuvre points to a variance in technique. A clue may be that Daintree appears to have been an early adopter of new technologies. He was experimenting with an albumen or gelatine dry plate process very early in its development as the same notebook has a recipe for 'Gregory's Dry Process', which included the ingredient 'eucalyptus gum' [fig 4.2].<sup>97</sup> It has not been determined who 'Gregory' was, but other dated pages place this notebook in Queensland in mid-1870.

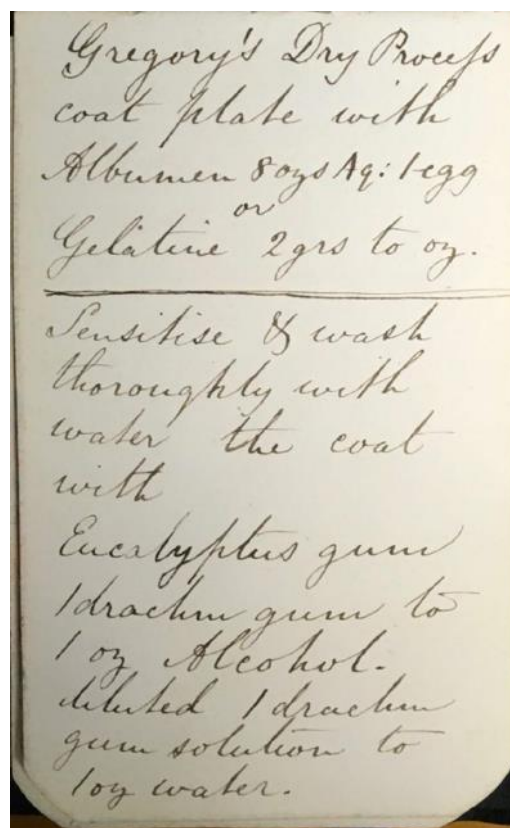


Figure 4.2 *Gregory's Dry Process*  
Fryer Library notebook #1  
Fryer Library, University of Queensland

Jenny Carew and Gael Newton note Daintree's experimentation with a eucalyptus gum, citing the catalogue entry for the International Exhibition in Philadelphia that read: 'Most of these photographs were taken by Mr R. Daintree

<sup>97</sup> Richard Daintree. [Fryer Library notebook #1] Unpaginated.

whilst travelling in Queensland, by a “dry process” in which the gum resin of one of the Australian Eucalypti was used as the preservative mixture...<sup>98</sup>

Actual photographs taken using this method have not been identified beyond doubt, but within Daintree’s oeuvre there are a number of photographs that are less clear, with an oddly spotty or grainy surface, as in *No title [homestead with carriage]* [fig 4.3].



Figure 4.3 *No title [Homestead with carriage]*  
Bassingthwaighte collection  
John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland

While there might be other reasons for this, it is tempting to speculate they were made by this process, and perhaps are evidence of a trade-off between ease of production and image quality.

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<sup>98</sup> Jenny Carew. ‘Richard Daintree: Photographs as history’ 158 Also Gael Newton. *Shades of Light: Photography and Australia 1839 – 1988*. National Gallery of Australia, 1988 48

## 5 IMAGES IN PLACE: PASTORAL AND GEOLOGICAL

After years of living and working in Victoria, Daintree and his family moved to Queensland. This chapter will explore his life there as a 'squatter' and geologist, and the photographs that documented it. These were personal, experiential records of place – of being immersed in a new home far from the familiar, on the contested Queensland pastoral frontier. Place was, for Daintree at this time, about personal and professional endeavour, and exploration of the new. Above all, Queensland provided an extraordinary opportunity for truly exciting and extensive geological fieldwork, certainly evoking Miles' idea of the 'meaningful location tied to a sense of being in the world'.<sup>99</sup>

### Pastoral

While Daintree was a geologist to the core of his being, it was not the initial reason he moved to Queensland. He formed a partnership with the Hann family, whom he had known in Victoria, joining their pastoral enterprise. The Hanns first saw the land they would 'take up' in early 1862, not long after the separation of Queensland from New South Wales.<sup>100</sup> In fact the first land 'releases' for pastoral enterprises west of the Burdekin River were made in that year, placing the family among the first Europeans to move inland from the port of Bowen and west of the Burdekin River, following an official expedition to investigate settlement opportunities in 1861.<sup>101</sup> Joseph Hann, wife Mary, daughter Caroline and sons William, John and Frank moved from Victoria to Queensland to establish the properties Bluff Downs, Maryvale and, slightly later, Lolworth.<sup>102</sup> Daintree made a scoping visit in May 1863, and his family moved permanently to Maryvale a year

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<sup>99</sup> Melissa Miles. *The Language of Light and Dark* 18-19

<sup>100</sup> Anne Allingham. *Taming the Wilderness* 4, 42

<sup>101</sup> Anne Allingham. *Taming the Wilderness* 23

<sup>102</sup> Anne Allingham. *Taming the Wilderness* 51, 54

later in May 1864.<sup>103</sup> He had invested both financially and in terms of a change of career and, for a few years, he took on responsibility for the running of the property Maryvale. To the Hanns and the Daintrees this move was new and exciting. Daintree was more than happy to become a 'squatter' and expressed his weariness of the job in Victoria and his excitement for the new venture when he wrote to fellow geologist William Branwhite Clarke:

So ho!! for Queensland... I shall then have new country to geologise... I weary of this topography & filling in of hills & gullies. Does the hod-man feel any satisfaction when he's carried his load of mortar up the ladder to the master mason who shall build the house, he earns his poor wage, but I fear he must lose heart at last. I weary of the hod, and will exchange for a time... that is if cattle will fatten in Queensland.<sup>104</sup>

The venture was not without risk. Sadly, Joseph Hann was to die in a drowning accident before the Daintrees arrived and they maintained the ongoing partnership with the sons, particularly with William.<sup>105</sup> Economically, risks were also taken, and wryly summarising the financial marginality of the enterprise, a neighbouring squatter wrote to his brother: 'Cattle are certain ruin, but sheep are a little quicker'.<sup>106</sup> These people were, in every sense of the colonial era, pioneers, being among the first Europeans to develop pastoral enterprises in the North Kennedy District.

Daintree documented his new relationship with an unfamiliar place, taking photographs almost from the moment of his arrival. William Hann noted on 22 May 1863, that 'Mr Daintree has been taking views.'<sup>107</sup> It is not known what these pictures were, and Daintree's somewhat haphazard approach to giving titles to his work, let alone dating them, renders identification virtually impossible. However, it is likely that *View (up Maryvale Creek)* [fig 5.1] is representative.

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<sup>103</sup> Harry Clarke. *Joseph Hann and Family* [Hann diaries] 31, 67

<sup>104</sup> Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter from Camp at Bacchus Marsh dated September 21<sup>st</sup>, [1863] Unpublished manuscript, SLNSW MLMSS 139/36X.

<sup>105</sup> Harry Clarke. *Joseph Hann and Family* [Hann diaries] 53

<sup>106</sup> Walter Scott. [Letter to his brother Arthur]. Unpublished, cited in Anne Allingham. *Taming the Wilderness* 111

<sup>107</sup> Harry Clarke. *Joseph Hann and Family* [Hann diaries] 34

Other titled works take us to the properties and there are a number depicting the homestead and landscape, for example, *No title (the kitchen garden at Maryvale with Mrs Daintree and a child)* [fig 5.2]. Curiously there are few attempts to capture images illustrative of the working of sheep and cattle.



Figure 5.1 *View (up Maryvale Creek)*  
Also known as *Open Volcanic Plains. Agricultural Land*  
Plate 4 Richard Daintree *Queensland, Australia. Its Territory, Climate and Products*

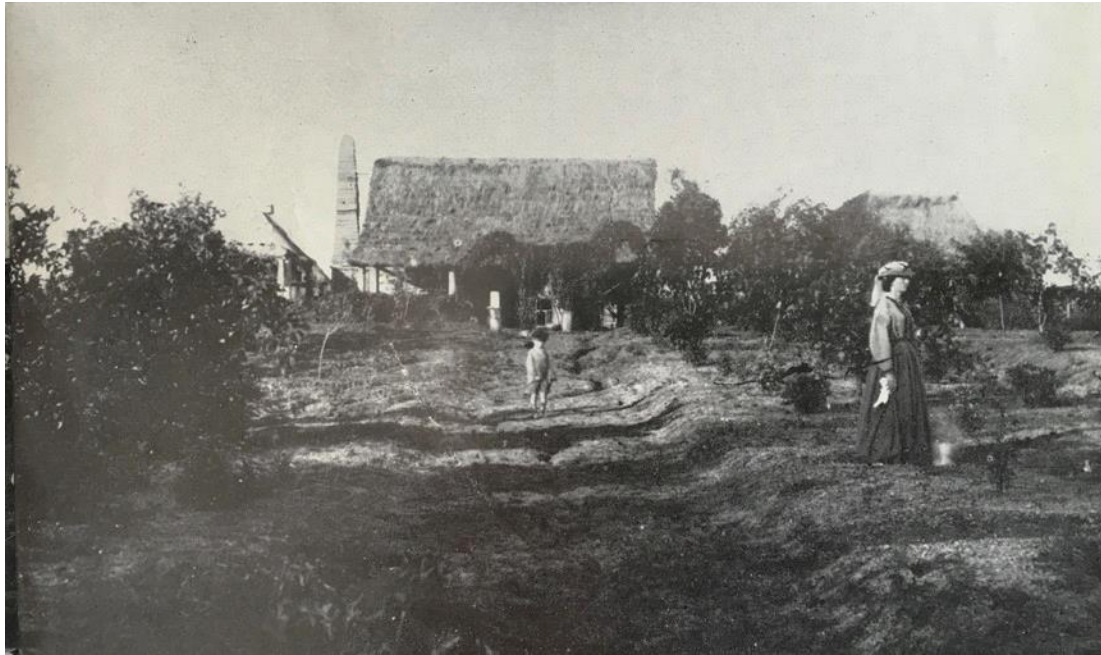


Figure 5.2 *No title (the kitchen garden at Maryvale with Mrs Daintree and a child)*  
Plate 25 in Geoffrey Bolton. *Richard Daintree: A Photographic Memoir*

## Gudjala

The Hanns and Daintrees were moving onto country that was owned by Aboriginal people. Specifically, the area occupied by the Bluff Downs, Maryvale and Lolworth pastoral leases and surrounding properties was, and remains, the land of the Gudjala people.<sup>108</sup> While Daintree wrote of his proposed new venture in glowing terms, he was clearly aware that Aboriginal people were resisting the theft of their land, using a local geological feature, the Great Basalt Wall, for cover.

I heard from the north last week, the “Basalt Wall” I speak of is found to be a stronghold of natives, though the country I took up on the Fletchers Creek near this ... is found for pastoral purposes to exceed the

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<sup>108</sup> National Native Title Tribunal. *Queensland Native Title Claimant Application and Determination Areas as per the Federal Court (30 June 2018)*. Geospatial Services, Native Title Tribunal, 2018 [http://www.nntt.gov.au/Maps/QLD\\_NTDA\\_Schedule.pdf](http://www.nntt.gov.au/Maps/QLD_NTDA_Schedule.pdf) Accessed August 2018

expectations I had formed of it in my hasty journey, there is a splendid lake on it I hear, with magnificent plains I did not then see.<sup>109</sup>

The Hann and Daintree properties were in no way exempted from the generalised frontier violence described in the introduction to this thesis, and they relied, at least to some extent, on the intervention of the Native Police, either as a visible deterrent, to provide an accompanying safe-passage escort, or to 'disperse' Gudjala people asserting their right to maintain a connection to their country. There are several brief references in the diaries that are conclusive of a Native Police presence. For example, on 13 May 1863, William Hann noted 'Mr Daintree, Bill, A. Foot and Williams [went] with the Black Police over to Emu Creek'.<sup>110</sup> This is a small creek that flows from the Great Basalt Wall, where the Gudjala people were forced to take refuge. Similarly Frank Hann, in his separate diary for Lolworth, remarked on 20 November 1867 that 'Stewart, Wheeler & the Native Police came from the [gold] diggings'.<sup>111</sup> They were clearly welcome, as they did not depart until the next day. Two policemen named Wheeler were members of the Native Police, and it is not clear which man this was. Both spent time in the north, and both were responsible for the murder of Aboriginal people.<sup>112</sup>

It was not unknown for pastoralists to take the law into their own hands and it appears Frank Hann might have been willing to do this. Although careful to not record incriminating information, he noted many occasions over several years where he or others went 'looking for Blacks' or 'ran their tracks' (followed them).<sup>113</sup> Several chilling diary entries further suggest this:

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<sup>109</sup> Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter from Camp at Bacchus Marsh dated September 21<sup>st</sup> [1863] Unpublished, SLNSW, MLMSS 139/36X

<sup>110</sup> Harry Clarke. *Joseph Hann and Family* [Hann diaries] 33

<sup>111</sup> Ian Elliot, (transcriber and editor). *Frank Hann's Lolworth Diaries* 47

<sup>112</sup> Jonathon Richards. 'Appendix 2. A nominal roll of European members of the Native Police.' *The Secret Wars* 266 Other references to both Wheelers occur throughout the text.

<sup>113</sup> Ian Elliot. *Frank Hann's Lolworth Diaries*. For example: Tuesday 31 December 1867 49, Saturday 18 January 1868 50, Thursday 27 February 1868 52, Tuesday 23 June 1868 58, Saturday 17 October 1868 63, Friday 31 October 1868 63, Sunday 15 November 1868 64, Monday 21 June 1869 76, Wednesday 8 September 1869 80, Tuesday 28 December 1869, Thursday 27 January 1870 88.

Saturday 8<sup>th</sup> August 1868: E. Cunningham came up from the Wall & said he saw a tribe of Blacks so we got Horses & went to look for them. We saw two but they got into the Wall before we could get to them. Could not get any & we came Home.

Two days later:

Holmes, Jesse & I started for to hunt the Nig[g]ars at two o'clock in the morning. We got there tracks and found them in Stewarts Mounten. We could not get any of them. We give them a start.<sup>114</sup>

In December of the same year:

Holmes and I went over to the Wall. We saw w[h]ere the Blacks had Killed two head of cattle. We went on to the Gardiner Plain and we saw the Blacks but they got into the Wall before we could get them so we had to let them go.<sup>115</sup>

It is unclear from his writing what Frank intended to do with the people once he 'got' them, but a two o'clock morning start, certainly intended to ambush sleeping people, is ominous. With the murderous example of the Native Police in the district, a violent outcome seemed likely.

There appears to have been varying and complex relationships between different groups of Aboriginal people and the Hanns and Daintree. For example, on Bluff Downs there was a 'blacks' camp' where relationships were sufficiently cordial that visits to the camp occurred.<sup>116</sup> Similarly, in the official journal of his expedition to Cape York, William Hann wrote on several occasions of wanting to engage peacefully or leave Aboriginal people alone.<sup>117</sup> Hann also referred

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<sup>114</sup> Ian Elliot. *Frank Hann's Lolworth Diaries* 60

<sup>115</sup> Ian Elliot. *Frank Hann's Lolworth Diaries* 65

<sup>116</sup> Harry Clarke. *Joseph Hann and Family* [Hann diaries] 38

<sup>117</sup> William Hann. *Copy of the Diary of the Northern Expedition Under the Leadership of Mr. William Hann*. James C Beal, 1873. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-52821149/view?partId=nla.obj-98828360#page/n24/mode/1up> Accessed May 2018 For example entries for 12 July 3, 26 July 5, and 28 August P 9

frequently to an Aboriginal man he called Jerry who accompanied him on two major expeditions, noting an altercation on a long and difficult journey from Queensland to Victoria droving 19,000 sheep:

I told Jerry to go round the sheep. He said “bugger the sheep”. I went after him to give him a thrashing, he took his tomahawk to me and [got] me very badly on the leg when I had him on the ground.<sup>118</sup>

But they completed that journey together, and Hann then took Jerry on his government-funded Cape York expedition in 1873. In the official account Hann warmly acknowledged Jerry as being ‘faithful and obedient in every difficulty and staunch in every danger’.<sup>119</sup>

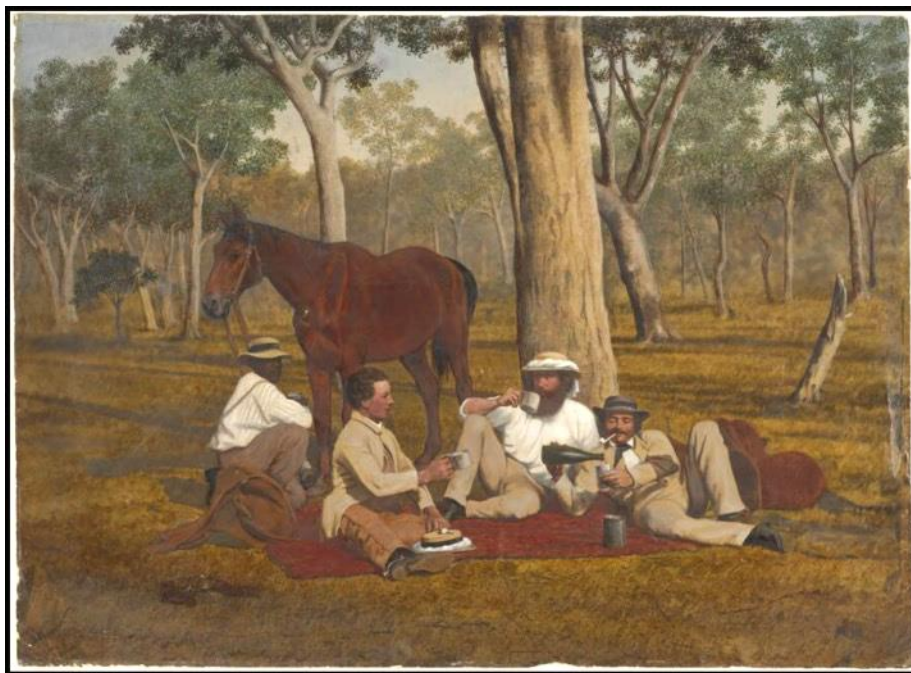


Figure 5.3 *Bush travellers, Queensland*  
Also known as *Spell-O* and *Mid-day Camp*  
National Library of Australia

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<sup>118</sup> Harry Clarke. *Joseph Hann and Family* [Hann diaries] Entry for 18 July 1871 141

<sup>119</sup> William Hann. *Copy of the Diary of the Northern Expedition*. 1873 26

Also throughout the Hann diaries are mentions of ‘black boys’<sup>120</sup> and others – staff essential to the running of the properties. These were Aboriginal people who survived and engaged, voluntarily or involuntarily, at various levels with the interlopers, becoming station hands and domestic staff. Daintree took photographs of these people, and one of his best-known works, *Bush travellers, Queensland*, [fig 5.3] depicts an Aboriginal man in such a role.<sup>121</sup> It would be very tempting to see the man depicted as Jerry, but there is no justification for it.

However an image that summarises colonial frontier relationships is *Basalt River, Bluff Downs N. Queensland* [figs 5.4 and 5.5]. In the foreground is the bed of a rocky river that dominates the composition. A European person sits alone almost in the centre of the mid-ground, and, at some distance removed to the right, is a group of Aboriginal people. All the figures are reflected in the still water and are regarding each other. This is an unsettling picture when read in a contemporary context, as the people are able to sit peacefully together within the same frame in each other’s company, but are not together. The placement of the European suggests dominance, as does the relative numbers of people in each group. The title places the image on the Hann/Daintree properties, and there is a sense of détente, but it is difficult to determine a degree of willingness or compliance on the part of the Aboriginal people. The purpose of this picture is ambiguous indeed: is this what acceptance or tolerance looks like, or is it surrender? Research into archival sources has not provided an answer to that question. However, these may be the people from the ‘blacks’ camp alluded to earlier, and are therefore most likely to be Gudjala people on their own land. Beyond the scope of this thesis, only a conversation with the Gudjala community might shed further light. Whichever it is, and whatever the original motivation of the photographer, this is a colonial landscape, dating from the earliest years of European invasion, and documents an aspect of truce on a violently contested frontier.

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<sup>120</sup> Harry Clarke. *Joseph Hann and Family* [Hann diaries] One example is August 22<sup>nd</sup> 1863 41

<sup>121</sup> This is one of the few of Daintree’s works that has been the subject of an in-depth art historical analysis. See Gael Newton. ‘Spell-O. Richard Daintree and the Australian Image.’



Figure 5.4 *Basalt River, Bluff Downs, N Queensland*  
Plate in Geoffrey Bolton. *Richard Daintree: A Photographic Memoir*



Figure 5.5 *Basalt River, Bluff Downs, N Queensland, detail*

Daintree's pastoral photographs illustrate place in terms of the new enterprise he and his family were undertaking, and the interaction with the traditional owners of that land. Several authors have noted that Daintree's photographs are most likely the first taken of Aboriginal people in this part of Queensland<sup>122</sup>, without expanding on the full importance of this point. It is within this context of violence that Daintree's pastoral photographs must be read, and when Aboriginal people appear in the images they must also be considered in this historical frame.

### Geological

From 1864 onwards, place for Daintree ostensibly meant the location for pastoral enterprise, but in actuality it was about opportunities for geological exploration. Following his relocation to North Queensland Daintree re-established and maintained a vigorous relationship with geology. Even though his primary purpose in Queensland was to take responsibility for the property Maryvale, he anticipated being able to multitask, writing to Clarke:

I shall be prepared when I settle in Queensland as a squatter ... to give much of my time to the investigation of the gold bearing rocks near me to see if the Devonian limestones of the Burdekin where traversed by such rocks will yield a... result.<sup>123</sup>

I shall make a detailed survey of all our Runs which extend from Bulla Bulla over to Fletchers Ck & shall fix all the hills in the neighbourhood and fill in the geology, I will then put the facts observed into the form of a paper...<sup>124</sup>

In terms of his scientific pursuits, Daintree was an almost perfect embodiment of an Enlightenment figure. This was a period in Europe and England encompassing a significant part of the late seventeenth, eighteenth and

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<sup>122</sup> Geoffrey Bolton. *Richard Daintree: a photographic memoir*. Photographic plate caption. See also Peter Quartermaine. *International Exhibitions and Emigration*. 52

<sup>123</sup> Richard Daintree [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter sent from Survey Camp Bacchus Marsh dated August 27<sup>th</sup> 1863. SLNSW MLMSS 139/36X

<sup>124</sup> Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter sent from Maryvale, North Kennedy, dated November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1864. SLNSW MLMSS 139/36X

nineteenth centuries, when the underpinnings for political and social thought changed markedly from a society based on largely unquestioned religious doctrines to one where truths and understandings were tested. This can be further understood as a process whereby:

The basic impetus to the currents of thought to which historians, drawing on contemporary self-description, give the name 'Enlightenment' was the quest for systems of thought which might provide a secure basis for political and social order in an age when sectarian conflict had made the traditional religious sanctions dangerously divisive. Hence the quest for principles which transcended the confessional divide and which were secular (although not necessarily anti-religious) in character [including] the appeal to reason...<sup>125</sup>

Coupled with the growing distrust of polarising religions, the appeal to reason led to an increasing societal reliance on the secular rather than religious faith. This in turn affected a plethora of avenues of learning and thought, which provided those alternative understandings, resulting in the rapid blossoming of many branches of science.<sup>126</sup>

Geology was part of this burgeoning of the sciences. Initially a challenge to conventional religious understandings of the age of the earth, geologists of the period were particularly interested in finding evidence proving a greater age. The subfield of stratigraphy developed in which rocks could be dated based on the placement of layers relative to each other. This led to the refinement of concepts of geological time and, by the nineteenth century, the first iterations of a geological time scale were being considered.<sup>127</sup> Geologists spent much effort trying to determine these relationships, making comparisons and identifying the similarities and differences between various geologies in far-flung parts of the world. The process was greatly progressed by the work of Charles Darwin in *The Origin of Species*, published in 1859, which added the understanding that

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<sup>125</sup> John Gascoigne. *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* 1-2

<sup>126</sup> John Gascoigne. *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* 2

<sup>127</sup> Kenneth L. Taylor. *The Earth Sciences in the Enlightenment: Studies on the Early Development of Geology*. Ashgate Variorum, 2008 XI, 11, 14, 15.

variations in fossils could be used to further differentiate layers.<sup>128</sup> Development of a worldwide classification system for geological time based on the structure and place of rocks in the landscape was well under way by the time Daintree arrived in Queensland.

An enthusiastic geologist, during his seven years in Queensland Daintree journeyed far and wide exploring and seeking information about, and taking photographs of, landscapes. Once he had collected data, in true Enlightenment fashion he maintained an apparently extensive professional correspondence,



Figure 5.6 *Old Alluvials Containing Remains of Extinct Animals, Maryvale Creek*  
Album APU1, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

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<sup>128</sup> Ian Graham. *The Geological Time Scale*. Australian Museum, 2015.  
<https://australianmuseum.net.au/the-geological-time-scale> Accessed 1st August 2018

actively contributing to both Australian and European knowledge bases, sending fossils, mineral samples, photographs and writings to colleagues in Australia and England.<sup>129</sup> As well as describing specific rocks, minerals and landforms, he contributed to the worldwide discussion about dating of strata.<sup>130</sup>

Daintree began his geological research in Queensland within a month of his arrival with a survey of a nearby creek.<sup>131</sup> Whenever time could be spared from the pastoral work, he studied the geology of the properties and surrounding area, and took photographs such as *Old Alluvials Containing Remains of Extinct Animals, Maryvale Creek* [fig 5.6]. In those early years he seems to have been able to travel with some frequency, as he wrote a report on the auriferous geology of the Upper Burdekin in 1866<sup>132</sup>, and described the coalfields of the Bowen Basin in 1867.<sup>133</sup> By 1868 he had delegated his responsibilities for the pastoral enterprise, and was employed as the Government Geologist for the northern part of the state, conducting field research with the goal of finding financially viable deposits of gold, copper and other minerals. In this role he also travelled widely with his camera, undertaking several expeditions to study geology unknown to European science. A series of notebooks incorporated mostly undated records kept for some of these journeys, called by him 'traverses', following the course of the Cape, Oxley and Gilbert Rivers and the goldfields around Rockhampton, describing both the landforms and rocks over which he travelled, often illustrated with drawings and various relevant data.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> For example, Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter sent from Wellington St, Brighton, dated July 15<sup>th</sup> 1863. Also letter dated July 26<sup>th</sup> [1863]; and William Carruthers and Robert Etheridge. [Letters to Richard Daintree into which William Branwhite Clarke was copied] Unpublished, State Library of NSW, MLMSS 139/36X.

<sup>130</sup> Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter sent from Gladstone, dated Dec 16<sup>th</sup> 1867. SLNSW MLMSS 139/36X. For a comprehensive account of Daintree's scientific career, see Anne Mozley. 'Richard Daintree: First Government Geologist of North Queensland'

<sup>131</sup> Harry Clarke. *Joseph Hann and Family* [Hann diaries] Entry for 14 June 1864 71

<sup>132</sup> Richard Daintree. [*Giving a description of the "Upper Burdekin Diggings"*] Unpublished, handwritten manuscript, 1866. SLNSW, MLMSS 139/65/7

<sup>133</sup> Richard Daintree. *Report on part of the Bowen River Coal Field, Kennedy District Queensland*. Unpublished, handwritten manuscript ('fair copy?'), 1867. SLNSW, MLMSS 139/65/7

<sup>134</sup> Richard Daintree. [Fryer notebooks - series of seven] Unpublished, Fryer Library University of Queensland UQFL370

These were expeditions of scientific endeavour, where he was entirely autonomous, free to use his own initiative and reach his own conclusions.

### Photographs of rocks

The critical adjunct to Daintree's scientific research was the images that he took to provide contextual support to his explorations. It appears this body of work may be close to unique, as there is a dearth of exploration photography in the Australian context. In 1988 Paul Carter referred to it as a complete absence, commenting that 'in the first fifty years of photography, *not a single expedition was photographed*' [his italics].<sup>135</sup> Helen Ennis agreed, similarly noting that, largely due to technical issues, there was a 'lack of a strong tradition of exploration or expedition photography'.<sup>136</sup> Robert Holden concurred, but noted several exceptions, one being JW Lindt's documentation of Sir Peter Scratchley's 1885 expedition to New Guinea.<sup>137</sup> Daintree's geological photographs form an exception too, as they constitute a comprehensive series taken while exploring far beyond the then limits of the colony.<sup>138</sup>

In fact a substantial proportion of the Queensland Museum and John Oxley Library Daintree collections can be defined as geological in purpose and are derived from Daintree's scientific expeditions or explorations. They are photographs where landforms and rocks were the primary subject matter and, if people are included, they are subsidiary. A quantitative analysis indicated approximately one third of the Queensland Museum collection are of rocks and landforms photographed with or without people (see Appendix 2).

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<sup>135</sup> Paul Carter. 'Invisible Journeys: Exploration and Photography in Australia 1839 - 1889' in Paul Foss (ed). *Islands in the Stream: Myths of Place in Australian Culture*. Pluto Press, 1988 P48

<sup>136</sup> Helen Ennis. *Photography and Australia* 53.

<sup>137</sup> Robert Holden. *Photography and Colonial Australia: The Mechanical Eye and the Illustrated Book*. Hordern House, 1988 52-54

<sup>138</sup> At this time it has not been determined exactly which photographs belong to specific expeditions, but research for this thesis has shown it to be possible. It is an opportunity for further work.



Figure 5.7 *Copperfield River, Alligator Pool*  
WB Clarke papers PXD 1222  
State Library of New South Wales

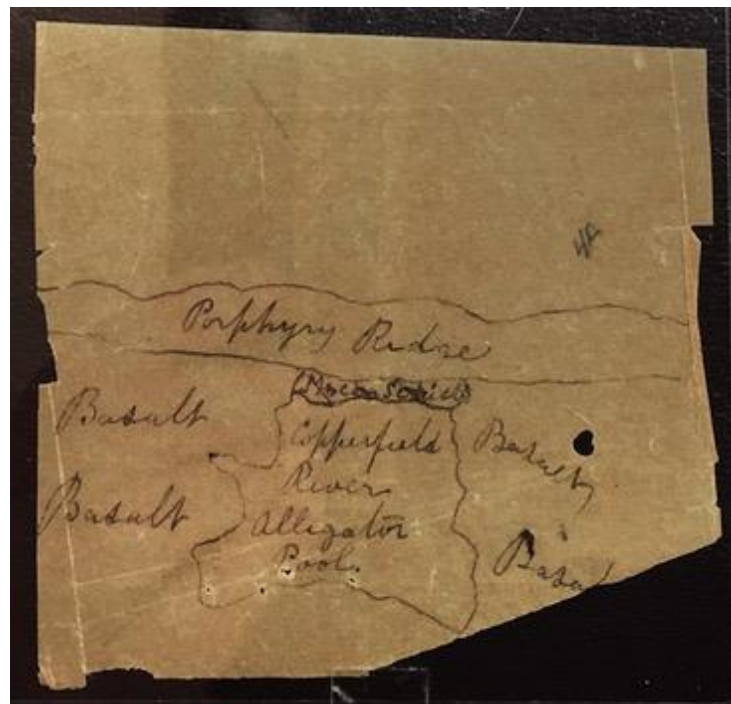


Figure 5.8 *Copperfield River, Alligator Pool* diagram  
WB Clarke papers, PDX 1222  
State Library of New South Wales

Of the images of rocks, fully half contain no people. *Copperfield River, Alligator Pool* [fig 5.7] is an excellent example. This picture is unequivocal evidence of a personal experiential relationship with the land, as this was near the site of a copper deposit he and William Hann decided to work themselves.<sup>139</sup> It is one of only three images for which captions exist in Daintree's own hand, the caption forming part of a diagram naming the rocks shown in the image [fig 5.8]. Both the picture and the diagram were sent to WB Clarke.<sup>140</sup> There are no people, and the little vegetation is peripheral and distant. From the plan it is evident that the closest rocks are basalt, formed from lava flows, and Daintree has used his skill as a photographer to construct an image that tells a story of the formation of this place by heat and its subsequent erosion by water. It is structured, succinct and powerful.



Figure 5.9 *Creek Cutting through Solid Marble, Queensland*  
Plate 8 Richard Daintree *Queensland Album*, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

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<sup>139</sup> Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter sent from Maryvale, North Kennedy dated 9<sup>th</sup> September 1867. Unpublished, SLNSW, MLMSS 139/36X

<sup>140</sup> Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Pictorial material SLNSW MLMSS 139 PXD 1222

The second group of geological photographs do contain people, who were included primarily to provide a sense of scale. Of the thirty-nine such images able to be assessed, thirty-three are of Europeans, or people wearing European clothes, and *Creek cutting through solid marble [version 1]* [fig 5.9] is a typical example. A tiny figure wearing a long-sleeved shirt, pants and a hat with what appears to be a dark fly veil, stands on the edge of the creek. He is posed, hand on hip, as if inspecting the lower section of the cliff. Almost all the geological images with figures are very similar to this and include a tiny person looking at the rocks.

Companions: the Aboriginal man



Figure 5.10 *Section Metamorphic Schist, Mary River, Gilbert District*  
Album APU2, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

Among the group of geological images are seven that invite closer scrutiny as the figure providing a sense of scale is an Aboriginal man, unclothed and standing alone. Although the figures in every case are minute, it is reasonable to assume that the same Aboriginal man is being depicted as the height, build, and hair appear identical. *Section Metamorphic Schist, Mary River, Gilbert District*, [fig 5.10] is an example, where the man stands in the foreground facing the camera, and to his back is an apparently dry creek bed, a row of trees, and a steep cliff.



Figure 5.11 *From Top of Mt Walker/Red Clay*  
Album APO18, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

In an eighth image the unclothed Aboriginal man has been photographed in the company of two clothed Europeans. In *From Top of Mt Walker/Red Clay*, the three figures stand on the top of a rocky ridge looking out across the distance to a flat plain beyond [fig 5.11]. This picture in particular is notable because of the impression that all three people photographed here, despite obvious differences

in clothing, seem comfortable in each other's company. Daintree photographed them standing equidistant as though they are of equal status, patently not the case on the Queensland frontier in the nineteenth century. By 1869 Daintree had made at least two trips to the Gilbert District, where these photographs were taken. Written records exist from both, but none include a complete list of participants, nor is there a day diary. This appears to be sloppy explorer practice, as most similar diaries do record participants and daily activities, although not always the Indigenous participation. In the notebook entitled *Gilbert Traverse*, Daintree has only, but with great thoroughness, recorded geology along with latitude and longitude, an incorrect starting date of Monday 12 July 1868 (it was a Sunday) and, the only literary colour, the fact that there was 'thick ice in [a] Bucket at Lolworth'. He also records that he 'Started [the] Survey from West corner post of Lolworth Hut to traverse Oxley Creek &c'.<sup>141</sup> Reports prepared after the fact also do not name the participants on the first or second expeditions but do refer to 'a number of prospectors' accompanying him and his party on the second.<sup>142</sup>

Daintree could not have undertaken any of his expeditions on his own. The difficulty of managing the amount of equipment and packhorses implies the presence of companions, not to mention the dangers inherent in travelling through country where Aboriginal people were still fighting to retain ownership of their land. Indeed, writing of another river system near present-day Mackay, he noted those dangers:

I anticipate as the country becomes more known valuable metallic ores will be found on the Broken River & its tributaries. As the name implies it is a difficult country to travel, and as the natives yet hold their own in it, it is unsafe for individual prospectors.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Richard Daintree. *Gilbert Traverse* [Fryer Library notebooks] Unpublished, Fryer Library University of Queensland UQFL370.

<sup>142</sup> Richard Daintree. 'Progress Report by Mr Richard Daintree, Government Geologist, Northern Districts'. In *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*. Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1869 165, 166

<sup>143</sup> Daintree to WB Clarke. Letter dated 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1867. Unpublished, SLNSW, MLMSS 139

Frank Hann provided insight into possible companions:

Sat 11<sup>th</sup> Jul: ... Johnny, Capt Grange & and Daintree came from Maryvale and there (sic) Black Boy.

Mon 13<sup>th</sup> Jul: ... Daintree, Johnny and Capt Grange started for Oxley Creek to survey.<sup>144</sup>

‘Johnny’ was John Hann, the brother of William and Frank; Captain Grange has not been able to be identified, and with them is an unnamed Aboriginal man. This accords with the people photographed on the ridge in *From Top of Mt Walker/Red Clay*.

In order to consider the position of the Aboriginal man in these photographs, it is necessary to better understand the wider scholarship concerning Aboriginal assistance provided to Europeans. Rather than resisting and fighting, some Aboriginal people engaged with the invaders in an attempt to reach a mutually beneficial position. Scholars have studied the types of voluntary relationships that developed between colonists and Aborigines. Henry Reynolds took a wide view and described different types of tasks or roles that were undertaken such as guides, police trackers and servants. He then noted more specific roles for guides being path-finding, tracking, and finding water.<sup>145</sup> In his analysis of explorer Thomas Mitchell’s relationships with Aboriginal people in 1828, DWA Baker more specifically categorised guides as hired help, passers on, camp followers and professionals. He differentiated between hired help, being those who undertook menial tasks, and professionals, being those respected individuals whose skills in tracking, finding water and hunting were invaluable and highly sought after.<sup>146</sup> Both authors described a role for Aboriginal people whereby Europeans exploring beyond the extant boundaries of colonisation were

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<sup>144</sup> Ian Elliot (transcribed and edited). *Frank Hann’s Lolworth Diaries 1866 – 1875*. Hesperian Press, 2013 58.

<sup>145</sup> Henry Reynolds. *With the white people: the crucial role of Aborigines in the development of Australia*. Penguin Books, 1990 22 - 29

<sup>146</sup> DWA Baker. ‘Exploring with Aborigines: Thomas Mitchell and his Aboriginal Guides.’ In *Aboriginal History*. ANU Press, 1998 Vol 22. <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p72701/pdf/article0316.pdf> Accessed July 2018

given considerable support. Phillip Clarke further elaborated on the process noting:

In employing indigenous guides, explorers could either recruit Aboriginal men from settled areas and take them on as part of their expedition, or opportunistically fall in with those they met during their travels and acquire local knowledge directly from them. Some explorers used both strategies simultaneously. By employing Aboriginal guides at the outset, expedition leaders gained companions who had time to develop familiarity with their needs.<sup>147</sup>

In the popular press of the day, European explorers were credited with significant skills and courage as they set forth into the 'wilderness' but the reality was that the successful explorers, defined by survival, had considerable assistance, either from local Aboriginal people being consulted in passing or from accompanying guides sourced locally or from further afield.<sup>148</sup>

The Aboriginal man was most likely an expert guide. He is present in a significant number of pictures, and in all cases he looks calm, and familiar with the process of being photographed. He seems to be present in a voluntary capacity, in that he is not chained or tied, nor is he being portrayed as a servant like the man in *Bush travellers, Queensland* (fig 5.3): instead he is of the group. In *From Top of Mt Walker/Red Clay*, there is even a sense of common purpose as the three figures gaze out over the plain below.

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<sup>147</sup> Phillip A. Clarke. *Aboriginal Plant Collectors: Botanists and Australian Aboriginal People in the Nineteenth Century*. Rosenberg Publishing, 2008 15.

<sup>148</sup> Accounts from European explorers who took with them, or sought assistance from, Aboriginal people are plentiful. They include the example of Edmund Kennedy who was accompanied by Jacky from Rockingham Bay in Queensland to Cape York. Described in William Carron. *Narrative of an Expedition Undertaken Under the direction of the Late Mr. Assistant Surveyor E.B. Kennedy*. Sydney, 1849.

<http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks02/0201121.txt> Accessed May 2018

## Clothing

In all eight images, the Aboriginal guide is unclothed. This is a curious situation. Perhaps Daintree has chosen to depict him this way to inject an anthropological note, so the images read as a 'noble savage' as well as a record of rocks. However it is also possible that the guide was travelling unclothed and, far from the colonised pastoral districts, his tasks may have been broader than simply tracking, hunting and finding water. Part of his job may have been diplomatic and ambassadorial, seeking safe passage for the Europeans in his care, as this was also a role well understood and described by explorer Charles Sturt.<sup>149</sup> Further, Boongaree, the guide who accompanied Mathew Finders on his circumnavigation of the continent, 'would often go naked and unarmed to parley with hostile Aboriginal groups armed with spears'.<sup>150</sup> The Aboriginal guide's lack of clothing may not have been about fitting in with the Europeans, but more about fitting in with those watching them. In that case, and to differentiate himself from the Native Police, he would need to wear the appropriate clothing to demonstrate good faith, which in this situation would have been what the locals were wearing: nothing. In these photographs, it is possible to consider the man is appropriately dressed, as opposed to being naked.

*From Top of Mt Walker/Red Clay* is an image of contradictions, so much so it has been used, with attribution to Daintree, as the cover image for a book about European exploration<sup>151</sup>, but has also been used, possibly less appropriately and without attribution, to illustrate a book and a web article on the Native Police.<sup>152</sup> An analysis of context reveals a number of points. Primarily, although the clothing looks uniform-like, the choices for Europeans protecting themselves in tropical climates were limited, as the portrait of Charles Allen [fig 5.12] who travelled in

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<sup>149</sup> Henry Reynolds. *With the white people*. Penguin Books, 1990 15-17

<sup>150</sup> Phillip A. Clarke. *Aboriginal Plant Collectors* 17

<sup>151</sup> Tim Flannery (ed). *The Explorers*. Text Publishing, 1998. Cover image

<sup>152</sup> Jonathon Richards. 'Queensland Native Police' in *Queensland Historic Atlas* <http://www.qhatlas.com.au/content/native-police> Accessed June 2018 Also Jonathon Richards. *The Secret War*. Photographic plate 2, between pages 134 and 135 Unattributed, captioned 'Two uniformed Native Police Troopers, and a third man, look over country (Queensland Government).

North Queensland in 1869 depicts.<sup>153</sup> It is also true that the European figures look armed, however most Europeans carried weapons of some sort. Aboriginal people associated with the Queensland Native police were not generally photographed unclothed.<sup>154</sup> The title given to one of Daintree's companions, Captain, was not one used for a rank in the Native Police.<sup>155</sup>



Figure 5.12 Unknown photographer  
*C.H. Allen in 'Bush' Costume* 1868  
Charles Allen album *Scraps*  
National Library of Australia

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<sup>153</sup> Charles Harris Allen, F.R.G.S. *A Visit to Queensland and her Goldfields*. Chapman and Hall, 1870.

<sup>154</sup> Jonathon Richards. *The Secret War*. Photographic plates between 134 and 135: Plates 1, 3, 4, 5, 6

<sup>155</sup> Jonathon Richards. *The Secret War*. Appendix 1: The ranks and structure of the Native Police 211-219

The Aboriginal man and figures dressed in a similar fashion to the Europeans, appear in other photographs by Daintree and all are associated with geological features. Finally, the photograph is held in both Queensland Daintree collections and the title of the work held in the Queensland Museum, with the addition of the words *Red Clay*, lends an even more geological association. On balance, this image is not a picture of the Native Police but is a work of scientific exploration.

The purpose of this chapter has been to address the question of the meaning of this strange new place to Daintree and to develop a discussion of place in an experiential sense. Queensland was to be investigated in terms of the pastoral enterprise and geological investigation. Grounded in earth and rock, his understanding of place involved a deep analysis of the landscape as he explored and described, passionately contributing to a greater scientific knowledge. Aboriginal people were integral to the understanding and experience of place, as the colonial frontier was bloody and dangerous to both sides of the conflict. However there is also a visual record of a level of engagement with and support from Aboriginal people who took a more conciliatory approach.

## 6 REPRESENTING PLACE

Although the photographs in the previous chapter, particularly the scientific images, were shared with others, their primary purpose was the personal act of site documentation. However towards the end of 1870 Daintree's motivation changed. This chapter will further articulate what place meant to Daintree but at the point when he was preparing to leave Queensland. His relationship to place in this period was curatorial as well as personal, and was situated in the preparation for the marketing of Queensland in England and Europe. Prior to his departure he travelled widely, taking photographs he deemed representative. These photographs were visual records of peopled landscapes: they are overtly about the process of colonising Queensland, of hardships faced and overcome, and pride in the economic and social achievements of those actively involved. They encompass a broad geographic area and various aspects of the colonial process. Pictures of forestry, shipping, sugar production and urban development form part of the group. However, as Daintree's connection with place is best exemplified by addressing the industries with which he was personally connected, this chapter will limit investigation to the pastoral and mining industries.

### London: International Exhibition 1871

In 1870 Daintree became involved in a discussion about the participation of the Queensland Government in the 1871 London International Exhibition. Early concepts had involved the possibility of sending samples of commercial printing and specimens of the handwriting of children, so Daintree's comprehensive proposal to display the Colony's primary production achievements must have been met with some relief. Both his photographic and organisational skills were enthusiastically harnessed by the government of the day.<sup>156</sup> He had experience of participating in such an event during his time in Victoria, taking photos for the London International Exhibition in 1862, and had exhibited his work locally in

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<sup>156</sup> Peter Quartermaine. *International Exhibitions and Emigration* 41

Victoria on more than one occasion.<sup>157</sup> A document not previously cited by scholars is the first draft of a letter written in pencil that outlined a proposal to take samples and photographs of Queensland geology and mining to England for the International Exhibition. Daintree detailed the process by which he would take the photographs, writing:

The mining interest should be properly represented. I therefore propose to place before the English public [in] as concise a manner as possible, the mineral resources of the colony. Believing this can only be done satisfactorily by one devoting his whole time & attention to the matter & having official status, with large previous acquaintance with the subject. The mode for affecting the object in question would be this ... I propose to specially illustrate the maps of various gold fields completed by the late Geological Survey of the Colony samples of the richest reefs & specimens will be procured & photographic views... I propose that the whole of my time be devoted to the work above sketched out, as the Exhibition will open in June 1871 the interval is therefore comparatively limited the bulk of the exhibits leaving here in December.

As my photographic & other instruments are at my own residence in the Kennedy [District], I propose to start from there taking first the "Ravenswood Diggings" of which I will make a rough survey and put on the various reefs. Thence to the Cape [River] & Cloncurry if time will admit visiting ... the Diggings in the neighbourhood. I would then come down to Brisbane & visit such districts as I am not previously acquainted with, in order to be able from personal inspection, to afford men of capital at home reliable information on any projects likely to be placed in the home market & also to give intending emigrants from the mining districts the benefit of such information.<sup>158</sup>

This is the outline of a substantial program of collecting samples and taking photographs and, while not an actual dated itinerary, it gives a clear indication that Daintree was preparing to travel widely in the latter part of 1870 prior to his

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<sup>157</sup> Dianne Reilly and Jenny Carew. *Sun Pictures of Victoria* 19

<sup>158</sup> Richard Daintree. [Fryer Library notebook #1] Unpaginated

departure for England in early 1871. The implication is that rather than taking photographs for scientific study or personal memorialising, he was considering a very different purpose for his work. This was to present a visual record of the colony of Queensland to a large and much more general audience. Right from the point of creation of the image, Daintree saw the need for a more people-oriented depiction of place. In contrast to the images where geology is the primary subject, he made photographs that would serve to describe aspects of colonial endeavour, with a self-imposed emphasis on the 'proper' representation of mining, and an interest in the wider pastoral industry.

Partway through the trip Daintree confirmed to Government that he had successfully visited the Ravenswood, Mt Wyatt and Cape River gold fields and had collected samples and taken photographs of the diggings for the Exhibition. He was planning to continue on to the Gilbert District and Cloncurry.<sup>159</sup> Much later from London he summarised his goal at this time saying, '... my original intention [was] of giving a full description of the geology, mining, pastoral and agricultural capabilities of Queensland'.<sup>160</sup>

### Representing broader pastoral enterprise

Daintree took a view of the pastoral industry that was completely consistent with nineteenth century ideals of progress. He saw the industry as pivotal to the earliest development of wealth in Queensland, saying:

As in all the Australian colonies, the squatter was the pioneer of all industrial pursuits. He it was who introduced stock, and underwent all the expense and risk of occupying the new territory.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Richard Daintree. 'Report by Mr. R. Daintree, Late Government Geologist, Northern Queensland, on the Ravenswood, Mt Wyatt and Cape River Gold Fields, Etc.' In *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*. Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1870 663-664

<sup>160</sup> Richard Daintree. 'Geology of Queensland as represented at the London Exhibition 1871'. In *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*. Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1872 756

<sup>161</sup> Richard Daintree. *Queensland, Australia* 47

He prepared a comprehensive overview of the nascent pastoral development of Queensland and the examples, which comprise a diverse group of images from a broad range of properties, encompass some of the inherent difficulties. There are several wide-angle photographs of properties incorporating outbuildings, people and animals. “*Squatter’s*” homestead [fig 6.1] shows a bullock team and wagon in front of buildings including a comfortable main house. It is a substantial



Figure 6.1 “*Squatter’s*” Homestead  
Plate 16 Richard Daintree *Queensland, Australia. Its Territory, Climate and Products*



Figure 6.2 *Free selector’s slab hut*  
Plate 12 Richard Daintree *Queensland, Australia. Its Territory, Climate and Products*

enterprise. Even more so is the property illustrated in *No title [homestead with carriage]* [fig 4.3] where a very large house has been photographed. The carriage depicted in the foreground has a matching pair of horses, a top-hatted coachman, and the passengers include well-dressed women, one of whom is holding a parasol against the sun. A herd of fat cattle stroll down the track behind the carriage. Here Daintree has provided an aspirational image of success in the colonies. So as not to give an unfair impression, he also provided images from the other end of the real estate market, such as *Free selector's slab hut* [fig 6.2]. This photograph shows a basic dwelling and is descriptive of a more subsistent living, with less material wealth.



Figure 6.3 *Station life*  
Bassingthwaighe collection, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

The image *Station life* [fig 6.3] provides visual evidence of Aboriginal people as an integral part of the colonial pastoral industry. Not without humour, a child sits in a tree stump, perfectly visible to the photographer, but obscured from the view of people closer to the buildings. *Homestead of Pastoral Tenant of the Crown* [6.4] is a related picture but is more soberly composed, differing in the placement of the children in the foreground, the position of the horse, the addition of another horse and the altered position of figures in the distance. This second work was that chosen by Daintree for exhibition and publication. This is a rare situation in the oeuvre where two versions of the same can be compared, giving some insight into his process.



Figure 6.4 *Homestead of pastoral tenant of the Crown*  
Box 7746, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

Transport options from the coastal ports to the inland over the Great Dividing Range were limited and the conditions were often risky or even dangerous. Daintree's well-known photograph *Wool on the Road to Port, Queensland* [fig 6.5] demonstrates this admirably as the wagon wheels are caked with wet-season mud from an obviously difficult journey. Professional carters such as these travelled the bush tracks moving essential supplies to the inland and produce back to the ports. Bullocks were favoured as draught animals, as they were slow but steady, and could be harnessed in teams to pull large weights.



Figure 6.5 *Wool on the Road to Port, Queensland*  
Plate 2 *Queensland Album*, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

*Group of working bullocks* [fig 6.6] was a much-loved image of Daintree's and he used it for a number of purposes. No less than seven versions of it are known.<sup>162</sup> One print version, now in the John Oxley Library, is annotated on the reverse 'taken at old Dalrymple on Burdekin R'.<sup>163</sup> Dalrymple, the first inland town in



Figure 6.6 *Group of Working Bullocks*  
Plate 1 *Queensland Album*, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

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<sup>162</sup> Two are in the Queensland Museum, hand-coloured differently (H26892 and H28017). Three are in publications: Richard Daintree *Queensland, Australia*; Richard Daintree *Queensland Album*, Unpublished or self-published c1872 JOL Acc 5723; and Richard Daintree (attributed) *Queensland, Photographs from Nature and Life, Descriptive of the Country*. Unpublished or self-published between 1871 and 1876, National Gallery of Australia. Two additional images can be found in Richard Daintree. *Daintree collection* [Box of photographs] Unpublished, JOL Acc 7746 14978; and the National Museum of Australia. *Daintree's glass plates slideshow* National Museum of Australia, undated [http://www.nma.gov.au/collections/highlights/richard-daintrees-glass-plates/daintree\\_slideshow?result\\_6095\\_result\\_page=2#slideshow-gallery](http://www.nma.gov.au/collections/highlights/richard-daintrees-glass-plates/daintree_slideshow?result_6095_result_page=2#slideshow-gallery) Accessed March 2018

<sup>163</sup> Richard Daintree. *Daintree collection* [Box of photographs] Unpublished, JOL Acc 7746 14978

Queensland, was established on a crossing point of the Burdekin River in 1864.<sup>164</sup>

A very small number of photographs within Daintree's oeuvre can be described purely as views. *The Burdekin River* [fig 6.7] is not directly associated with geology or mining, and only tangentially with the pastoral industry. However, the Burdekin River was a major feature in the landscape, providing, from a certain point, transport to the coast. When in flood it also served as a dangerous barrier to people moving around the landscape. As a large river and a source of permanent water, the Burdekin was an important component in the portrayal of colonial Queensland.



Figure 6.7 *Burdekin River*  
*Queensland Photographs from Nature and Life, Descriptive of the Country*  
National Gallery of Australia

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<sup>164</sup> Colin Hooper. *North Queensland Deserted Towns: Charters Towers – Ravenswood – Cape River*. Self -published, 2014 23

## Mining

Reflecting Daintree's concern that mining be well represented in London, a very significant proportion of the works in the two Queensland collections are of Queensland gold diggings and other mining enterprises. More than one fifth of the Queensland Museum collection is comprised of these images, and it forms the second largest discrete grouping. After the images of rocks, this group tells the most coherent story of place and of a peopled landscape. Within the self-imposed brief to 'properly represent' the mining industry, Daintree sought to depict the methods and mechanisms by which the wealth of the earth was being extracted in Queensland. These were environments in which he must have felt at home, after his own experiences of gold mining in Victoria nearly twenty years earlier, and also through extensive contact with the Queensland diggings as Government Geologist. He wrote fondly, and possibly even wistfully:

A digger's occupation, indeed, has charms of its own, the chief of which, in the eyes of its most persistent followers, seems to be that "every man is his own master". Next comes the belief that any day's work may bring the wished-for "pile" – that grand solace for all the apparently unrequited labour of the past.<sup>165</sup>

The sheer number and quality of these photographs, and the obvious compliance of those being portrayed, indicate that Daintree's relationship with these places was one of considerable intimacy. We can also presume that Daintree had a degree of status, as he was well known as the finder of several of these fields, specifically Cape River, the Gilbert and the Etheridge diggings.<sup>166</sup>

The images can be arranged into two groups, where the first deals with miners undertaking various mining activities, somewhat at a distance. Daintree's scientific photographs are about his relationship with rocks and earth while these pictures sympathetically portray people scratching a living from that earth. There are images of bush sluices, horses operating simple crushing machinery, and

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<sup>165</sup> Richard Daintree. *Queensland Australia* 51

<sup>166</sup> Ian Sanker. *Queensland in the 1860s* 2

men standing at the top of shafts. In *Alluvial gold mining* [fig 6.8] men have paused in their work of removing and processing auriferous alluvial soils. A number of people are present including two women in the background to the right, and a woman and three children in the mid-distance to the left, along with a horse and wagon and three very rudimentary tents. A fallen tree and tree stumps are indicators that this was a dynamic, changing place. Mining equipment dominates the foreground, one piece of which is a gold mining cradle, used in the nineteenth century for washing gold from the earth.<sup>167</sup> It was a significant technological advance on the basic gold pan and was widely employed.<sup>168</sup> In many of these images Daintree has attempted to incorporate a wide range of



Figure 6.8 *Alluvial Gold Mining*  
Plate 18 Richard Daintree *Queensland, Australia. Its Territory, Climate and Products*

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<sup>167</sup> Museums Victoria. *Collections: Item SH910535 Miner's Cradle –wood and metal, Ballarat, circa 1880s*. Museums Victoria, undated.

<https://collections.museumvictoria.com.au/items/250427> Accessed May 2018

<sup>168</sup> NQHeritage@JCU. *Equipment for alluvial gold mining, Copperfield River, Oaks Estate, Queensland [NQID1203]* James Cook University, undated.

<https://nqheritage.jcu.edu.au/110/> Accessed May 2018

detail by taking a broad-brush approach. As a result, some of the figures and other elements are, once again, very small. A level of fine scrutiny amounting to detective work is required to fully comprehend the depth of the scene, but it gives an insight into a colonial mining enterprise, and an overview of activity.



Figure 6.9 *Lynd Copper Mine, Copperfield River*  
H26818  
Queensland Museum

The second group of images place more detailed individual activities at the centre of the frame. In *Lynd Copper Mine, Copperfield River* [fig 6.9] Daintree has engaged much more closely with a pair of individuals in the process of extracting ore. One miner rests his hand on a log frame with a rope while the other leans on what might be a shovel. Behind them a broken sapling and other disturbed vegetation happily provide an unobscured view to the river below. As well as mining tools, two guns are close by in a foreground of bare earth. The presence of guns provides a reminder that mining on the frontier was a dangerous

occupation, and that Aboriginal people were as unhappy about the presence of miners as they were about pastoral expansion.<sup>169</sup>

A curious photograph in this group, and arguably one of Daintree's best known, is *Fair exchange – no robbery* [fig 6.10]. It records a more social aspect of mining rather than the previous more technical approaches and consists of a row of people posing in front of a tent in a forest. Rough bush timbers support this simple canvas tent; the upright poles being two naturally forked tree branches.



Figure 6.10 [*Gold diggers sale, Queensland*]  
Also known as *Fair exchange – no robbery*  
Rex Nan Kivell collection, National Library of Australia

Framing the central figures are two gold cradles, and one has a price written on it. On the right of the image is a group of three figures. One is a man standing with his hand on his hip, with his hat tipped at an angle. In front of him stands a child, and a woman is seated on a log near a fire. Both the child and the woman

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<sup>169</sup> Noel Loos. *Invasion and Resistance* Chapter 3

are Aboriginal, commanding attention within the image as the closest people to the camera, and are the final figures seen when the image is being read left to right. The price chalked on the cradle of £1.5.0, (one pound, five shillings and no pence) meant the object was very expensive, given that the price of a pair of boots in Rockhampton was eight shillings and sixpence five years earlier.<sup>170</sup> The two figures holding a boot suggest this image is the record of a transaction. While the narrative has been obscured by the passage of time, it appears there is a relationship between the value of the boot and the cradle – a fair exchange. It could be that the man in the apron is a tradesman: a cobbler who is exchanging the boot for a cradle in order to seek his fortune away from his chosen trade. However, it could also be that the man in the apron is a carpenter to whom the figure in front of the tent is giving his boots in lieu of a cash payment. If this individual had only one pair of boots, as many did, this is an act of recklessness, and perhaps even desperation. Underlying the image is an inference of an economy of barter as well as cash sales. Daintree was providing an English public, fired with the romance of the possibility of striking it rich, with a note of financial caution.

The Aboriginal woman and child, and indeed the women and children in *Alluvial gold mining* [fig 6.8], command attention not only by their place in the composition, but because mining camps were entirely dominated by men and the presence of any woman and child is surprising. Catherine Nash wrote about her novelty status when she arrived at the Gympie gold fields in 1869:

The first night of my arrival I went to the front of the house to arrange a lamp. I noticed a multitude of men blocking the street before our place. I asked a person near me what they were there for. He said 'They've come to see the new girl'. I simply fled to the back room.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Unknown. 'Police court, Rockhampton' in *Rockhampton Bulletin and Central Queensland Advertiser*, 1 August 1865.

<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/51566319?searchTerm=Boots#>

<sup>171</sup> Catherine Nash (nee Murphy). 'Recollections of the Rush'. *Gympie Times*, 16 November 1917. Cited in David Hill. *The Gold Rush*. Sydney: Random House, 2010 300.

Additionally, European men, while forming both consensual and non-consensual relationships with Aboriginal women, were aware that such relationships were on the outer edge of social acceptability and were often loath to have them acknowledged publicly. Indeed, the stance of the man with his hand on his hip seems to imply a degree of either defence or challenge, and may be a form of acknowledgement of a relationship between the child, the woman and himself. The image is virtually unique within the Daintree oeuvre, as there are few other pictures of Aboriginal people photographed in a mining context, but for some reason it was acceptable to Daintree to include them. Ostensibly concerned with economic conditions on the goldfields, in this photograph Daintree has also chosen to use his intimate knowledge of colonial mining places to record this unusual aspect of social interaction on the frontier.

Daintree also took pictures of miners in moments of repose to illustrate their living arrangements, providing an English audience with another note of romance-countering pragmatism and a sense of a hard life in rough accommodation. *Cape River Miners* [fig 6.11] is also one of Daintree's better-known images and shows two miners standing in front of a hut made from bush timbers and bark. Mining equipment is propped against its walls, and a dog is curled up on the ground. The casual stance of the miners suggests a familiarity with both the place and the photographer. Daintree wrote a cautionary note for this picture:

The emigrant ... who intends taking his chance at the goldfields, must not run away with the idea that a fortune awaits him as the result of a few months of hard work, but rather he is certain of the hard work in any case, with the odds against him as to the lighting on the fortune. He will probably be no better housed than the miners seen in the illustration, who, however, it will be admitted, do not look as if their rough habitation or mode of life disagreed with them.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Richard Daintree. *Queensland, Australia* 51



Figure 6.11 *Cape River Miners*  
Also known as *Gold Miner's Bark Hut*  
Album APU2, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

These mining and pastoral photographs, taken to represent Queensland to a broad English audience, are explanatory rather than experiential, and are critical to an understanding of the meaning of place to Daintree at the point of his departure for England. Depicting the various realities of life as a Queensland squatter or miner, he was engaged with, and telling a story of, colonial enterprise and sheer hard graft. Keen to represent economic development and notions of progress, he worked hard to fulfil his goal of a 'full description'. The images construct a proud and enthusiastic visual narrative of ways of making a living with which he was intimately acquainted, and he knew where to look for fascinating images. His inclusion of Aboriginal people belies the 'great Australian silence' outlined by Stanner, and these photographs ensured that at least some aspects of an Indigenous presence on the frontier were placed before an English audience.

## 7 PLACE: MANAGING EXTERNAL EXPECTATIONS

The previous chapter outlined Daintree's program to 'properly represent' the state of Queensland, implying the development of the exhibition vision was his to control, and the material he photographed was of his choosing. This chapter will investigate two bodies of work within the oeuvre where Daintree may not have had the same degree of autonomy, and where it appears external influence was brought to bear. An argument will be mounted that an audience expectation of what they might see representing Queensland drove the production of some of the material. The chapter will also explore solutions Daintree employed for solving the problems created by these external expectations. The first of the problematic bodies of work is a series of studio portraits of Aboriginal people that, while beautiful images, as a group sits awkwardly within the oeuvre. The second is a smaller assemblage that incorporates wildlife and is also atypical of Daintree's photography.

### Studio portraits

Less than cogently linked to the Daintree oeuvre is a series of studio portraits of Aboriginal people. Within the two major Queensland Daintree collections they form a small but significant proportion of the total. The Queensland Museum holds at least sixteen enlarged images, hand-coloured in oil or watercolour on linen, canvas or board. Only two other works able to be defined as portraits have been noted in the Queensland Museum collection and these are of Chinese people, leading to the conclusion that Daintree did not curate portraits of Europeans for exhibition in London.<sup>173</sup> A more disparate group of portraits is held in the John Oxley Library in the form of lantern slides and albumen prints, both loose and in albums.<sup>174</sup> In addition to a number of studio portraits of Aboriginal people, within this collection are also portraits of Europeans, including one of

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<sup>173</sup> Not all the pictures in the Queensland Museum have been able to be analysed, as a curatorial decision resulted in potentially culturally sensitive material being appropriately withheld. This material may or may not include portraits and other material.

<sup>174</sup> For a record of the Daintree collections in the John Oxley Library, see Appendix 2

Daintree's wife Agnes. Other collections also hold Daintree studio portraits, including the National Library of Australia and the University of Queensland Anthropology Museum. The example in the collection of the NLA is an enlarged, hand-coloured portrait of three Aboriginal men posed fighting.<sup>175</sup>

The studio portraits of Aboriginal people hold an anomalous position within the oeuvre for a number of reasons, not least of all because they are the only images taken in- rather than outdoors. Aboriginal and European figures were frequently featured in Daintree's work, but the vast majority were part of peopled landscapes. Very little of his work is readily classified as studio portraiture, where people are photographed indoors and posed as the primary focus of the image.

The reason for the presence of the studio portraits is not immediately obvious, and Daintree's motivation may be essential to forming an understanding. Joanna Scherer notes that photographers of Indigenous people tended to have goals or agendas, either expeditionary, reformist or ethnographic, and in order to assess the images this must be understood.<sup>176</sup> However, given a complete absence of writings from him on the subject Daintree's goals are opaque. He has left no record of being engaged with the sciences of ethnography, ethnology, anthropology, or even archaeology. In not one of his publications or the letters to WB Clarke did he discuss any aspect of these sciences. Although he engaged with Aboriginal people to make photographs, his writings were scant, and framed in terms of danger, not as an opportunity for either experience or representation.<sup>177</sup> Daintree's stated goal for the London Exhibition was to promote the mining, pastoral and agricultural progress of Queensland, and in neither the draft letter nor his subsequent correspondence with government does he refer to a planned or considered need to produce studio portraits of Aboriginal

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<sup>175</sup> Richard Daintree. [*Three Aborigines Fighting, Queensland*] National Library of Australia <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Search/Home?lookfor=Richard+Daintree+picture&type=all&limit%5B%5D=&submit=Find> Accessed May 2018

<sup>176</sup> Joanna Scherer. 'The Photographic Document: Photographs as Primary Data in Anthropological Enquiry' in Elizabeth Edwards (ed) *Anthropology and Photography 1860 – 1920*. Yale University Press, 1992 35

<sup>177</sup> Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter sent from Camp at Bacchus Marsh dated September 21<sup>st</sup> [1863] SLNSW, MLMSS 139/36X

people prior to departure for England. Further, in his writings Daintree did not mention portraiture, in any context.

Daintree may have had previous experience of taking portraits of Aboriginal people while working in Victoria, and *Sun Pictures of Victoria* contains wonderful images of Aboriginal people and European colonists. The album was assembled by Daintree and his then business partner Antoine Fauchery, but analysis has been unable to ascribe an absolute attribution to all the images. However detailed research indicates that the portraits were most likely to have been by Fauchery and the landscapes by Daintree, as they bear a resemblance to his later work in Queensland.<sup>178</sup> The implication is that Daintree was exposed to the taking of portraits, but did not engage with the genre.



Figure 7.1 Unknown photographer and The Helio-type Company  
*International Exhibition 1872*  
Album APO13, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

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<sup>178</sup> Dianne Reilly and Jennifer Carew. *Sun Pictures of Victoria* 21-22

Nevertheless studio portraits of Aboriginal people from Queensland form an important part of the two major Daintree collections. They were obviously crucial to curatorial intent as they can be seen in a picture of the 1872 London Exhibition [fig 7.1] that shows the whole back wall covered with artefacts, along with two enormous portraits. The presence of sixteen or more works in the Queensland Museum collection implies they were exhibited at least once in nineteenth century international exhibitions curated by Daintree. Writing specifically about anthropological images, Elizabeth Edwards says 'context is crucial to the interpretation of photographs.'<sup>179</sup> Even without explanation from Daintree, their exhibition in London is an obvious context.

### Expectations

In the absence of any overt scientific agenda or commitment to representation, it seems that Daintree may have felt obliged to include the studio portraits as part of a broad representation of Queensland because it was expected. The rapid expansion of the British Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries brought British people in contact with peoples of the world. The relatively new sciences of anthropology and ethnology saw Europeans engaged in the study of people considered more 'primitive' from the most remote corners of the Empire. This idea of 'primitivism' was underpinned by Charles Darwin's 'survival of the fittest' theory, and came to be described as 'Social Darwinism' which said that white people were the most evolved and a hierarchy of race existed whereby people with darker skins were less so.<sup>180</sup> This then provided a supposedly incontrovertible biological basis for the justification of a range of social and political actions and a substantial degree of racial arrogance.<sup>181</sup>

Anthropology was not confined to the dusty halls of academe. It became popular, and people flocked to exhibitions and museums displaying such objects. Brian Street notes:

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<sup>179</sup> Elizabeth Edwards. 'Introduction' in Elizabeth Edwards (ed) *Anthropology and Photography 1860 – 1920*. Yale University Press, 1992 5

<sup>180</sup> John Henry. *A Short History of Scientific Thought*. Palgrave MacMillan, 2012 149-151

<sup>181</sup> John Gascoigne. *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia* 163-165

For the general public at the turn of the century, images of other societies with their underlying associations of race, hierarchy and evolution, were most vividly experienced through exhibitions, photographs and postcards. These ethnographic shows were seen not simply as 'entertainment', but as having educational value: through them British society learned about the 'other' peoples of the world.<sup>182</sup>

In terms of 'education', exhibition and museum displays and even the popular press included representations of Australian Aboriginal people. For example, in 1850 the *Illustrated London News* published wood engravings after the daguerreotypes by Douglas Kilburn of people from the Kulin nation<sup>183</sup>, and the London International Exhibition of 1862 displayed photographs of Tasmanian Aboriginal people taken at Oyster Cove, south of Hobart.<sup>184</sup> Two decades later a group of nine Queensland Aboriginal people were toured widely throughout England and Europe by showman RA Cunningham.<sup>185</sup> Such was the popularity of the subject, Henry Cole reported on the inclusion of an entire Ethnological Collection in the International Exhibition of 1874 that was 'intended to be merely the nucleus of a national museum of ethnology'. He saw the section as somewhat unsuccessful, only because the objects did not arrive in a timely fashion and the display was smaller than expected. A grand vision to continue this display every year was cut short only by the overall cessation of the exhibitions.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Brian Street. 'British Popular Anthropology: Exhibiting and Photographing the Other' in Elizabeth Edwards (ed) *Anthropology and Photography 1860 – 1920*. Yale University Press, 1992 122

<sup>183</sup> Jane Lydon. 'Invasion and Redemption: the Camera in Colonial Australia'. In Cathy Leahy and Judith Ryan (eds). *Colony Australia 1770-1861/Frontier Wars*. National Gallery of Victoria, 2018 247-249

<sup>184</sup> Vivienne Rae-Ellis. 'The Representation of Trucanini'. In Elizabeth Edwards (ed) *Anthropology and Photography 1860 – 1920*. Yale University Press, 1992 230

<sup>185</sup> Roslyn Poignant. 'Surveying the Field of View: The Making of the RAI Photographic Collection.' In Elizabeth Edwards (ed) *Anthropology and Photography 1860 – 1920*. Yale University Press, 1992 51-54

<sup>186</sup> Henry Cole. *A Special Report on the Annual International Exhibitions of the Years 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1847*. The Board of Management, Her Majesty's Commissioner for the Exhibition of 1851, 1875.

The British public were enthusiastic, if arguably racist, viewers and consumers of the images and artefacts of 'primitive' people from the far-flung corners of the empire. Daintree incorporated studio portraits of, and artefacts from, Queensland Aboriginal people in line with audience expectations.

### Making the portraits

The initial context for the studio portraits was their genesis in Queensland, and in this situation they have been the subject of considerable scholarly analysis via the work of Aboriginal curator and historian Michael Aird. He has spent more than two decades studying and analysing studio portraits of Aboriginal people from Queensland in a number of exhibitions and publications.<sup>187</sup> Aird described how he classified photographs to determine their origins, based on information contained therein. As well as analysing objects, he also assessed backgrounds as different studios had standard characteristics such as skirting boards, painted backdrops and carpets.<sup>188</sup> Using this categorisation, Aird has attributed some of the studio portraits to Daintree on the basis of the presence of a weapon known to be specific to the Townsville area.<sup>189</sup> Among the portraits he deemed Daintree's is *Studio portrait of girl holding fishing rod* [fig 7.2] in which a young woman holds a thin spear, fitted with a fine tip.<sup>190</sup> She is not dressed in European clothing, but carries the scarring that indicates she has been part of a cultural process. This picture incorporates considerable detail in the background including an offset white fabric backdrop pinned or nailed to a frame. Behind to

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<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=gri.ark:/13960/t41r8pv47;view=1up;seq=5> Accessed October 2018 169

<sup>187</sup> For example Michael Aird. *Portraits of our Elders*. Queensland Museum, 1993. Also Michael Aird (curator). *Captured – Early Brisbane Photographers and their Aboriginal Subjects*. Exhibition held at the Museum of Brisbane, 2014

<https://www.museumofbrisbane.com.au/whats-on/captured-early-brisbane-photographers-and-their-aboriginal-subjects/> Accessed June 2018

<sup>188</sup> Daniel Browning. 'Captured in sepia'. *AWAYE!* Radio National, broadcast 22 March 2014. <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/awaye/saturday-22-march-2014/5315182> Accessed June 2018

<sup>189</sup> Michael Aird. 'Aboriginal people and four early Brisbane photographers' 151

<sup>190</sup> The version of this image published in Michael Aird. 'Aboriginal people and four early Brisbane photographers' on page 152 has been cropped to reduce the background for publication. A version produced from a lantern slide in the John Oxley Library is referenced here. It has been reproduced in the reverse.

the left is a diamond-patterned surface, and to the right the tantalising glimpse of an elaborate painted scenic backdrop. Around the girl's feet is a collection of vegetation, presumably successfully disguising the base of the frame holding her still, and she is standing on a mat or small carpet to the side of which we can see floorboards. To the left on the floor is a loosely piled thick fabric.



Figure 7.2 *Studio portrait of girl with fishing rod*  
Copy of lantern slide D9-3-90, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

Features in the backgrounds of seven other images link them to each other and to *Studio portrait of girl holding fishing rod*. All eight images share the white fabric primary backdrop, sometimes pinned or nailed differently, indicating the pictures might have been taken in slightly varying timeframes. The same diamond-patterned surface appears in four images. In one of these behind, the white fabric backdrop is a wall that looks to be constructed of a rough weatherboard. A thin

edge of this same wall appears in the background of two additional works. Identical vegetation appears in two of the images while different vegetation appears in two others. Well-fitted floorboards appear in four of the images, being very straight with clean edges, laid close together.

An important feature of the portraits is the large amount of extraneous background. While nineteenth century portraits often included a substantive background, generally it contributed in some way to the narrative of the image. In contrast these photographs show the detritus of a studio. This further suggests Daintree took the portraits as a professional portrait photographer would not and did not work this way.

### Questions of attribution

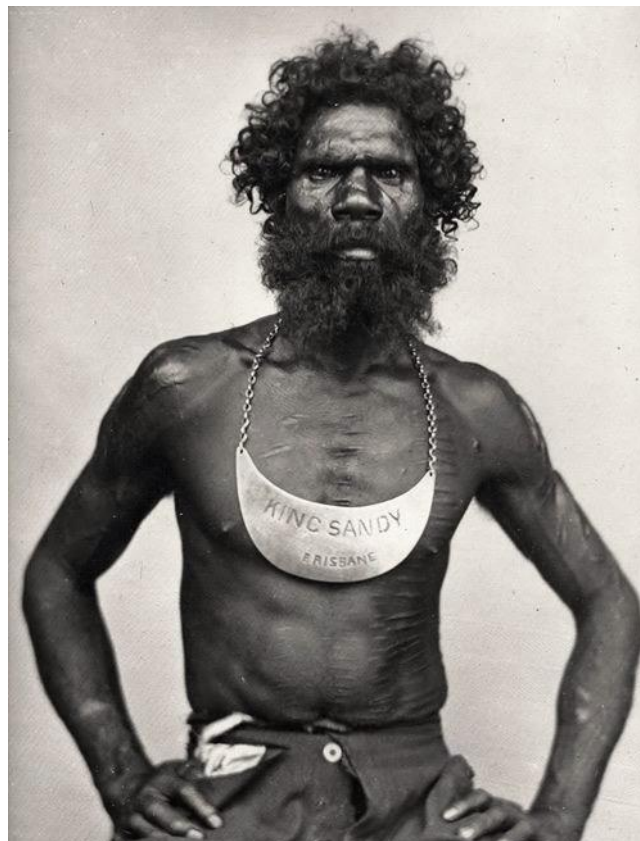


Figure 7.3 Daniel Marquis  
*Kirwallie Sandy, George Street, Brisbane*  
John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

Aird has questioned the attribution of some of the Daintree portraits, particularly that of *Kirwallie Sandy, George Street Brisbane* [fig 7.3]. He suggested that while the image had been previously attributed to Daintree simply by virtue of it being in the Queensland Museum collection, it did not necessarily follow that Daintree was the photographer. Aird made the convincing case that, on stylistic grounds, the image was not by Daintree. He posited that it was more likely to be by Daniel Marquis, a photographer known to have taken many portraits of Aboriginal people in Brisbane. He noted that the photograph of the *International Exhibition 1872* [fig 7.1] clearly shows images by Marquis as other copies of these photographs have been identified beyond doubt. The argument was compelling, and the John Oxley Library has reattributed their version.

There is a further reason to be suspicious of the portraits. Towards the end of 1871, Daintree asked the Minister for Works in Brisbane for additional material to be sent from Queensland. This request was included in a report that was, in the main, about the completion of the 1871 International Exhibition, but was also about preparations for 1872. He wrote:

... if a photographer were specially engaged for a few weeks to take sets of views for the Government of attractive landscapes on the Darling Downs &c., and the negatives forwarded here, I would enlarge them to a uniform size, and have them coloured ready for 1872 – the negatives for enlargement should be full of detail and thin, and *unvarnished* [original italics]. Photographs of the Peak Downs plant, the Mount Perry, and other extensive mines should be secured. All large photographs of Brisbane houses, &c., might be forwarded unmounted, and I would arrange them here.<sup>191</sup>

This provides an extra contribution to the question of attribution of Daintree images. In an article published in 1983, Peter Quartermaine also noted this quote, but cited it only to demonstrate Daintree's 'care and foresight with which

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<sup>191</sup> Richard Daintree. 'Geology of Queensland as represented at London Exhibition, 1871'. In *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*. Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1872 756

he went about assembling his resources'.<sup>192</sup> However this interpretation ignores the more obvious message, being an unequivocal appeal by Daintree for additional material to supplement his negatives. Also aware of the problem, Judith McKay commented that 'each year until his early retirement from ill-health in January 1876, Richard Daintree obtained more photographs from Queensland to make a comprehensive record of its industries and major towns',<sup>193</sup> but did not reference or expand on the remark, thereby casting further doubt over the oeuvre. While not specifically requesting images of Aboriginal people, or naming Daniel Marquis in this instance, on at least this one occasion Daintree asked for supplementary material. This request means the possibility exists for other requests for negatives, perhaps asked in private letters, and even of the photographers themselves.

### Daintree's?

It is not clear who took the studio portraits of Aboriginal people in the Daintree collections. They may not be Daintree's given they are uncharacteristic of his oeuvre and the collections include other material not of his making. The glimpse of an elaborate painted backdrop and neatly milled floorboards speak, at least superficially of a professional studio in a nicely finished urban building. Additionally, Daintree's lack of engagement with portraiture further skews the argument.

However other arguments suggest the portraits are Daintree's, the first being Michael Aird's analysis. Aird notes that taking portraits requires backdrops and supports, camera equipment and willing sitters, implying access to both space and time. He posits the likelihood that Daintree established some form of studio at home on the property Maryvale.<sup>194</sup> The presence in some of the backgrounds of rough weatherboards would seem to support this assertion. The elaborate painted backdrop may also have been sourced from further afield, perhaps borrowed to allow the production of the portrait series in preparation for London.

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<sup>192</sup> Peter Quartermaine. 'International Exhibitions and Emigration' 42

<sup>193</sup> Judith McKay. *Showing off* 23

<sup>194</sup> Michael Aird. 'Aboriginal people and four Brisbane photographers.' 151

An argument in favour of attribution to Daintree is that the portraits are not of the quality one might expect from a professional portraitist or an amateur with an understanding of portrait photography. It is possible they were taken in haste and with an understanding that the distracting backgrounds would be replaced by being painted over during the process of hand-colouring.

In summary, audience expectations in England generated the production of this uncharacteristic group of portraits that sit awkwardly within Daintree's oeuvre. Daintree addressed this expectation in one of two ways. He either took the pictures himself, possibly in haste and with a visible lack of expertise prior to departure, or he commissioned all of them when living in London. Despite obvious deficiencies, the humanity and dignity of the people shine from these portraits.

#### External expectations: wildlife

There was a second problem Daintree was forced to solve as a result of external expectations. Nineteenth century enthusiasm for the natural history of the colonies knew few bounds, and Australia's unique assemblage of flora and fauna had already been the subject of considerable study in Daintree's own lifetime. There was clearly an appetite, as Charles Darwin's best known work, the *Origin of Species* based in part on his Australian experiences, is said to have 'sold out within hours of its appearance in bookshops'.<sup>195</sup> It was an era when some of the great works of Australian zoology and botany were produced, such as those of John and Elizabeth Gould.<sup>196</sup> This was an enthusiasm not shared by Daintree: he appears to have had absolutely no interest at all in zoology. Just one of his writings mentioned Australian wildlife: in a report he described the Gilbert River district as being 'nothing but towers and pinnacles of sandstone conglomerate, fit for nothing but Wallaby and euro...'<sup>197</sup> There were no other allusions to animals

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<sup>195</sup> John Henry. *A Short History of Scientific Thought* 228

<sup>196</sup> John and Elizabeth Gould. *The Birds of Australia*. Published by the author, 1848. Also John Gould. *The Mammals of Australia*. Taylor and Francis, 1863. Three volumes

<sup>197</sup> Richard Daintree. 'Report on the Gilbert Ranges Gold Fields, by R. Daintree, Government Geologist, Northern Queensland'. In *Votes and Proceedings*. Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1869 167

or birds unless they were fossils. He did not even discuss them in terms of shooting them to eat.

There must have been some pressure on Daintree to include images of Queensland wildlife in the International Exhibition. Australian fauna had made many appearances at intercolonial and international exhibitions in the decades prior, and in many forms. At the Great Exhibition of 1851, Tasmania exhibited all manner of skins from native animals including thylacine and platypus, and a hall chair of blackwood 'with kangaroo and emu for supporters &c, tastefully carved in relief and polished'.<sup>198</sup> Gracing objects as diverse as textiles, inkstands, trophies and epergnes, kangaroos and emus were already the epitome of the accepted Australian colonial faunal symbol.<sup>199</sup> Presumably at some point in the planning for 1871 and subsequent exhibitions, it was thought odd not to depict kangaroos and emus, and Daintree took steps to address the problem.

This was not a problem to be solved using photographs however. There is no evidence in the Queensland, or indeed any, Daintree collections that Daintree successfully photographed Australian wildlife. Indeed, Australian native animals would have provided a considerable technical challenge to the colonial photographer. Many species are nocturnal and those that are diurnal move rapidly and unpredictably. Used to being hunted, a close approach with the required equipment would have been at very least a challenge, and likely impossible. The only feasible photographic solution would have been to pose dead animals.

However, there are a number of pictures in the Daintree collections that include wildlife, and none were achieved photographically. The unnamed artists who worked on hand-colouring the enlarged photographs incorporated the fauna after the event. The original pictures to which the animals were added are also held in the Queensland collections and it is possible to see Daintree had created at least

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<sup>198</sup> Great Exhibition Royal Commission. *Official Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations*. Spicer Brothers, 1851 178, 181

<sup>199</sup> Terence Lane. *The Kangaroo in the Decorative Arts: An Historical Survey*. National Gallery of Victoria, 1979. Unpaginated, [3]



Figure 7.4 *Section of Desert Sandstone*  
Plate 9 *Queensland Album*, John Oxley Library  
State Library of Queensland

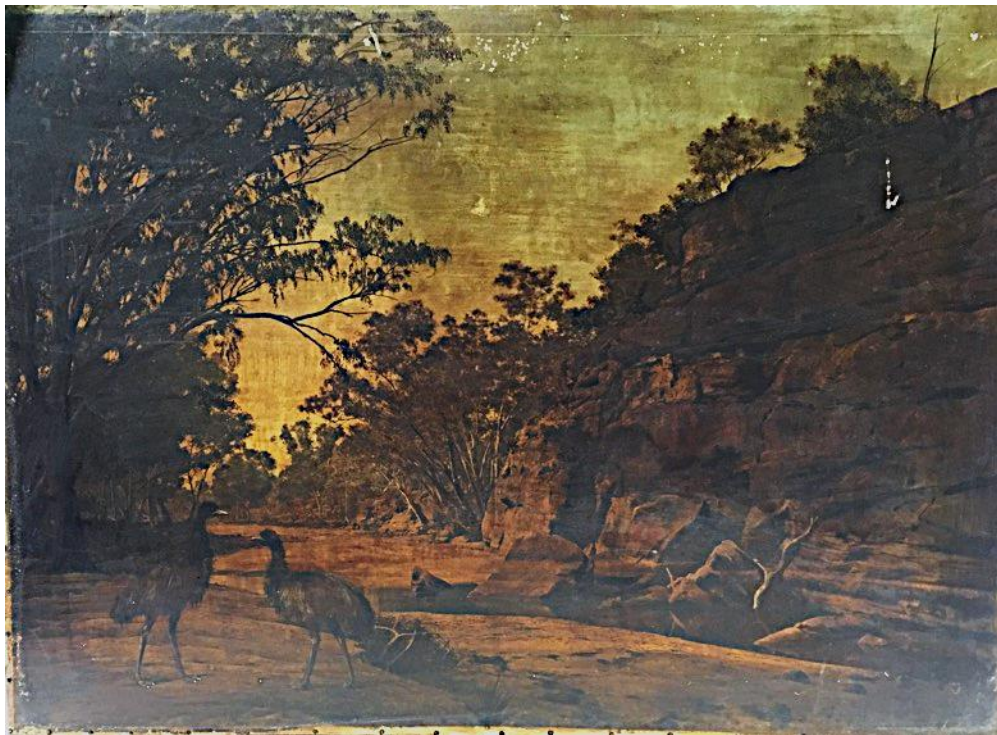


Figure 7.5 *Desert Landscape, Betts Creek*  
H26807  
Queensland Museum



Figure 7.6 *Desert Landscape, Betts Creek*, detail

four such images. One received a pair of wallabies or kangaroos, and three others were graced with emus. *Section of Desert Sandstone, Queensland* [fig 7.4] was selected by Daintree to be adorned with a pair of emus [fig 7.5]. These were not hastily realised; they were considered images painted with care [fig 7.6].

Hand-colouring as a practice was in itself not without controversy. Some argued that any colour ruined the essential nature of the photograph, while others insisted that a degree of colour added to a more naturalistic look. Some liked a lighter hand so that the image underneath was still visible, and still others preferred the impression that an oil painting was involved. Warnings were given, with one commentator firmly of the opinion that:

A photograph for colouring is usually printed on paper, and is supposed to possess all the proper gradations of light and shade as seen in nature, in as perfect a degree as can be rendered in photography. Thus, then a photograph is a print, and ought, properly, always to retain its character as

such. A print can be very beautifully coloured, but if we attempt to make anything more of it, it becomes a bastard kind of work and is spoiled.<sup>200</sup>

Daintree won awards, accolades and compliments for his photographs, so not all were as troubled.

The hand-colouring imparts a chimeric quality that has its own appeal. The images held in the main by the Queensland Museum, but also by the State Library of Queensland and the National Library of Australia, vary considerably in quality. Some are lightly coloured such as *Lynd Copper Mine, Copperfield River* [fig 6.9]. Others are significantly worked and the photograph underneath is more obscured, as is the case with *Fair exchange – no robbery* [fig 6.10]. Artists had no compunction enhancing features as required, and the latter had flames added to the fire for dramatic effect.

Daintree's 'wildlife' pictures are not numerous, and most definitely meet the above commentator's definition of 'a kind of bastard work' but are not necessarily spoiled, given they are an honest, if troubling, attempt to include much loved Australian icons. Adding of entire elements, such as wildlife in foregrounds, is certainly questionable, and smacks of a degree of desperation, but Daintree lacked options for solving this problem. Having failed to photograph taxidermied animals in landscapes prior to departure for England, this was his only real option for satisfying this set of audience expectations about the distinctiveness of place.

The studio portraits and 'wildlife' photographs constitute works that were not part of Daintree's scientific practice or stated vision for the exhibitions in London and elsewhere. They can be seen as externally motivated and a response to audience expectations of the representation of Queensland generated in England, and which Daintree was compelled to manage.

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<sup>200</sup> Heinz K. Henisch and Bridget A. Henisch. *The Painted Photograph 1839 – 1914: Origins, Techniques and Aspirations*. The Pennsylvania University Press, 1996 55

## 8 DISCUSSION/CONCLUSION

Evidence of Daintree's relationship with place persists in the Queensland landscape to this day. Curiously, the only feature with which Daintree himself had personal acquaintance is a hill near the Great Basalt Wall where he established a survey point now called the Daintree Lookout. Other landscape features were named by friends in his memory but are places he did not visit. On William Hann's expedition of exploration to Cape York, he made a number of references to Daintree that include comments in his private diary about sending geological specimens to him.<sup>201</sup> During the expedition, on 24 July 1872, and also in his private diary, Hann wrote:

Started at 10.00am up the river on its right bank in an easterly direction. About one mile from camp the plain curves boldly on to the river with perpendicular banks of over 100 feet overlooking a beautiful sheet of water extending across whole bed of river, the trees overhanging to the water with its many different shades. This is, without exception, the prettiest river scenery I ever saw. What would Daintree give for a photograph of this spot.<sup>202</sup>

This is an unexpected moment of considerable lyricism for Hann. He was in no way inclined towards aesthetic description in his writing and it is noteworthy that he saw the place in terms of photography and Daintree's name. Some days later, around the point at which he gave the Palmer River its European name and found gold there, he wrote in the official record:

Rested here for the day, intending tomorrow to visit a remarkable mountain in sight of the camp, bearing NE, and which I have named Mt Daintree.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Harry Clarke (transcriber and editor) *William Hann: Expedition of Exploration to the Endeavour river, Cape York Peninsula, 1872. Reconstructed from his diary and two notebooks*. Unpublished, 1982. James Cook University, Townsville 2

<sup>202</sup> Harry Clarke. *William Hann: Expedition of Exploration* 18

<sup>203</sup> William Hann. *Copy of the Diary of the Northern Expedition* Sunday 4 August 6

Although these are the only references to Daintree by name throughout the two trip diaries, Hann wrote confidently of the geology and the collecting of samples, which he then sent to London.<sup>204</sup> It is impossible to say definitively that Hann learned these skills through proximity, but he was at least influenced to appreciate the landscape through the eyes of the absent photographer, seeing fit to memorialise him.

However, perhaps the best-known use of Daintree's name in the landscape results from the explorations of G Elphinstone Dalrymple who wrote of a river of an imposing width:

The schooner stood off and on upon the bar, and I proceeded to sound the entrance [measure the depth] in the whaleboat, with the usual party, and named this fine river the Daintree, after my friend Mr. R. Daintree, Agent-General of Queensland, the geological formations of the interior explored by him, here coming out upon the coast.<sup>205</sup>

Dalrymple was knowledgeable enough of geology to identify specific formations as being associated with Daintree. The river he gave its European name now lends it to the Daintree National Park that is internationally known as part of the spectacular Wet Tropics World Heritage Area. This carries Daintree's name forward to the present, cementing his relationship with North Queensland through time, but ironically via a place he never visited.

Sadly, few understand this relationship because, although the Daintree National Park is internationally known and much visited, the person for whom it is named is far from a household name. Yet this thesis has confirmed and extended the importance of Daintree's work to the visual history of North Queensland. Investigating the art history of the region coupled with re-establishing a wider historical context for Daintree's photography, led to the conclusion that Daintree

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<sup>204</sup> Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter sent from Charing Cross [London] January 5<sup>th</sup> 1873. SLNSW MLMSS 139/36X

<sup>205</sup> G. Elphinstone Dalrymple. 'Narrative and Reports of the Queensland North-East Coast Expedition, 1873.' In *Queensland Votes and Proceedings*. Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1874 661

was the first to create any form of visual record of the country north and west of (now) Charters Towers. He was also among the first to create imagery in other parts of North Queensland, particularly around Rockhampton and Townsville.

The primary goal of this thesis was to provide a comprehensive visual analysis of Daintree's Queensland imagery. To begin this process a typological analysis was undertaken in a quantitative manner for the Queensland Museum material, and in a less structured fashion for the collection in the John Oxley Library. The opportunity to review Daintree collections in their entirety provided an understanding well beyond the few well-known images. Sorting Daintree's photographs in terms of subject yielded an understanding of the relative importance of groups of images within the oeuvre.

The critical importance of Daintree's Queensland oeuvre was only fully revealed with the re-establishment of the context of its making as part of the broader visual analysis. The images were created within four years of the establishment of Queensland as a whole, and within two years of the 'opening up' of the Kennedy District to pastoral enterprise. While Daintree appears to have been personally ambivalent about the pastoral industry, he admired what he saw as pioneering. He created a comprehensive documentation, engaging with squatters and photographing properties including his own. His more extensive collection of photographs of mining are a record of the birth of an industry in Queensland that remains important in the present, and he amassed a body of material of considerable depth and breadth in terms of both the geography covered and the technologies recorded.

It is his geological photographs that are unsurpassed. He carefully documented and analysed geology unknown to European science, undertaking courageous journeys with a few trusted companions far into places considered by him to be unexplored, and that are considered remote even today. Analysis of these images with their recently re-endowed titles, coupled with the extant notebooks, indicates that within the Daintree oeuvre is a collection of exploration photographs. This is a significant discovery, as photographic exploration material is rare in Australia.

The Daintree collections effectively chronicle the first ten years of European colonisation of North Queensland. Viewed without context they are in the main benign documents of simple interactions. However these are photographs that outline the invasion of Aboriginal land and the responses of people, both Aboriginal and European, to that invasion. The Aboriginal people photographed in geological, pastoral and mining contexts are those who made the critical, pragmatic and implicitly heart-breaking decisions to engage with the invaders. This may have been in an attempt to avoid the extreme violence of that invasion, and to maintain a relationship with land. The absence of textual context in Daintree's own record keeping and in the wider documentary record, particularly with regard to the portraits, limits insight into these decisions and interactions. Nor does it allow the privilege of knowing the names of the people represented. However in a contemporary timeframe and with an understanding of the wider history, they acquire an aura of considerable resilience. These are the faces of the people who met Europeans for the first time, recorded by Daintree, who was himself part of the colonising process. Taken in the era before the complete implementation of Stanner's 'great Australian silence', but decoupled from their history by it, the importance of re-establishing a context for these photographs cannot be overstated. In terms of use of contemporary sources and secondary research, this thesis has done all it can as it was conceived as, and limited to, an archival assessment. Additional understanding of context can only be addressed in consultation with communities of origin.

Important not only to the history of Queensland, Daintree's Queensland photographs are eminent within his oeuvre and it can be argued that he did not better them, either before or after. Although research into the Victorian photographs has been limited to those discussed in secondary sources, it seems these are less assured, less plentiful and many were taken in partnership with Antoine Fauchery. His Victorian geological photographs are wonderful, but were part of his geological work being overseen by others and the direction was not solely his choice. While also of considerable interest, images made after he arrived back in England are simpler records of family life and of microscopic geology and have nowhere near an equivalent power or charm. In contrast, the Queensland photographs are greater in number, and form a confident suite of

images taken by a photographer certain of his technical ability and equally certain (for the most part) of his understanding of his subjects. A key feature of Daintree's seven years in Queensland, lay in his skill in this craft and his understanding of its power as a communication tool. For Daintree, Queensland was a place for independent decision making, as well as creative and scientific control over both his photography and his geology – his two great passions. He was completely autonomous in establishing the visual narrative. He also had the ability to travel widely and had sole responsibility for setting the program of work. The resulting pictures are his alone, and comprehensively depict his vision of North Queensland.

It is the intense connection to place evident in Daintree's Queensland work that is compelling. Because of its genesis in Queensland and subsequent exhibition in London, Daintree's photography poignantly represents 'home' and 'other'. Again, Melissa Miles' idea of the photographer actively helping to produce 'place' is compelling, as is her understanding of the meaningful location tied to a sense of being. Daintree's images allow connection to a version of a colonial Queensland, seen through his eyes and produced by his camera. His own sense of place and being existed in the main within a frame of geology and mining, a vision of Queensland as a place of unfettered geological wealth that persists even today. Additionally, notions of place have been central to the development of this thesis and its primary contribution has been to identify three distinct ideas of place within the Daintree oeuvre. The first is the personal, experiential aspect of place that takes in the period in which he first settled in Queensland and established a home. The second is the representation of place as other and to others via the exhibition of his photographs in London. The third is the effect of the audience and their expectations of place in the creation of those exhibition displays that ultimately resulted two groups of material distinct within the oeuvre.

Among the outcomes of this research has been the determining of the absence of a collection exhibition history for these very important pictures. Certainly, they have been exhibited from time to time in the past one hundred and forty years singly or in small groups, generally as part of large, thematic group exhibitions. However it is truly astonishing that this extraordinary body of work does not appear

to have been exhibited in its entirety since the Sydney Exhibition of 1879. The Daintree collections are exceptional and deserve to be seen as a whole and not in pieces, not least of all to contribute to a discussion about the place of Aboriginal people in the process of the European colonisation of Queensland.

Richard Daintree's photographs are all the more exceptional given they were made by a man apparently in poor health for most of his life. Even more impressive, then, his substantial Queensland oeuvre, produced on arduous journeys and under harsh and trying conditions. He provided a personal summary of the meaning of place, and health, poignantly writing:

My small share in the practical & theoretical opening up of the mines I look back to with pleasure, and though no doubt my break down was caused partly by it, I do not regret it in the least & would do it over again if I even knew beforehand the same result would have followed. However I am getting thoroughly strong again and with a little care for the next three or four months I hope to be fit for full duty again.<sup>206</sup>

Daintree's optimism, energy and enthusiastic spirit of enquiry are encapsulated in his entire photographic and curatorial legacy.

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<sup>206</sup> Richard Daintree. [Letters to William Branwhite Clarke] Letter sent from Bournemouth, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1873. Unpublished, SLNSW, MLMSS 139/36X

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# APPENDIX 1

A summary of the Daintree Collection in the John Oxley Library of the State  
Library of Queensland

Catalogue number	Barcode	Catalogue title	Object	Note
Box 11496 O/S A3	68685850	Richard Daintree Album	Album APO- 13	Handwritten 'Daintree photographs'
16302 O/S A2	68667591	Same	Single mounted albumen print of four Aboriginal women	Handwritten 'from APO-13' but description 16302 O/S APO 14 photograph
Box 10873 O/S	77215305	Album containing mostly Richard Daintree photographs	APO 18	Album assembled by library staff in 1969
Box 10951 O/S	78173276	Richard Daintree Photograph Albums	5723	Large blue <i>Queensland Album</i> , hand- lettered cover page, images captioned.

Box 14315 O/S [rare and restricted]	76957937	Richard Daintree Photograph Albums	5723	Internal note RR/3, rare and restricted. Another <i>Queensland album</i> . The same, but in better condition
Box 11456 O/S	ENC00066 771	Richard Daintree Albums	APU 2	Old album green fabric cover sewn to board
Box 11457 O/S	ENC00066 771	Richard Daintree Albums	APU 1	Old album green fabric cover sewn to board
Box 10861	79550387	Richard Daintree Glass Plate Negatives (sic)	Copies of lantern slides. Also Bassingth- waighte collection: album of mostly reproductions	Not negatives, actually lantern slides as labelled on objects. Loose photographs assembled into a contemporary album. Also includes a lantern slide.
Box 14978	ENC00075 911	Richard Daintree Photographs	Around 200+ loose photographs in mylar sleeves.	Some reproductions, a few albumen prints. May be reproductions of

				the negatives held by the royal Historical Society of Brisbane
Box 10862 O/S [rare and restricted]	ENC00009 121	<i>Australia</i> by A. Fauchery & R. Daintree	Large album	Mostly (all?) Victorian. May have had a front page removed.
Box 10736	ENC00074 471	Lettice Agnes Daintree Photograph Album	API-21	A variety of photographs
Box 8673	68684915	Daintree family records	OM 70-39	Typewritten, unsigned.
Box 14299	ENC00071 291	Carte de visite of Lettice Agnes Daintree	7324	
Box 5112	74232162	Henry Osborne Daintree papers	M303	Includes correspondence re the Daintree negatives
276987	D6-7-88	Daniel Marquis <i>Man wearing breastplate inscribed King Sandy Brisbane</i>	Photograph	Recatalogued from Daintree. No reference to original collection
RBQ 553.41 DAI	77943585	<i>Report on the Gilbert Ranges Gold fields by R. Daintree</i>	Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1869	Unbound, with map

RBQ 553.41 DAI	77954280	<i>Progress Report by Mr. R. Daintree, Government Geologist, Northern Districts</i>	Queensland Legislative Assembly, 1869	Unbound
RBJ 559.43 DAI	76775206	<i>Notes on the Geology of the Colony of Queensland by R. Daintree</i>	Geological Society 1872	Bound, with Appendix by R. Etheridge.

## APPENDIX 2

### Daintree collection analysis – Queensland Museum

This analysis was undertaken to determine the proportion of types of images within the Daintree collection. The categorisations were done without reference to original images, and relied on a thumbnail database. In some instances a decision was made from the title and description of the work generated by the 2013 Daintree rehousing project.

Many of the works are duplicates of original photographs that were hand-coloured differently and sent to a range of international exhibitions. For the purpose of this rapid analysis each work has been treated as an individual image and counted. A more sophisticated approach would be to find all the duplicates and count them as one. This was well beyond the scope of this thesis.

Type	Numbers	Totals
Geology features with no people	H26784, H26812, H26831, H26893, H26897, H26898, H26910, H26918, H26921, H26933, H26938, H27905, H27907, H27908, H27919, H27920, H27921, H27924, H27925, H27928, H27929, H27945, H27946, H27947, H27948, H27951, H27953, H27957, H27958, H27981, H27982, H27992, H27994, H27995, H27996, H27997, H28013, H28024, H28025	39
Geology features with people	H26789, H26800, H26802, H26804, H26785, H26787, H26805, H26819, H26820, H26832, H26833, H26896, H26902, H26905, H26922, H26922, H26926, H26936, H27904, H27930, H27949, H27954, H27955, H27956, H27984,	31

	H27987, H27989, H27990, H27993, H28001, H42020	
Landscapes, not obviously geological, no people or animals	H26890, H26901, H26935, H27927, H27959, H27991,	6
Landscapes, not obviously geological, including people and/or, buildings (also not mining or pastoral)	H26786, H26792, H26797, H26806, H26816, H26823, H26825, H26826, H26829, H26834, H26835, H26837, H26900, H26906, H26909, H26912, H26914, H26917, H26927, H26929, H26930, H26937, H27906, H27927, H27932, H27942, H27943, H27950, H27967, H27971, H27972, H27978, H27980, H27986, H28016, H28020, H28021, H28026, H28027	39
Domestic settings – people with huts etc	H26809, H26817, H27973, H27974, H42021	5
Landscapes mining	H26788, H26791, H26796, H26810, H26813, H26814, H26815, H26818, H26821, H26824, H26830, H26839, H26894, H26895, H26920, H26923, H29624, H26934, H27963, H27964, H27065, H27966, H27968, H27969, H27970, H27975, H27976, H27977, H27979, H27988, H28004, H28005, H28006, H28007, H28008, H28010, H28011, H28012, H28022	39
Landscapes pastoral properties agricultural (incl transport)	H26798, H26808, H26811, H26822, H26828, H26838, H26891, H26892, H26899, H26907, H27903, H27918, H27926, H27933, H29735, H27936, H27937, H27938, H27939, H27940, H27960, H27961, H27962, H28002, H28015, H28017	31
Plants, vegetation featured	H26803, H26919, H27944, H27985, H27998, H27999	6

Animals domestic or native: added or embellished	H26799, H26807, H26836, H27931, H27941, H27952, H28000, H28003	8
Aboriginal culture	H26913	1
Aboriginal portraits	EH1640, EH2091, EH1639, EH1637, EH1636, EH1638, H27909, H27910, H270911, H27912, H27914, H27915, H27916, H27917,	14
Portraits other	H27934, H28014	2
Works too obscured to be analysed	H26790, H26793, H26794, H26795, H26801, H26827, H26915, H26916, H26925, H26928, H26931, H26932	12
Works withheld by QM for cultural or other reasons	EH2100, EH2090, EH2092.2, EH1637.2, EH2092, EH2094, EH2093, QMF11743, QMF18817, QMF18818, QMD17632, QMD17633, H2766, H2767, H2768, H27913, H28023	17
<b>Total</b>		<b>250</b>