

# WILLIAM BLANDOWSKI: A FRUSTRATED LIFE

THOMAS A. DARRAGH

Museum Victoria, GPO Box 666, Melbourne, VIC 3000, Australia.

Email: tdarragh@museum.vic.gov.au

DARRAGH, T.A., 2009. William Blandowski: a frustrated life. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* 121(1): 11–60. ISSN 0035-9211.

When Johann Wilhelm Theodor Ludwig von Blandowski (1822-1878), was appointed Government Zoologist on 1 March 1854, Victoria gained a scientist, who had attended Tarnowitz Mining School and science lectures at Berlin University. He had been an assistant manager in part of the Koenigsgrube coal mine at Koenigshütte, but as a consequence of some kind of misdemeanour, resigned from the Prussian Mining Service and joined the Schleswig-Holstein Army in March 1848. After resigning his Lieutenant's commission and trying unsuccessfully to obtain another appointment in the Prussian Mining Service, he left for Adelaide in May 1849 as a collector of natural history specimens.

After some collecting expeditions and earning a living as a surveyor he moved to the Victorian gold-fields. He undertook official expeditions in Central Victoria, Mornington Peninsula and Western Port and in December 1856 he was leader of the Murray-Darling Expedition, but control of the Museum passed to Frederick McCoy with Blandowski relegated to the position of Museum Collector. Feted on his return from the Expedition, he fell out with some members of the Royal Society of Victoria over somewhat puerile descriptions of new species of fishes and he also refused to recognise McCoy's jurisdiction over him. After acrimonious arguments about collections and ownership of drawings made whilst he was a government officer, Blandowski resigned and left for Germany, where he set up as a photographer in Gleiwitz in 1861, but some kind of mental instability saw him committed to the mental asylum at Bunzlau (now Bolesławiec, Poland) in September 1873, where he died on 18 December 1878.

Assessments of Blandowski's scientific and artistic career in Australia have been mixed. The biographical details presented provide the opportunity to judge assessments of Blandowski in Australia against his actions both before and after his arrival there.

*Key words:* biography, National Museum of Victoria, photography, natural history illustrations.

WILLIAM BLANDOWSKI is an enigmatic figure in the early history of the natural sciences in Victoria (Fig. 1). First curator of what is now known as Museum Victoria and one of the founders of the Philosophical Society of Victoria (now The Royal Society of Victoria), he made some of the first observations on the natural history of Central Victoria and also contributed to our knowledge of the natural history and anthropology of the Murray River valley. During his life he faced a series of critical events, many of which had a negative effect on him and some of which were triggered by his own actions. Though some details of Blandowski's life, particularly those dealing with his time in Australia, have been published (Paszkowski 1967: 147-171; Pescott 1954; Darragh 1992:71-72; Lewczyński & Pol 1993: 55-71), this paper deals in more detail with previously unknown aspects of his life in his homeland and in Australia.

## FAMILY BACKGROUND

Johann Wilhelm Theodor Ludwig von Blandowski was born on 21 January 1822 at Gleiwitz, Upper Si-

lesia, Prussia (now Gliwice in Poland). He was the youngest of the thirteen children of Johann Felix von Blandowski, a highly decorated Prussian army officer, and his wife, Leopoldine Gottliebe von Woyrsch.<sup>1</sup>

William Blandowski's mother was born at the von Woyrsch family manor at Pilsnitz, 7 km northwest of Breslau, capital of Silesia, in 1778, the year her parents, Johann Christian Georg (1733 – 1814) and Johanna Erdmuthe von Rosteck née von Ziemietzky (1748 – 1808) moved there. Her father was a major in the Prussian army. The von Woyrsch family could trace its origins back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century in southern Bohemia, but in 1500 one branch of the family settled in Silesia.<sup>2</sup>

The Blandowski family belonged to the Polish Schlachta or minor nobility of the Herb Wieniawa and were Protestant, but little is known of William's father's background. Johann Felix von Blandowski was born on 26 February 1757<sup>3</sup> and entered the Prussian army about 1774. He first came to notice during the war between Revolutionary France and the First Coalition<sup>4</sup> at the battle of Hochheim-on-Main on 6 January 1793, when as a Second Lieutenant he was



*Fig. 1.* William Blandowski. Photograph in Georg Neumayer Album, Pfalz Museum, Bad Dürkheim, courtesy H-J. Kretzer.

awarded the Order pour la m rite for bravery (Lehmann 1913:229-230).<sup>5</sup> Following the peace of 1795, he was stationed at Breslau as Inspection Adjutant and no doubt met his future wife at the time, whom he married at Pilznitz on 5 May 1799<sup>6</sup> and the couple lived at Neumarkt with his regiment. In September 1806 Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Germany, and Blandowski now promoted to Major moved south with his regiment to fight in the battle of Jena on 14 October 1806, where he was captured by the French and imprisoned in France (Boguslawsky 1891:232).<sup>7</sup> He was either paroled or exchanged, as he was able to return to Neumarkt in 1807. His regiment was disbanded and he moved to the Gleiwitz area of Silesia after 1812.

In 1813, Johann Felix was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and appointed commander of the 17<sup>th</sup> Landwehr Infantry Regiment. In April 1815, Napoleon having returned to France from exile, the regiment, now renumbered No 2 formed part of General von Hiller's 16<sup>th</sup> Brigade in the Prussian IV Corps at

the Battle of Waterloo. Blandowski received the Iron Cross 2<sup>nd</sup> Class from King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, as well as the Russian Order of St Anne 2<sup>nd</sup> class from the Russian Czar for his conduct in the battle (Nietsche 1886:774, 775, 777, 778; Breunner 1863: 141-151, 330-335).

Johann Felix von Blandowski returned to Gleiwitz with the regiment in January 1816 and retired on a half-pay pension in 1817. His wife, probably using family money, purchased the manors at Chudow, Klein Paniow and Bielschowitz, small villages to the east and southeast of Gleiwitz, in February 1825, for the sum of 70,521 thalers. There were still serfs on some of the estates and it seems the Blandowskis were not very popular, though they did grant land for a school at Paniow in 1828 (Szołtysek 1996:40-4).<sup>8</sup> The family lived at Bielschowitz until the death of Johann Felix von Blandowski on 5 February 1835. He was buried at Bielschowitz.<sup>9</sup>

As the son of a former high-ranking army officer, William Blandowski was probably also destined for a career in the Prussian Army, like some of his brothers, because he was enrolled as a cadet at the Royal Prussian Cadet School at Kulm, West Prussia, on 31 August 1834. His elder brother, Johann Felix Wilhelm Rudolph, attended the school in 1819 and 1820, but did not finish the course. This was a preparatory school for 10 to 15 year old sons of both the nobility and army officers. Following completion of their schooling, pupils were sent on to the Central Cadet Institute at Berlin for boys aged between 15 and 18, to prepare them for the competitive examination to enter the army as an Ensign. Blandowski spent only two years there, leaving on 5 August 1836, apparently because of the death of his father the previous year.<sup>10</sup>

The sudden death of William's father caused major financial problems for his family as he left no assets. His wife sold the lands she held in her name at Bielschowitz, Chudow and Klein Paniow to Alexander von Bally on 11 May 1835 for 57, 133 thalers, thus sustaining a substantial loss on the original purchase price, because the estates had not been very well managed. Though she received a yearly annuity of 350 thalers as part of the settlement, Leopoldine petitioned King Friedrich Wilhelm III on behalf of herself and family and on 25 January 1836 was granted a yearly pension of 200 thalers. With this pension and the uncertain life annuity of 350 thalers she was able to bring up her large family. After her death the annuity was supposed to revert to her daughters, Emilie, Arminie and Clementine, all of whom must have been spinsters (Szołtysek 1996:40-4).

## EDUCATION

Blandowski continued his education by first attending the Gymnasium at Lauban in the far west of Silesia and then the Catholic Gymnasium at Gleiwitz.<sup>11</sup> In October or November 1839, he left from the Lower Tertia class (4th year)<sup>12</sup> thus failing to complete the full nine years and without the Abitur certificate, which was a requirement for both university study for a degree and for employment in senior and professional positions in the Prussian Civil Service (Russell 1899:108-193). The reasons for his leaving at this stage are not known, but obviously must have been very serious, because his future employment opportunities were now dramatically reduced. He stated that he left the Gymnasium to make up his educational deficiencies with practical education, but this may have been mere self-justification, or glossing over the real reasons. Blandowski had become interested in natural history in his school years and stated that he had received some private tuition in natural history. In deciding on future employment, he declared he wanted to choose a profession that would not only satisfy his love of nature, by allowing him to put his knowledge into practice, but would also take into account his family's reduced circumstances. In view of the fact that he lived in close proximity to one of Prussia's most important mining areas, it is perhaps not surprising that he decided on a career in mining. This choice would fit his requirements and enable him to take advantage of a shortage of lower-rank mining officials consequent on the rapid growth of mining in Upper Silesia.

Blandowski therefore applied to the Upper Silesian Mining Board at Tarnowitz (now Tarnowskie Góry, Poland) a town 20 km northeast of Gleiwitz, for consideration for the position of Bergeleve or mining apprentice. The practice of the Prussian Mining Service in training officials to supervise all mining works, whether State or privately owned, was a system of on-the-job practical mining coupled in due course with formal mining education. The practical work, at least in the early stages, was essentially labouring work in the mines, for which the student was paid and thus was able to support himself. Blandowski was accepted into the Royal Prussian Mining Service and reported for duty at Tarnowitz at the end of December 1839. His practical training commenced on 1 January 1840 when he started his labouring work in the Friedrichs Grube lead-zinc mine at Tarnowitz.<sup>13</sup>

The area around Tarnowitz had been mined for silver and lead since the middle of the 13th century, how-

ever, by the 17th century many of the mines had reached the water table and could no longer be worked. By mid 18th century all mines had closed. Under the administration of Friedrich Wilhelm von Reden (1752 – 1815), mining in Silesia was reorganised on a more efficient basis and output vastly increased. Lead mining was again commenced when the Friedrichs Grube mine was reopened in July 1784. This was a state or fiscal mine situated about 3 km to the south of Tarnowitz. All management officials in the mine were employed by the state and subject to the direction of the Mining Office in Tarnowitz.

Blandowski worked in the lead-ore dressing section of the mine until 15 May 1840 and experienced all the various kinds of work undertaken there, producing a report on it, presumably as a way of testing his knowledge and ability. Owing to the arrangements of the course at the Mining School at Tarnowitz, it was still too early for him to attend the school, so it was decided he should have experience in black coal mining. He was transferred to Royal Queen Louise Mine, a state coal mine at Zabrze about 8 km east of Gleiwitz. This colliery had been opened in 1791 to supply fuel for the newly completed coke ovens at Gleiwitz and was one of the largest in Upper Silesia. Here he worked for 7½ months as a hauler pulling trucks at the coal face and also trucks of mullock during shaft sinking. On 1 January 1841, he was appointed a pickman hewing coal from the face of the same mine. It was probably during this period that he learnt to speak some Polish, as most of the labourers in the mine were Polish-speaking miners. Most of the unskilled labour in the Upper Silesian mines were Polish-speaking Silesians, whereas all management and overseeing work was undertaken by German-speaking Prussian officials, many of whom were not of Silesian origin and could not speak the language of most of their workers. In addition, Blandowski travelled in his own time and at his own expense to adjoining collieries to familiarise himself with their workings.

He had applied for admittance to the second course of the Tarnowitz Mining School under Mining Master Rudolph von Carnall (1804 – 1874) and following his acceptance into the course, he applied for a position as senior pickman at the Friedrichs Grube mine, to which he was transferred in mid April 1841. He asked for the transfer to gain further experience, because at that time a shaft was being sunk into the lode through the Kurzwarka, a very fine unconsolidated wet sand, which caused enormous difficulties for the mining engineers and required

highly specialised techniques to penetrate it. He probably put the experience he gained here to good use later in the wet ground in Spring Gully, Fryers Creek, Victoria when he worked there.<sup>13</sup>

### *The Upper Silesian Mining School at Tarnowitz*

This school had been founded in 1803 to provide a very basic education for the district's miners. Instruction was given to a small number of pupils on a part-time basis by a local mining official. It struggled through the Napoleonic Wars, but closed in 1822. It was revived again in 1824 and continued in a small way until the middle of the 1830s when the upsurge in mining activity caused an urgent requirement for more highly trained personnel in larger numbers than were available. This forced the Upper Silesian Mining Office to take action to upgrade the school. In September 1837, von Carnall one of its senior Mining Inspectors, was instructed to prepare a plan of the subjects to be taught, the hours of study and the cost of establishing a full-time mining school to train lower management mining officials, such as mine managers, assistant managers, overseers, battery managers, foremen, mining surveyors, mining engineers, shift foremen, book-keepers, accountants and so on. The existing mining school at Eisleben in Prussian Saxony was to be used as a model.

The school reopened on 28 January 1839. From 6 am to 12 noon the students had practical instruction working with the miners in the Friedrichsgrube mine and from 2 pm until 6 pm formal classes were undertaken. Von Carnall placed much importance on the need for formal instruction to be given by practical mining men and he chose his scholars with care from among the applicants. Blandowski enrolled in the second course that began on 28 June 1841. He was one of twelve students in that year's intake. His formal study, conducted during the afternoon on weekdays and Saturdays, consisted of the following: Geology and Mining Studies taught by Mining Master von Carnall; Drawing taught by Mining Office Draughtsman Ernst Hartmann (1808 – 1863); Writing and Orthography taught by Rector Karl Neugebauer (? – 1848), teacher at the Tarnowitz Catholic School; Geometry and Mine Surveying taught by Surveyor Giehne (1794 – 1872); and Mathematics by Neugebauer.

Irregular attendance or conduct by the students was punished by fines. Practical studies were supplemented by allowing students time off to visit and study other mines in the district under the guidance of the

Works officials. These excursions would have provided welcome relief from the otherwise hard grind of study and practical work. In September 1841, during a visit by the King of Prussia to Breslau the capital of Silesia, the students took part in a large procession depicting Upper Silesian mining (Geisenheimer 1889:30-38, 79-80, 82; Smyth 1854: 417-420).

It was probably on a school excursion in 1841 to a limestone quarry in the Triassic Muschelkalk formation that Blandowski found an important fossil plant, which was sent to Professor Heinrich Robert Goeppert (1800 – 1884) at the University of Breslau. Goeppert determined it to be the first marine plant, and only the second known plant, discovered in the Muschelkalk. Goeppert named it *Sphaerococcites blandowskianus*, which he owed to the untiring zeal of Royal Mining Elveve Blandowski. It is thought to be some kind of marine alga or fucoid (Goeppert 1845:149-150, pl. 2, fig.10).

At the end of the course there was a small ceremony held on 8 July 1843, at which von Carnall spoke to the graduating students. He urged them to undertake future activities usefully and to use their time wisely. At that time there seems to have been a downturn in job prospects, so von Carnall advised them to show zeal, industry and excellent conduct to distinguish themselves from others and not to abandon these qualities even if the payments they deserved were withheld, but to adapt to circumstances. One piece of advice was to have particular meaning for Blandowski's future career and his life might have been quite different had he been able to accept and follow it.

Dashed hope is one of the bitterest feelings of mankind. For that reason everyone, who does not expect too much from the future and modestly accepts his allotted part, who never overestimates his own worth, who does not look to those, whom fortune preferred over him, but looks behind him to those on whom his talents fell even more scantily, but knows how to take advantage of all this, will probably receive the noblest return of our existence – it is called 'satisfaction'.

In the evening the scholars expressed their gratitude to von Carnall by holding a mining procession and presenting him with a drinking cup made of Tarnowitz silver with their names engraved thereon.<sup>14</sup>

Blandowski's practical education during his two years at the Mining School was similar to the other scholars. He worked from 6 am to 12 midday as a rock pick man in the Friedrichsgrube mine. However, students were encouraged to vary their practical



work as much as possible and he gained experience in percussion-drilling of deep bores, sinking in boggy ground, the construction of steam engines, the installation of pumps, driving on the face through unconsolidated wet sand of the Kurzawka formation, laying mine rails, construction of mine wagons, mine forging and prop building. He used his two periods of leave to study mining activity along the border in the neighbouring Kingdom of Poland and also near Cracow, Wilieczka and Bochnia, as well as studying the geological relationships of the Beskida and Tatra mountains.

### *Practical year*

Following the completion of his studies, Blandowski was sent by the Upper Silesian Mining Board to work for his Highness the Prince Hohenlohe at Koschentin (Koszęcin, Poland), about 21 km north of Tarnowitz. This was a sparsely populated, mainly forested area with many ironstone quarries and small iron works. He was to act in a temporary capacity as manager or Obersteiger of the Prince's iron mines and was responsible for the output of clay ironstone from two areas. Here his knowledge of Polish was indispensable as most of the local inhabitants could only speak Polish. Though his position was a temporary one and he wanted to leave after his third month of working there, he was forced to stay on for a year, because no suitable successor could be found to replace him. He received his certificate as Obersteiger on 25 May 1844. This area, rather remote from the main mining district and in which mining was conducted on a small scale, was starting to fall into decline, so would not have been a very attractive proposition for an ambitious young mining official, particularly as the local German-speaking middle-class community was very small.<sup>15</sup>

These factors probably contributed to Blandowski's decision to leave, together with the monotony of the work and the fact that his thirst for further knowledge was not satisfied. Perhaps most importantly of all, however, was the requirement for him to discharge his military obligations, to which all Prussian males were subject. Males were liable for military service from the age of 18 until the end of their 42nd year, though most young men were not required to enter military service until they reached the age of 20 years. They were required to spend three years in active service, followed by four years in the reserve, after which they were transferred to the Landwehr or militia. However, young men of character and good

education, who could provide their own food, clothing, equipment and lodging during their term of active service, were permitted to volunteer and thereby were only liable for one year's active service and were also able to choose the regiment and garrison in which they wished to serve. There were some time limits set for volunteers and Blandowski would probably have had to volunteer in January 1842; having been accepted, he could only defer his entry into the service until 1 October 1845 (Clarke 1876:75-89).

Following his resignation as Obersteiger, Blandowski spent the next few months furthering his education by obtaining a more accurate idea of mine workings. He descended nearly all the collieries in the Mystowitz, Chorzow, Königshutte and Zabrze black coal districts. Of particular interest to him was the machinery used and the output of the mines. He then travelled to Lower Silesia to the area under the control of the Lower Silesian Mining Board at Waldenburg, where he studied black coal mining at Waldenburg and Neurode, metalliferous mining and smelting at Reichenstein and Kupferberg, and especially the geological conditions of Lower Silesia.<sup>16</sup>

### *Military service*

Blandowski commenced his military service on 1 October 1844 as a one-year volunteer with the Guard Pioneer Unit in Berlin, capital of Prussia. The Guard Corps was an elite corps of picked men recruited from the whole of Prussia. As a volunteer and a mining engineer, he would have been qualified for acceptance in a Pioneer or Engineer detachment of his choice, but possibly he was able to use the name and reputation of his late father, perhaps through a family friend, to obtain a place for which competition would have been very keen. Blandowski saw his service with the Pioneers as a means of obtaining further experience as a mining engineer and during his time with them he was chiefly concerned with earth works. However, in view of his intense desire for further education, the choice of Berlin as the place of his service was probably quite deliberate and part of a long term plan, as it would enable him to attend lectures at the Friedrich Wilhelm University of Berlin.

Whilst qualified university students who wished to attend formal examinations and eventually receive a degree had to pay fees, any person could attend with the permission of the lecturer certain of the lectures at no cost, but of course they would not be able to sit for examinations or receive a degree. How-

ever, non-tenured lecturers depended on fees for their living, so even persons sitting in on the lectures had to pay. Blandowski's family was too poor to pay any fees for a university education for him, even if he had been qualified to formally enrol, as well as pay for his food and lodging. To that time, he had been able to support himself partly with assistance from the state as a Bergeleve and partly with a small allowance from his family.

Whilst undertaking his military service, Blandowski attended the following lectures during the Winter Semester of 1844 – 45 as an occasional student: Experimental Physics by Professor Heinrich Wilhelm Dove (1803 – 1879); General Natural Science by Professor Paul Erman (1764 – 1851); On Characteristic Fossils of the Rock Formations by Doctor Thaddäus Eduard Gumprecht (1801 – 1856); and Meteorology by Professor Dove. Blandowski also undertook private lessons in Algebra with Herr Schulz, for which he would have had to pay.

In the Summer Half Year Semester of 1845, he attended lectures as follows: Mineralogy by Professor Christian Samuel Weiss (1780-1856); Palaeontology by Heinrich Ernst Beyrich (1815 – 1896); The Geology of Silesia by Professor Beyrich; Geology of Northern Germany by Doctor Heinrich Girard (1814 – 1878); and Natural History of Molluscs by Doctor Franz Hermann Troschel (1810 – 1882). He also had lessons in Geometry from Herr Schulz.

How he managed to fit all this study in and fulfil his military duties is rather puzzling and leads one to suspect that either his duties were not particularly onerous or that he was able to convince his superiors that such study was useful to a soldier. In the light of his subsequent requests for official support for further study, the latter explanation may well be correct. His active military service was completed on 1 October 1845 and at his discharge, he acquired the qualification of Landwehr Officer. It was his intention to attend further university lectures, but the semester had not yet commenced, so he used his time profitably by travelling to examine the duties of the shift foremen and the operations of the brown coal mines in the Fürstenwalde region, about 50 km east south-east of Berlin, and the Rüdersdorf limestone quarries about 30 km east southeast of Berlin.<sup>17</sup>

#### *Further education*

Having had a taste of higher education, Blandowski was now even more determined to follow his chosen

path. To do this he wanted to undertake a course similar to that undertaken by the mining cadets, who attended the Mining Academy at Berlin and were destined for a career in the Royal Prussian Mining Service. The Mining Service, or Department for Mining, Smelting and Saltworks Affairs, was at that time a branch of the Prussian Finance Ministry, with its head office in Berlin. Each of the Prussian Provinces had a Chief Mining Board responsible for mining activities in its province. The Silesian Chief Mining Board was situated in Brieg, 32 km southeast of Breslau, and supervised the mining boards of Lower Silesia at Waldenburg and Upper Silesia at Tarnowitz. The Mining Boards supervised all mining activity both private and state, collected the various mining taxes and administered the mining laws and regulations operating in their respective districts. They also ran mining schools at Waldenburg, Eisleben, Halberstedt, Essen, Bochum, Siegen, Duren, Saarbrücken, Friesberg, Przibram and Tarnowitz that gave a basic technical education to the lower ranks of mining officials. To undertake further training, a student had to attend one of the mining academies, one of which was in Berlin. The students at Berlin were supported by the state and came predominantly from the lower ranks of the mining officials, who had proved their worth and were recommended by their superiors for further study. They were supervised by the Head Mining Student Institute, which had been established in 1780 as part of the Prussian mining administration. Though the Berlin Mining Academy had been founded in 1770, it fell into decline, particularly after the University was founded in 1810 and started to take over subjects previously given at the Academy. Other universities also developed mining courses that attracted students away, but the main drawback for the Berlin Academy was its great distance from any mining district, in contrast to the famous academies at Freiburg and Clausthal that were situated in the midst of mining activity. The Berlin Academy was reorganised in 1860, long after Blandowski's time in Berlin (Löhrberg et al. 1979:43-53).

Though not a Mining Cadet, Blandowski seems to have been determined to obtain an education at least equivalent to that of the Cadets. His method of attaining his goal of a higher education seems slightly unorthodox, but it may well have been that he had no other choice, given his impecunious circumstances. It is possible he applied unsuccessfully to go from Tarnowitz Mining School to one of the mining academies, or he might have had leave of absence to undertake his

military duties and to acquire further education at his own expense. Whatever the case, he was not a Mining Cadet receiving an allowance and an education at state expense at the Mining Academy.

In the Winter Half Year Semester of 1845 – 46, he continued his attendance at the University of Berlin undertaking the following lectures: Pure Mathematics by Professor Daniel Christian Ludolph Lehmus (1780 –1863); Mineralogy by Professor Weiss; Experimental Physics by Professor Dove; Geology and Palaeontology by Professor Beyrich; Characteristic Fossils by Doctor Gumprecht; Meteorology by Professor Dove; Earthquakes and Volcanoes by Doctor Girard; Inorganic Experimental Chemistry by Professor Eilhard Mitscherlich (1794 – 1863); and Geology by Doctor Gumprecht.

In the four-week Easter holiday of 1846, Blandowski enrolled for a fee in a practical course of qualitative analytical chemistry under the chemist Fischer, which he continued in the Summer Half Year Semester of 1846. However, by the end of 1845, Blandowski was desperately short of money. He had sacrificed his meagre capital to pay for those courses that were not free, because it seems only those given by Professors Weiss and Lehmus were free. He applied to the Silesian Chief Mining Board in Brieg with an outline of his plan for further education and in November 1845 received an indication of approval and, more importantly, promises of gratuities of 25 thalers at Christmas 1845, 52 thalers for 1845 and a further 50 thalers at Christmas 1846. These payments were made without the authority of the Head Mining Board in Berlin, which in April 1846 asked what fund was used to make the payments, who authorised them and also how Blandowski was to receive 50 thalers at Christmas 1846. It seems that the Director of the Silesian Chief Mining Board, Karl von Oeynhaus (1797-1865) authorised his attendance at the free lectures and presumably was responsible for the granting of the money. Also at about this time he received additional funds from home.<sup>18</sup>

Despite this support, it was insufficient to maintain him for his planned stay in Berlin and he tried to obtain funds from the mining authorities in Berlin, but, without success. Undeterred by this failure, he determined on another course of action and took what seems the rather dramatic step of petitioning King Friedrich Wilhelm the Fourth of Prussia. The petition, dated 16 March 1846 and written from his lodgings at 38 Charlotte Strasse, Berlin, pointed out that the late King had granted a pension to his mother, who was in a distressed condition with a

large family to support. He stated that he had devoted himself to the mining profession but was now without funds. After having served his year in the Guard Pioneer Corps and attended lectures, the desire arose in him to educate himself in mining as completely as possible. However, even with the greatest thrift and assistance from good men, he could not carry out his plan, because a complete education was expensive and involved great costs and travel. He therefore humbly requested the King to support his plan and direct the authorities to take an interest in it.<sup>19</sup>

Following submission of this petition but before it was sent on to the King, Finance Ministry officials sought further information from Blandowski, who submitted a *Curriculum vitae* dated 24 April 1846,<sup>20</sup> in which he outlined his career to that time, laying great emphasis on the fact that he had used all means to further his education but was prevented by family circumstances from reaching his desired objective. The petition was submitted because the authorities were not able to assist him without further inducement. He also set out his plan for future education in Berlin in the next year and also the travel he wished to undertake before reporting to the Silesian Chief Mining Office in Brieg for an appointment. His *Curriculum vitae* had ended with a series of requests to the Chief Mining Administration. The first was to be received into the ranks of the Mining Cadets, so he could receive the remuneration paid to them and also have their employment rights. The second was to be excused the Cadet Exam on the basis of his attendance at the Tarnowitz Mining School, and the third was to have his probation year remitted because of his experience as Manager at Koschentin.

In the summer of 1846 he planned to undertake lectures in Pure Mathematics, Crystallography, Technology, Elements of Conchology, Geology, Practical Chemistry, and Physical Geography. In winter 1846 – 47, he proposed undertaking Pure Mathematics, Mineralogy, Prussian Common Law, Mining Law, Commercial Studies and Elements of Architecture. This was to be followed by travel during the 2½ month Michaelmas vacation in 1846 to study the geology of the Harz Mining District and following completion of his academic study in 1847, further travel from Easter until late Autumn in Westphalia, Rheinland and Saxony, reporting to the Silesian Chief Mining Office in Brieg in September 1847. He also expressed a wish to serve in Lower Silesia, as the geological conditions there best suited his studies.

The petition was duly submitted to the King and a Royal Decree, signed at Sans Souci on 20 July

1846, authorised the Finance Minister Eduard Heinrich Flottwell to pay a monthly gratuity of 8 thalers from the funds of the Silesian Chief Mining Board Treasury to the Mining Student von Blandowski until the completion of his academic education.<sup>21</sup>

Towards the end of 1846, Blandowski's financial problems forced him to write to the Finance Ministry again. On 22 November, he stated his travel in the Harz Mining District had exhausted his funds completely and requested that fees amounting to 8 Friedrich d'Or (30 thalers) be reimbursed for the following lectures: Experimental Chemistry by Professor Heinrich Rose (1795 – 1864), Experimental Physics by Professor Dove, Geology by Professor Beyrich, Crystallography by Professor Weiss and Practical Analytical Chemistry by Doctor Fischer. It is apparent that Blandowski had changed the plan he submitted the previous March, as only Crystallography and Analytical Chemistry are on that list. The subjects undertaken are virtually a continuation of those undertaken in the previous semester with the addition of Experimental Chemistry. It is possible he attended other lectures for which fees were not required or he had enough money to pay for them. It is known he studied under Professor Christian Gottfried Ehrenburg (1795-1876), though what course is not known, and also that he studied Zoology in Berlin.<sup>22</sup>

In response to this request, the Treasury was instructed by the Ministry on 2 December to pay him 6 Friedrich d'Or (30 thalers) made up of 2 Friedrich d'Or for the lectures by Rose, 1 Friedrich d'Or for the lectures by Weiss and 3 Friedrich d'Or for the course by Doctor Fischer.<sup>23</sup> On 3 February 1847, Blandowski wrote to the Finance Ministry again requesting that the monthly gratuity be continued, but slightly increased because his travel in the previous year had claimed all his funds and his stay in Berlin until Easter would be difficult. He also wished the payments to continue until he received his appointment. The rising cost of living, which in Germany reached a peak in 1847, having increased by 50% between 1844 and 1847 (Kuczynski 1945:32-63), no doubt greatly contributed to his problems. The reply dated 14 February 1847 stated that an increase was not possible and continuation until his employment could not be assured, but the gratuity would be paid until further order. He was instructed to leave Berlin at the end of his academic semester and report in Brieg to the Silesian Chief Mining Board, which would take care of his future employment. He was granted 30 thalers for the journey there, but his origi-

nal intention for more extensive travel in the southern and western provinces of Prussia was not approved and he was merely allowed to visit the brown coal mines at Fürstenwalde and Frankfurt in Brandenburg and Grüneberg in Silesia, which were on the way from Berlin to Brieg.<sup>24</sup>

The Silesian Chief Mining Board in Brieg was also informed that Blandowski had been instructed to leave Berlin at the end of his studies and report to them. The Board was advised that his monthly gratuity of 8 thalers would continue and they were to give him employment as soon as possible, so it could be stopped. The letter to Blandowski was addressed to 28 Charlotten Strasse, but he had moved in March or April 1846 to 8 Mittelstrasse, so the Ministry letter may not have reached him, because he wrote again making no mention of any previous correspondence. It is possible he deliberately ignored the letter to try to change the Ministry's instructions, as he advised them he would finish his studies at the University on 20 March and intended to return to Silesia by way of Mansfeld, Halle, Freiburg and Berlin in Prussian Saxony and the Kingdom of Saxony, if a travel grant was made. In its reply on 3 March 1847, the Department made reference to the arrangement in their previous letter and instructed him to arrange his travel in such a way that he reported in Brieg no later than the end of April. If he wished to return through Mansfeld and Freiberg, he had to allow for this deadline and that 30 thalers had been granted for his travel after 20 March.<sup>25</sup>

It is apparent from the Department's letter that a position for Blandowski was now available in the Upper Silesian Mining District, where he had previously lived, worked and studied, but because his personal file held in Brieg was destroyed in World War 2, the details of his appointment are not available.<sup>26</sup> His appointment in Upper Silesia was against his expressed wish, but since the Upper Silesian Mining Board had provided all his educational expenses and living allowance, it would be expected he should work in Upper Silesia.

### *Employment*

So after six years of study Blandowski had achieved his aim of a proper mining education and had secured employment in the Prussian civil service. He was appointed as a Fahrsteiger at the Königsgrube Colliery near Königshütte (Królewska Huta, Chorzów, Poland). This colliery was a state mine



founded in 1790 as the Carl von Hessen mine, but renamed in 1800, to supply coal to the iron works at Gleiwitz, the steam engines at the Friedrichsgrube and other mines. In 1797, a state blast furnace and iron works were set up nearby and called Königshütte, around which a large town developed which took the name of the iron works. The Königsgrube colliery developed into a huge mine employing hundreds of workers. A Fahrsteiger was one of the middle management officials of a large mine, who was responsible to the Obersteiger, or mine manager, and was an overseer of a particular section of the mine, or was in charge of particular work. Under him were one or more Steiger or foremen in charge of the mine workers.

Blandowski remained there for just over one year, until his whole world came crashing down in the early part of 1848. For this he had himself to blame. He, like many other young people, became affected by the tide of revolutionary fervour, which started in Paris in February and rapidly swept across Europe. Though the Silesian industrial area did not have the riots and rebellion that affected many other parts of Germany, there was some unrest and Blandowski seems to have been involved in some kind of political or more likely boisterous activity at night, which was brought under the notice of the Bergmeister Otto Ludwig Krug von Nidda (1810 – 1885), Director of the Upper Silesian Mining Board in Tarnowitz and to whom Blandowski was ultimately responsible. His activities could not have been too serious or seen as rebellion, otherwise he would have attracted the interest of the police. In view of what he did next, it may have been merely taking part in noisy demonstrations in support of the rebels in Schleswig-Holstein. Whatever the case, the matter was reported to the Silesian Chief Mining Board in Brieg and a disciplinary investigation undertaken by the Director of the Board, Berghauptmann Karl von Oeynhausen (1795 – 1865), who visited Königshütte and it seems asked or more probably directed Blandowski to resign. His letter of resignation dated 30 March 1848 was handed personally to Oeynhausen with the request that his discharge should be granted in such a way that he could find employment again. This was a rather naïve request, given the circumstances leading to his resignation. His letter is understandably bitter, but full of revolutionary jargon and certainly not written in a contrite style to evoke sympathy in any senior official reading it. Given that he had strived so hard to get where he had, the shock of his dismissal may have affected his judgement on the need for tact.

However, he may have thought it a clever manoeuvre to take the timely opportunity offered by the outbreak of the conflict in Schleswig-Holstein to request an immediate discharge in order to join the popular movement against Denmark and thereby redeem himself. His letter ran:

Inspired by the spirit of the time and seized by the desire for freedom of the Germans, my choice has fallen on arms, there to defend the freedom of the German nation, where the danger to limit it has assumed the most threatening character. I, too, will first show the Danes, then others, what Germany wants!

For some time, I have been considered both by my superiors and also the inhabitants of Königshütte as a rebel, and I seem to upset their nightly peace. If they can only spend an hour more peacefully when I am no longer in their midst, then I am willingly ready to remove myself even at night and only wish that in future my visit as a stranger might be a more soothing one for those who dared to push an honest man into misfortune by such gross accusations.

I just wish that truly any grounds for apprehension, which now fill all hearts, would also disappear at the same time with me. I doubt, however, that an enslaved and tyrannised nation to whom liberty is placed in view, will lay aside their lawful complaints and grievances, and I wish with all my heart that no-one may tremble before the name 'popular justice'.

I request herewith my immediate discharge, in fact in such a manner that in the future if I intend to return to my fatherland again, I will be able to find my employment.

On 12 April the Silesian Chief Mining Board sent a copy of this letter to the Mining Department of the Finance Ministry in Berlin, together with a short covering letter, dated 5 April, stating that, having incurred a disciplinary investigation on account of various irregularities of conduct, Fahrsteiger Blandowski had resigned his office of Royal Fahrsteiger. The resignation had been accepted by the Board on 31 March 1848 and Blandowski had been deleted from the list of mining students.<sup>27</sup>

#### THE SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN WAR OF 1848 – 1849

The reasons behind this conflict are too complex to go into here, except to say that the Duchies of

Schleswig and Holstein belonged to the Crown of Denmark, but were not considered part of Denmark proper. The populations of both duchies consisted of both German- and Danish-speaking inhabitants, of which the Danish-speaking were more numerous in the north and the German in the south. Following the Napoleonic Wars, friction steadily increased between the Germans and the Danes. The former desired union with the German Confederacy and the latter union with Denmark, with elements of the Danish Parliament pushing strongly for incorporation of the two duchies into Denmark. Following the death of King Christian VIII of Denmark on 20 January 1848, matters were quickly brought to a head by the tide of revolution sweeping through the German states. The German-speakers in Schleswig and Holstein seized the initiative and on 24 April 1848 set up a provisional government in Kiel. Prince Friedrich von Augustenburg-Noer (1800 – 1865) won over the garrison at Rendsburg, which consisted mainly of German-speaking soldiers under the command of Danish officers, who retired to Denmark. All seventeen- and eighteen-year old male inhabitants were called up and a Schleswig-Holstein Army formed, consisting of the four existing garrison battalions and two newly formed battalions, the 4th and 6th. At the same time, volunteers from Prussia and other German states poured into the duchies and were formed into a Freecorps.

Officers arrived from Prussia to assist in the organisation of the army and to provide the necessary experienced leadership. One of these officers was Blandowski's older brother Berthold, who was a Lieutenant in the Royal Prussian 38th Infantry Regiment. He was transferred and appointed Captain in the 1st Schleswig-Holstein Jägercorps, a unit of sharp shooters, on 20 April 1848 (Dreising 1897:325). Whether this circumstance could have influenced William Blandowski is not known, but he was as good as his word and immediately left Silesia for Rendsburg in Holstein, where he reported to the office of the commanding general on 4 April 1848 and submitted his officer qualification certificate received from the Guard Corps for inspection. He was referred to Major von Zastrow, previously a Captain in the Prussian Army, who was in command of the newly formed 5th Infantry Battalion. Blandowski's papers were read to the assembled officers and with their approval he was recommended to the commanding general for appointment as Lieutenant. This recommendation was confirmed by letter on the fol-

lowing day and Blandowski was given it as a temporary officer's patent.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile in response to the events in the duchies, the Danes had despatched an army into Schleswig that met and defeated part of the hastily organised Schleswig-Holstein Army at Bau, near Flensburg on 9 April. Blandowski's battalion was moved into Schleswig, but was not involved in this action. It was bivouacked at Idstedt, northwest of the town of Schleswig, on the road to Flensburg. Blandowski stated that he was 'cited in the official report on the action at Missunde on 23 April under those who have distinguished themselves through personal bravery'.<sup>29</sup> In the meantime regular Prussian army units were dispatched to assist the Schleswig-Holstein Army. In the middle of June 1848, three new battalions of recruits in the Schleswig-Holstein Army were formed and for some reason Blandowski was transferred to one of these, the 7th Battalion, perhaps at his own request to obtain promotion. If so, he was unsuccessful and became so dissatisfied with his position that he sent his letter of appointment to the War Department for a determination of his seniority with the suggestion that an officers' meeting be called to settle the matter. This letter was sent on to Major von Kindt, the officer responsible for the newly formed units, for him to settle. On 23 July a meeting of officers of the three battalions was held to sort out their seniority on the basis of their position in the Prussian Army. However, there were so many remonstrations that von Kindt had to close the meeting without result. Thereafter Blandowski remained with the 7th Infantry Battalion as Lieutenant, but without any documentation of his position.

On 26 August an armistice of seven months was signed at Malmö, fighting ceased and the various units pulled back. In October 1848, Blandowski requested the return of the letter appointing him Lieutenant, which he alleged he had given to von Kindt at the July meeting. His request was forwarded to headquarters where von Kindt had sent it, together with a letter requesting Blandowski be provided with an officer's patent or other document of appointment, pointing out that the Battalion had no documents concerning him. Anything to do with William Blandowski seems to have been complicated, because the original letter could not be located. The matter was never resolved, as there are no other documents concerning his appointment in the Archives of the former Schleswig-Holstein Army, nor does his name appear as a former officer in the published lists of staff.<sup>30</sup>

These strange circumstances can probably be partly attributed to the difficulties faced by the Schleswig-Holstein officials at the time and partly to the fact that Blandowski did not remain in the army long enough for the matter to be resolved. Whatever the reason, this inability to recognise his position officially would have contributed to his dissatisfaction with his future prospects, causing him to resign during the armistice.

In December 1848, he decided it was time to seek re-employment in the Prussian Mining Service and wrote from Lütjenburg stating that he had originally resigned with the intention of returning again when the political scene was more peaceful. He stated he had served throughout the whole military campaign and that peace was at hand. He believed that his task was fulfilled, since pensioned Prussian officers were entering Schleswig-Holstein in sufficient numbers and the other officers had been asked to return to Prussia. Persons such as he, were a hindrance to the progress of the local inhabitants and therefore he wished to return to his peacetime occupation. He requested a position in Mining or Salt-works according to his original vocation, with consideration given to his having especially studied chemistry and geology, but preferring not to return to Silesia. He requested this as an important compensation for the sacrifice he made in that troubled time. Blandowski seems to have completely overlooked the circumstances of his forced resignation and rather naively thought that others would do so too, or perhaps he believed he had redeemed himself.

The reply to his letter dated 29 December 1848 was coldly polite and unhelpful, stating that as he had resigned and received an official discharge, he was at liberty to apply to the various mining boards with the request for consideration when opportunities arose. However, the ministry could give no prospect of success, as they knew of no opportunities for an appointment at that time. In addition the attainment of a suitable position was not to be expected, since the Mining Department was about to undergo a reorganisation and the loss of several positions was likely.<sup>31</sup>

His reaction to this setback is not known, but he resigned his commission in the army and made his way to Gückstadt on the Elbe, 55 kilometres northwest of Hamburg. From here on 9 January 1849 he wrote another letter to the Ministry and sent a packet containing a pair of Jutlandish wooden clogs, stating he saw such clogs in use in Jutland during the war. They were cheap and highly durable, lasting ten

years. He recommended their use for foundry workers to protect their feet from sparks and also for mining workers and smiths. The Ministry actually acted on his suggestion by sending the shoes to the Rüdersdorf Mining Board for testing in the local quarries. The report of the test came back in June 1850, by which time Blandowski was long since in South Australia.<sup>32</sup>

## AUSTRALIA

### *Departure from Germany*

Faced with the prospect of not being able to obtain a position in his chosen field, Blandowski, like many of his fellow-country men at that time, must have considered the prospect of emigration as a possible solution to his problems. He was now very close to the great sea port of Hamburg from which thousands of Germans embarked for America and far fewer to Australia. Hamburg was also a city with a very wealthy middle class, many members of which were interested in amassing substantial natural history collections. Some of the larger private collections were regarded as part of the city sights and were listed in the city directories as open for inspection by appointment. Hamburg collectors had a long tradition of taking advantage of their situation in a great port city to build up their collections with specimens from foreign lands by purchasing items from ship's crews or by actually sending out collectors at their own expense, using their contacts in the Hamburg shipping companies.

In later years Blandowski was to maintain that he left Germany with the object of making natural history and anthropological surveys of Australia and of publishing the results in illustrative form. However, in view of his intentions to seek reemployment in the mining profession at least as late as December 1848, such a grand plan, if indeed he had any plan at all, was hardly a lifelong ambition, but more likely a response to his uncertain future.

The Australian flora had attracted the attention of Hamburg botanical collectors as early as 1837, when Ludwig Preiss (1811 – 1883) raised funds for a collecting expedition to southwest Australia through the sale of shares in his potential collection. The Zoological Museum in Hamburg, founded in May 1843, was administered by a Commission of eight members appointed by the Hamburg Senate. All the members of the Commission were interested in natural history and maintained

large collections (Panning 1955: 1-23, 1956:1-20, 1957:1-23, 1958:1-30). Blandowski is known to have had a connection with two of the foundation members, Joachim Steetz (1804 – 1862) and Karl Bernhardt Maximilian Wiebel (Wibel) (1808 – 1888); indeed Johann Ludwig Gerard Krefft (1830 – 1881), one of Blandowski's assistants on the Murray-Darling Expedition in 1856 – 57, alleged that Wiebel was Blandowski's patron.<sup>33</sup>

Wiebel was Professor of Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics at the Hamburg Academic Gymnasium from 1837 until his retirement in 1881. His principal interest was in geology, particularly mineralogy, and he maintained a large private mineral collection.<sup>34</sup> Steetz, a Hamburg physician and surgeon, was a well-known botanist with a particular interest in composites on which he published several papers, including Australian composites of Preiss. Steetz's large collection purchased by the Victorian Government and now in the National Herbarium of Victoria, contains many plants collected by William Blandowski during his time in South Australia.<sup>35</sup> These circumstances suggest that Blandowski probably came out to Australia as a paid collector, or more likely had his fare paid for him, in return for which he would collect specimens for Wiebel and Steetz and possibly others. It is also possible he had support from the Hamburg Museum Commission, since specimens collected by him were at one time in the Museum, but are no longer extant.

Blandowski booked passage on the *Ocean*, a fully square-rigged, three-masted sailing ship of 423 tons. She belonged to the Hamburg shipping firm of L. & B. Roosen. In April 1849 the ship was chartered to convey emigrants to Adelaide under the command of Captain Wiebe Fokkes. Both Salomen and Berend Roosen were strong supporters of the Hamburg Zoological Museum. Various members of the Roosen family presented birds, reptiles, insects and crabs from the Americas and Africa to the Museum as did the commanders of their ships. Wiebe Fokkes presented vertebrates from 1844 to 1855, so Blandowski's passage by this ship may have been more than coincidence (Panning 1955:18; 1956:2-3; 1857:9-10). Though originally scheduled to leave on 15 April, she did not leave until 5 May. The delay was caused by the Danish fleet blockading the German ports following the resumption of the Schleswig-Holstein War.

Thinking that peace would prevail, Blandowski had resigned from the Schleswig-Holstein Army following the armistice of Malmö, concluded on 26 Au-

gust 1848. He was wrong; hostilities were renewed in March 1849. On 5 April at Eckenförde an artillery battle was fought between a Danish squadron of ships and German land batteries. Eckenförde, a long narrow inlet, was situated on the east side of Schleswig, 100 km north of Hamburg. The Danish ship *Christian* was set on fire and exploded and another, the *Gesion*, was forced to surrender. The details of this sensational engagement were published in Hamburg shortly after in the form of an anonymous pamphlet accompanied by a map entitled *Plan von Eckenförde* and drawn by Blandowski II Lieutenant Retired. The pamphlet indicated that the plan was drawn on the spot by a skilled hand.<sup>36</sup>

How Blandowski came to be at Eckenförde so shortly before his departure for Australia can probably be explained by his visiting his brother Berthold, who had been promoted to Captain and Chief of the 2nd Company, 4th Schleswig-Holstein Infantry Battalion in 1849. In March 1849, Berthold was bivouacked in the Flensburg district, about 45 kilometres northeast of Eckenförde, so if William Blandowski was with him, he would have had to return south to go to Hamburg and thus had the opportunity to see the great battle on his way. Berthold Blandowski was captured by the Danes on 6 July at the siege of Friederika and spent 50 days as a prisoner of war in Copenhagen, by which time his brother William was well on his way to Adelaide.<sup>37</sup>

In order to evade the Danish blockade at the mouth of the Elbe River, the *Ocean* assumed the name *Wolga* and flew Russian colours. On leaving Hamburg, it was recorded as having 112 passengers and 28 children, but on arrival in Adelaide on 14 September 1849, she was reported to have carried 180 passengers and a small cargo. Among those listed is W. Blandowski.<sup>38</sup>

#### *Arrival in South Australia*

Adelaide at the time of Blandowski's arrival was a small city of about 9 – 10,000 inhabitants, with a substantial minority of Germans. Most of the Germans in South Australia were farmers, but there was a sprinkling of tradesmen, businessmen and a few professional people. These were mainly, medical practitioners, newspaper editors, pharmacists and ministers of religion and included Doctor Ferdinand Mueller (1825 – 1896), Doctor Johann Dietrich Eduard Wehl (1824 – 1876), Doctor Ludwig Wilhelm Schulzen (Bowden 1974: 7: 22, 111: 207),

Doctor Carl Wilhelm Ludwig Muecke (1815 – 1898), Moritz Heuzenroeder, Otto and Richard Schomburgk (1811 – 1891), Johann Menge (1788 – 1852), Pastor Augustus Ludwig Christian Kavel (1798 – 1860), Friedrich Krichauff (1824 – 1904) and Doctor Georg Hermann Bruhn (1810 – 1889), among others.

Of these, both Menge and Bruhn were geologists and had undertaken geological work in the Colony. Others who had taken an interest in the geology of the Colony included Thomas Burr (c.1814 – 1866), James Trewartha, Government Mine Surveyor, Boyle Travers Finniss (1807 – 1893), and E.W. Binney.

As an educated German, Blandowski would have quickly made contact with many of these people. Indeed their support and advice would have been essential, particularly as initially his English would not have been very good. It is not known when and where he started to learn English. He probably picked up some English on the ship, perhaps by self study, but whatever the case, by May 1850 he had become quite fluent, at least in the written language, as his correspondence shows.

Within days of his arrival, he began to collect plants for Joachim Steetz, making the most of the spring flowering season. Of his known collecting localities most are in the vicinity of Adelaide or St Vincent's Gulf. His early explorations out from Adelaide were probably influenced to some extent by the distribution of German settlers, from whom he could expect to obtain both hospitality and information about local conditions. Understandably, in 1849 he visited the Barossa District, where there were so many German settlers. While there he made notes about the micaceous slates and the overlying ferruginous sandstones, which lie in patches between the South and North Para Rivers. Later in the same year, he found similar ferruginous sandstones a few kilometres south of Macclesfield in the Adelaide Hills. As a botanical collector, he would have soon made the acquaintance of Ferdinand Mueller, who at that time had a small property nearby at Bugle Ranges, in partnership with Friedrich Krichauff (Gemmell 1975:51-64).

By December 1849, Blandowski had moved west to the coast where he studied the sequence of Tertiary rocks between Port Noarlunga at the mouth of the Onkaparinga River and the Hallett Cove area. Sketches of the rocks made at this time were later engraved in Melbourne as plates 15 and 16 of his proposed *Australia Terra Cognita*. Apart from his collecting activities and his geological observations, he made sketches of geological scenes, constructed

geological sections of the strata he observed and sketched fossils, animals, the Aborigines and their artefacts.

Early in 1850, he showed his sketches to the South Australian Colonial Secretary Charles Sturt (1795 – 1869), to whom he was introduced by Pastor Kavel, who followed up the visit with a letter on 8 January 1850 on Blandowski's behalf:

In introducing once more Mr Blandowski, whose sketches you have seen lately, to your kind attention, I take the liberty of informing you, that he intends to make another tour through the country to examine it, especially those parts situated on the left bank of the Murray, that appear to be hitherto least explored in a mineralogical point of view. Since however Government has sent out already one party to investigate the coast and another party to investigate the river Murray and its environs is shortly to be sent out, it strikes me, that an explorer like Mr Blandowski, would be a proper person to accompany either one or the other of these exploring parties, and make his mineralogical researches. It is indeed too hard and great a task [sic] for a single person to go burdened with the maps and such utensils, as are requisite for the examination in question, over an almost uninhabited country quite alone, for he has not met with anybody to accompany him, whilst it would enable him to perform his task with comparative easiness and greater success, if he was to accompany the above mentioned exploring party, with whom he might be in conversation and communication all the time of exploration. Through his own private assiduity he is now in possession of all the maps of South Australia, which hardly any private person in this Colony can boast of, and in this way prepared to find his way over the country, he is anxious to examine, and being not induced by selfish motives but only anxious to make scientific researches, he expects no other remuneration, but only the necessary means to support merely his life during the time of exploration.

Since he is a scientific man and a person of respectability, which may be proved by his testimonials, I do not hesitate to recommend him to your favour and attention.

Sturt replied on 29 January that he had laid the letter before the Governor, who regretted not being able to help Blandowski. The explorations referred to by Kavel were so rapid that no detailed investigations could be made on them.<sup>39</sup>



Undaunted by this lack of success, Blandowski set off on his proposed expedition to the Murray, which he reached at the end of January and explored upstream as far as Lake Bonney near Barmera, where he made a sketch of a freshwater tortoise carapace on 1 February 1850. Some 10 years later, he described the expedition to Ernst Beyrich.

In the year 1850, on a very lonely and arduous tour, which I undertook regarding a geological survey of the Murray River, I found isolated knolls of the same brown sandstone resting on the bright yellow limestone rock. It was in 140° east longitude from Greenwich and 34° south latitude, just near where the Murray River (larger than the Oder [the principal river of Silesia]) has broken its bed through the young limestone of Australia. However, I was unable to determine its relative age, because no fossils occur here. The rock outcrops like islands on the highest places, and through its chocolate brown colour forms a rather striking, contrast to the cream coloured underlying limestone mass. It was unforgettable for me, because it was just there, while I was striking the rocks to take samples that by chance a flock of young emus or the Australian ostrich calmly trotted by in a row to quench their thirst at the silently flowing Murray River that peacefully winds in the deep valley. While thousands of magnificent white Leadbeater's Cockatoos balanced on the dry branches of gigantic gum trees from their far flight from the desert and a number of pelicans exercised their young brood in flight high in the air.

At that time the burning heat of an Australian January sun prevented me from paying the full attention that these strata, which appeared so interesting to me, deserved.<sup>40</sup>

Further details of his work on the Murray are not known, though it seems certain he followed the Murray downstream to Encounter Bay where he made sketches of the local Aborigines, their weapons, utensils, ceremonies and domestic activities. By May 1850, he had returned to Adelaide, and it is clear from another letter from Kavel to Sturt that he had by now investigated most of the settled areas of South Australia between the Murray and St Vincents Gulf and also further afield from Encounter Bay and the Murray mouth in the south as far north as Port Germain. He had asked Kavel to write again to Sturt because he was short of funds. Kavel's letter was dated 18 May 1850.

In taking the liberty of recommending Mr Blandowski, the author of the enclosed maps and

drawings, to you, I beg to observe that they are the results of his travels and geological researches he has made with intervals during his stay (nine months) in this Colony.

His intention is to continue his examinations of this Province next Spring and go to the western and northern portions of the Province, and after having within the space of some years completed his researches, to publish the result. An undertaking of the kind begun and carried on by a scientific man, as he is, who appears to understand his business fully, is rather too much for a private person unsupported either by the Government or Public; still he intends going on in his researches as long as his private resources will allow.

It is however quite natural, that he wishes not to exhaust them too soon and to prevent this he should feel very much encouraged in an undertaking that will, he hopes, prove useful to the Colony, if he might be employed by Government during the winter months in any branch of the Surveying Department, since he has not only studied Geology and Geognosy, but also practised Surveying art.

He believes to makes himself useful to Government, if employed on the road as a Surveyor, or to look out in the different Districts of the Colony for stones proper for roadmaking or any work of a similar kind.

Enclosed with this letter was another written by Blandowski, his earliest known attempt at English, which lapses into German at the end when he wrote the date.

The undersigned, (designer of the enclosed maps and drawings) has made it already in Europe his principal aim to examine Australia in a geognostic-mineralogical manner. He intended to begin with the province of South Australia, and to that end staying there the first 5 years. Part of this time he has already spent, and examined during the last 9 months that portion of the colony, situated between the 138 and 140 degree of Long., and the 33 and 36 degree of Lat. Unexpected, nearly insurmountable obstacles, found in his way, do not allow him to carry out his plan entirely on his own account and with his own resources without the assistance of the colonial Government, and the aid of the mining public.

To express here an opinion about the necessity and utility of an undertaking of this kind, he thinks quite superfluous, for every educated man will form his own individual views of such a

work. Every civilised community ought and will know the ground on which it exists, its capability, and how and when formed.

The undersigned, therefore, calls upon the leading men of this colony, and the mining companies to partake in such a scientific undertaking. He, on his part, engage [sic] himself conscientiously to furnish the British Museum in London and a Colonial Museum, which may be established in Adelaide, with specimens the fruits of his travels, to be delivered to a committee of gentlemen every six months, and to give at the same time a full account of his researches.

The correspondence was referred to the Surveyor General, Captain Arthur Henry Freeling (1820 – 1885) on 16 June to note if a vacancy arose. A reply sent to Kavel on 21 June stated that the Governor regretted not being able to employ Blandowski at that time, but that his name was placed on the books of the Surveyor General's Office. No reply was sent to Blandowski, possibly because he had already spoken with Sturt on 15 June and showed him his work and also met Freeling on 26 June.<sup>41</sup>

Blandowski then returned to the Hundred of Barossa and commenced further exploration, the results of which were sent to Sturt with a letter dated 17 October 1850.

On the 15th of June last I had the honour of laying before you for the information of His Excellency the Lieut. Governor the result of a geological investigation, extending from Cape Jervis and Encounter Bay to the River Broughton.

On the 26th of the same month I had a conversation upon the foregoing subject with Capt. Freeling R.E. who made me the very liberal offer, on behalf of the Government, to prepare a chart, embodying the results of my geological enquiries, in consideration of my services for such being remunerated.

I at the same time declined the offer, as I considered that my observations were not then sufficiently matured to warrant me in transferring them to the public charts, to obviate this, I commenced an exploration of the hundred of Barossa, the results of which I lay before you in the annexed charts. I of course leave it to your consideration as to the necessity of such a work on an extended scale for the whole colony upon which I need not enlarge.

Should the annexed after a careful investigation be found satisfactory, and any use be made of them, it will stimulate me to a journey of several

years, which I can only successfully undertake, by being pecuniarily assisted by Government.

After a deliberate consideration of the whole of the geological system as here developed, I have arrived at the conclusion that is it only within a span of from three to four hundred miles towards the eastwards or about five hundred miles on the westward, that third is any probability of Carboniferous deposits being discovered.

I have therefore determined to explore the bed of the Glenelg River, and should I be so fortunate as to meet with the carboniferous deposits, during my journey I shall deem it my duty to furnish the Government with all the information concerning it.

I shall leave this colony towards the latter end of next week en route for Portland Bay, and intend to remain some time with the prince of Schleswig Holstein, where, in the event of Government considering my previous services deserving of reward, or will support me in my present undertaking, any communication may be addressed.

The letter was minuted by the Governor Sir Henry Edward Fox Young (1803 – 1870) that he had not seen the correspondence of 15 June and 26 June to Sturt and Freeling and that he would give his best consideration to any report, he had no authority to employ him and there was no guarantee of his competency as a geologist. He regretted that his lack of knowledge of German made him unable to construe the geological classification. No reply to Blandowski's letter has been located.<sup>42</sup>

The pressing need to discover a workable coal field in South Australia had been a topic of discussion for many years and in 1850 was again before the public mind when Trewartha, the Mining Surveyor, was sent to look for coal on Kangaroo Island and at the head of Spencer Gulf. Blandowski's attempt to capitalize on this interest came to nothing.

The reference to the Duke of Schleswig-Holstein (or Friedrich Christian Carl August zu Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg (1830 – 1881), a cousin of Queen Victoria), in Blandowski's letter is puzzling, because the Prince had left Australia in August 1850. He had arrived in Adelaide the previous February on a private tour with Captain John Stanley Carr (? – 1854), who had been deputed by the Prince's father to invest in land in Australia if he saw a suitable opportunity. They both left Adelaide for Melbourne in the same month and toured Western Victoria in March 1850. There was a suggestion they would establish a

German settlement in the Portland district, but it came to nothing. As a former Schleswig-Holstein Army officer, Blandowski would have something in common with the Prince, but it is unlikely they would have met in Adelaide in February, because Blandowski was on his Murray expedition in the summer of 1850, in fact he was at Lake Bonney, near Barmera, on 1 February 1850. Perhaps he was merely name-dropping or thought the Prince was still in Victoria (Darragh & Wuchatsch 1999:52-56).

Three of the charts of the Barossa referred to in the letter survive in the collections of the Museum für Naturkunde, Berlin, but no maps are known, possibly because Blandowski lost some of his belongings whilst on the Victorian goldfields.<sup>43</sup> The charts signed 'Blandowski 1850, Barossa Fl. [river]' are entitled:

- I Diluvium Formation South Australien
- II Primary Rocks. South Australien
- III Terrain plutonique

Blandowski did depart for the southeast as he indicated, possibly via Encounter Bay and the mouth of the Murray. More likely, however, since he had probably already examined that area on his earlier visit, he went via the bush track on the left bank of the river, from the crossing at Wellington onwards past Lake Albert, where he made sketches of Aboriginal people (plate 117 of *Australia Terra Cognita* is based on one such sketch). From there he travelled along the Coorong, reaching Robe on Guichen Bay by early January 1851, where he spent some time making observations on natural history and the Aborigines (plate 116 is based on one such sketch). Here he would have met another German doctor, Herman Wilhelm Schulzen, who was the Government Medical Officer at Robe from 1849 to 1852, when he left for the Victorian goldfields. Schulzen collected plants for Ferdinand Mueller. By February 1851, however, Blandowski had moved on to Mount Gambier, where he met Doctor Johann Dietrich Eduard Wehl (1824 – 1876), who had apparently met Blandowski in Adelaide at an earlier date. Wehl was a close friend of Ferdinand Mueller and later married Mueller's sister Clara.

### *Surveying pastoral runs*

In the southeast of South Australia Blandowski was able to earn some money for a few months practising as a surveyor. In November 1850 the South Australian Government had proclaimed regulations regarding licenses to occupy Crown Lands for grazing

purposes. Persons in licensed occupation for one year were entitled to demand a lease, and in January 1851 the Crown Lands Office issued a notice advising that entitled persons had six months to apply, 'each application to be accompanied with a plan of the run claimed, accurately drawn to a scale of not less than half an inch to a mile'. This latter requirement could only be met by employing an experienced surveyor. In remote areas surveyors were much in demand and Blandowski, who had received some training in surveying, would have welcomed the chance, not only to add to his funds, but also to examine new country in detail. He began in February 1851 with surveys of the pastoral runs 'Lallee' and 'Mullel'. In March he surveyed 'Dismal Swamp' and in April 'German Creek', 'Curratum', 'Mingbool' and 'Compton'. In May 'Warreanga' and 'Dunan's' were undertaken and finally 'Glencoe' in June.

The circumstances of his surveying 'Warreanga' are known from the Neil Black correspondence (the lessee of the run) and probably serve as a typical example of what happened. On 11 April, Neil Black's agent, Achibald Black, wrote to John Taylor the manager of 'Warreanga':

I suppose the surveyors are busy about Mount Gambier. I do not know whether Warreanga has been surveyed or not but Mr D. Black can let you know. If it has not you had better employ if possible the same men who surveyed the neighbouring boundaries and the costs can be divided. Lose no time in ascertaining this and write to me immediately.<sup>44</sup>

On 23 April 1851, Donald Black replied:

I have found the charts of our runs are of no value therefore we will not have time to get it surveyed before the 7th of May. I intend starting for Mt Gambier tomorrow morning in [search] of the surveyor to [get] the runs surveyed before he leaves this part of the country as it would be very expensive to get a surveyor from Adelaide or Melbourne.<sup>45</sup>

Blandowski was duly retained and following completion of his field work submitted an account dated 4 May 1851. He charged £27 for 54 miles of survey.<sup>46</sup> The chart was compiled some days later (Fig. 2), but owing to an error had to be corrected, which was done by 2 June and it was received by the Crown Lands Commissioner on 14 June. John Taylor described the chart in a letter to Black dated 20 June 1851.

Also Mr Will v. Blandowski have had sent me the chart which is beautifully coloured showing the difference of the soil all over the run as I am not

I have this day received your letter found enclosed cheque of twenty-seven Pounds ten shil-

On the basis of his charge of ten shillings per mile for Black, Blandowski would have earned several hundred pounds in surveying fees for his work on the other runs.

Blandowski's scientific pursuits at Mount Gambier also captured the attention of the local populace. The Mount Gambier correspondent of the *Portland Guardian* reported in the issue of 3 March (1851:2) that a scientific gentleman was applying himself with zeal to geological researches and proposed to descend into the largest crater in the neighbourhood. The residents proposed helping and it would be necessary to lower a boat several hundred feet below before the water was reached. His investigations of the complex of volcanic vents were the subject of

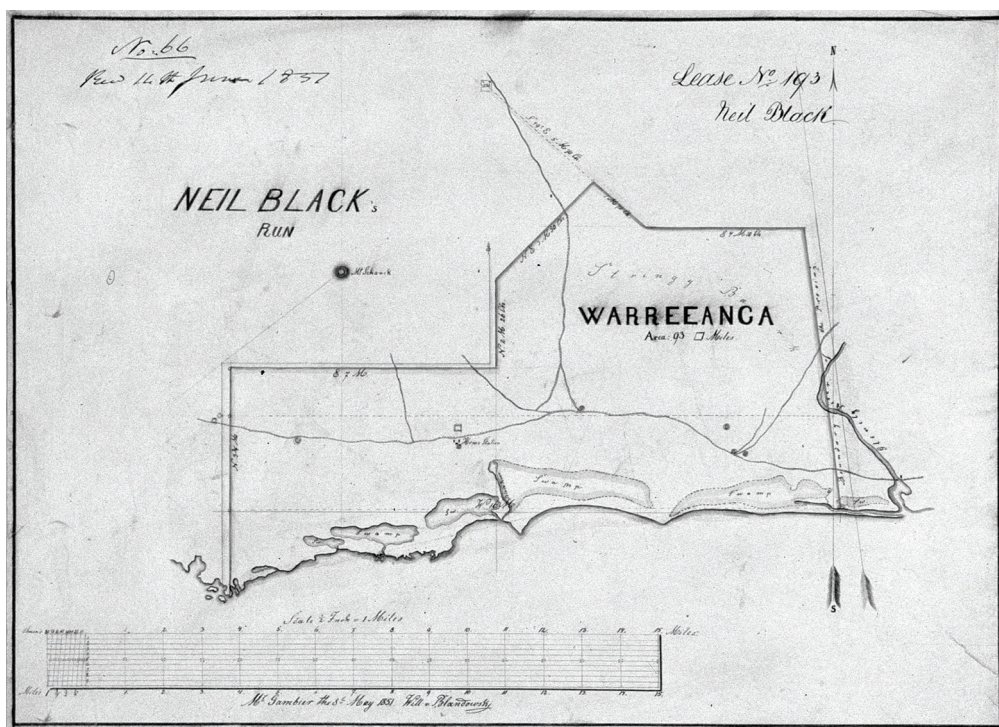


Fig. 2. 'Warreanga'. Neil Black's Squatting Run surveyed by William Blandowski, 8 May 1851. State Records of South Australia, GRG/11677/1851/193.



comment many years later by the Reverend Julian Edmund Tenison Woods (1832 – 1889), who remembered that ‘in 1851, Mr Blandowski surveyed and mapped the three lakes and made some valuable observations on their mineralogical and geological peculiarities. Part of the latter were embodied in a series of letters to the Adelaide German newspaper, but, owing to the gold discoveries and the confusion subsequent thereon, the maps etc, were I believe lost... I have not seen Mr Blandowski’s papers on the subject (Woods 1862: 227). Unfortunately no issues of the *Adelaider Deutsche Zeitung* have survived and the only surviving record of his work is the sketch engraved as plate 4 in *Australia Terra Cognita*.

The *Portland Guardian* of 31 March (1851:2) carried yet another report.

Our fair little town has, besides, been highly honoured of late by a visit from Mr G.F. Angas, the celebrated Australian Artist and naturalist, on his way to Portland, where, I understand he embarks for Sydney, for the purpose of prosecuting his profession. The other scientific gentlemen (a foreigner, whose highly honoured name I am not in possession of) is at present engaged in surveying runs in this neighbourhood, and has necessarily deferred experimenting on the Gambier Lakes, until the first of next May. The Colony possesses in the gentleman a most invaluable acquisition; the fact of his being the friend and protege of the celebrated Baron Humboldt from whom, within the last few days he has received letters of a most commendatory nature, speaks with trumpet tongue of his high scientific attainments. So you see, sir, that it is possible, even in a secluded and almost nameless locality to sometimes meet with men of the *first literary calibre*.

The exchange of correspondence with Alexander von Humboldt (1769 – 1859), which so impressed the Mount Gambier correspondent, loses some of its impact when placed in the context of Humboldt’s voluminous correspondence. He received thousands of letters every year and apparently until the last years of his life politely answered them all, even the most trivial. Unfortunately neither Blandowski’s letters nor Humboldt’s to him survive.

George Fife Angas (1822 – 1886) visited Mount Gambier on his tour through the southeast in 1844 and, like Blandowski, made sketches of the Aboriginal inhabitants, some of which were published in his *South Australia Illustrated* in 1847. Many of Blandowski’s sketches resemble those of Angas, and he is known to have copied the works of others, but it may

be purely coincidence because they both had been in contact with the same groups of people.

On 26 May 1851, the Mount Gambier correspondent mentioned that ‘Mr Blandaski (the scientific gentlemen, I mentioned in a former letter...’ had found two bottles with messages on 12 May in Discovery Bay, 8 miles from the mouth of the Glenelg River. In his next report the Mount Gambier correspondent gave more details of Blandowski’s activities. After giving effusive praise to Blandowski, he questioned why the Government would not support his work and went on to report that Blandowski had solved one of the great questions puzzling the inhabitants, which was why the level of water in the craters of Mount Gambier and other craters in the area never varied.

Blandoski [sic], in surveying Mr Black’s run on the sea coast [Warreanga], crossed three rivers or creeks, hitherto unknown, or at least nameless, calling them by the respective names of Eel creek, Black river and Subterranean river, all three disemboguing into the sea. These he traced to the confluence or to the point whence they deflected into three channels. Progressing still further up the stream, he found it emanating by a subterranean passage, whereupon, having for some months had this question on his mind, he at once conceived that he had discovered the egress of the vast volume of water contained in the different craters, and that instead of permeating through fissures, there was a large subterraneous passage communicating one with another, and thence to the coast. The water is supplied to three caves, he considers, by a “ground spring” called the Black swamp, several miles in circumference, and within some twenty miles of this locality. But to prove his story he wishes that the surrounding settlers would co-operate with him, by throwing their empty bottles, well corked, or three eggs, into each of these caves, which contain water, and should these be rolled on by the force of the current to the mouth of the stream, then is his story proved beyond doubt (*Portland Guardian* 14 July 1851:2).

In August 1851, Blandowski used his knowledge of the tracks in the southeast to assist a group of twelve families of mostly Wendish-speaking Saxons, who intended to move from Rosenthal (now Rosedale), near Gawler to take up land near Portland in Victoria. He met their representatives Johann Huf (1803 – 1879) and one of the Nuske brothers (either Joseph Christian 1802 – 1873, or Christoph 1811 –



1895) in Adelaide on 25 August and was joined by Carl Blum (c.1830 – 1917) at Macclesfield next day. Blandowski's task was to show them a route to Portland via Mount Gambier that would be suitable for their wagons and livestock the following year, when they intended to move. On arriving at Mount Gambier, he pointed out the track to Portland, then left them and rode on to Rivoli Bay (Darragh 2003:9, 44-48, 70).

## VICTORIA

### *Gold mining*

In his July 1851 report, the Mount Gambier correspondent of the *Portland Guardian* had mentioned that the 'mania for gold hunting has extended to this part of the colony, in common with other districts. Some have already started for the "diggings", some more are preparing to start...(*Portland Guardian* 14 July 1851:2). As an experienced miner, Blandowski probably saw an opportunity to put his expertise into practice and acquire some instant wealth. Exactly when he joined the throngs of South Australians making their way to the Victorian gold fields is not known, but he, Eduard Wehl and some other Mount Gambier Germans decided to try their luck at Mount Alexander. In August 1852, Edward Wehl wrote to Ferdinand Mueller from Mount Gambier, having returned there.

I cannot boast much about my achievements as a gold digger. It was impossible to do anything with Blandowsky, and what I have attained, about 3½ lbs in weight, was mainly found during the last six weeks, after I had separated from him. It would lead too far to go into all the reasons and circumstances here of why nothing could be done with Blandowsky, but you know yourself what kind of person he is. He always gives himself airs, as if he knew better than others where to find the gold, and as if he could judge where the layers would be, but he failed miserably in that. He joined up with three Englishmen from here, and several shafts, which were sunk according to his instructions, yielded nothing. As a result two of the people pegged out a claim for themselves without paying any further attention to him and found gold. They even estimated that the shaft would yield 60 to 80 lbs in weight. The party was still working there, when I left and, of course, with Blandowsky as head miner. This was in the

same gully where we had always worked; the shafts are 35 to 40 feet deep.<sup>48</sup>

Unfortunately no dates are given by Wehl for the party's departure from Mount Gambier, nor when the party broke up, though this must have been at least two or three months before the date of the letter. The goldfield on which they worked was probably Forest Creek or Mount Alexander, which was first rushed in October 1851 and seems to have attracted the largest numbers of South Australians, because Blandowski was definitely there and well on the way to making a fortune a few weeks after Wehl wrote his letter. Paszkowski makes the suggestion that the 'Polish nobleman, Count Landoske', reported as speaking to a diggers' meeting on 9 December 1851 at Bendigo, may well have been Blandowski (Paszkowski 1967:152).

This is entirely possible, given the mobility of miners who moved from place to place at the slightest rumour of a find and the spelling of the name could easily be an error. Wehl's opinion of Blandowski as a miner could not have affected their friendship too much, since Blandowski was a witness, along with Ferdinand Mueller, at Wehl's marriage to Mueller's sister Clara at Richmond on 27 October 1853.<sup>49</sup>

Whatever Blandowski's first movements were on the goldfields, the first definite information indicates that in September 1852 he had indeed 'struck it rich' in the renowned Spring Gully, a tributary of Fryers Creek, on the southern end of the Mount Alexander gold field. This area was first rushed in May 1852, but the wetness and instability of the ground following the winter rains defeated the efforts of many of the diggers to prospect the deep ground in the gully. At last Blandowski's training could be put to advantage; he designed a pump and in September 1852 went to Melbourne to have metal castings made for it (*Argus* 16 October 1852:5).

His arrival in Melbourne at this time was opportune as it permitted him to attend a meeting arranged to consider the formation of a Geological and Mineralogical Society. The meeting took place on Saturday 2 October 1852 at the Government offices 132 Lonsdale Street, 'where an extensive collection of Foreign and Colonial Minerals' was exhibited. This collection was the property of George Milner Stephen (1812 – 1894), the prime mover in the formation of the Society and who became its Vice-President. The *Argus* report indicated that Blandowski took an active part in the discussions (*Argus* 4 October 1852:3).

But he returned to the goldfields and could take no further part in the Society, which disbanded early

the following year. However, it enabled him to meet a number of influential members of Melbourne society who had interests in geology. More importantly as regards his future, the Society pressed hard for the formation of a Geological and Mining Museum and created a climate favourable to the concept of a museum.<sup>50</sup>

Blandowski's efforts in pump construction were sufficiently novel at the time to attract the attention of an *Argus* reporter, probably because this would have been one of the earliest attempts to introduce machinery on the goldfields more sophisticated than a windless or California pump.

A new double-acted force pump is now being constructed at Mr Langland's foundry, and will, in the course of a few days, be ready for inspection.... Mr Blanski, the inventor and proprietor of this valuable machine is one of the successful German diggers, and as an ingenious and enterprising mechanic is deserving of encouragement and commendation. He has expended on the machine the produce of one year's labour at the Gold Field, amounting to £1000, thus improving the gold digging machinery, and at the same time aiding and maintaining the arts and manufactures of this rising Colony; and we sincerely hope that he will meet with that protection from the Commissioners and encouragement and support from his fellow-diggers, which he has, by his energy and enterprise, so well merited (*Argus* 16 October 1852:5).

The installation of the pump on the Mount Alexander Gold Field itself attracted attention; Bryce Ross, the *Melbourne Morning Herald* correspondent reported that:

A party of German diggers, known by the name of "Blandowski's" party (five in number), some time ago made 2000/ [pounds] a man I understand in Spring Gully... Their pits in the language of Mr Blandowski, looked somewhat like a jeweller's shop.... They had got to a considerable depth some time ago, when the water rushed in upon them in torrents, and they just escaped in time up the pit, leaving lots of gold behind. However, down the party came to Melbourne, and Mr Blandowski, who came from Silesia, and was formerly a mining engineer for the Prussian government, obtained a double-action force-pump, with all the requisite attached machinery, and having increased their party to twelve men, have commenced operations at their old lucky spot at Spring Gully, with their machinery, which has cost, all expenses included, 1000/. The

power of the machinery is sixteen motions by one turn of the horse – making in gross round number, 4000 buckets of water brought up in an hour. I believe their claim is still enormously rich, beyond belief almost, and when they have worked it out the party mean, in two or three month's time to remove into Forest Creek, and sink a well near our office, and probably make another great fortune by supplying the neighbourhood with water... (*Melbourne Morning Herald* 17 November 1852:2).

The Special Correspondent of the *South Australian Register*, who visited Forest Creek in November, reported that

I observed ... at a place called Spring Flat... a more spirited undertaking by a party of Germans, also from Adelaide, under the direction of Mr W. Blandowski, a Silesian mining engineer from Cracow. This gentleman has, I understand made considerable progress in a scientific survey of South Australia, and he kindly exhibited to me a number of his drawings, showing the geological formation of a great proportion of our province, as well as an extensive collection of specimens of its natural history. Mr Blandowski was deputed some time ago by his party to proceed to Melbourne, and if necessary to Sydney, to procure machinery to drain a portion of Spring Flat, where they had secured claims of such ascertained value as to warrant an expenditure of £4000 in working them. He has just returned from Melbourne with pumping apparatus, the castings of which alone cost £600 and the cartage £100. It is to be worked by horse power; will be in operation in a few days, and is expected to throw up 1000 gallons of water per hour. It is proposed also to construct a reservoir for the water, which in addition to its being indispensable to their operations, will be a source of considerable income to the party, as the season advances (*South Australian Register* 26 November 1852:3).

If this venture was successful, Blandowski would have accumulated a considerable cash reserve of several thousand pounds. However, instead of continuing, he put his plant up for sale, as was reported in the *Herald* in March 1853.

The noted German Pump in Spring Gully, Fryers Creek, is, I am informed for sale; Mr Blandowski, the owner, being about to pursue the original object he had in view when he landed in Australia, that of compiling a natural history, a botanical classification, and a geological arrangement of this country. From a series of sketches and paint-

ings that this really talented Prussian showed me, I have little doubt but that he will carry out his work with *éclat*, as well as with immense benefit to our reading community (*Melbourne Morning Herald* 14 March 1853:5).

On 3 May 1853, Blandowski consigned three parcels of gold amounting to a total of 102 ounces by the Mount Alexander Gold Escort to himself in Melbourne.<sup>51</sup> This is the only record of any gold consignment by him in the Escort receipt register, so perhaps his yield of gold may not have made his fortune, unless he had deposited cash in a bank. His subsequent actions in Melbourne indicate that he was seeking funds, because he immediately set about requesting Government assistance to carry out his plans. In early April, he sought and obtained an interview with Lieutenant Governor Charles Joseph La Trobe (1801 – 1875).<sup>52</sup> What transpired between them is not known, except La Trobe could not have been very encouraging, though he may have suggested an approach to Robert Hoddle (1794 – 1881), Surveyor General, with whom Blandowski had an interview on 2 May 1853, following which he wrote to Hoddle.

Port Phillip Club Hotel

Sir, In accordance with your suggestion of today, I have the honor to offer my services for the Government Survey Department. The particular branch of the service with which I am ambitious of being connected is that of the Practical Survey of the Country. I take the liberty of mentioning that having been devoted to the study of Geology, my services might perhaps be more useful in connection with Mr Selwyn's Department.<sup>53</sup>

Hoddle replied on 8 June 1853 stating there was no vacancy in his department and recommended he apply to the Geological Surveyor, Alfred Richard Cecil Selwyn (1824-1902).<sup>54</sup> It is not known if he did this, but the delay in this reply had prompted Blandowski to write a formal proposal to La Trobe on 21 May. He stated he had been engaged for five years in preparing an 'Illustrated Natural History of the Colony of Victoria' and wanted to publish it in a complete form at a cheap rate for wide circulation. This statement was not strictly true as most of his time in Victoria was involved in gold digging and his scientific work had been undertaken in South Australia. He stated that his means were insufficient to finish the work and required two years more to continue research and prepare it for publication. La Trobe's annotation on the letter indicated he did not remember Blandowski and wrote 'Is he a person attached

for a while to Mr Selwyn's party?' and then another note 'I believe he is not known'. The reply to the letter by the Colonial Secretary, dated 27 May, indicated that before the Governor could agree to any assistance, Blandowski would need to make reference to someone known to the Governor.<sup>55</sup>

### *The condemned prisoner John Goldman*

Blandowski's next contact with La Trobe was in an entirely different context; an attempt to save the life of a young man condemned to death for murder. John Goldman, a constable in the mounted police stationed at Buninyong, had accidentally shot and killed William Harvey, a corporal in his troop in February 1852. He fled the scene, but remained in the Colony until arrested in April 1853, whilst working as a woodcutter in the Plenty Ranges. He was tried for murder at Geelong on 26 July 1853, and found guilty despite his plea that the shooting was accidental. As a consequence Judge Redmond Barry (1813 – 1830) was forced to condemn him to death, though he had reservations about the verdict.

Goldman was 23 years of age, the son a sergeant major in the Prussian Army, who had arrived in Port Phillip in 1850. The outcome of the trial attracted much public attention, and generated sympathy and support for Goldman from the public in both Melbourne and Geelong. Particular concern arose over the unreliable evidence of the principal Crown witness, a young lad, Edward Adams, who had witnessed the shooting. Petitions were circulated in Melbourne and Geelong, one of which 'The memorial of certain Germans and other inhabitants of the Towns of Geelong and Melbourne', submitted on 3 August, contained 76 signatures plus those of five members of the jury. The first signature on the petition was that of William Blandowski from Silesia, who probably was responsible for its circulation, as he later stated that he had spoken to the five jurymen, who signed it. The initial attempts to have the sentence commuted failed and the execution fixed for 15 August 1853.

Blandowski then submitted his own personal petition on 12 August in which he stated rather inaccurately that he been an inhabitant of the Colony of Victoria for five years employed in scientific pursuits and 'that he had no knowledge of the unfortunate man unless thru' the public Press until a few days ago he went to Geelong and had an interview with Goldman. The object of this Memorial is to lay before your

Excellency such facts as your memorialist has elicited from the unhappy man as well as other facts which has come to his knowledge upon the merciful consideration of which he prays that your Excellency may be pleased to exercise that prerogative of mercy to the extent of sparing the wretched mans life...’ He then went on to give a detailed account of Goldman’s version of the events, provided information on the unreliability of the boy Adams and quoted the judge’s comments. It is evident from this petition that Blandowski had gone to a lot of trouble to secure information that would influence La Trobe and the Executive Council. This petition together with others provided sufficient grounds for La Trobe to take action and the necessary documents were issued during the night of Sunday 14th and arrived in Geelong about 10 minutes before Goldman was to be hanged. The Executive Council then considered the whole case and on 17 August Blandowski was advised that Goldman’s sentence had been commuted.<sup>56</sup>

This episode demonstrates a compassionate side of William Blandowski that is somewhat at odds with the impression one gets from his previous and later life.

### *The formation of the Museum*

Whilst Blandowski was on the goldfields and later occupying himself with saving Goldman from death, the subject of a museum in Melbourne had been under discussion. Eventually concrete steps were taken to proceed with it in October 1853 when the estimates were submitted to Parliament, though it was not until December that Parliament actually voted money for the purpose. However, even before the money was available, La Trobe thought that ‘Mr Blandowski who offers his services, is a most suitable person to employ in the first instant’ and Blandowski was invited to submit his views on the subject on 14 November 1853.

On 20 December 1853, he submitted a six-page memorandum on the subject with specific suggestions of what was required. Initially the building would need only to consist of three or four rooms fitted with strong double cases ‘4 feet high, 5 feet wide and 2 feet deep’ arranged with ‘drawers 10 in number, 4 inches high, made of common deal’, until more elegant fittings were required. At the beginning the collections would need to consist of three; one ‘representing (Geology and models for the rules of lodes and Coalfields)’, the second ‘Representing

Petrefactology’ [fossils] and the third mineralogy made up of minerals (oriktognosie), crystals and crystal models. He seems to have anticipated acquiring large collections as he suggested 100,000 paste board boxes of different sizes and a small library of the principal works on mineralogy, petrefactology and geology. Two pages were devoted to the compiling of geological maps of the colony, though why he wrote this when there was already a colonial geologist is not clear. Specimens should be collected by sending out a small party of two or three men in the summer with a cart led by a person who was a

Geologist and who is not lead by any pecuniary motions, but for the benefit of science, who sacrifices comfort and society and take advice from Mr Selwyn in searching certain districts. I for my person would propose to begin with the Rivers Glenelg, Hopkins, Wimmera, Loddon, Goulbourne, Ovens, Murray and so on. The Geological examples I would propose to form in 3 by 4 inches size and by 1 or 1½ inch thick.

This memorandum was forwarded to La Trobe by the Colonial Secretary with an annotation: ‘Does His Excellency know anything of him’ to which La Trobe replied on 24 December ‘Yes – If there may be any means of employing him it will be well.’ The Colonial Secretary annotated the file ‘Keep in mind’.<sup>57</sup>

There the matter rested because of the state of the colonial finances until it was taken up by a member of the Legislative Council Mark Nicholson (1818 – 1889). As a result of his representations, the Colonial Secretary issued a minute on 18 April 1854 directing that £1000 be credited to the Surveyor General on account of the Museum of Natural History and asking what accommodation could be provided in the newly built Assay Office. However, it was not until 8 May that authority was sought by the Surveyor General for the appointment of William Blandowski as Curator at a salary of £400 with allowance of £250 for expenses of equipment, tentage and forage for a riding horse. Blandowski was listed as a Surveyor in the Surveyor General’s Department with date of appointment 1 April 1854 (Paszkowski 1967; Darragh 2000:19-42).

Whilst these activities were under way, plans were being made by those citizens of Melbourne interested in science to form two scientific societies. Preliminary meetings were held in June; the first, on the 15th was the Victorian Institute for the Advancement of Science held at the Mechanics Institute. Blandowski was not involved in it and never became a member. The other society, originally called the

Victorian Philosophical and Literary Society, but changed to the Philosophical Society of Victoria, was formed at a meeting held on 17 June at the Museum in the Assay Office. Blandowski was one of the eight present and was appointed to the provisional committee and later the provisional council, but could not take further part owing to his absence in the field. The Society was formally inaugurated on 12 August 1854 at its first public meeting. That he was elected and the fact that committee meetings were held at the Museum suggests he played more than a token role in its foundation. The Victorian Institute and the Philosophical Society amalgamated in 1855 to form the Philosophical Institute of Victoria. Blandowski was a council member of the Institute until his departure from Victoria and remained a life member until 1868, but was no longer listed thereafter.<sup>58</sup>

Shortly afterwards, on 27 June 1854, Blandowski set out on his first collecting expedition through Central Victoria. A general report of this expedition was read at the meeting of the Philosophical Society on 21 October 1854 and published in volume one of the *Transactions* in September 1855. Though in many respects somewhat unscientific and anecdotal in style, it is particularly valuable for the records of and observations on mammals and birds. Another report purely on geology and published anonymously appeared in volume one of the *Melbourne Monthly Magazine* (Blandowski 1855b:50-74; Blandowski 1855e:280-285, 332-337). Some details on the route and his companions on the first part of the expedition were published in the *Banner*, a weekly newspaper on 30 June 1854. Blandowski set out with a 'medical gentleman, named George Delvin Nugent,' who 'identified himself with this commendable and scientific object.' A letter intimated 'that Mons. Blondonski and Mr Jackson, the landlord of the Keilor Hotel, have been out exploring the immediate country in quest of curiosities. Upon their return, it is intended that Messrs Blondonski, Nugent, and Jackson, shall proceed to Mount Macedon, for the purpose of surveying that locality;' The report went on:

In connection with the museum the subjoined letter, under date 23rd June, has been received in town, during the past week, from Doctor Nugent:— 'I have forwarded from Keilor a brief account of the first Government exploring expedition, of scientific men, towards establishing a 'Museum of Natural History of Victoria.' During our stay at the Keilor, the curator, Blondonski, discovered many rare specimens connected with the mineral kingdom, which he forwarded to the museum.

On the following day, we proceeded to Mount Macedon, which will be the place of our stay for some weeks; as it affords the most likely localities for discoveries in the animal, vegetable, and mineral worlds. We are at present on a visit to Mr Brock, who lives in the immediate neighborhood; the men and horses are encamped close to the stock yard. We have encountered much difficulty since the commencement of our tour; but, it does not damp our courage, although it has retarded our progress. Blondonski has quite enough to supply him for a day or two in doors; and we find a lively interest manifested towards the founding of the museum, and have received much kindness and hospitality from various parties. I shortly proceed with Blondonski, if weather permits, to see the copper mines in the neighborhood of Deep Creek, the particulars of which you shall have in our next. You will recollect to give an invitation to all scientifically disposed persons to pay us a visit. There is plenty for man and horse.' Doctor Nugent further communicates the discovery of some bones on Fawkner's run, which resemble the bones of the 'Moah Tonga', or large man-bird, which have been found in New Zealand. Judging from the size of these fossils, the animal to which they belonged, must have been more gigantic than an elephant. Some very interesting fossil remains have been traced on the summit of Mount Macedon, where Blondonski and Nugent have, for the present, pitched their camp (*Banner* 30 June 1854:7).<sup>59</sup>

The giant fossils probably refer to those found in the swamp on the west side of Lancefield, but Mount Macedon and its surroundings are composed of volcanic and plutonic rocks, so no fossils could possibly have been found as suggested in the report. For some reason this same report, together with a letter giving an account of further activity was sent to the *Portland Guardian* and printed in its issue of 17 July (p.3). The *Banner* in turn reprinted this second letter in its issue of 25 July 1854 (p.10).

I mentioned in my last letter our intention of visiting the 'Copper Mine' near Jackson's Creek, we, notwithstanding the fall of rain during the last few days, set out, and after narrowly escaping a watery grave in a creek which for a short time, swallowed up horse, gig and riders, but, owning the strength, honesty and might of our young horse, we escaped, thank God with a good soaking and after the necessary restorateurs at McDonnell's Sunberry Inn we proceeded to the



mine. We were rather disappointed as the indications are anything but promising; however, Mr Roe, who holds the licence from the Government, together with Mr Selwin, the government geologist and some Cornish and Burra miners have formed a different opinion; so ours including Blandowski's, is of no weight. From thence we proceeded to Mr Coghill's, who lives in the neighbourhood and takes a lively interest in the working of the mine where we stopped for the night...

Nugent's allegation that Selwyn believed copper to be present on Roe's property is incorrect. Selwyn visited the property in May 1854 and reported to the Colonial Secretary on 29 May that he could not detect the slightest trace of copper, but that there was a slight possibility copper could be present in the rocks outcropping in the creek. Roe, who had an unshakeable belief in the presence of copper there, pestered both La Trobe and his successor Sir Charles Hotham (1806 – 1855), probably took Selwyn's remarks out of context for his own purposes and misled Nugent and others.

How Nugent and Blandowski came to be associated is not known, but it did not last long as Nugent had moved to Mount Gambier by September 1854.<sup>60</sup> He made claims of being a surgeon, as he may well have been, but was 'an old convict of bad character who would not scruple at a falsehood'.<sup>61</sup> Perhaps Blandowski and Nugent separated because Blandowski discovered that Nugent was not all he claimed to be. Blandowski's other companions were probably James Manson, who was employed by him for some years and also Spencer Ruding Deverell (c.1835 – 1889), who assisted him at the Museum for a time. Deverell arrived in Victoria on 16 January 1854 aboard the *Jeannette* and this may have been his first job. It is not known how long he worked at the Museum, but in 1856 he was assistant secretary to the Philosophical Institute and on 19 November 1857, he was appointed assistant station master at Melbourne in the Electric Telegraph Department.<sup>62</sup>

From the published accounts, it is possible to construct a rough itinerary. The party left Melbourne shortly after 17 June and by 23 June was camped at Mount Macedon, their base for two months. Short trips were made to Hanging Rock (Dryden Rock), which fascinated Blandowski and later was the subject of two engravings in *Australia Terra Cognita* (plates 1 and 2); to the waterfall with basalt columns on a small tributary of Five Mile Creek near Romsey (plate 6); to the Riddell Creek area, Bolinda area

(Brock's or Fawknor's station) and to the Lancefield area where he failed to find the Aboriginal stone quarries on Mount William and was defeated by water in trying to secure fossil bones in the Lancefield spring. The party then moved over the divide across the Cobaw Granite via Darlington (Doctor Baynton's run), Glen Hope (Pohlman's run) and Spring Plains (Perry's run) to the Mia Mia Inn on the Redesdale-Heathcote road.

Thence northeast to Heathcote (McIvor) where Blandowski met the District Surveyor Phillip Lamonte Chauncy (1816- 1880), who presented him with specimens and directed him to localities of interest, including the Mount Ida Range with its fossiliferous sandstones. Plate 36 of *Australia Terra Cognita* contains engravings of some of the fossils. Apparently it was somewhere near Heathcote that he had the misfortune to have a horse stolen from him, which he reported to the Surveyor General on 10 August.

From Heathcote his route is uncertain, but seems to have been southeast along the edge of the Cobaw Granite via Pyalong (Mollison's run) to Mount William, where he was shown the Aboriginal stone quarries by a Mr F. McKenzie (probably the overseer of Pyalong station of that name). Thence the party moved east along the Lancefield-Kilmore road to Kilmore, where they turned northeast up the Sydney road to Seymour and camped on the banks of the Goulburn River sometime in September. Blandowski then explored east as far as the Black Ranges in the Strathbogie granite near Rocky Passes Station (Stewart's run) where he found smoky quartz. He returned to Melbourne down the Sydney Road via Fergusson's Inn (Broadford) and The Hunter's Inn (Beveridge) arriving in Melbourne in time to attend a council meeting of the Philosophical Society on 1 October 1854.

The report of this journey published in the transactions of the Society includes an engraved plate (later used as plate 101 in *Australia Terra Cognita*) with five figures of cockatoos numbered according to its position in the list in the introduction of John Gould's *Birds of Australia* volume one. A copy of Gould's *Birds* had been purchased by the Museum in November 1854. Another report of a strictly geological nature consisting of at least 92 foolscap pages was submitted to the Surveyor General, who passed it over to Robert Brough Smyth (1830 – 1889), at that time a draughtsman in the Surveyor General's Office, but who also played some kind of supervisory role in connection with the Museum. Smyth returned the report with some rather critical but not

unreasonable remarks in a letter dated 13 December 1854. Smyth stated that Blandowski's geology was not that taught in English schools, but rather belonged to Werner and his disciples. Abraham Gottlieb Werner (1750 – 1817) was a famous German geologist, a Neptunian who believed that all rocks and minerals were deposited by oceanic waters, a theory that had long since been abandoned by most modern geologists. Smyth concluded that if Blandowski withdrew the irrelevant matter in his report and confined himself to bare facts, it would be more satisfactory.<sup>63</sup> Blandowski may well have taken Smyth's comments to heart when he wrote the article appearing in the *Melbourne Monthly Magazine*, because it is a very good description of the geology and the rocks and minerals of the area, without theories about their formation.

### *Melbourne Exhibition*

In May 1854, moves were afoot in Melbourne to gather local products and manufactures for exhibition at the Paris Exhibition of 1855. As a means of achieving this, it was proposed to have a preliminary exhibition in Melbourne to open in the spring of 1854. The Museum of Natural History contributed a major exhibit in the form of a collection of 76 rocks and minerals and 32 specimens of animals representing several phyla. Some of the specimens were from localities Blandowski visited in South Australia, so presumably he had donated some items. As the exhibition opened on 14 October, Blandowski must have worked exceedingly fast in the fortnight between his return from his expedition and the opening to put together and label the Museum contribution, because most of the rocks and minerals had been collected during his travels. He claimed that the work for the Exhibition occupied fully one month of his time. The Museum received one of two silver medals, the highest award, for this collection, so it obviously made a considerable impression on the judges (Melbourne Exhibition 1854:7-9,23; *Argus* 28 February 1855:8).

On 20 November 1854, Blandowski left Melbourne again on his second expedition, this time to the Mornington Peninsula and Western Port. He was accompanied by his assistants Spencer Deverell and James Manson, and by Alfred William Howitt (1830 – 1908) and Edward La Trobe Bateman (1816 – 1897). Howitt has left a good description of what happened on the expedition and gives interesting insights into Blandowski's character. Howitt informed his mother

on 24 October 1854 that he was 'going for about two months exploring through Western port and Gippsland – with a government party – the leader a Mr Blandowski offered to take Bateman and me with fifty pounds weight of luggage for which we are to merely pay the government rations 21/- per diem for the time we are away.... I am going to make skeletons on the road. We collect also insects, birds skins and in fact anything that we can get hold of, ....'

Howitt wrote again on 4 November from Balcombe Creek, Mount Eliza, that he had left with the first dray load of things 'and "Jim", Mr Blandowski's man, [James Manson] and the others were to follow as soon as Mr Blandowski had finished some Reports about which he appeared to be in a constant fever for at least a week before.'

Jim seems to be a very quiet, good natured original kind of fellow and the only thing I have to complain of him is that he seems to have no opinion of his own, but invariably agrees with everything I say on all subjects, which in travelling through the bush where two heads are better than one, is by no means satisfactory. I verily believe that if I were to tell him that the moon being made of green cheese I intended to have some for supper he would immediately say - "Oh yes Sir! Just so Sir- shall I make up the fire Sir". However he is a very good sort of fellow and does his work well, bird skinning included....

It took them all the afternoon to set up their three tents, then Manson set off for Melbourne the next day to bring down the rest of the things, while Howitt went off to Balcombe's station to get meat. On Sunday 19 November Howitt wrote that the dray had arrived on the previous Thursday.

Writing again from the mouth of Balcombe Creek one Saturday afternoon in December 1854 to his sister Annie, he wrote:

We down here have very quietly gone about our usual occupations shooting and collecting. Soon after Bateman went to town with the first dray load of things for the Museum Blandowski took it into his head to make a trip to the heads and we started one morning a few days back in his gig with two kickers and the pleasant prospect of being smashed to atoms against some gum tree or another. However, all went well, one or two small kicking bouts excepted till we got half way to Arthurs Seat, having gone round Mount Martha by a very pretty road well shaded with thick trees a most unusual thing in this country; half way through the Special Survey [Jamieson's Special Survey at Dromana],

lying between Mt Martha and Arthurs Seat, one wheel ran up a stump overgrown with fern and before I knew what was the matter the gig was upside down, both of us sprawling among the bushes and horses kicking like mad things. Very fortunately Blandowski had kept hold of the reins and as I picked myself up in a great hurry and got hold of one horse's head while he held the other we escaped with not much more damage than a broken shaft and a few scratches, not on ourselves but the paint. I went back to a little dirty desolate farm which we had passed just before and borrowed a tommyhawk and some rope, and a neighbouring tea tree swamp furnished an extempore shaft of the most appropriate shape which we lashed onto the side of the gig and onto the broken one with plenty of cord. It answered so well, that we were tempted to continue our trip, but coming to a place where the road went through the water below some cliffs at Arthurs Seat where the horses showed very plainly that they would only go into the sea if absolutely forced to it, we thought it wisest to turn back rather than risk another accident in which we might fare far worse than in the first.

In going home we got onto a "splitters" track which led us off the road and onto Mount Martha, a shortcut on foot or on horseback but a very bad road for a carriage, and I expected every moment that the springs would give as we bumped over logs and ran against trees in trying to get between them. However, we struck the road at last and our extempore shaft carried us home bravely and was much admired at Balcombes Station by the stockmen as a fine specimen of bush work. The morning after Blandowski and I started on horseback and crossing the Mount by some very pleasant shady gullies got onto the Survey near a great big machine in the course of erection by some big bearded Yankees; - a brick making machine of most substantial appearance which according to their account will turn out 25000 bricks a day, the dry clay being put in at one end and coming out as bricks ready for the kiln at the other. It looked a very likely affair and is worked by a steam engine. I should fancy that they must make a pile, the clay and firewood being ready on the spot, although bricks have fallen from £20 to £3 per 1000 in Melbourne.

We now followed the beach, low and sandy all along the Survey, below the foot of Arthurs Seat, a long ridge with red granite buttresses rather than cliffs jutting into the bay. Close to the

beach and pleasantly nestled among trees we saw Mr Burrell's station but had not time to call, deferring it till our next visit. The country after passing Arthurs Seat became sandy and very uninteresting, very thickly timbered in many places and frightfully hot and arid, the grass being as much dried already as other parts of the country in March. Blandowski kept pushing on along the beach, mile after mile of wearying sand fringed with scrub, he in a constant state of ecstasy with the shells he saw beneath his horse's feet, I in a state of fear lest my horse, a regular 'orre, should give in as he was beginning to flag already; towards noon we came to a place called the White Cliffs [at Rye] and a little beyond pulled up at some fishermen's tents where wells had been dug just above high water mark, the water being tolerably fresh and good. There I determined to stop while Blandowski went on towards the heads, and after a chat with the fishermen in their tent, buzzing with flies like a beehive by the bye, I strolled out insect hunting among the shrubs. .... After waiting for three hours I gave up the idea [of] Blandowski's coming back and lighting my pipe road [sic] homewards with the pleasing knowledge that I had thirty miles before me and a weary horse under me. .... Blandowski did not return till the following evening having come home by the Back Beach; he spent the night at the Quarantine ground and came home full of exciting news, the Balaarat riots (an alarming version) and the glorious victory at Sebastopol.

Bateman went into town but has not returned; as is usual with him he found that he must stay longer than he at first intended. While he has been away I have been hard at work collecting skins and may even say that I am a tolerably good hand at it, in fact a far better hand than any here, not even Blandowski who says so much about his knowledge. I am most amused by studying his character, quite a new one to me, that of a dreamy philosophising German upon an Australian bushman but cannot find that it is an improvement upon either, for the rough bush life is so studded with queer crochets and eccentricities that one stands constantly in a state of surprise. I as a looker on note many amusing things, sometimes it is that a spoon is left lying on the ground and Jim is called up with the information that "we go ja all to the devils together if we no look to the little egonomics" or else it is Deverell undergoing a most minute and confused drill in the proper use and manage-

ment of a german doublegun which is supposed by its owner to be the most perfect piece in existence and I sitting in my tent have a vision of Deverell in a state of amaze and Blandowski in an excited state, talking very loud and ending with the exhortation “to be very careful – and no to leave de hammer open – someting should knoch de trigger and shot perhaps Deverell or a friend”.

One constant theme is that the horses are lost, suppose him standing over the fire deep down in the consideration of some philosophical chimera, or perhaps of nothing, when suddenly he rouses up stares across the gully, turns round as if on a pivot and shouts out “Gentlemans the horses am walk off”, or “Messieurs de mare hab valk”.

He started this afternoon up to Mr Balcombes to leave the broken gig there for the present and in doing so managed to run over another stump and I believe turned upside down and broke the other shaft and various other things, so that one way or another I seem to have nothing else in my mind all day long than Blandowski and his eccentricities. ....

#### Wednesday morning

This morning we were to have started for Arthurs Seat and had everything arranged overnight; but you know the old proverb “L’Homme propose etc” and in the night just in the heart of my sleep, as I suppose about one o’clock I was aroused by most dismal cries proceeding from the near the creek. In the first moments of waking a thousand ideas seemed to rush through my brain, bush-rangers, horse stealers, someone fallen into the creek, all jumbled up into a medley and tinged with that strange kind of horror that one feels for the first moment at being suddenly startled from a deep sleep. It could not have been many seconds before I found out that it was Blandowski’s voice incessantly shouting out, and his lungs are of the strongest – Howeet! Howeet! - Bring queek a knife – de mare am tied”. I “cooeed” and he was at once quiet and a moment after I was running down with Jim towards the creek tumbling over logs and running against trees in our hurry for it was pitch dark, how I escaped it I know not as I carried the “sharp knife” he had bellowed for in my hand. Getting to where he was I found that the mare had thrown herself down by the tether rope, it turned out afterwards by getting her hind foot into the noose round her neck, probably while scratching her head, and was just then to all appearance on the point of giving up the

ghost, being covered in blood and moaning very piteously, indeed it was her groans which Blandowski had heard in his tent and which made him get up to see what was the matter.

At last we got her up and did what we could for her at once. This morning a horse doctor has been sent for from the Survey, a queer little feller riding a lanky bit of a two year old, he being horse breaker as well as horse mender. He bled the mare, prescribed for her and I suppose took his fee, but of which I personally know nothing and all morning Jim, Deverell and Blandowski have been first of all holding up her head at a certain angle after the bleeding and giving her a steam bath after a novel bush fashion, of which I have made a sketch.

Blandowski has been very unfortunate with his horses having had two stolen near the McIvor, and you may tell Charlton for his edification that his Gypsy friend on the Bendigo, of whom I was so suspicious and whom Charlton so valiantly befriended and patronised was the presumed horse stealer in question, the chain of evidence being most conclusive although not strong enough to bear the strain of a trial. I am in a hurry for this to go by a boat which starts for Melbourne tomorrow, taking with this letter my first little box of bird skins, about 3 doz. And some rather nice fossils.<sup>64</sup>

It is not known whether Howitt accompanied Blandowski until the end of the expedition. Blandowski moved camp to Martha Jane King’s Bunguyan Station on Western Port near Hastings on 28 December and wrote up his first report on the expedition from here on 31 December. He moved from there to Phillip Island travelling along the coast of Western Port, and crossing to Sandstone Island, French Island and Phillip Island. His second report was written on 29 January 1855 and he had returned to Melbourne by 7 February (Blandowski 1856b:24-37, 1856c:50-67).<sup>65</sup>

#### *Australia Terra Cognita*

On his return from his second expedition Blandowski started to work on the publication of his grand work on Australia. At some time in 1855 he was introduced to the art of photography, but just how this came about is unknown. However, in August 1855 he informed the Surveyor General that he now had in his possession an excellent photographic instrument and was acquainted with the collodion process on

glass. It seems he learnt the art from a photographer named Brown, who apparently accompanied Blandowski on at least one expedition, and almost certainly the trip he took to Mount Macedon and Kilmore, leaving on 28 September 1855 and returning by 17 October. Blandowski exhibited photographs of Dryden's Monument (Hanging Rock) near Mount Macedon at the meeting of the Philosophical Institute on 23 October.<sup>66</sup> None of his Victorian photographs seem to have survived, but some plates in his *Australien in 142 photographischen Abbildungen*, published in Gleiwitz in 1862 after his return to Germany, are based on photographs from his expedition and some of the plates in *Australia Terra Cognita* are also based on photographs.

In order to publish his sketches or photographs, he needed to have them printed either using lithography or engraving. He chose engraving and the engravers he used were the firm of Redaway and Sons consisting of James Redaway (c.1801 – 1858) and his sons, George (c.1828 – 1892) and William (c.1832 – 1900). Blandowski probably chose James Redaway because of his experience in engraving natural history illustrations. Though better known for his steel engravings of topographical and costume plates, Redaway had engraved many of the natural history plates in the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* (1845).<sup>67</sup> Early in 1854 the Redaways moved to Melbourne and set up in business as engravers. In October 1854, they exhibited line engravings on steel and copperplate at the Exhibition, so Blandowski may have come across them there (Melbourne Exhibition 1854:26, No.243; *Argus* 26 August 1856:8).<sup>68</sup>

They returned to England in August 1856. The little evidence available suggests that Blandowski first commissioned them to undertake the engraving of his drawings in 1855. They engraved 27 plates altogether, which must have cost a considerable sum of money.<sup>69</sup>

Blandowski chose a Latin title *Australia Terra Cognita* [Australia the known land], presumably because his work would make the natural history and anthropology of the country known. He planned to have a volume of 200 plates, illustrating 'about 4000 objects of Natural History of Australia', and two octavo volumes of text.<sup>70</sup> The plates were grouped according to subjects – geological views, fossils, vegetation, birds, and Aborigines. Publishing such an ambitious work would have been way beyond the means of any private individual or any of the small Melbourne publishing firms, so he would have needed substantial government support to carry it

out. However, he was never in a position to obtain it. Not all the prints in *Australia Terra Cognita* are based on his own photographs or drawings, as there are some of the figures based on the work of others, such as the cowrie no. 17 on plate 21, which is taken from plate 19 in P.L. Strzelecki (1845) *Physical description of New South Wales and Van Diemens Land*. Figures 157-177 and 179-183 are based on plate 3 in volume 2 of Charles Sturt's (1833) *Two expeditions into the interior of Southern Australia during the years 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831*. Some of the figures on the plates of Aborigines may be based on plates published by George French Angus in *South Australia Illustrated* (1846).

At the November 1856 exhibition of the Victoria Industrial Society, Blandowski received a gold medal for a frame containing six plates of illustrations. Five of the plates were taken from the copperplates engraved by Redaway & Sons for *Australia Terra Cognita*, of which three were based on photographs by Blandowski and Brown; plate 41 'Ferntrees', plate 7 'Granite boulders', and plate 110 'Birds Eggs'. The other engraved plate was stated to be of Aborigines of Victoria, showing two heads. This is possibly plate 116, though these were South Australian Aborigines. The sixth plate consisted of water colour drawings representing Fish of Victoria. These were drawn by Arthur Bartholomew (1834 – 1909), a talented artist, who later worked as Professor McCoy's lecture-room assistant at the University of Melbourne. There was little opportunity in Melbourne for artists such as Bartholomew to earn a living, so he was probably pleased to get the work and his charges would have been moderate. He was a properly trained artist and his drawings are far more accurate than anything attempted by Blandowski, who would have been eager to use Bartholomew's skills in his project, whilst he had money to pay him (*Age* 12 December 1856:3).<sup>71</sup>

#### *Government retrenchments*

Just as Blandowski seemed to have found a secure future, disaster struck him again, but this time the circumstances were not of his making and far beyond his control. Governor La Trobe's replacement in 1854 was Sir Charles Hotham, who introduced dramatic cuts in government expenditure in 1855. The Museum was considered a luxury at a time of financial stringency and no funds were available, either for running expenses, or for field work. To make matters worse, the Assay Office, the building hous-



ing the Museum, was to be renovated to provide accommodation for the expanding Crown Lands Department. The recently appointed Professor of Natural History at the University of Melbourne, Frederick McCoy (c.1823-1899) saw an opportunity and on 29 June 1855, after being informed by Blandowski of the 'breaking up of the Public Museum', visited the Colonial Secretary and offered to accommodate the collections at the University. He further suggested that 'Mr Blandowski be continued as Collector'. McCoy stated that Blandowski was 'best fitted for work in the field' and was 'a most admirable collector' and that Blandowski was 'unwilling to attempt the naming or literary investigation of the objects, as it requires much patient study in the closet and a large library'. McCoy claimed that Blandowski had suggested all this to him, yet McCoy's last statement in particular seems at odds with Blandowski's plans to produce *Australia Terra Cognita*. It is most unlikely that McCoy would deliberately mislead the Colonial Secretary, so Blandowski must have made the suggestion in desperation or McCoy misconstrued what was said to him. Whatever the case, after an official formal offer was received from the University, and accepted, Blandowski was ordered to have the specimens, books and furniture moved to the University in October 1855. However, because a building needed to be constructed to receive the collection, nearly a year passed before anything could be transferred, allowing public opposition to the proposal to be generated, led by the Council of the Philosophical Institute and the Melbourne newspapers. All to no avail! The Museum was eventually transferred (Wilkinson 1996:1-11).<sup>72</sup>

Though Blandowski was temporarily placed in charge of the Museum by Order in Council of 22 April 1856, he was still employed in the Crown Lands Department, and listed as an assistant surveyor by Order in Council of 18 November 1856, so was responsible to the Surveyor General.<sup>73</sup> Therefore McCoy could not direct him to undertake field work without going through the Surveyor General. On the other hand the Museum taxidermist, George Fulker, was placed under McCoy's direct control in October 1856.

### *Lectures on Aborigines*

The Melbourne Mechanics Institute ran a series of lectures throughout the year for the education of the public. As a prominent Melbourne scientist, Bland-

owski was invited to give the first lecture in the third course held on 24 October 1856. His topic was 'Superstitions, Customs and Burials of the Aborigines'. The lecture was based on his own observations made in South Australia and on the writings of others on the topic. He illustrated the lecture with coloured drawings that were hung around the walls of the room. The lecture was warmly received, so much so that Blandowski was asked to give his 'much admired lecture' at the Prahran Mechanics Institute on 7 November. The lecture was widely reported in the press and a translation, presumably supplied by Blandowski, appeared in the Melbourne German newspaper *Der Kosmopolit*.<sup>74</sup>

### *Murray-Darling Expedition*

With an easing of the financial situation and without any Museum duties except as a collector, Blandowski proposed to the Surveyor General on 1 August 1856 that he undertake a six months-excursion towards the junction of the Murray and Darling rivers, from thence to Lake Hindmarsh and Portland Bay. This proposal was referred to McCoy, who apparently approved it, but may have suggested that the expedition work along the Murray and Darling rivers rather than collect only in Victoria. In October, Blandowski was authorised to undertake the expedition and on 15 November forwarded an estimate of the cost, by which time the goal of the expedition was the Victoria River of the explorer Edmund Besley Court Kennedy (1818 – 1848), that is the Barcoo River in Queensland. It is not known whether he really was being allowed to travel so far north or whether this was a grossly optimistic estimate of how far he and his party could travel. On 18 November 1856, by an Order in Council, he was reinstated on the Surveyor General's staff with the pay and rank of an assistant surveyor.<sup>75</sup>

The expedition consisting of Blandowski, Gerard Krefft, a fellow-countryman recruited by Blandowski and two others left Melbourne on 6 December 1856 and reached the junction of the Murray-Darling on 8 April 1857.<sup>76</sup> On 27 May, Blandowski left his party and travelled up the Darling River for about 480 kilometres to a place about 40 kilometres north of Mount Murchison i.e. present day Wilcannia, returning 24 days later, on about 20 June. On 6 August, he left his party, taking all his collected material by the steamer *Goolwa* to Goolwa, South Australia, then travelled by steamer to Adelaide and thence to Melbourne. His party was left to continue collecting. Kr-

efft, who was probably specifically recruited for his artistic ability, was instructed by Blandowski to continue making drawings of Aborigines and natural history specimens. Blandowski arrived in time to attend the meeting of the Philosophical Society Council on 26 August 1857, at which he showed two portfolios of sketches of birds, insects and other things drawn on the expedition and requested Council to recommend their publication to the Government. Next day the secretary wrote to the Surveyor General seeking permission for Blandowski to give the results of his work at the next ordinary meeting of the Institute, which was held on 2 September. On the evening following the lecture, a dinner was given in his honour by members of the Philosophical Institute and on 14 October the Council of the Institute voted £30 for engraving and printing of four plates to accompany his paper. At the next meeting of Council there was a move to rescind the vote on the grounds that the paper had been published in the newspapers, but after protests by Blandowski and others, the Council at its meeting held on 4 November agreed to print the paper. The plates were engraved by Friedrich Grosse (1828-1894), a Melbourne wood engraver, but Krefft claimed that though the original drawings had been made by Blandowski, the drawings actually used by Grosse were made by Nicholas Chevalier (1828-1902).<sup>77</sup>

This was undoubtedly the highlight of Blandowski's career, although trouble was brewing, which was to tarnish him in the eyes of former supporters and for which he had only himself to blame. The expedition was supposed to last only six months, but had exceeded that time and the authorised costs. This meant that there were few funds available to McCoy for Museum purposes. In October 1857, Blandowski was directed to recall the field party, but it was only in the middle of December that the party returned. In the meantime, on 28 October, McCoy and Selwyn were asked to act as a Board to report on the results of the expedition and furnish an estimate on the value of the specimens collected. The Board reported back on 26 November that the collection had been examined by a local natural history dealer and taxidermist, Frederick John Williams, who stated that the skins had not been properly prepared and were in bad condition, and that much of the spirit material was badly damaged. He valued the total collection at £313/15/3. The Board noted that the collection consisted of a large number of duplicate specimens, in some cases amounting to hundreds of duplicates, and that many of the specimens had no associated data, such as lo-

calities. A similar critical report on the collection in an article on the National Museum was published in *Facts and Figures*. Though no author of the article was cited, it was an edited version of an even more critical draft submitted to the editor by Frederick McCoy.<sup>78</sup>

Blandowski was accused by Wakefield (1966:372)<sup>79</sup> as having 'taken the bulk of the [Murray expedition] collection with him' when he returned to Germany. Presumably he made this accusation because so few specimens survive in the museum collections. The accusation is untrue. In fact hundreds of specimens were given away as official gifts or as exchanges to individuals and institutions beginning as early as 1858 when 241 birds, 33 mammals and 16 reptiles were given to Friedrich Paul Wilhelm, Prince of Württemberg (1797-1860) in exchange for South American monkeys. Other specimens were sent to J. F. Johnstone of Portland in 1859; to the Smithsonian Institution; to Victor de Robillard in Mauritius in 1860; to the Australian Museum in 1861 and 1862; to the Calcutta Museum in 1861; and to the Imperial Museum in St Petersburg in 1862. In addition, dozens of specimens were destroyed officially, beginning in 1860 when 50 were destroyed owing to the 'original imperfect skinning and preservation rendering them liable to moths & dermestess, with wh. they were infected beyond cure'.<sup>80</sup>

Not content with criticizing the quality of the expedition specimens, McCoy also attempted to embarrass Blandowski by publicly questioning the accuracy of a report in the *Argus* about the finding on the expedition of two specimens of a rare mammal, the pig-footed bandicoot. The report stated that only one specimen was known previously and it was supposed erroneously to have no tail. McCoy sent a letter to the *Argus*, in which he stated that there were other specimens in the British Museum and that there were accounts of the animal with its tail published by Gray, Gould and Waterhouse. He finished his letter by writing that 'I wish publicly to note these facts at the present moment, because the public museum department will certainly and justly suffer if we exhibit so complete an ignorance of the common literature of the subject'. It is extremely unlikely that the general public would have had the slightest interest in such pedantry, but Blandowski immediately replied, defending his statement and his identification. In doing so, he showed by his quotes that he was just as familiar with the literature on the subject as McCoy (*Argus* 20 October 1857:5; 21 October 1857:6; 22 October 1857:6).



Fig. 3. Cartoon of Blandowski and the Royal Society. Photograph in Georg Neumayer Album, Pfalz Museum, Bad Dürkheim, courtesy H-J. Kretzer.

### *The Fish Scandal*

On 5 March 1858, proofs of Blandowski's paper on the Murray Expedition became available at the Institute's Council meeting and immediately drew the ire of some Council members, offended by the section describing new species of fish, some of which were named for Council members. He was asked to replace the offending descriptive matter with 'scientific descriptions' and to 'withdraw the names of such gentlemen as may object to the intended compliment'. He stubbornly refused, so the Council resolved that the *Transactions* be issued without the descriptions and plates of the fishes. The matter caused enormous controversy among the members of the Institute and amused the general public (Figs 3 & 4). This episode has been dealt with in detail by others, though some aspects have not been covered (Allen 2001:221-4; Pescott 1954:14-15; Paszkowski 1967:156-159; Humphries 2003:160-165).<sup>81</sup>

On reading over the descriptions as a whole, one could give Blandowski the benefit of the doubt and agree with a substantial number of the Institute members that Blandowski did not intend to insult, but that he was grossly discourteous and stubborn in not withdrawing the names when asked. Also the descriptions are neither detailed nor scientific, reflecting badly on Blandowski as a scientist. However, when Gerard Krefft, by then in London, read a report of the matter in the *Argus*, he wrote to the secretary of the Institute on 15 July 1858 and claimed that 'they were selected to insult' and that

'Mr Blandowski had informed me of his intentions and expected a great deal of fun from these proceedings. Being no latin scholar at all, myself and his secretary had to give our aid in transforming the english into latin Names and the one, which gave us the greatest trouble was that of Dr Eades. The description of the habits and economy of these fishes, which is the only attempt at describing

## An Explanation.

By a Distinguished Foreigner, and Member of the  
Philosophical Institute.

Vot shall I say, vot shall I do-  
I did describe ze vish quite true;  
I wish zat I could please you all,  
But not can make his belly small?

Mein himmel-all vot is I wish,  
You look yourself upon ze vish;  
You see ze spines-ze little pins,  
Vot sticks out here upon his fins.

This oder vish has got ze same,  
But he has got anoder name  
Because he differs in his belly  
Vich is all vlat, not round and swelly.

But zat von mit de stomash fat,  
You see about ze head is vlat-  
Shall I about him tell some lies,  
Because ze doctor's is likewise?

Vot for, I ask, am I to blame  
Because ze vish is zhaped ze same?  
I cannot take his stomach in,  
Nor make ze doctor small and tin.

Vell, here now is anoder vish;  
A reverend gentlemen did vish  
Zat I should give a vish his name,  
And I did choose ze first vot came.

I did not do it mit ze spite,  
For I was mit him friendly quite;  
My heart does take him by ze han's,  
And all zese wordy gentlemen.

I did not think of them at all;  
I see my vish, and zat is all.  
But, gentlemen, you please to note  
Zese little tings about his throat.

Vell, it is in ze fish's blood,  
Vot has got zese to love ze mud.  
And I may tell you at dis time  
Such vishes always have some slime.

Now, really very much I vish  
You pay attention to my vish;  
Upon his belly there is lots  
Of little blue or purple spots.

Ze belly black with spots of blue,  
I wrote so, for ze ting vos true.  
Vot should I tink ze man had got,  
A black stomach vith purple spot.

Vot color may be of his skin,  
I tink it must be very tin  
All over all dese gentlemen's,  
Or dey would not so take offence.

Another vish I did him call,  
After a great man vich is small;  
And ze report of zis great gun,  
Make out I turn him into fun.

I tell you zat I had no thought  
To say zat vot I did'nt ought;  
It vos no part of mein own wishes,  
To miscal men while naming vishes.



Fig. 4. *Melbourne Punch* 1 April 1858, p. 81. Poem and cartoon satirising the fish naming controversy.

them, made by Mr Blandowski, is totally false and was invented for the purpose of throwing ridicule on the gentlemen after which they had been named. For instance the "Bleasdaliae" described as living in filth and slime or some such stuff is a fish often and most always caught in clear water. Mr

Blandowski knows nothing of the habits of these fishes whatever, as he was never present when the natives caught them, which I can prove by my own diary. Mr Blandowski always stopped at the camp with the exception of a four weeks trip to Mr Jamiesons station near Mount Murchison and an



occasional visit to that gentlemen home at Milldura, but as he insulted Mr Jamieson and every other squatter he met with, he seldom was invited again and had to stop at the camp.... I have been the only person who was able to stand and bear all Mr Blandowski's mad pranks and insults....<sup>82</sup>

If Krefft's allegations are correct, then Blandowski's behaviour was despicable and the joke backfired on him.<sup>83</sup> However, Krefft's accusations need to be treated with caution. He had previously curried favour with McCoy, who was keen to appoint Krefft as his assistant at the National Museum, by making accusations against Blandowski in letters written from Germany (Pescott 1954:17-18). In July 1858, whilst in London, Krefft wrote to the *Argus* correcting 'misrepresentations made by Mr. Blandowski' in his report on the Murray expedition. Krefft concluded his letter by stating that McCoy could furnish additional proofs to his statements (*Argus* 13 October 1858, supplement).

### *The last years in Australia*

Blandowski's last years in Australia were plagued with problems, and almost all because of his own stubbornness. He never reported for duty at the Museum, or it seems at the Survey Office. In addition, he retained specimens collected on the Murray expedition for the purpose of having illustrations made.<sup>84</sup> Claim and counter-claim about moneys owed by him to the Government due to unauthorised expenditure and moneys owed by the Government to him for wages and expenses, as well as about ownership of documents, went back and forth between himself, McCoy, the Surveyor General and the Chief Secretary's Office. The Government claimed that all documents associated with the Murray expedition were Government property, whereas Blandowski claimed he submitted regular reports during the period of the expedition and that anything he had in his possession was his private property. He had in fact sent in numerous reports to the Surveyor General, as well as letters since 1854, but, with the exception of a few insignificant documents, these can no longer be found.<sup>85</sup> He requested to be told his duties, but seems to have got no reply; indeed at one time was told he had no place in the Public Service.<sup>86</sup>

Between his return from the Murray expedition and his departure from Melbourne, Blandowski seems to have occupied himself with writing and making illustrations. He continued to employ Arthur Bar-

tholomew to make finished drawings, either based on his own sketches or from fresh specimens he collected, such as fish from the fish market. Bartholomew also painted a series of butterflies for him. Blandowski also seems to have spent a little time in the field recollecting from sites he'd previously visited, such as Fossil Beach near Mornington. And despite the controversy he had stirred up, he also regularly attended Philosophical Institute Council meetings until his last on 8 March 1859, shortly before his departure from Melbourne. Indeed at the annual meeting of the Institute held the following day, he was renominated to the Council but not re-elected.<sup>87</sup> He had been elected to the Society's Exploration Committee and attended his first meeting on 14 November 1857. Based on his experience he argued with good reasons against altering the suggested starting point from Port Curtis to a point on the Darling River as suggested by Mueller and others, but he was outvoted.<sup>88</sup> Mueller claimed in a letter to Augustus Gregory (1819-1905) that 'Mr Blandowski is rather savage about the alteration'. Mueller also implied that Blandowski wanted to take part in the proposed expedition, but was 'not at all conversant with the use of astronomical Instruments'. This latter statement seems to be at odds with Blandowski's training and experience as a surveyor. A new exploration committee was set up in September 1858, but he was not included (Home et al. 1998:339).

Blandowski was present at the preliminary meeting to form a Mining Institute of Victoria on 7 September 1857 and was elected to the Provisional Committee, but resigned in July 1858 on the grounds 'that his other arduous duties call in requisition his undivided attention'.<sup>89</sup> He also attended preliminary meetings to found the Zoological Society of Victoria in November 1857, and accompanied a delegation to the Governor to ask him to be patron of the Society, but he was not on the general committee when the Society was formally constituted in January 1858 (*Argus* 3 November 1857:4; 6 November 1857:4).<sup>90</sup>

Eventually at the end of 1858, a Board was appointed to consider his claims for salary and the expenses he had incurred on the Murray expedition. Even though Blandowski had undertaken no official duties, in fact had not reported for duty during 1858, the Board found in his favour on the technicality that he had never been told that his services were no longer required and that provision had been made for him in the estimates. The amount they approved was £475/19/-. However, it was stated that payment should not be made until Blandowski had delivered up his drawings and official papers. Blandowski was



so informed but declined to agree to give up his material. After more argument and the matter being aired in Parliament on 12 January 1859, Blandowski agreed to submit his drawings for examination. Another Board, comprised of Ferdinand Mueller and Robert Brough Smyth, inspected them and reported on 31 January 1859 that in their opinion the drawings 'are, in their present unfinished state not of high scientific value to the Government'. On the basis of this comment, the Surveyor General agreed that the amount owed be paid, so Blandowski received his money and departed.<sup>91</sup>

There is no doubt that the Government had a legitimate claim on those drawings made on the Murray-Darling Expedition and Blandowski had behaved very badly in claiming they were done in private time and paid for with his private funds. In contrast, for some reason Gerard Krefft, who drew many of them and kept copies of some of the material as well as a journal with the later intention of publishing it, was never asked to produce anything.

#### RETURN TO GERMANY

Before Blandowski had received word that the amount he claimed from the Government would be paid, he had decided to leave Melbourne. He was offered a free passage on a Prussian barque *Mathilde*, which had arrived in Melbourne on 21 January 1859, by its Captain, Albert Ballaseyers. The ship left Melbourne on 17 March in ballast for Batavia, where it arrived to take on cargo of rice, sugar and spices. Blandowski was able to make some observations along the southern and western coasts of Australia and in the Sea of Java. The ship remained in Batavia for six weeks, during which time he made observations on the fauna of Java for comparison with that of Australia and also was able to collect specimens and make some sketches. The *Mathilde* left on 4 June and after calling at Saint Helena for provisions, landed Blandowski at Plymouth, England, on 4 October 1859 and he made his way to London with his drawings. The boat sailed on to Hamburg with his luggage where it arrived on 19 October. According to Gerard Krefft, who was in Hamburg by then, Blandowski's luggage consisted of six large boxes full of natural history specimens, which were to be placed in care of his friend and patron Professor Wiebel. Krefft alleged that all the rare specimens of the Murray expedition were amongst the specimens, but there is no independent evidence to corroborate this and it is

unlikely, since all the specimens were accounted for in Melbourne and Blandowski was cleared of the accusation by the Crown Solicitor after an investigation in June 1858.<sup>92</sup>

Blandowski's object in visiting London with his portfolio of drawings and documents was 'to lay them before the leading men of science for examination', which he proceeded to do. He also wanted to justify his actions in retaining his materials, but why he would do this so long after the expedition is puzzling, particularly when he had been permitted to retain them and had been paid his outstanding claims. Probably he felt that justification of his position was imperative to obtain funds to publish his work.

After Blandowski's visit, William Jackson Hooker (1785 – 1865) wrote to William Henry Harvey (1811 – 1866) on 31 October 1859

... I want you to tell me about a William von Blandowski who called upon me today. He brought a beautiful set of Nat. Hist. Drawings and I understood him to say he had charge of the Museum at Melbourne, – but was ousted by MacKay's coming: – & that they wanted to take from him his fine series of drawings he had made: – to which he would not submit. The case was brought before Parliament & the decision was in his favour. Of course I understand him to be at Daggers drawn with the Melbourne Govt. He brings his drawings here & solicits the written opinions of the heads of diff't. Departments of Science, Ethnology, Zoology, Botany etc. In Botany there is little enough. Some very nice [Engravings] (Forest of Tree Ferns – Gum-trees &c &c) 4 in all & a good drawing of the Caterpillar [Fungus] & the moth. I readily give him a letter stating my opinion of them: & he has letters from Murchison & Huxley. He thinks these & others will induce the Melbourne govt. to pay the Piper. I wish they may. There seems to me to be some mystery about the thing. He is an agreeable gentlemanly man, but he has no letters of introduction as I understand to any body. ...<sup>93</sup>

Thomas Henry Huxley (1825 – 1895) also received a visit from Blandowski and wrote to Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817 – 1911) stating that

I have taken some trouble to examine his drawings & notes upon them as zoological objects they seem to me indicative of good work & to show that the man should have a fair chance. This however, it appears by his own [...] statement he cannot get in consequence of the opposition by McCoy with whom he is at deadly [...] & who has

persuaded the Government of Victoria to demand him *ex parte* unconditional [...] of all his notes & drawings as Govt property. Very properly as I think Blandowski refused to anything of the kind - & having beaten the Government on the question of pay, which they refused to give him unless he gave up his notes etc, he came over here to ask advice & as I suppose to strengthen his hand generally. My impression is that the man has been very badly treated. But at any rate without going into that question I advised him to offer the Coll. Govt to consider his work as their property if they gave him means of publication & allowed him to superintend the process. On their refusal I consider he has a perfect right to publish his work any how and anywhere he likes. Of course I do not go bail for Mr Blandowski one step beyond what I have seen of his work & the facts as he put the case to me, but my general impression of the man is favourable.<sup>94</sup>

Blandowski received a number of letters of support from these and other eminent scientists and after giving a lecture on Australian Aborigines to the Ethnological Society of London on 16 November, he went to Berlin. Here he lectured to the German Geological Society on 4 January 1860 about his geological investigations, principally in South Australia, and exhibited maps, sketches, rocks and minerals. He also addressed the Berlin Geographical Society on 7 January about Australia.<sup>95</sup> Whilst in Berlin he engaged a very young, but talented natural history artist Gustav Mützel (1839 – 1893) to prepare a series of paintings based not only on his own Australian sketches and photographs and those of Krefft, but also on the published illustrations of other workers in zoology and anthropology, or from illustrations in the published narratives of various expeditions to Australia.<sup>96</sup> Why he chose Mützel is not known, but his choice was a good one, as Mützel later achieved a considerable reputation as an animal and bird painter and book illustrator. Haufe & Klös (1995: 29-46) stated that Mützel was also a photographer, who learnt the art from Blandowski (Schalow 1893:210). On 3 January 1860, he presented a collection of 21 items of Aboriginal artefacts and foodstuffs to the Royal Museum in Berlin.<sup>97</sup>

He visited his old teacher Ernst Beyrich at the Museum and presented Beyrich with maps and sections on Australian geology, some of his engraved plates of fossils; a set of Tertiary fossils from Mt Martha (Fossil Beach), which had been collected for him by James Manson in 1859; and a set of ferrugi-

nous casts and moulds from Brock's station on the banks of the Saltwater River at Darraweit Guim, north of Melbourne.<sup>98</sup> He then set out for his home town, Gleiwitz, where his mother was still living. On the way home he gave two lectures to the Silesian Society of Fatherland Culture in Breslau. The first on 22 February was on the geographical distribution of birds and mammals of Australia and the second on 6 March was a short survey of the most important journeys undertaken in the exploration of Australia. Following his return to Gleiwitz, he gave another lecture, this time on the mineral riches of Australia, to the Upper Silesian Miners' and Metallurgists' Club at Königshütte (Blandowski 1860b:60-1; 1860c:61-62).

In April Blandowski either sent directly or asked Mützel to show on his behalf a substantial collection of his work to the Royal Prussian Academy in Berlin for assessment and received letters of support from distinguished members of the Academy. He also asked them to write to Prince Albert, consort of Queen Victoria to seek the assistance of the Victorian Government for publication.

All these letters, as well as those received from the London scientists late in 1859 were printed and the resulting document sent to the Governor of Victoria, Sir Henry Barkly (1815 – 1898) accompanied by a long rambling letter, dated 5 October 1860, outlining Blandowski's grievances and requesting a grant to publish his work. The language of the letter displays Blandowski's incredible naivety and even arrogance in his dealings with other persons and particularly with those in authority. He was imbued with the idea that whatever he wanted or needed to do was worthwhile and hence had to be supported. His request was refused.<sup>100</sup>

He sent another letter, dated 19 October, to the Governor of Queensland, offering his services to explore the country for the sake of Natural History of Australia. He stated that whatever capacity he was employed in was immaterial to him, as he was competent to take the post of geologist, mineralogist, curator of a natural history museum or as protector of Aborigines. The reply to this letter stated that the Government was not at present in a position to require his services.<sup>101</sup>

In May 1860 Blandowski wrote to Leopold von Ledebur (1799 – 1877), curator of the Royal Museum, with whom he left material for determination and whom he seems to have known personally. He told von Ledebur that he had been working on putting his field notes in order and found society in Gleiwitz

very boring. He asked whether Ledebur had finished with the determination of his shells, fish, snakes and lizards, and if so, Ledebur was to send them to him through Mützel as he wished to get working on them. He also asked for literature sources that would be of use to him in the working up of the material he had collected. He also wanted to know whether Ledebur thought that there was a possibility that museums and universities might be interested in sending him on a second journey to Australia through an issue of shares, each share to receive so many rocks or zoological or ethnological items as dividends. In August 1860, he was again in Berlin and sought Ledebur's help to ask Doctor von Olfers for assistance in publishing his plates and text.<sup>102</sup>

In October 1861, Blandowski went to Dresden, probably to visit his brother Theophil, who lived there, but he also gave a lecture to the Natural History Society Isis of Dresden on the geographical, geological, botanical, zoological and ethnological

conditions of Australia. The major emphasis of his talk, however, was on the Aborigines. He exhibited a large number of illustrations, which greatly impressed the audience, so much so that the hope was expressed that they would be published with an explanatory text. It was acknowledged that the extent of the work would probably require government support, perhaps that of Prussia, because he was a Silesian. He was elected a corresponding member of the Society and it seems that this is the only scientific society he ever joined in Germany.<sup>103</sup>

As the prospects of receiving support for further travel receded, Blandowski was faced with the problem of earning a living. It is not known if he tried to get back into mining, but if he did he was not successful. Perhaps he saw a better opportunity to earn a living by putting the skills he acquired in Australia as a photographer into practice. Whatever the case, he had set up in business as a photographer at 15 Bankstrasse in Gliwicz by February 1862, confirmed by



Fig. 5. Blandowski residence and studio, ul Bankowa, Gliwicz, Poland, courtesy J. Lewczyński, Gliwicz.

an advertisement in the *Oberschlesischer Wanderer* of 18 February 1862 (Fig. 5).<sup>104</sup> A notice in the same newspaper on 25 November 1862 stated that his photographic shop and studio had been approved by the local court. As has been shown by Lewczyński & Pol (1993), Blandowski turned out to be an artistic and innovative photographer.

To further his project on Australia, he photographed all the Mützel paintings as well as the Redaway and Grosse engravings and mounted the resulting prints in an album together with a photograph to form a decorative title, and two photographs of maps. He also may have included at least one original photographic print from his time in Australia.<sup>105</sup> Altogether there were 142 photographic prints. He had a 52-page book printed entitled *Australien in 142 photographischen Abbildungen nach zehnjährigen Erfahrungen*. This book gave an explanation for each of the 142 photographs and finished with three and a half pages of concluding remarks, dated 1 December 1862, explaining why he had compiled the album and written the text. He claimed that much had been written about the geology, botany and zoology of Australia, but not much on Aborigines, so he wanted to give his observations on them. He also wanted to continue his investigations for another five years in those parts of Australia he had not visited, – Western Australia and Queensland as well as New Caledonia, and to obtain support from the Humboldt Foundation to publish the results.

He lived with his mother and at least one sister at the Bankstrasse building, a large two-storied building, owned by his mother, who rented out some of the rooms. Presumably Blandowski would have used the top floor for his photographic studio to take advantage of the best light.<sup>106</sup> Leopoldine Blandowski died on 8 January 1864 and Blandowski and his sister, Clementine, continued living there. In 1865 he suffered some kind of financial problem (Lewczyński & Pol 1993), which may have led him to seeking government employment again in April 1865. He wrote to the Department of Mining, Metallurgy and Saltworks, to the very man who had rebuked him for his behaviour in 1848, Krug von Nida, the former head of the Mining Board at Tarnowitz, but who had by now risen to the position of Director of the department in Berlin.

It is my intention as a former Schleswig-Holstein officer to place myself at the disposal of the Provincial Government in Gottdorf for the purpose of an appointment on the projected North Baltic Sea Canal construction. Apart from the

fact that I was in the service of the English colonial government of Victoria, entrusted with several years of small natural history expeditions and with the foundation of the museum in Melbourne, and that I have also gathered experience on the goldfields of Australia, which will speak for me, there remains my quite respectfully submitted evidence of retirement as Royal Fahrsteiger on which emphasis may be laid in judgement of my claims and qualification as a technologist.

In an unprejudiced examination of it, however, the passages bracketed by me in red pencil might be capable of casting such a deep a shadow on the past of the young man that the man matured by a much troubled life and bitter experiences must fear in this a reef on which his new hope to achieve a quiet steady existence might be wrecked.

I venture to address my quite humble request to your honour to be willing to grant me a qualified recommendation in goodwill with a view to my further career here in Germany, in most gracious consideration that long ago I suffered severely for youthful exuberance and which really was only in my strength of mind, by which I incurred your honour's harsh rebuke years ago.

With the deepest respect I remain in the hope to have made no vain request and I have the honour to sign myself

Your honour's quite humble  
Wilhelm von Blandowski<sup>107</sup>

Krug von Nida was sympathetic and wrote to the Public Works Department stating that the reprimands mentioned in the certificate were incurred only through actions that were attributable to youth at the time. More importantly, he also mentioned that 'nothing is known to the disadvantage of his moral behaviour and regarding his technical qualification only the greatest praise can be given in the certificate with regard to his diligence, zeal and proved aptitude'. He requested that the department assign Blandowski to a suitable position on the canal construction if possible.<sup>108</sup> The reply stated that the preliminary work was completed and further discussion was to take place before any construction was to take place. Moreover there was no evidence of Blandowski's qualification for building work. The substance of this reply was communicated to Blandowski, who did not try to obtain government employment again.<sup>109</sup>

According to Lewczyński & Pol (1993), he eventually overcame his financial problems in 1866. He



visited Dresden again in May 1866, where he gave a long lecture to the Isis Society somewhat similar to the one given previously and showed a map of the goldfields of New Holland.<sup>110</sup> He was back in Gleiwitz by June in time for the 1866 elections to the Prussian Landtag or Parliament. The lower house or Chamber of Deputies was elected by a collegiate system, in which each group of 250 voters in an electoral district elected a delegate called a Wahlmann, whose responsibility it was, together with the other delegates for the district, to elect the deputies to the lower house of Parliament. Gleiwitz was entitled to one deputy, and the election of the delegates took place on 25 June. Blandowski was among the 46 men elected. The others were businessmen, shopkeepers, master tradesmen, householders, medical practitioners and members of the legal profession, the mayor and the dean of the local Catholic Church. The fact that Blandowski was elected is a measure of the respect in which he was held by the local community (Nietsche 1886:355).

In February 1868, he was again in Dresden, where he spoke briefly at a meeting of the Isis Society about copper in South Australia.<sup>111</sup> This was his last involvement with this society and in 1870 his membership lapsed. In 1870 Wilhelm Brahe, the Prussian Consul in Melbourne, asked to see the papers concerning the payments to Blandowski in 1859. He examined the correspondence and expressed himself satisfied with them, but gave no reasons for his request.<sup>112</sup> It seems that Blandowski was again attempting to make a further claim on the Victorian Government, this time through the Prussian government officials.

In 1871 and 1872, he helped the local citizens of Gleiwitz to organise petitions to the Prussian Government concerning problems that were not solved by the local municipal council, however, in September 1873 he was admitted to the Silesian Provincial Mental Asylum at Bunzlau, where he died on 18 December 1878 from volvulus or twisting of the bowels (Lewczyński & Pol 1993).<sup>113</sup>

#### *Blandowski's library, manuscripts and drawings*

Following his commitment to the mental asylum, Blandowski's sister Clementine moved from Gleiwitz to the Lestwitz'sche Damenstift, a home for poor, single Protestant ladies of the nobility, at Ober Tschirnau near Guhrau in Silesia. In November 1877, she presented a collection of 186 of Blandowski's books to the

Royal Library in Berlin.<sup>114</sup> She also attempted to have her brother's work published and approached Adolph Bastian (1826 – 1905) the Director of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, who contacted the Hamburg publisher L. Friederichsen & Co on her behalf. Friederichsen apparently advised that there was no hope of getting a publisher in Germany and suggested trying a publisher in England. Clementine then gave up the project, because she had no command of English and instead offered the whole collection to the Museum for sale in May 1881. When Bastian declined to purchase it,<sup>115</sup> she donated the whole lot to the Royal Library in August 1881. The collection included the original copperplates of *Australia Terra Cognita* and some drawings, which were being held on her behalf by Professor Wiebel in Hamburg. She also requested that a drawing of beetles be given to the German Crown Prince as a gift on her behalf, which was done in November 1881.<sup>116</sup> It may have been Clementine, who contacted Ferdinand Mueller in about 1881 in regard to the sale of her brother's collection. Mueller advised approaching the Victorian government through the German consulate, but this seems not to have been done.<sup>117</sup>

The original gift consisted of 135 folders of material, which included considerable manuscript material as well as drawings and plates.<sup>118</sup> The manuscripts included copies of all his Australian correspondence; reports on the museum; notes made on history, gold mining, geology, meteorology, botany, birds, amphibians, the Murray-Darling expedition, Australian aborigines, and their language and customs; photographic plates; engraved copperplates; maps and various miscellaneous documents.<sup>119</sup>

The Blandowski collection does not seem to have been highly valued by the Royal Library in Berlin, because in May 1882 a large collection of the plates was given to the Zoological Museum, followed in October 1884 by a further transfer of folders that included the copperplates, photographs and drawings, and in July 1885 by yet another transfer of 14 parcels of material.<sup>120</sup> Many of the zoological and geological sketches are still held by the Museum für Naturkunde, but virtually none of the manuscript material has survived. Some maps and his personal copy of *Australien in 142 photographischer Abbildungen*, together with a set of plates of *Australia Terra Cognita*, are still held by the Staatsbibliothek, the successor of the Royal Library.<sup>121</sup>

It is not known what happened to the ethnological material or to all his notes and correspondence. In 1908, when the British ethnologist Northcote Whitridge Thomas (1868 – 1936) asked to see the



Blandowski collection in the Royal Library, it could not be located, except for some maps, a few copper plates and the album of 142 photographs with its descriptive text, i.e. the items mentioned above.<sup>122</sup> The only Blandowski ethnological illustration known by the author to have survived is held by the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra. This is one of the drawings made for Blandowski by Krefft on the Murray-Darling Expedition.<sup>123</sup> The duplicate drawing “‘Jimmy Bigfoot’ Australian Native carrying a Kangaroo to his camp’ is in the Krefft collection in the Mitchell Library, Sydney.<sup>124</sup>

### CONCLUSION

Given Blandowski's sad end, it could be tempting to assume that the many setbacks of his own making that he suffered during his life and his stubborn, almost irrational, behaviour at times were due to some kind of mental instability present since childhood. However, until something more definite can be found out about the reasons for his committal in September 1873, this would be a gross assumption and an oversimplification. Indeed if he did have some kind of mental disability, it is to his credit that he was able to overcome it and live an exciting and varied life. His leaving the Gleiwitz Gymnasium without completing the course might suggest some kind of personal problem when he was 17, because it was such a grave step that would have long lasting consequences. In his *curriculum vitae* he glossed over this act and a marginal note written on his *curriculum vitae* by some official asked ‘From what class? With what reports? these are lacking’.<sup>125</sup> Despite this he was able to use the provisions of the Prussian Mining Regulations to achieve a Tertiary education in an area of interest to him and secure a position in the Prussian Mining Service. His practical education in the mines meant that he was no stranger to hard work and his training in drawing, surveying, geology and natural history meant that he could have made a career in any of these fields.

There were many adverse critical events and disappointments in Blandowski's life, several of which were triggered by his own actions and behaviour, which had negative effects on his career and might have contributed to frustration with his life and ultimate mental instability. The first of these events was the death of his father, which led to his leaving the Cadet School. This was something beyond his control. The second was his leaving the Gymnasium for

whatever cause, but possibly of his own making. The third was his forced resignation from the Prussian Mining Service and for this he had only himself to blame. This must have had a catastrophic effect on him, but the lack of acceptance of responsibility for his actions and the arrogance expressed in his letter of resignation indicate a definite flaw in his character. The fourth event was his failure to achieve a formal appointment in the Schleswig-Holstein Army. Whilst there was some bureaucratic bungling and mislaying of his papers, apparently caused because he asked for them to be sent off to have his seniority over other officers confirmed, he lacked the patience to wait for the matter to be resolved. This assumes of course that there was no deliberate action on the part of his superiors not to formalise his position, because of his attitude or behaviour. His fifth problem was not being able to rejoin the Prussian Mining Service. It was this failure which caused him to come to Australia, so in some respects this led to a happy outcome, at least initially.

Once in Australia, Blandowski seems to have had some good fortune. He was able to earn money as a surveyor, then using his mining knowledge and experience had success on the gold fields, though he seems not to have got on well with his mining partners. In Melbourne he was employed to found the new natural history museum, which would have allowed him to indulge his interest in natural history and be paid for it.

The next crisis of his life was having the control of the museum taken from him and his position downgraded to collector through government cut-backs. Again something beyond his control, but his reaction to it, that is not accepting it and not reporting for duty at the end of the Murray-Darling expedition, caused him untold bitterness and was one of the causes leading to his ignominious departure from Victoria. The controversy over the naming of the fish and its aftermath were again of his own making. All the good will and respect he had achieved after the Murray-Darling expedition was thrown away by his behaviour and led to loss of support from potential key supporters. His behaviour involving the expedition specimens and drawings, led to further alienation. All these troubles were causes leading to his departure. On his return to Germany perhaps the greatest failure of his career and the cause of his greatest frustration was the inability to have his work on Australia published, after spending an enormous sum of money on engravings and paintings and after huge effort and sacrifice on his part. Though he was

able to establish himself as a photographer in his home town and earn a living, it is probable he faced other crises during the 1860s, but the only ones recorded are his financial problems and the possibly related failure to secure employment on the Kiel Canal project. The final ignominy he suffered was committal to a mental asylum; the climax of a frustrated life.

Blandowski understood that patronage was an important ingredient of success and over his lifetime he wrote many petitions for assistance. Most of these, however, were unsuccessful as there was always something missing as in the case of his letter to Governor La Trobe, who noted that Blandowski was 'not known' or his approach to Hooker who noted that he 'had no letters of introduction'. At other times, he appeared to misunderstand his position and adopted a tone that guaranteed failure. The assessment of Blandowski in Krefft's unpublished narrative of part of the Murray River expedition has been questioned as coming from a biased source. Relations between Krefft and Blandowski were strained throughout the expedition and they became enemies following it. However, there are a number of resonances between incidents in Krefft's narrative and the letters from Eduard Wehl and A.W. Howitt which increase our confidence in Krefft. These concern Blandowski's lack of judgement concerning horses, his occasional reliance on shifty companions, peculiarities of speech and manner and a curious mixture of pompous extravagance and unwise economising. On the other hand, Blandowski clearly had an eye for good artists and draughtsmen as his choices of Krefft, Bartholemew, Redaway and Sons, Grosse and Mützel confirm.

Despite not achieving what he wanted for himself, Blandowski did have some lasting achievements. He formed the foundation collection of the Natural History Museum, later the National Museum of Victoria, and his published reports on the natural history of Central Victoria stand alone as important contributions on an area that has suffered major environmental changes since his time. His pictorial legacy of the Aborigines and his observations on them are also significant in documenting Aboriginal lifestyles during a period of major cultural changes. It is to be regretted that so little of what he accumulated has survived.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to many people who assisted me in obtaining information on William Blandowski over many years. In particular I wish to thank Dr Helmut Eckert of Frankfurt on Main, Lech Paszkowski of Melbourne, Dr Herman Jäger of Berlin, Doris Sinkora of Melbourne, Ray Sumner of Brisbane, Bernard O'Neil of Adelaide, Peter Gathercole of Cambridge, Hans-Jochen Kretzer of Neustadt, Daniel Tworek of Melbourne, Danny Kahan of Melbourne, Dr Markus Shindlbeck of Berlin, Jerzy Lewczyński of Gliwice, Dr Regina Mahlke and Frau E. Ziesche of Berlin, Dr Hannelore Landsberg and Dr S. Hackethal of Berlin, staff at the following institutions were exceedingly helpful: Museum für Naturkunde, Berlin; Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław; Archiwów Państwowych, Warsaw and; Archiwów Państwowych, Katowice. Dr W.D. Birch, Dr H. Allen and a referee made many useful suggestions on an early draft of the manuscript.

## APPENDIX

The following is a translation of a report on the Blandowski collection in the Royal Library. The list of documents is given here to show how extensive Blandowski's research and documentation was and also to alert future researchers of the details of the collection in case some of the material might survive in other libraries or archives or even in private hands. As the collection only contains material pertaining to Blandowski's time in Australia, it is probable that the family retained any personal papers dealing with the period before and after he was in Australia, as well as any diaries he might have kept. Many of the titles given to the folders of material were labelled in English, presumably by Blandowski himself. These are indicated thus\*.

Final report on my activity in reference to the Blandowski bequest.

The engraved copperplate (no. 113) was given to Mr G.R.R. Kunstmann to unite with the remaining Blandowski copperplates.

According to instruction received one example of each of the proofs in no 114 [of the list] was delivered to Professor Peters [of the Museum].

The printed matter, maps, and illustrations specified in nos. 126-135 were assigned to the respective departments of the Library.

The rest was put together and tied up in packages for further storage.

Berlin 16 June 1882. Söchting.

W. v. Blandowski Bequest

During the preliminary perusal of the v. Blandowski estate assigned to me, I found first a part as manuscript material enclosed in pasteboard wrappers, indicated with numbers and labels:

1. Documents regarding the government of Victoria.
2. Documents regarding English correspondence of the Victorian Government.
7. Expenditure of the Museum of Natural History.\*
9. Correspondence and report of the Curator of the Museum of Natural History.\*
10. Melbourne Philosophical Society 1857 – 58 Fishes.\*
11. Notes relative to Clarke, Fishes
17. Correspondence with Huxley.
20. Museum.\*
21. Dedication. Literature\* (only cover)
22. Preface & Introduction.\*
23. History.\*
24. Exploration.\*
25. Goldfields & Mining.\*
26. Notes to Australia terra cognita. Geography.\*
28. Geology.\*
30. Meteorology.\*
31. Vegetation.\*
32. Botany
33. Mondellimin.\*
37. Fish 4th Class.
38. Amphibians 3rd Class.
39. Mondellimin. Amphibians.
40. Birds. 2 Class.
41. Mondellimin. Measurements of the birds.
42. (Birds).
44. Mammalia. 1st Class.
46. Mondellimin. Quadrupeds.\*
47. Natives: General character.\*
48. Weapons, Ornaments, Decorations, War Implements.\*
49. Natives. Food.\*
52. Passions, Pleasures, Festivals, Fables, Stories, Tales, Traditions.\*
51. Hunting.\*
53. Habits, Customs, Tatooing, Property, Social Habits, Hospitality.\*
54. Laws. Exercise of Justice.\*
55. Superstition. Profane Religion or Believe. Lecture on the Currinckles. Revendge. Prejudices. Punishment.\*
57. Marriage, Mourning. Burials. Dead. Sickness or Decaises.\*
58. Tribes.\*
59. Mondellimin. Language of the Aborigines.
61. Dictionary of the Australian Aboriginal Language\*  
I A – J.  
II K & L.
62. Conclusion. Parallel between Europeans and Australians. Protectors. Schools.\*

68. Index and arrangement or Key to my work Australia terra cognita for the understanding of my work, absolutely necessary for him, who thinks of rewriting it.
69. A written lexicon. A – D.
70. Store. Preliminary notes gathered for classification afterwards.\*
73. Literature of Australia.
74. Correspondence respecting Batavia, Java &c.
76. Scientific views [sent?] to me Scott, Beveridge and others.
78. Glass plates, two examples (broken).
80. Correspondence concerning his work about Australia with the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin and London (documents).
90. Separate English letters and notes.
100. German manuscripts.
102. Zoological register (vertebrates).
103. Documents already worked through and only kept as documents. To this belongs no. 104.
104. Bush notes rewritten in Gleiwitz.
105. Native vocabulary about Natural History and things belonging to them.\*
106. Dictionary of the Australian Aboriginal Language III L – Y.\*
107. Names of men and others like ships of some consequence for Australia.\*

Further

108. Portfolio of Australia II, pp. 147-240.
109. 8 volumes entitled Australia A – B, C – D, E – H, F – K, L – M, N – R, S, T, U – Z (handwritten names and indications of all kinds).
110. A number of examples of the small work of B. "Australien in 142 photographischen Abbildungen nach zehnjähriger Erfahrung zusammengestellt Gleiwitz 1862" 8°.
111. An example of the same in folio with the plates (not yet numbered).
112. 2 boxes with glass photographic plates.
113. 1 engraved copperplate (for plate 41).
114. Plates for the intended work, larger number ready for use (5-155 impressions) see enclosed.
115. 1 volume folio entitled Index Australia terra cognita. Vertebrata (all kinds).
116. 2 volumes folio (names etc, alphabetic).

In addition I have provisionally sorted a number of the parcels and divided into new parcels.

117. Personalia
118. History
119. Botany
120. Zoology.
121. Mineralogy (117-121 handwritten).
122. Cuttings from newspapers and so on.
123. Zoological sketches and drawings (2 [?])
124. Zoological illustrations (cut out).
125. Aboriginal language.\* Natural history names (handwritten).
126. Maps and plans.

127. Portraits.
128. Pictures of landscape and vegetation.
129. Ethnological illustrations.
130. Various illustrations.

#### Small printed items

131. Medicine.
132. Natural history.
133. History (2 parcels).
134. Miscellanea.
135. Weather book. Instruction.\*

Berlin 25 April 1882. Söchting.

Impressions in number from 5 to 155 are present for the following plates of the intended work:

1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 38, 41, 70, 71, 101, 110, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124.

In addition a plate has been started for colouring 106, 101.

An example of each plate has been taken for incorporation into the Library.

Moreover is present 1 proof of each plate for the sections of birds, amphibians, fish, crustacea, insects and molluscs [probably the Redaway plates from the *Encyclopaedia metropolitana* – Smedley et al. 1845].<sup>126</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz (GST PK) HA 1 Rep 121 Ministerium für Handel und Gewerbe, Berg-, Hütten- und Salinwesen. Beamte Litt. B. Abth. A. Tit. X. Sect. 2. No 50, Acta betreffend den Bergbaubeflissenen Wilhelm von Blandowski, Bl. [folio] 13 (hereafter abbreviated 'Ministerium' with folio number). This file contains correspondence concerning Blandowski's application for a grant to pay for his education, a curriculum vitae and sundry other letters concerning him.

Details of the thirteen with birth (\*) and death (†) dates where known are as follows:

1. Emilie \*1800 at Pilsnitz?
2. Ernst.
3. Felix Robert Hermann Ferdinand, \* 3 March 1803 at Neumarkt.
4. Felix Heinrich Alexander Otto, \* 5 November? 1804 at Neumarkt.
5. Caroline Wilhelmine Bertha, \* 18 June 1806 at Pilsnitz? † 31 August 1807 at Neumarkt.
6. Richard Moritz Adrian Felix, \* 19 August 1807 at ?, † 31 August 1808 at Neumarkt.
7. Johann Felix Wilhelm Rudolph, \* 28 October 1808 at Neumarkt. Entered Königliches Kadetten

Haus Culm (1. Kompanie) 13 April 1819, left 7 December 1820.

8. Moritz.
9. Berthold \* 10 August 1812 at Neumarkt. On 28 November 1830 entered the Königliches Preussisches Infanterie Regiment 38; on 20 April 1848 joined Schleswig-Holstein Armee, later Hauptman, Kompanie IV, S.H. Infanterie Battalion IV.
10. Theophil Felix Wilhelm, \* 3 June 1817 at ?, † 13 June 1888 at Dresden, age 73 yrs 10 days. (Standesamt I, Sterberegister Nr. 753). Dresden Adreßbuch 1862, Böhmischegasse 1, Freigutsbesitzer; 1863 Lüttichaustr. 10, Rentier; 1889 Seidnitzerstr. 5.
11. Arminie. Dresden Adreßbuch 1889 lists Arminia von Blandowski Cirkusstr. 34. Last entry 1896 at Cirkusstr. 6, Dresden.
12. Clementine † 13 July 1887 at Lestwitsch'sches Fräuleinstifts zu Tschirnau, Posen. *Der deutsche Herold* 18(9), September 1887, p. 109.
13. Johann Wilhelm Theodor Ludwig, \* 21 January 1822 at Gleiwitz. † 18 December 1878 in Provincial Mental Asylum, Bunzlau, Silesia.

This list is based on the children's names cited in Felix's death notice, supplemented with birth and death dates obtained from Militärkirchenbuch, Neumarkt 1802-1810 Fusilier Bat. 22, Neuschäfer (see note 10), and Dresden Standesamt. There were nine of William's brothers and sisters still living in 1846 (note 1, Bl. 13). Captain Constantine Blandowski (1832 – 1861), the first Union officer to die in the American Civil War, was not a brother, though he may have been a relative, as he was born at Tarnowitz in Upper Silesia.

2. *Gothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch der Adligen Häuser* Teil A, 37 (1938), pp. 629-632. Personal communication Edgar von Woyrsch via Dr. Helmut Eckert, 31 January 1983.
3. He was 77 years, 11 months and 10 days old when he died on 5 February 1835. His parentage and place of his birth are unknown.
4. The First Coalition against France consisted of Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Spain and Piedmont.
5. *Stammliste aller Regimenter und Corps der Königlich-Preussischen Armee. Für das Jahr 1806*, pp xxvi-xxvii, 153-4 (this list, published in 1827 indicated that he had retired on half pay in 1817 as commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Silesian Landwehr Infantry Regiment). *Rangliste der K. Preussischen Armee für das Jahr 1793*, p. 84; 1794, p. 98; 1795 pp. lvi, 90, 93; 1797, pp. lvi, 72; 1798, p. lvi; 1799, p. 105; 1806, p. 223 (this army list gave Blandowski's age as 47 with 32 years service).
6. Infanterie Regiment Fürst zu Hohenlohe n. 32. Tausen, Heiraten, Sterbe Register 6 1790-1809 von Weddensen. Trauungen von Fremden Regimentern, Eximirter und Dimitirten. Trauungen 1799. p. 166 no 29 den 5ten Mai zu Pilsnitz. Hr Pfarrer Scheurich zu Neumark den Hochwohlgeb. Hr. Felix v Plantowsky Capitain im hochlöbl. Bat v Puttlitz mit dem Hoch-

- wohlgeb Fräulein Leopoldine v Woyrsch des Hr Georg v Woyrsch, Majors in der Armee und Erbhern auf Pilsnitz ehelichen ältesten Fräulein Tochter Ihrer Ehe.
7. According to the diary of Boguslawski's Fusilier Battalion, Blandowski escaped through the speed of his horse, but was captured on 14 October 1806 before Weimar.
  8. The family also seems to have had a house in Gleiwitz, as during the visit of the Prussian Crown Prince to Gleiwitz in 1819, one of the Prince's party, the Commanding General for Silesia Graf von Ziethen was put up at Oberst von Blandowski's residence. In October 1820 Oberst von Blandowski loaned the town of Gleiwitz 500 thalers at 6% interest for the purchase of a fire engine and in 1840 the Gleiwitz cemetery was enlarged by the purchase of Oberst von Blandowski's property (Nietsche 1886:290, 291, 305).
  9. *Schlesische Provinzialblätter* 1835 (101), s. 199; *Der Oberschlesische Wanderer* 1835 (6) 9. Februar, s. 22, *Breslauer Zeitung* 1835 (34) 10. Februar; *Schlesische Zeitung* 1835 (33) 9. Februar, lists his living children as Emilie, Ernst, Ferdinand, Heinrich, Rudolph, Moritz, Berthold, Theophil, Arminie, Clementine and Wilhelm.
  10. Neuschäfer, (1907:197) Cadet No 1796. The list gives full names, date and place of birth, and parentage. Rudolph was number 1137 on p. 159. See also Clarke (1876:125).
  11. Ministerium (note 1) Bl. 13. The page was annotated by an official with questions from what class and with what certificate.
  12. *Nachrichten über das Königliche katholische Gymnasium in Gleiwitz betreffend das Schuljahr vom 5. October 1839 bis zum 22. August 1840* vom dem Director D. Joseph Kabath, p. 17 'aus Unter-Tertia... Wilhelm v. Blandowsky...'
  13. Ministerium (note 1) Bl. 14.
  14. Nachricht von der Bergschul-Anstalt zu Tarnowitz, *Bergmännisches Taschen Buch* 2 (1845), pp. 191-193.
  15. Wykonano z zasobu Archiwum Państwowego w Katowicach. Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen archive signature 7357-8449. There are nine documents signed by Blandowski mostly to do with costs to do with the mine, which was situated at Sumpen near Koschentin. Ministerium (Note 1) Bl. 16.
  16. Ministerium (note 1) Bl. 17.
  17. Ministerium Bl. 17-19.
  18. Ministerium (note 1) Bl. 20.
  19. Ministerium Bl. 23.
  20. Ministerium Bl. 13-21.
  21. Ministerium Bl. 26.
  22. Ministerium Bl. 29.
  23. Ministerium Bl. 30.
  24. Ministerium (note 1) Bl. 31-33.
  25. Ministerium Bl. 34-35.
  26. It is apparent from a letter, dated 20 April 1846, from the Silesian Chief Mining Board to the Mining Department that the Board had already determined that Blandowski was to be appointed as a Fahrsteiger in the Königshütte Black Coal District (Ministerium note 1, Bl 8-10). A Mining Department letter, dated 6 May 1846, stated that because Blandowski did not have the Abitur certificate from the Gymnasium, he could only sit for the examination required to obtain the Referendar classification in the service, but not that of Bergassessor and that he could only be a technical official and not a professional (Ministerium note 1, Bl. 11-12).
  27. Ministerium Bl. 41-43.
  28. Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein Abt. 55. Three letters document Blandowski's military career with the Schleswig-Holstein Army. One from Blandowski dated Lütjenburg 18 October 1848 and two from officers concerning his position.
  29. Ministerium (note 1) Bl 44. Blandowski's name is not mentioned in von Moltke's account of this battle, see von Moltke, (1893:65-69).
  30. For some reason Blandowski submitted his testimonials of service in the Schleswig – Holstein Army to the Surveyor General of Victoria in August 1855. VPRS14255 Surveyor General's Office inward correspondence register, letter no 55/649.
  31. Ministerium (note 1) Bl. 44-46. Blandowski's letter was dated 20 December.
  32. Ministerium (note 1) Bl. 47-51.
  33. Museum Victoria. National Museum of Victoria inward correspondence 1854-1899 box Kean to Krefft. Krefft to McCoy 27 November 1859.
  34. On 31 October 1856, Blandowski recommended the purchase of cases of minerals offered by Professor Wiebel of Hamburg for £500. The offer does not seem to have been taken up. VPRS14255 Surveyor General's Office inward correspondence register, letter no 56/5678.
  35. *Helichrysum blandowskianum* Steetz ex Sonder, 1853 was based on a specimen collected by Blandowski at Guichen Bay, South Australia.
  36. *Der Kampf bei Eckernförde am 5. April 1849*. Hamburg, with *Plan von Eckernförde gez. Von Blandowski II Lieutt. a/D Gefect a. 5 April 1849*.
  37. Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein Abt. 51 Nr 41 II. Nationale Berthold von Blandowski. The Nationale gives details of each officer, but such a document for Wilhelm was not compiled. Only the letters concerning his appointment survive.
  38. *Die Deutsche Post für die australische Colonien* 20 September 1849: 63. Kresse, (1969:2:152). Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Zoll- und Akzisewesen, CG 2, Bd. 36, p. 32.
  39. State Records of South Australia, Colonial Secretary's Inward Correspondence GRG 24/6/1850, no 52.
  40. Museum für Naturkunde, Berlin, Paläontologische Sammlungen.
  41. State Records of South Australia, Colonial Secretary's Inward correspondence GRG 24/6/1850, no. 1277.
  42. State Records of South Australia, Colonial Secretary's Inward correspondence GRG 24/6/1850, no. 2272.
  43. State Records of South Australia, Colonial Secretary's Inward correspondence GRG 35/2/1855, no. 879.



- Blandowski stated that he had lost a map on scale of 4 inches to the mile 'during the excitement consequent on the discoveries of the Goldfields'. His geological notes were written on a map of half an inch to a mile.
44. State Library of Victoria, Australian Manuscripts Collection, Neil Black & Co. papers MS8996, box 28.
  45. Black papers (Note 44), box 3.
  46. Black papers (Note 44), box 31, bundle 1.
  47. Black papers (Note 44), box 6.
  48. Library, Royal Botanic Gardens, Melbourne, RB MSS M104. A transcription of this letter in the original German with a translation by D. Sinkora is published in Home et al.1998:132-135. I am grateful to Mrs Sinkora for providing me with the translation.
  49. German Lutheran Trinity Church, East Melbourne, Marriage Register.
  50. Full details of the Society and the newspaper reports are given in Paszkowski (1967:149-151).
  51. Castlemaine Art Gallery and Historical Museum Record no 223, Statement of Gold and Money received at the Gold Office, Mount Alexander for Escort to Melbourne, 3 May 1853, bag numbers 9223-5.
  52. Public Record Office of Victoria, Colonial Secretary's inward correspondence, VPRS 1189/235/letter no. 53-5163 in 54/646. Blandowski stated he had the interview with La Trobe about six weeks before he wrote the letter.
  53. Public Record Office of Victoria, Surveyor General, inward correspondence, VPRS 1258/1/ applications for employment 1853.
  54. Public Record Office of Victoria, Surveyor General, outward correspondence, VPRS 6/5, p. 318.
  55. Letter no. 53-5163 in 54/646 Note 52). This letter reproduced by Paszkowski (1967). The reply from the Colonial Secretary VPRS 3219/8, no. 53/2392.
  56. For information of this case see: *Geelong Advertiser* 28 July 1853:2; *Herald* 28 July 1853:4, 29 July 1853:5, 6 August 1853:5; 16 August 1853:4; 17 August 1853:4; 19 August 1853:5; *Argus* 28 July 1853:5; 29 July 1853:4; 16 August 1853:4. Public Record Office of Victoria, Colonial Secretary's inward correspondence, VPRS 1189/816/ letter nos. 53/7662 and 8204 in 58/2842. Executive Council Minutes VPRS 1080/1, p. 285.
  57. Letter no 53/12846 in 54/646 (Note 55).
  58. State Library of Victoria, Australian Manuscripts Collection, Royal Society of Victoria papers MS11663 Minute books. Royal Society of Victoria membership lists. Blandowski's library (see note 114) contained all the volumes of the *Transactions* of the Institute and volumes 5 and 6 of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Victoria*. Volume 6 was published in 1865. Presumably he received no volumes after that year.
  59. The *Banner* newspaper was published by Hugh McColl in Melbourne, between August 10, 1853 and September 22, 1854, State Library of Victoria catalogue.
  60. In October 1854, George Nugent wrote to the Colonial Secretary offering to give any information in his power relative to parts of the Colony. He stated he explored the Portland district as well as Mt Shank and Mt Gambier. He stated he had explored in New Zealand and Tasmania and enclosed newspaper cuttings from the *Portland Guardian* and the *Banner*. He signed the letter G. Nugent M.A., formerly Surgeon to first official vessel sent from London to New Zealand. Public Record Office of Victoria, Colonial Secretary's inward correspondence, VPRS 1189/238/letter no. 54/11016
  61. Public Record Office of Victoria, Colonial Secretary's inward correspondence, VPRS 1189/135/letter no. 55/256.
  62. Deverell later worked in the Post Office. He retired on 1 October 1888 and died on 3 March 1889. In 1882 when an article appeared in the *Argus* stating the National Museum had been established at the University, Deverell wrote to the editor pointing out that the Museum was established in the Assay Office under Blandowski with himself as assistant (*Argus* 12 July 1882, p. 7). *Victoria Public Service List* 31 December 1885; *Victoria Government Gazette* 16 August 1889:2830.
  63. Public Record Office of Victoria, Surveyor General's inward correspondence VPRS 44/10/unregistered correspondence concerning the Museum.
  64. State Library of Victoria, Australian Manuscripts Collection, A.W. Howitt papers MS 9356, box 1045.
  65. Blandowski was present at the Institute Council meeting held on 7 February.
  66. *Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria* 1, p. xv.
  67. *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* Published in London in 59 parts between 1817 and 1845 and in 30 volumes in 1845 (Smedley et al., 1845).
  68. Examples of James Redaway's work are listed in M. Holloway (1977).
  69. The Redaways arrived in Melbourne aboard *Roxburgh Castle* on 29 July 1853 and went to Ballarat as gold miners, later moving to Melbourne. The firm donated a rock to the Museum, which was acknowledged in a list of donors *Argus* 24 July 1856:6. Fossil *Banksia* cones that William Redaway collected at Creswick were submitted to Sir Roderick Murchison, who communicated a paper by William Redaway to the Geological Society of London. Redaway, (1858:540-541). Blandowski's Plates in *Australia Terra Cognita* are described by Roger Butler as 'Visually the most important scientific publication to use intaglio techniques...' who notes that Redaway and Son's use of multiple techniques '... gives these prints a textual richness not found in any other Australian colonial works' Butler (2007:81).
  70. Public Record Office of Victoria, Chief Secretary's inward correspondence, VPRS 3991/470/letter no. 61/273 in 70/13610.
  71. Many of the drawings, held in the Museum für Naturkunde, Historische Arbeitsstelle were drawn by Bartholomew, though none are signed.
  72. Public Record Office of Victoria, Colonial Secretary's inward correspondence, VPRS 1189/205/letter no. 55/8337 in 58/12888.
  73. Public Record Office of Victoria, Executive Council minutes VPRS 1080/ 2, p. 189; Public Record Office

- of Victoria, Executive Council minutes VPRS 1080/2, p. 380.
74. *Age* 25 October 1856:5; *Argus* 25 October 1856:4-5; 7 November 1856:5; 10 November 1856:5; *Der Kosmopolit* 28 November 1856:19; *The Australian Home Companion and Illustrated Weekly Magazine* 8 November 1856:28-29.
  75. Blandowski had been appointed in temporary charge of the Museum of Natural History on 22 April 1856 (note 73).
  76. James Manson joined the Expedition at Mount Hope. Altogether Blandowski engaged 18 persons, but only Manson and Krefft remained with him for the whole period (Blandowski 1858a: 126).
  77. Krefft wrote to the Secretary of the Institute concerning the drawings: The fishes in question were caught by the natives and sketches taken of them after nature by Mr Blandowski. Allowing these sketches to be correct (what I doubt very much) I can assure you Sir, that the engravings made after them do not resemble Mr Blandowski's drawings at all.— I told that gentleman after my arrival from the Murray that if he had entrusted me with the task of drawing those fishes, I should have given him some satisfaction and that I did consider them and do now as anything like the original. State Library of Victoria, Australian Manuscripts Collection, Royal Society Exploration Committee papers, MS13071, 1858 inwards correspondence. Nicholas Chevalier and Frederick Grosse were proprietors of the *Illustrated Melbourne News* until 16 January 1858. See Darragh (1997:106, affidavit 88.03). The engraving of Blandowski's camp at Mondellimin was published in this newspaper in its issue of 6 February 1858.
  78. University of Melbourne Archives, Archer papers Group 2/115/4. The draft is written and signed by McCoy.
  79. Wakefield cited Pescott (1954) as the basis for the accusation, but Pescott did not directly state that Blandowski had taken the specimens. However, Pescott did imply this was the case by quoting a letter of Krefft, who did accuse Blandowski of taking all the rare specimens.
  80. Museum Victoria archives. National Museum of Victoria Outgoing Specimens Book, pp. 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 38-9, Pescott (1954:18).
  81. The meeting of the Institute in which the matter was discussed was extensively reported in the press, e.g. *Argus* 15 April 1858:3 and the matter was parodied with a humorous poem in *Melbourne Punch* 1 April 1858:81.
  82. State Library of Victoria, Australian Manuscripts Collection, Royal Society Exploration Committee papers, MS13071, 1858 inwards correspondence.
  83. Some credence is lent to Krefft's allegation about Blandowski's humour by the peculiar cartoon that Blandowski sent to Georg Neumayer (1826-1909) now held in the Pfälzmuseum für Naturkunde, Bad Dürkheim, which depicts the members of Council of the Institute as dogs baying at Blandowski's door (Fig. 3). Blandowski must have thought highly of Neumayer as he sent him two self photographic portraits of himself from Gleiwitz and in 1857 had contributed the enormous sum of £25 towards the construction of Neumayer's magnetic observatory (*Der Kosmopolit* 1 September 1857)
  84. A particular specimen was a large fossil echinoid, no 2491 in the Expedition catalogue, given to Blandowski for the Museum by T. H. Wigley, which Blandowski retained and had Bartholomew draw. The drawing is now in the Museum für Naturkunde, Paläontologische Sammlungen. Strangely Bartholomew drew the specimen again some years later for McCoy, who used it for a plate in the *Prodromus of the Palaeontology of Victoria*.
  85. There are sixty letters from Blandowski recorded in the Surveyor General's inward correspondence letter register (VPRS 14255, VPRS 70), which are missing from the correspondence files (VPRS 44). These letters include eight letters reporting the progress of the Murray-Darling expedition with lists of specimens collected and expenditure including wages. Some of the lists survive and are now held by Museum Victoria. Files have been removed from the Surveyor General's correspondence over many years and some have ended up in private hands. This may have been the fate of the Blandowski correspondence.
  86. Chief Secretary's outward correspondence, VPRS 1187/3, p. 41, letter 1184, 1 June 1858.
  87. Royal Society of Victoria minute book vol. 1 (Note 58). *Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria* 4, pp. iv-v.
  88. State Library of Victoria Australian Manuscript Collection Box 20751, item 1a-c, Royal Society of Victoria Exploration Committee minutes. Blandowski objected to the Darling route because of the presence of poisonous plants, the scarcity of horses in the closest settlements and the longer route to the tropic of Capricorn.
  89. *Transactions of the Mining Institute of Victoria* 1, pp. xxxii, 108, 114, 130.
  90. State Library of Victoria, Australian Manuscripts Collection, Zoological Society minute book MS 7854, box 1199/1.
  91. *Victorian Hansard* 4, pp. 615-617, 929. Letter no. 59-1899 and attached papers in 70-13610 (note 70). Because Blandowski had initially retained some specimens and did not submit a final formal report, it is possible that a belief arose that he was retaining more than he actually had in his possession. In 1858 McCoy had begun his plan to illustrate the natural history of Victoria (ultimately leading to the *Prodromus of the Zoology of Victoria* many years later) and Blandowski was afraid that McCoy would make use of his illustrative work, hence Blandowski had a reluctance to show the drawings. McCoy had not the slightest interest in anything to do with anthropology, so Blandowski could have submitted drawings on that topic without problems.
  92. Museum Victoria archives, National Museum of Victoria inward correspondence K. Krefft to McCoy, 27 November 1859.

93. Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, W.J. Hooker letters to W.H. Harvey.
94. Imperial College London, Library Archives and Special Collections, Thomas Henry Huxley papers 2.55 Box Number 2 Series 1h Huxley to Hooker, 1 November 1859.
95. *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, 1861, pp136-9. *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner geographischen Gesellschaft*, pp. 95-96. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen geologischen Gesellschaft* 12, p. 12.
96. For example, illustrations were copied from E. J. Eyre, (1845); Jukes, (1847); Sturt, (1849); Mitchell (1848); Dumont D'Urville (1830). He also seems to have used works by John Gould and G. R. Waterhouse for the vertebrate illustrations. Some of these publications were in Blandowski's personal library.
97. Blandowski to Ledebur (Note 99); Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, letters 10/60 and 50/60 (list of items received). The items are still held by the Museum.
98. Museum für Naturkunde, Berlin, Paläontologische Sammlungen. Blandowski sent two letters to Beyrich. The first, dated 19 January 1860, was a description of Plate 21 of *Australia Terra Cognita* (Blandowski n.d.) with comments on the distribution of Upper Tertiary ferruginous sandstone over eastern Australia, as Blandowski seems to have believed any ferruginous rock to be of the same age. He also stated he had sent some duplicates of the Flemington fossils in 1855 to Berlin Museum together with some animal and bird skins. At the end of the letter he stated a continuation would follow on Mount Martha fossils. The second undated letter amounted to 14 pages and was an explanation to Plates 23 and 24. He described a geological section on the coast near what is now Fossil Beach, south of Mornington as well as describing the geology around Western Port. He also suggested boring for coal on Phillip Island, French Island and on King's station.
99. Museum für Naturkunde, Historische Arbeitsstelle, ZM SII Akte Blandowski, W. Blandowski to Ledebur, 20 May 1860. Blandowski mentions he was asked to give the lecture to the Club, but I have not found whether it was ever published.
100. Letter no. 61-273 in 70-13610 (Note 70). The printed documents contained letters from T.H. Huxley, R. Murchison, W.J. Hooker, R. Owen, C.J. La Trobe, E. Belcher, R. Fitz-Roy, P.E. Strzelecki in one document and the other letters from Ehrenberg, von Olfers, H.W. Dove, and F. Klotzsch, together with a letter written to the Akademie by Blandowski in the second.
101. Queensland State Archives, COL A 12, letter no. 61/345.
102. Note 97, Ledebur to von Olfers, letter 10/60.
103. *Sitzungs-Berichte der naturwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Isis zu Dresden* 1861, pp, 77, 98.
104. Blandowski was not the first or only photographer in Gleiwitz. In 1860 Wilhelm Beermann (1810-1881) opened a photographic studio. He was born in Clausthal in the Harz, attended the local mining school and became a mining engineer, so in this respect his early career was remarkably similar to Blandowski's. He settled in Gleiwitz in 1833 where he established a machine fabrication works, but owing to illness gave it up and turned to photography (See Nietsche 1886: 495-496).
105. Plate 7 seems to be a photograph of columnar basalt in the wall of a gully that runs into Five Mile Creek, Romsey. Plate 6 of *Australia Terra Cognita* (Blandowski n.d.) is a general view of this gully showing the waterfall in it.
106. The building still stands at what is now ul Bankowa 15, formerly Bankstraße.
107. Ministerium (note 1), Bl. 54.
108. Ministerium (note1), Bl. 52.
109. Ministerium (note 1), Bl. 53, 55.
110. *Sitzungs-Berichte der naturwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Isis zu Dresden* 1866:38
111. *Sitzungs-Berichte der naturwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Isis zu Dresden* 1868:35.
112. Letter no. 70/13610 (note 70); Treasury inwards correspondence VPRS 1207/701/letter no. 70/8112.
113. No references for his admittance to the asylum or for his death were cited by these authors, so it has not been possible to confirm the circumstances of his death.
114. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. *Eingangsjournal* 1862 bis 1889, letters 1877, no. 2347, 2382, 2396, 2750. The letters themselves were stored in Silesia during World War II but were not returned to the library after the war. A listing of the books (Accessions journal 1877, no 220,335) survives as well as many of the books, bearing Blandowski's signature. The library consisted of books almost entirely in the English language on natural history, Australian exploration, and standard works on Australia.
115. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, correspondence no 1188/81.
116. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. *Eingangsjournal* 1862 bis 1889, letters 1881, no 2066, 2074, 2075, 2194, 2610, 2950, 3081. 1882, no. 1236, 1146.
117. Mueller to Annie Krefft, 10 November 1881, Mitchell Library Krefft papers A262. Mueller was replying to a request from Mrs Krefft for advice about the sale of the late Gerard Krefft's collection. He stated that the friends of the family of the late Mr Blandowski had applied to him from Breslau on their behalf for advice on the sale of drawings and manuscripts. The letter is published in full in Home et al. (2006:239-240).
118. See Appendix.
119. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. *Acta Collectiones virorum doctorum reliquiae* 1883.
120. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. *Eingangsjournal* 1862 bis 1889, letters 1882, no 1289; 1884, no. 2963; 1885, no. 2341. Museum für Naturkunde, Historische Arbeitsstelle, SII, Akte Blandowski, W.
121. There are three maps. One is a large manuscript outline map mounted on linen on which mountain ranges and some explorers routes are marked. (R20441). This is the map exhibited by Blandowski at his three geo-

- graphical lectures in Berlin, Breslau and Dresden. A photographic print of a version of the map was included as no 3 in his album *Australien in 142 photographische Abbildungen*. The other two maps are copies of the 1855 electoral district map of central Victoria. One has pastoral stations marked on it (R22268) and the other has geological formations roughly sketched in in watercolour with a key to the colours (R22269). The distribution of the colours bears a considerable resemblance to those on A.R.C. Selywn's 1856 geological map of the basin of the Yarra, Western Port and the Mornington Peninsula and was probably copied from it. The areas to the north-west and west of Melbourne would have been coloured in from Blandowski's own knowledge of the areas.
122. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, correspondence no E237/08. In March 1924 Thomas wrote to Alfred Cort Haddon (1855-1940) that he had visited the Royal Library in 1908 and could find no trace of Blandowski's portfolios and that there was no record of them having been removed. He blamed Bastian. This letter was inserted into the back of Haddon's copy of *Australien in 142 photographischen Abbildungen* (Blandowski 1862) now held in the Haddon Library, Cambridge University.
  123. The sketch is labelled 'Orig. Aquarell aus dem Besitz des Australienreisenden v. Blandowski' [original watercolour from the property of the Australian traveller von Blandowski].
  124. State Library of New South Wales, Mitchell Library PXD9 Gerard Krefft album no. 12.
  125. Ministerium (note 1), Bl. 13.
  126. Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Signature Acta Collectionen virorem doctorum reliquiae 1883.
- REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF  
WILLIAM BLANDOWSKI
- ALLEN, H., 2001. William Blandowski's Fish: an ethnohistorical account near the junction of the Murray and Darling Rivers. In *Histories of Old Ages: Essays in Honour of Rhys Jones*, A. Anderson, I. Lilley & S. O'Connor, eds, Pandanus Publishing, Australian National University, Canberra, 211-224.
- ANGAS, G.F. 1846. *South Australia Illustrated*. Thomas McLean, Haymarket, London.
- BLANDOWSKI, W. 1855a. Notes on the physical geography of Victoria. In *The Victorian Nautical and Commercial Almanac*, A. Murray, ed., James J. Blundell & Co, Melbourne, 1-49.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1855b. Personal observations made in an excursion towards the central parts of Victoria, including Mount Macedon, McIvor and Black Ranges. *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Victoria* 1: 50-74, 1 pl.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1855c. A description of fossil animalculae in primitive rocks from the Upper Yarra district. *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Victoria* 1: 221-223, 1 pl.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1855d. On the primary upheaval of the land round Melbourne, and the recent origin of the gypsum or sulphate of lime in the great swamp between Batman's and Emerald Hills, Flemington, Williamstown, and Melbourne, illustrated by a large number of specimens from that locality. *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Victoria* 1: 228-234, 2 pls.
- [BLANDOWSKI, W.], 1855e. Geological observations during an excursion from Melbourne to Mount Macedon, McIvor, and the Goulburn. *Melbourne Monthly Magazine* 1: 280-285, 332-337 [published anonymously].
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1855f. *Personal Observations in Victoria*. Melbourne, 33pp, 3 pls. [This work consists of three papers, 1855b, c and d as published in the Transactions, but continuously paginated and with only three plates]. Privately Published, Melbourne.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1856a. Notes on the physical geography of Victoria. In *The Castlemaine Directory, Almanac, and Book of General Information, for 1856, Being Leap Year*. Castlemaine, 79-80. [This is the same article as 1855a].
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1856b. Report II of William Blandowski, Esq. To the Honourable the Surveyor-General, on an excursion to Frankston, Balcomb's Creek, Mount Martha, Port Phillip Heads, and Cape Shank. *Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria* 1: 24-37.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1856c. Mr. W. Blandowski's Report No. III to the Surveyor-General, of an excursion from King's Station to Bass River, Phillip and French Islands. *Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria* 1: 50-67.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1858a. Recent discoveries in natural history on the Lower Murray. *Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria* 2: 124-137 (pp. 131-134 and four plates deleted).



- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1858b. On extensive infusoria deposits in the Mallee Scrub near Swan Hill, on the Lower Murray River, in Victoria; and, on the presence of fucoidae in Silurian rocks near Melbourne. *Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria* 2: 141-146, 2 pls.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1860a. The Opinion of Men of Science in London of Wilhelm von Blandowsky's Ten Year Labour in Australia 1849-1859. *Das Urtheil der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin über Wilhelm Blandowsky's zehnjährige Arbeiten in Australien. Von 1849-1859*. Gustav Neumann, Gleiwitz, 10 pp.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1860b. Ueber die geographische Verbreitung der Vögel und Säugethiere Australiens. *Jahresbericht der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur* 1860: 60-61.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1860c. Eine kurze Uebersicht der wichtigsten zur Erforschung Australiens unternommenen Reisen. *Jahresbericht der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur* 1860: 61-62.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1861a. Ueber die Ureinwohner Australiens. *Sitzungs-Berichte der naturwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Isis zu Dresden* 1861: 101-110.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1861b. *Australien in 142 photographischen Abbildungen*. Gustav Neumann, Gleiwitz, 52 pp, 24 pls.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., n.d. *Australia Terra Cognita*. Portfolio of Plates. Engraved by J. Redaway and Sons & F. Grosse, Melbourne.
- BOGUSLAWSKY, A. VON., 1891. Lebensabriß des Generalmajors Carl Andreas v. Boguslawsky 1758 – 1817. *Beiheft 1891 zu Militär-Wochenblatt*. E. S. Mittler, Berlin.
- BOWDEN, K.M., 1974. *Doctors and Diggers on the Mount Alexander Goldfields*. Privately Published, Maryborough.
- BREUNNER, R., 1863. *Geschichte der preußischen Landwehr*. Rittler and Sons, Berlin.
- BUTLER, R., 2007. *Printed images in Colonial Australia 1801 – 1901*. National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.
- CLARKE, F.C.H., 1876. *The Armed Strength of the German Empire Part I. Organisation and administration*. Oxford University Press, London.
- DARRAGH, T.A., 1992. Blandowski, Johann Wilhelm Theodor Ludwig (William). In *The Dictionary of Australian Artists, Painters, Sketchers, Photographers and Engravers to 1870*, J. Kerr, ed., Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 71-2.
- DARRAGH, T.A., 2000. Robert Brough Smyth: his early years as revealed by his correspondence with Adam Sedgwick. *Historical Records of Australian Science* 13: 19-42.
- DARRAGH, T.A., 2003. *Emigrants on the Alfred, 1848: accounts of the voyage and settlement / by Alfred passengers Alois Kranewitter, Heinrich Luestner, Ernst Kaulvers, Michael Deutscher, Christine Hiller nee Petschel and Andreas Albert*. Friends of Lutheran Archives, Bowden, S. Aust.
- DARRAGH, T.A. & WUCHATSCH, R.N., 1999. *From Hamburg to Hobsons Bay German Emigration to Port Phillip (Australia Felix) 1848-51*. Published in association with the Wendish Heritage Society Australia, Heidelberg, Vic.
- DARRAGH, T.A., 1997. *Printer and Newspaper Registration in Victoria 1838-1924*. Elibank Press, Wellington.
- DREISING, G., 1897. *Geschichte des Füsilier=Regiments General-Feldmarschall Graf Moltke (Schlesisches) Nr. 38*. Berlin.
- DUMONT D'URVILLE, M.J., 1830-5. *Voyage de la corvette l'Astrolabe : execute par ordre du roi, pendant les annees 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829, sous le commandement de M. J. Dumont D'Urville, capitaine de vaisseau*. J. Tastu, 13 v. : ill. + 4 atlases, Paris.
- EYRE, E.J., 1845. *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia and Overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound, In the Years 1840-1*. T. and W. Boon, 29 New Bond Street, London.
- GEISENHEIMER, L., 1889. *Festschrift zur fünfzigjährigen Jubelfeier der Oberschlesischen Bergschule*. Sauer, Tarnowitz.
- GEMMELL, N., 1975. Some notes on Ferdinand von Mueller and the early settlement of Bugle Ranges, *The South Australian Naturalist* 49:51-64.
- GOEPPERT, H.R., 1845. Zur Flora des Muschelkalkes. *Uebersicht der Arbeiten und Veränderungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Kultur* Jahr 1845:149-150, 2pls.



- HAUFFE, F. & Klös H.-G. 1995. Der Tierillustrator Gustav Mützel. *Bongo*, Berlin 26:29-46.
- HOLLOWAY, M., 1977. *Steel engravings in Nineteenth Century British topographical books*. Holland Press, London.
- HOME, R.W., LUCAS, A.M., MAROSKE, S., SINKORA, D.M. & VOIGHT, J.H., eds, 1998. *Regardfully Yours: Selected Correspondence of Ferdinand von Mueller*, 1:1840-1859. Peter Lang, Bern.
- HOME, R.W., LUCAS, A.M., MAROSKE, S., SINKORA, D.M., VOIGT, J.H. & WELLS, M., eds, 2006. *Regardfully Yours: Selected Correspondence of Ferdinand von Mueller*, 3: 1876-1896, Peter Lang, Bern.
- HUMPHRIES, P., 2003. Blandowski misses out: Ichthyological etiquette in 19th-century Australia. *Endeavour* 27:160-165.
- JUKES, J. BEETE., 1847. *Narrative of the surveying voyage of H.M.S. Fly, commanded by Captain F.P. Blackwood, R.N., in Torres Strait, New Guinea, and other islands of the eastern archipelago, during the years 1842-1846 : together with an excursion into the interior of the eastern part of Java*. T. & W. Boone, London.
- KRESSE, W., 1969. *Seeschiffs-Verzeichnis der Hamburger Reedereien* (Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, Hamburg) 2:152.
- KUCZYNSKI, J., 1945. *A short history of Labour Conditions under Industrial Capitalism Volume 3, part 1. Germany 1800 to the Present Day*. F. Müller, London.
- LEHMANN, G., 1913. *Die Ritter des Ordens pour le mérite*. Mittler & Son, Berlin. Bde 1: 1740-1811.
- LEWCZYŃSKI, J. & POL, A., 1993. Gliwickie lata i pracownia fotograficzna Wilhelma von Blandowskiego. *Zeszyty Gliwickie* 22:55-71 [in Polish] 'The Years in Gleiwitz and Wilhelm von Blandowski's Photo Atelier.'
- LÖHBERG, K., OSTERWALD, J. & WILKE, A., 1979. Bergbau, Geowissenschaften, Hüttenwesen und Werkstoffwissenschaften an der TU Berlin. In *Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Technischen Universität Berlin 1879-1979*. R. Rürup, ed., Berlin.
- MELBOURNE EXHIBITION, 1854. *Official catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition, 1854 in connexion with the Paris Exhibition, 1855*. F. Sinnett & Co, Melbourne.
- MITCHELL, T.L., 1848, *Journal of an Expedition into the Interior of Tropical Australia in Search of a Route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria*. Longman, London.
- MOLTKE, H.K.B. GRAF VON., 1893. *Geschichte des Krieges gegen Dänemark 1848/49*. Berlin.
- NEUSCHÄFER, H.G., 1907. *Stammliste des Königlichen Kadetenhauses Culm-Cöslin (1. Juni 1776-1. November 1907)*. Berlin.
- NIETSCHE, B., 1886. *Geschichte der Stadt Gleiwitz*. Gleiwitz.
- PASZKOWSKI, L.K., 1967. William Blandowski – the First Government Zoologist of Victoria. *The Australian Zoologist* 14:147-172.
- PESCOTT, R.T.M., 1954. *Collections of a Century: The History of the First Hundred Years of the National Museum of Victoria*. National Museum of Victoria, Melbourne.
- PANNING, A., 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Zoologischen Staatsinstituts und Zoologischen Museums in Hamburg. *Mitteilungen aus dem Hamburgischen Zoologischen Museum und Institut in Hamburg* 53:1-23, 54: 1-20, 55: 1-23, 56: 1-30.
- REDAWAY, W., 1858. On the Gold-Diggings at Creswick Creek and Ballarat, *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society of London* 14:540-541.
- RUSSELL, J.E., 1899. *German Higher Schools: The history, organisation and methods of Secondary Education in Germany*. Longmans, London.
- SCHALOW, H., 1893. Nekrolog. *Ornithologische Monatsberichte* 1:210. Art: 417-420
- SMEDLEY, E., ROSE, H.J. & ROSE, H.J., eds, 1845. *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana: or Universal Dictionary of Knowledge*. B. Fellowes and Others, London.
- SMYTH, W.W., 1854. *The Mining School at Tarnowitz, Silesia*. First Report of the Department of Science and Art, pp. 417-420.
- STRZELECKI, P.L., 1845. *Physical description of New South Wales and Van Diemens Land*. Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.
- STURT, C., 1833. *Two expeditions into the interior of Southern Australia during the years 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831*. Smith Elder, London.
- STURT, C., 1849. *Narrative of an expedition into Central Australia, performed under the authority of Her Majesty's government during the years 1844, 5, and 6, together*

- with a notice of the province of South Australia in 1847.* Boone, London.
- SZOŁTYSEK, R., 1996. *Paniówki Szkic historyczny.* Katowice.
- WAKEFIELD, N.A., 1966. Mammals of the Blandowski Expedition to north-western Victoria 1856-57. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* 79: 371-391.
- WILKINSON, I., 1996. The Battle for the Museum: Frederick McCoy and the Establishment of the National Museum of Victoria at the University of Melbourne, *Historical Records of Australian Science* 11: 1-11.
- WOODS, J.E.T., 1862, *Geological Observations in South Australia.* Longman, London.