

# OBSERVING MONDELLIMIN, OR WHEN GERARD KREFFT 'SAVED ONCE MORE THE HONOUR OF THE EXPLORING EXPEDITION'

JOHN KEAN

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

KEAN, J., 2009. Observing Mondellimin, or when Gerard Krefft 'saved once more the honour of the exploring expedition'. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* 121(1): 109–128. ISSN 0035-9211.

The Victorian government's expedition to the Murray River in 1857 was distinguished by the quality of images generated by its principals. Guided by the unifying vision of Alexander Humboldt, William Blandowski and Gerard Krefft examined the relationship between the Australians and their environment. Blandowski initiated a productive engagement with the local Nyeri Nyeri that yielded an unsurpassed collection of vertebrate animals endemic to the Murray-Darling Basin. Despite Blandowski's reckless leadership and Krefft's simmering resentment of his commander, the expedition resulted in irreplaceable data. The immediacy of Krefft's observations offer a glimpse of mammals that have subsequently plummeted to extinction, as well as providing unique evidence of the interaction between the indigenous Australians and their environment. Krefft's images illuminate one of Australia's richest and most diverse regions at the moment of pastoral incursion. Both men were intensely aware that they had the opportunity of observing a world that was changing irrevocably in front of their eyes.

*Key words:* Blandowski, Krefft, extinction, frontier, ethnobiology.

FORTUNATELY for the scientific record Gerard Krefft, a 27 year-old German adventurer was engaged as Blandowski's expedition assistant. The son of a Brunswick confectioner, Krefft had made his way to Australia via New York, reaching Victoria in 1852 (Whitley & Rutledge: accessed 20.05.08). Hardened by several years on the goldfields, Krefft came to Blandowski's notice under the lamplight of Redmond Barry's Public Library. He was observed, honing his drafting skills, making copies of the lithographs from John Gould's *Mammals of Australia*, a publication whose illustrations would be used to represent Australia's distinctive marsupials for more than a century (Gould 1845-63).

Blandowski and Krefft shared a passion for natural history and their mutual fervor to 'discover and draw' the fauna of Australia was the catalyst that would bind their careers.<sup>1</sup> But this was to be no easy relationship. Both men had an unshakeable belief in their own judgment. Restless in the face of injustice, they responded to perceived provocation with rashness and lack of tact. Like uncomfortably conjoined twins, they quickly became resentful of the other's presence, eventually becoming enemies. However theirs was not an isolated case of incompatibility, for the careers of both men were marked by recurrent, virulent and destructive conflict. Despite their inspired foresight, Blandowski and Krefft would both die as tragic, disappointed souls.

Had it not been for the farcical recriminations that followed Blandowski's return to Melbourne, their shared expedition would have been recognized as one of the most significant collecting investigations in Australian scientific history. As it was, their inability to manage a relationship for mutual benefit, saw the material they collected dispersed and the impact of their achievement evaporate, along with the doomed desert marsupials they observed. The naturalist's reputations, like skin-specimens of extinct species, dried and desiccated on a museum shelf.

At their first meeting Blandowski and Krefft would have exchanged excited accounts of their scientific aspirations. And perhaps they dreamed of how the other's expertise could be bent to their own advantage.

Blandowski and Krefft were just two of a dedicated group of German speaking intellectuals drawn to Victoria during the Gold Rush. Despite personal differences this community shared an allegiance to Alexander von Humboldt, the imperious natural philosopher and geographer. Blandowski's holistic vision for the Murray River expedition was derived from Humboldt's teachings; he would collect expansively across the full range of disciplines. Similarly the closely observed landscape paintings of Eugene von Guérard and Ludwig Becker embody Humboldt's theories, while the energetic travels of the botanist, Ferdinand von Mueller and geophysicist,

Georg von Neumayer mirror in their intensity the years their mentor had spent exploring the low-lying jungles and exposed mountains of South America (Pullin 2007:147-50). Like Humboldt, this small group of adventurers aimed to employ science and art 'to comprehend the phenomena of physical objects in their general connection and to represent nature as one great whole, moved and animated by internal forces' (Humboldt 1849; Humboldt, cited in Pullin 2007:144-5).

In contrast to most British explorers of his era Blandowski was confident that if he engaged indigenous Australians in his project, he could assemble even the most elusive animal species. As a result his published papers contain, after observations of the 'Geology, mineralogy, paleontology and zoology,' a description on 'The Aborigines; their manners, habits, and customs'. Suddenly the collectors of his specimens become the subjects of his scientific enterprise (Blandowski 1855, 1857).

Krefft's discipline and scientific acumen were crucial to the documentation and preservation of an impressive range of material from the expedition — a cache that would eventually yield over 17,000 specimens. He described how the local people were profitably engaged in the collecting: 'The boys would go out to collect insects, the women to look for small mammals, and the men looking for the larger game; they would do their best to please, and obtain the reward offered for some rare creatures' (Krefft 1866b:359). A small industry was set up, with specimens exchanged, 'in consideration of flour, tea, sugar, &c'. The specimens, together with written records and sketches form the most comprehensive snapshot of the original fauna of the Murray-Darling Basin. This remarkable record was made at the last possible moment, just as the delicate ecosystem was being altered irreversibly by flocks of grazing sheep and the sharp hooves of cattle.

The investigative intent of the expedition was sharpened in the certain knowledge that Blandowski and Krefft were observing a world that was changing in front of their eyes. Both perceived imminent cultural and biological extinction. It was like a pall, hanging over the landscape into which they ventured. Both scientific adventurers strove to record what they could, before it disappeared. Krefft concentrated much of his effort on the mammals and insects while Blandowski focused on freshwater fish and the people, their customary life and relationship to the natural environment. Krefft's scientific insight has been recognised as the distinguishing feature of this uneasy expedition,

and his achievements established the credentials with which he was to cement a place in the annals of Australian science (Nancarrow, this volume).

Blandowski identified with the Australians, empathising with their status as outsiders, barely tolerated by an unsympathetic colonial society. Writing from Europe he would later reflect on the loss of the indigenous culture which he had come to admire.

There are burgeoning cities with steadily growing populations and productivity where Aborigines once had their endless hunting grounds, where they staged their festivities with games and dancing, fought and settled sometimes bloody tribal and personal battles. Now only the melancholy old recall these former glories and mourn their loss (Blandowski 1862 in Allen 2007c:3).

Blandowski's reputation was destroyed by the re-criminations that followed the expedition; and as a consequence his observations have been slow to surface. The album *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen*, in which Blandowski distilled his most important observations, was submerged in vast libraries in Berlin and Cambridge (Blandowski 1862). Rather than interpret Blandowski's legacy European scholars have chosen to focus on the jungles of South America and Africa or the exotic islands of the South Pacific. It is only in recent decades when academics, from the Southern Hemisphere have studied Blandowski's multidisciplinary career that the depth and value of his recorded experiences has been recognised (Humphries 2003; Allen 2001).

While they may have shared a clear and visionary reading of the environment, Blandowski and Krefft were made of very different stuff. On his return from the river, Blandowski generously acknowledged the collaborative endeavour that underpinned his project '... the specimens were obtained by the assistance of the aborigines, to whom I am indebted for all the information and discoveries I have made...' (Blandowski 1857:127). Blandowski also noted Krefft's contribution, though omitted to recognise his scientific and artist efforts, 'It would, however, be unjust on my part were I not to acknowledge services, rendered to me by my assistant, Mr. G. Krefft, who, from the beginning to the end of my undertaking, most faithfully shared my lot' (Blandowski 1857:125).

In contrast Krefft resented Blandowski's authority from the moment the hurriedly prepared party left Melbourne. His unpublished memoir provides a vivid account of rising antipathy, traced across the dusty tracks of central Victoria and along the banks of the River to Mondellimin. Educated and sophisticated,

Kreffft paints himself as Blandowski's superior in every respect. Recounting the 'irksome' task of acting as his secretary, Krefft's distaste at being in close proximity to this man whom he abhors is palpable.

Well I am off on my hobby again, but I beg your pardon dear reader I shall take up the thread of my narrative and tell you as soon as the sun disappeared behind the eucalyptus and it became too dark to work any longer with the pencil, supper was prepared, an attempt was made to smoke a pipe (but generally failed as I have been used to good cigars all my life) and then came the real drudgery. I had to transfer to paper the flourishing descriptions and observations which had accumulated during the daytime in my Commanders brain. In a hot tent with the thermometer at 90 so that it would melt tallow candle like the sun. [On p.32, of the second version Krefft adds:] 'This task was the more irksome by reason of Mr Blandowski's very imperfect mastery of the English tongue which frequently made what he dictated quite unintelligible'. (Kreffft n.d.:19).

While Blandowski rode ahead with the wind in his hair, enjoying the comfort of a trackside inn in the evening, his party struggled across a landscape that had been seared by fires and scarified by cattle. Krefft's description of the country reflects his exasperation and exhaustion in a land already hammered by overstocking.

I could not help observing during our days journey that no birds were seen with the single exception of a crow. The cattle tracks leading towards the Murray were very numerous so were herds of young beasts, who would come sometimes within reach of my whip to satisfy their curiosity which startled by a crack of it would gallop off at a neck brake (sic) pace to some distance were (sic) they turned around again eying our caravan all the while (Kreffft n.d.:16).

On 8 April 1857, four months after leaving Melbourne, the shattered party made their way towards a small hill, its weathered cliff- face crumbling into the Murray River. Led by two *Aborigines* with 'feathers of the White Cockatoo in their hair [as] a sign of their being messengers of peace', the party switched-back across the floodplain and onto the slightly elevated campsite at Mondellimin (Kreffft 1866b:364). According to Blandowski the men arrived, 'safe but in a most deplorable condition' (Blandowski 1857:126).

All was set; the 'commander' was at home and on good terms with the local Nyeri Nyeri, who were induced to supply mammals, fish, reptiles, amphi-

ans, birds and insects on the promise of trade goods and rations. Krefft, James Mason, and 'Messrs. Weitenau and Dorgerloh' (*The Illustrated Melbourne News*, 6 February 1858:65) were obliged to prepare whatever specimens were brought to them by the Australians. Thus Blandowski was freed to explore the country to the north and west of Mondellimin.

#### AT MONDELLIMIN

The conditions under which Gerard Krefft, James Mason, and 'Messrs. Weitenau and Dorgerloh' worked at Mondellimin can be re-constructed from a variety of sources. Most valuable are Krefft's surviving water colour sketches and written observations of the animals collected at Mondellimin, which together provide a fine grained insight into the everyday pattern of work on the river. Perhaps the most comprehensive single image was *Mr. Blandowski's encampment on the Lower Murray* published in *The Illustrated Melbourne News*, soon after the party's return to Melbourne (Fig. 1). It is most likely that the engraving was based on a field sketch by Krefft, which has since disappeared. The engraving provides a distanced view of the naturalist's camp, with vignettes showing the Europeans working cheek by jowl with the Nyeri Nyeri.

The diaries of Krefft and Blandowski would, if they had survived, have made fascinating reading, for both men saw their respective achievement very differently. Krefft compiled a memoir of the expedition while he was in England (Kreffft n.d.:50), presumably based on daily diary entries. Frustratingly, even this record peters out at the very moment when the party reached Mondellimin, just as he was to commence the most significant phase of his work.

The absence of a detailed narrative of the seven months that the party spent at Mondellimin has opened up a space ripe for speculation and personal interpretation that is being filled with a growing scrum of contemporary historians, scientists and anthropologists. We sift through the available evidence, and test the facts on the basis of our own particular discipline, filtered though a subjective response to the contested characters at the centre of expedition. My background as an art historian provides an advantage in that it relies on the highly detailed images created around Mondellimin, many of which have persisted. Krefft was a meticulous observer and in most cases his images can be trusted for the accuracy of the information they contain. My interpretation of the expedition is based on an analysis of some of the





Fig. 1. Gerard Krefft (artist attributed) (engraver unknown). *Mr Blandowski's Camp on the Lower Murray*. Published in *The Illustrated Melbourne News*, 6 February 1858, p.65. *Mr Blandowski's Camp on the Lower Murray*. State Library Victoria.

most telling of these images, informed by what can be gleaned from associated materials, and placed in context by a reading of the cultural and ecological history of the landscape.

The delicate, if slightly naïve sketches, made by Krefft at Mondellimin, are all the more remarkable given the conditions in which they were created. While the *atelier* described in Krefft's memoir dates from an earlier camp, established on the way to the 'Junction of the Murray and Darling Rivers', it conveys the essentials of his circumstances. Given the conditions that he describes Krefft's productivity are testament to his tenacity — but his persistent ill-will towards Blandowski pervades the scene, like the odors from the putrefying animals at his feet.

But other duties involved me? I had to sketch every object of natural history brought in by the natives

and supply Mr Bl. with occasional observations. This would take the best part of the day. My atelier was at the back of the largest tent, 4 poles run into the ground were covered over with branches of eucalyptus. The sides were covered by pieces of bark and part left open as an entrance and window. An empty gin case constituted my table and a keg half full of decaying reptiles, which Mr Blandowski flattered himself he was preserving in a fluid, which had once been arrack, served as a seat. The stench of my seat and the great many carcasses of birds and animals lying about not only attracted but bred any number of flies and other insects which would not allow me to do anything and in point of fact, I could only use one hand when I was drawing as the other was kept sufficiently busy to prevent the flies from blowing my eyes (Krefft n.d.:19-20).



Mondellimin was nestled into a natural amphitheatre with access to the river. When he had the opportunity, Krefft would escape the daily grind to explore a tight mosaic of distinctive environments, close to the naturalist's camp.

Imagine the young German, perched with a sheet of paper attached to a board balanced on his knees, pencil in hand, and watercolours at the ready. Typically he would have worked with an audience of inquisitive Nyeri Nyeri looking over his shoulder, they as amazed by his skill in representing the scene before him as he was of their capacity to track and catch animals across an apparently cryptic landscape (Fig. 2).

Both Blandowski and Krefft elicited local names for mammals (Krefft 1858a), insects, fish and birds.<sup>2</sup> Those names now form among the most comprehensive taxonomic lists in the languages of the Murray-Darling Basin (Allen 2001). The value of their groundbreaking ethno-historical work is only beginning to emerge. The site-name 'Mondellimin', for instance is derived from *Mondellunddellun*; Nyeri Nyeri for the diminutive and carnivorous fat-tailed dunnart. The northern bank of the river, immediately

adjacent to Mondellimin, was referred to as Gol Gol, a place-name that appears to have been derived from *Kohl*, the local name for the greater stick-nest rat (Hope & Hercus, this volume).

Blandowski having established the camp and instructed his small party, ventured off alone on horseback. He followed the Murray, downstream into South Australia, parts of which he had surveyed some years before. Blandowski's aim was to reach the mission at Moorundie, near present day Blanchetown. Three weeks later Blandowski returned to Mondellimin, claiming to have made a round trip of 600 miles (Blandowski 1857:126).

Blandowski was by now an accomplished bushman, who appears to have been happiest when traveling hard, fired with desire to discover the secrets of the 'fifth continent' (Blandowski 1862, in Allen 2007c:3-4). After having just enough time to check the progress of the collecting party and to sign off a few dispatches, Krefft's 'commander' was off again, this time chasing the frontier in search of an experience of the sublime in the unknown heart of Australia.



Fig. 2. Gerard Krefft: *Bend of the Murray River*. Watercolour on paper, 1857. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales Collection.

His epiphany came on the summit of Mt Jamieson, twenty-five kilometers north of present day Wilcannia where:

The panorama which there presented itself to my view from the summit of a high hill, called by me Mount Jamieson, was grand. The whole horizon was closed in with high blue mountains and picturesque hills, and my feelings then can only be understood by one, who himself had been at the verge of civilization, (in this case 700 miles from Melbourne) and gazed into the unknown wilds expanding before him (Blandowski 1857:129).

Turning his back on the apotheosis of his career in Australia, Blandowski rode back to Mondellimin. He reached his base camp 'after an absence of 24 days, ...having been obliged to swim the Murray twice, and the Darling seven times, and several smaller streams. The distance traversed by me in that period was 700 miles' (Blandowski 1857:126).

By now Blandowski was eager to announce his discoveries to the world. Confident that under Kr-

efft's direction the good work of his men could continue in his absence, he prepared to return to Melbourne. Rather than retracing his journey cross country he chose to travel downriver by steam boat. On 6 August 1857, he examined the pickled and dried specimens, signed off Krefft's specimen lists then had his precious crates carried to waters edge.<sup>3</sup> Boarding the *Albury*, Blandowski proceeded down stream 'taking with me the valuable collection of specimens of Natural History, which had been accumulating in my tent during my stay at Mondellimin, to the extent of twenty-eight boxes and parcels, containing in all 16,000 specimens, registered under 2000 different numbers' (Blandowski 1857:126).

On reaching the mouth of the Murray, Blandowski's thoughts turned melancholy, for this was an area which he had first come to know soon after arriving in Australia. For Blandowski the stark reality of the European conquest of southern Australia took on a symbolic form — that of a figure bound and raised on a mortuary platform and roasted, the 'river

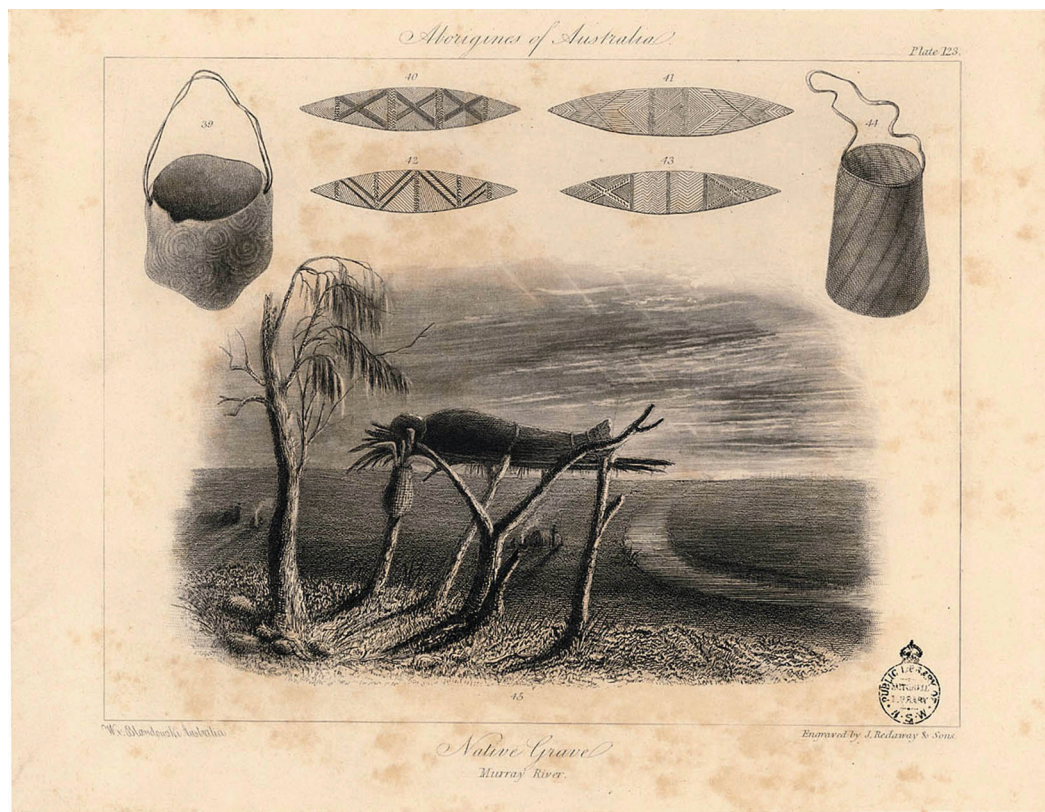


Fig. 3. William Blandowski (artist), J. Redaway (engraver): *Native Grave Murray River* from the *Australia Terra Cognita*. Watercolour on paper, 1857. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales Collection.



of life' was literally disappearing into the sunset at a distant horizon. The image seared its way into his consciousness,

At Goolwa, I saw a black fellow smoked and roasted after death on a scaffold, (Fig. 3) which performance was accompanied with many fantastic ceremonies. ... Extermination proceeds so rapidly, that regions of the Lower Murray are already depopulated, and a quietude reigns there which saddens the traveller who visited those districts a few years ago (Blandowski 1857:137).

It is impossible to judge Blandowski's state of mind on steaming through The Rip into Port Phillip Bay; he certainly would have harbored deep misgivings at the prospect of confronting his nemesis, the redoubtable Professor Frederick McCoy. Despite his worst fears, Blandowski appears to have been received as a minor celebrity on return to Melbourne. Within two weeks, Blandowski's backers had arranged a celebratory dinner in his honour (Paszowski 1967:155). Bolstered by his reception Blandowski drafted a summary of his findings and commissioned Frederick Grosse to make engravings from his images of 19 types of freshwater fishes including many species that were new to science (Blandowski 1857).

#### KREFFT'S 'REGENT PARK IN MINIATURE'

Meanwhile, Gerard Krefft was left in charge of the scientific station at Mondellimin. He continued to share the location with the Nyeri Nyeri, who were camped close by, taking advantage of the opportunity of a novel trade in native animals. Anticipating an ongoing benefit, they had built a sturdy, all-weather shelter, with direct river access, overtly demonstrating their interest in all riverfront commerce.<sup>4</sup>

The expedition was stationed at Mondellimin, 'for the purpose of making investigations on the natural history of that district, and also, with a view of collecting as many specimens as possible for the National Museum' (Blandowski 1857:125). During this time, Krefft wisely chose to focus his attention on the medium-sized mammals he considered rare or vulnerable. The range of mammals he assembled with the assistance of the Nyeri Nyeri is unprecedented, they included, six species of dasyurid, a rufus numbat [the most south-easterly record for this now disappeared sub-species] (Morton 1995:129-31), four species of bandicoot, two possums, eight species of macropod and six endemic rodents. With

tragic foresight Krefft was aware of the impact that grazing was having on their habitat, for the majority of species that he collected have now disappeared from the Murray-Darling Basin and many are extinct across their range (Lunney 2001:44 -70, Menkhorst, this volume).

Krefft made the most of his unique opportunity to observe these animals, creating a '*Regent's Park in miniature*' at Mondellimin (Krefft n.d.:20). His longest description for a single species is devoted to the *Landwang*, the pig-footed bandicoot, a unique marsupial that even in the mid-nineteenth century figured as the most desirable target for discerning collectors in inland Australia. Krefft noted that the *Landwang* was a:

singular animal which Sir Thomas Mitchell first discovered in his expedition to the Darling, June 16, 1836, is still found on the plains of the Murray; though it is exceedingly rare, and is disappearing as fast as the native population. The large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle occupying the country will soon disperse those individuals which are still to be found in the so-called settled districts...

I had the greatest difficulty in obtaining a few specimens, but succeeded at last, and as I believe that nobody has ever been able to observe the habits of this singular creature in a state of nature, I will quote from my diary, October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1857: —

After returning from a short excursion in the scrub, I fell in with a party of natives who succeeded, at last, in securing a pair of the *Chaeropus*, (male and female.) They wanted all manner of things for them, from a pair of blankets to a cutty pipe; and as I was very anxious to sketch them from life I emptied my pockets there and then; and promised a grand entertainment for the night with plenty of damper and sugar and tea.

On arrival at the camp, the two animals were secured in a bird cage; and I was busy for several hours sketching my charges in different positions (Krefft 1866a:12-13).

Krefft watched the captive *Landwang* attentively, offering them a variety of foods and recording much of what we now know of their habits. Caught at the moment when the *Landwang* and its habitat was disappearing under the hoofed tide on the pastoral frontier, Krefft's sketches of the rabbit-sized marsupial remain the only images of the species taken from life. Constrained in cages at his remote base camp, Krefft



had the unique opportunity to study, at close range, species that other naturalists had described from desiccated skin specimens, a point that he makes when comparing his unique observations with 'Gould's figure of *Chaeropus occidentalis* [which] are spiritless, being taken from dry skins' (Krefft 1866a:13).

Their eyes are very large and brilliant in fact I do not think that there is any other animal among the mammals of Australia which has finer eyes than this little *Chaeropus* [Fig. 4] I refer to the Portfolio again and beg to share that the eyes on the figures of this animal in Mr. Gould's work are too small; by half (Krefft 1858b).

Gould's luscious and authoritative volumes have exerted an enduring influence on the telling of natural history in Australia. So much so that the misleading image of the pig-footed bandicoot that they contain remains the most reproduced representation of this missing animal. Krefft's more reliable and animate image has remained, until recently unpublished (Kean 2006:7) (Fig. 4).

From Krefft's own accounts it appears that the scientific party depended on the daily flow of speci-

mens from the Nyeri Nyeri for meat, as well as for subjects of their enquiry. Embedded in his notes on the mammals are comments about their particular culinary qualities, here the doomed *Landwang* rates a special mention. 'They are very good eating, and I am sorry to confess that my appetite more than once over-ruled my love of science;...' (Krefft 1866a:7).

The immediacy of Krefft's experience is also captured by his vivid anecdotal descriptions of each species. He appears to have admired the feisty western quoll or 'Kettie of the Natives' (Fig. 5) which he observed both in captivity and 'naturalised' around the camp.

This is the most blood-thirsty of the Marsupial animals inhabiting the Murray scrubs, solitary in its habits strictly nocturnal, and the terror of the feathered tribe, particularly of the yellow crested Cockatoo. Afraid of nothing it will, when hungry, attack any other animal...

All my attempts to domesticate the young have proved fruitless; they never learned to recognise the hand that fed them, and though I kept a pair for nearly six months, at the end of the time they were



Fig. 4. Gerard Krefft: *Landwang* – pig-footed bandicoot, *Chaeropus ecaudatus*. Watercolour and pencil on paper. Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Collection.



Fig. 5. Gerard Krefft: *Kettrie* – Western Quoll, *Dasyurus geoffroyi*. Wood engraving on paper, c.1858. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales Collection.

found to be more ferocious than ever; having made their escape at last, they kept near the huts and tents of the camp, completely clearing the place of mice and other vermin. Wherever a spot is infested with mice or rats in the bush (and some stations are overrun with them) there is no better remedy than to procure a few young *Dasyuri*, which having been kept on the ground for a few months, and turned out in the store-house, will soon “effect a clearance” (Krefft 1866a:7-8).

Only dimly aware of any special totemic attachment that the Australians may have had for particular species, Krefft recorded that ‘Jacob’ an old chief on the River’ took a very active interest in his captive *Kettries*. Krefft was disparaging about Jacob’s kinsmen, who instead of venerating the species actively hunted the *Kettrie*.

The Natives inhabiting the country near the junction of the Darling, have some superstitions regarding this animal, and “Jacob,” an old chief on the River, often assured me, that “*Kettrie* make rain and rainbow” (Krefft 1866a:8).

In contrast to the majority of natural history illustrators of the period, Krefft’s sketches possess animus. They show the influence of John James Audubon, the most spectacular illustrator of the century. Krefft had studied Audubon’s large format engravings at the New York Mercantile Library, where he ‘obtained permission to copy some of the plates, his copies selling at prices that enabled him to save sufficient money for a passage to Australia, where he imagined that he would find a wide field open to him as a painter and a naturalist’ (Anon. c.1881). Audubon arranged his subjects in dramatic poses based on



events he witnessed in the field, Krefft no doubt attempted to emulate the famed bird artist's vitality. Krefft's lesser stick-nest rat is alive and alert, right down to its whiskers. The animal, known by the Nyeri Nyeri as *Tillikin*, is presented back arched and ready to flee; it's finely hatched fur filled-in later when the artist had time to provide more detail. Krefft depicted the lesser stick-nest rat perched on an impressionistically sketched hollow branch, referring to the manner in which the rodents made their communal nests. I know of no other image that brings us so close to this now extinct animal.

Judging from his illustrations, Krefft made the most of his opportunities to escape the daily grind of preparing and cataloguing specimens. Traveling in company with the Nyeri Nyeri he had the opportunity to witness techniques for tracking and catching a variety of species. Krefft's watercolor *Aboriginal man hunting kangaroo* [more likely *Turratt*, eastern hare-wallaby], provides a dramatic insight into how animals destined to be prepared as museum specimens, were originally collected. Krefft shows a

bearded man, running full tilt, the moment before he hurls a nula nula. His target, a low flying *Turratt* has been flushed from the undergrowth by three lanky hunting dogs (Fig. 6). The immediacy of the image infers the artist's presence, either as an eyewitness or perhaps even an assistant in the hunt.

Krefft was the recipient of an avalanche of specimens. True to form he blamed the superabundance on Blandowski's ill-judged generosity: 'In a very liberal manner our Commander paid about 1 shilling for each skin a most exorbitant price...' Krefft appears to have been more parsimonious, preferring to barter with rations rather than cash (Krefft n.d.:19).

The deftness employed by the Australians to catch elusive mammals was not usually recorded by Krefft or those who followed in his footsteps. Similarly the totemic associations with many species has been lost, as the memories of the animal's presence evaporated with the passing of the last generation who knew them as a part of their lived experience — 25,000 years of ecological and cultural continuity — gone.<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 6. Gerard Krefft: *Aboriginal chasing a kangaroo* [more likely *Turratt*, eastern hare-wallaby]. Watercolour on paper, 1857. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales Collection.





Fig. 7. Gerard Krefft: *Natives crossing the Murray in a bark canoe*. Watercolour on paper, 1857. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales Collection.

### CROSSINGS

One crisp morning Krefft freed himself from his regular duties at Mondellimin and crossed the river. Settling in, pencils and paint at hand, he squinted into the low reflected light, he took in the forms of the stratified and deeply eroded sandstone cliffs opposite.<sup>6</sup> Just then a bark canoe, loaded to the gunnels with a party of nine, including men, women and children, worked its way up river into the artist's gaze. The man on the bow propelled the canoe with a long flexible spear, one foot forward for balance and a mission blanket across his shoulder. A young woman sat at the stern, white pipe-clay marking her face, a sign she was in mourning. Undeterred, a large child tinkered at her breast. The other passengers sat, content to let one man do all the work as the smallest dog, in the middle of the canoe, eyeballed the artist. They were moving slowly against the current and Krefft had plenty of time to study the party. The gallant pose of the oarsman, vertical against the cliff-face, conveys Krefft's admiration for the skill of the river people, who could mark out and release, in one piece,

a large slab of bark and turn it into a craft ideally suited for a river crossing (Krefft 1866b:362-363) (Figs 7 & 8).

On another occasion Krefft positioned himself on the Victorian bank looking across the river to New South Wales, intending to capture a complementary image of life on the Murray in 1857 (Fig. 9). This time he chose to depict the property of John and Elizabeth Williams, defined at that moment by makeshift structures, working men and rearing horses. Here is the flip side of the uneasy cross-cultural co-existence that characterized life along Australia's biggest river.

In place of the bark canoe depicted in the previous image, Krefft painted a small vessel of European design, ferrying stock feed to Gol Gol Station. The boat, which is not much more substantial than the canoe of the Nyeri Nyeri, is being sculled by a standing man, dressed in a red shirt and broad brimmed hat.

These paired images show two vessels crossing the same stretch of river at the same moment in history. But this precarious juxtaposition was to be disturbed as indigenous canoes which had plied the river



Fig. 8. Gustav Mützel (artist), William Blandowski (photographer): *Natives making a canoe on the Murray River*. Plate 34 from Blandowski's *'Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen'* (1862). Courtesy of Haddon Library, Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge.

for millennia proved unstable in the wake of the steam boats that came to dominate river transport.<sup>7</sup>

While the slab huts and rough fences of Gol Gol Station look ephemeral enough, the pastoralists were there to stay — the effect of their incursion stretched far beyond the banks of the river. As stockmen broke horses beside the river, the Williams' flocks were head down, denuding the country from water's edge inland, across a vast unfenced run. The traditional lands of the Nyeri Nyeri, Paakantyi and Mathimathi were overrun by sheep and their traditional owners were compelled to adapt to an impoverished environment. Game, such as the pig-footed bandicoot, lesser stick-nest rat and the eastern hare-wallaby were driven into extinction. Vegetable foods were suppressed and previously reliable water-places fouled by unconstrained stock. Many Australians perished of disease and displace-

ment. Some took work on the sheep stations that now occupied their land. Others moved to the back country, struggling to maintain their traditional ways, opportunistically picking off stray stock. Surprisingly few chose the relative security of life on the handful of missions established along the course of the river, and even then most of those who sought refuge resisted conversion to the Christian faith.

One such mission was at Yelta, several kilometers downstream from Mondellimin, strategically located opposite the confluence of the Darling and Murray Rivers. The mission at Yelta was established in 1855 by Thomas Goodwin, under the auspices of the *Melbourne Church of England Society for a Mission to the Aborigines of Victoria*, to provide sanctuary from those who would misuse the Australians and violently usurp their land (Shaw c.1920:5-7).





Fig. 9. Gerard Krefft: *Gall-Gall Station the property of Mess. J.H. Williams, Lower Murray*. Watercolour on paper, 1857. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales Collection.

It was there that Krefft met Jacob, the old man who was to take such interest in his *Kettries* (western quolls). Jacob would be portrayed as an individual, breaking through the generalizations used to characterise his people. He was well known to European travelers on the River and regarded as a king 'but whether it is merely a nominal title, or whether any regal authority is exercised, I know not. He is an elderly man, bearing the name of Jacob; and, for a king, not very prepossessing in appearance' (Allen 1853:26). Obviously impressed by his intelligence, Krefft reported Jacob: 'looking intensely at a coloured print, representing our Lord as the "Good Shepherd," with a lamb upon his shoulders. Then commenting wryly that: shepherd belong to this country! Never see him carry lamb on his shoulders, he always leave him along the bush' (Krefft 1866b:366).

Jacob's skepticism may have been based on direct observation of 'hard-drinking and hard-swearing bushmen' at the Darling Junction public-house, across the river from the mission. For Jacob the bushmen's ribald behavior was at odds with the welfare of

their flocks and their apparent lack of *pastoral* care was in stark contrast with the image of *Christ the Shepard* as revealed by the missionary Goodwin (Krefft 1866b:366).

Coincidentally, at Kulkyne, Krefft records that initiates were carried on the shoulders of 'the biggest man', on the evening before the youths were 'introduced to the adults of the tribe as "men"' (Krefft 1866b:366). Seen in this light the illustration of the "Good Shepherd," with a lamb upon his shoulders, revealed by the missionary Goodwin must have had particular syncretic significance for Jacob, a senior man enmeshed in the ceremonies of his own people, but with one eye open to the strange beliefs of the newcomers to his land.<sup>8</sup>

#### 'YOUNG NATIVE WOMEN' — 'WHITEMAN'S DESIRES'

Krefft's depictions of young women stand apart from his studies of animals and men at work. Created by a





Fig. 10. Gerard Krefft: *Three Aboriginal Girls*. Watercolour on paper, 1857. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales Collection.

young man freed from the buttoned-up constraints of his own class and culture, they are openly lascivious. Entranced by the unabashed nakedness of his subjects Krefft implies in his memoirs that he had sexual encounters with Nyeri Nyeri women.

I think I have proved to the reader the independence of the native (as far as food is concerned) from his white brethren but there are several items of consumption which can only be supplied by the white man and to procure these the Aborigines

of Australia are only too ready to sacrifice their own independence or give up their wives, sisters or daughters to the whitemans desires. These articles are flour, tea and sugar, tobacco, powder and shot, or their equivalent-money. If we look at this from a moral point of view, I do not think that the native is much to blame, he does not know better and it is quite a common occurrence among the different tribes, with which I have become acquainted, to exchange their wives for a certain time... (Krefft n.d.:39-40)

When considering cultural interaction on the Murray, Krefft points to the 'naturalness' of a white man procuring a 'young native woman' in exchange for rations — an appetite that in an isolated situation he condones:

Now what can be expected under these circumstances from the recluse who hardly sees his fellow mans face all the year round. Is it to be wondered at, that he is glad to meet a tribe of natives now and then, who supply him with a change of diet in the shape of fish, crawfish and wild ducks or eggs for his daily ration of salt beef. Is it astonishing that this man should take unto himself a young native woman if he is able to satisfy her relatives with tobacco, flour, tea or sugar? I should say it is natural, and whatsoever may be said or written against the immorality of the subject it will never alter the opinion or the habits of the men so situated (Krefft n.d.:41-2).

Krefft empathises with the isolation of the bushmen on the pastoral frontier, citing the 'scarcity of European women' as the catalyst for intercultural sexual relations, and inferring 'immorality' if there was any, on the part of the 'natives':

The immorality of the natives is to be accounted for in the scarcity of European women there and the humanness of the stockkeepers, shepherds, hutkeepers, bullockdrivers and shearers who live and die in the Australian bush, who stop at some outstation for a year or so without any intercourse with civilised society. They see nobody else but the man who supplies their rations once a week and perhaps they do not even see him every time he comes. As to women, women of our own kind, they are few in this part of Australia and far between (Krefft n.d.:40-1).

Without Krefft's written account of the norms of frontier relations, his image of three pubescent girls (Fig. 10), arms draped languidly over each others shoulders could be taken as an innocent reference to 'the three graces' of the classics. While the image

may well give a nod to Greece and Rome, it must also be understood in the context of Krefft's rhetorical question: *Is it astonishing that this man should take unto himself a young native woman if he is able to satisfy her relatives with tobacco, flour, tea or sugar?* In this light, the girls' apparently innocent embrace is arousing to the artist, who though he is still a young man, was already more than twice the age of his subjects.

#### CORROBOREE ON THE MURRAY RIVER

A highlight of the seven months spent on the Murray came when Krefft and the missionary Goodwin, were invited to witness a ceremony on the northern bank of the river, opposite Yelta.

When evening fell, Krefft and Goodwin crossed over. Securing their boat they climbed the bank to discover Jacob '*the famous chief*' in the centre of the stomping ground. He was surrounded by '*about two hundred natives, stretched around their campfires*' variously occupied manufacturing nets, crafting weapons and curing possum skin for cloaks, while other groups cooked in preparation for the long night ahead. Jacob entertained the crowd and *appeared to keep them merry by telling them a number of tales; all were busy except Jacob ... [whose] sonorous voice ... could be distinctly heard, and shouts of laughter testified how well the old man's tales were appreciated.*

Krefft provides an excited description of the ceremony as it unfolded:

When the moon rose, the men left their occupation, some ascending trees to cut down branches, others painting themselves with gypsum, for the forthcoming corroboree (sic), and shortly after the dance commenced,— performed by some fifty or sixty men, with bushes tied to their ancles (sic). Their ribs, arms, and thigh-bones were traced with gypsum upon the dark skin, and made them appear as so many skeletons; the women and young girls formed a sort of an orchestra, beating opossum rugs and singing their monotonous airs; all the dancing men, and some of the more aged ones who sat near the women, were provided with two short thick pieces of hardwood, which they beat to the time of the song (Krefft 1866b:367).

There are two extant images of the ceremony, both in the collection of the Mitchell Library. The first appears to have been commenced on site, in the



firelight, or at least when the after-images were still vivid in Krefft's mind's eye (Fig. 11). *Corroboree* shows the faces of several individuals, and provides an authentic representation of the spatial dynamics of the ceremony. As a witness Krefft would have been placed behind the chorus, who in their turn were separated from the advancing dancers by a bare expanse of cleared earth.

This image conveys a sense of un-romanticised reportage. One member of the chorus wears a small cloth hat, another woolly-headed witness, is silhouetted, in conversation, his teeth clamped on a pipe. The blankets are mission-issue, the dogs a mottled assortment, nestled into their owners. One large wolf-like animal remains alert to the beat of clap-sticks, the rise and fall of singers and the reverberant stamping of dancers. Jacob is standing apart (front-left), represented as an archetypal long-bearded prophet, shield in hand.

*Corroboree on the Murray River* is a second, more expansive portrayal of the same evening (Fig. 12). It appears to have been created by Krefft on his return to Melbourne, perhaps in the Public Library,

where the young artist would have found space to spread out the full sheet of watercolour paper on which it was painted. *Corroboree on the Murray River* was to be instrumental Krefft's introduction to the doyens of English science, still influenced by images of the South Pacific assembled by James Cook and the scientific illustrators and naturalists who followed in his wake. The painting was snapped up for the collection of the Royal Geographical Society.<sup>9</sup>

Krefft's second interpretation of the corroboree differs from the previous image in several ways: the artist has taken an elevated viewpoint, effectively separating himself from the scene to present a more empirical overview. This distancing also provides the opportunity to show a broader landscape, with the river framed by overhanging trees and the rising moon's reflected light providing a pathway into the far distance. References to European influence have been masked, the smoking man's face is turned from the viewer and the mission blankets are almost indistinguishable from indigenous possum skin cloaks.

In *Corroboree on the Murray River*, Krefft has constructed an inter-temporal narrative, in which the



Fig. 11. Gerard Krefft: *Corroboree*. Watercolour on paper, 1857. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales Collection.





Fig. 12. Gerard Krefft: *Corroboree on the Murray River*. Watercolour on paper, 1858. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales Collection.

most dramatic moments from the corroboree are composited with earlier activities, when Jacob entertained the absorbed crowd as storyteller/raconteur. These ethnographic vignettes compliment his original image, reinforcing Krefft's authority as a scientist who has witnessed exotic rituals at first hand.

Krefft's *Corroboree on the Murray River* is a complex and multidimensional work. Each group of the figures distributed on and around the ceremonial ground tells a story. In the foreground one group of men and women are skinning a possum and drying possum skins for cloaks. On the extreme left of the painting, a man cranes his neck to see around a slab of bark curing in the smoke of a fire — is he an artist preparing his 'canvas' to make 'a few tracings, on sheets of blackened bark, probably done during a rainy day.' (Krefft 1866b:374). Girls, in a pose that is virtually identical to Krefft's earlier painting inspired by the 'Three Graces', stand conspicuously [and improbably] to the left of the chorus, their nubile forms persisting in the artist's memory. Other figures are shown stoking campfires, alternately chatting or observing the corroboree. More familiar artifacts, such as a coolamon, nula nula and stone-axe are distrib-

uted casually at the bottom of the image, each clearly distinguishable. A mixed chorus of women and men is portrayed, bottom left, providing the base-line beat on their 'opossum rugs'. The centre of the ceremonial ground is occupied by a performer, described by Krefft as a 'doctor' who is extracting a red [possum gut] chord from the mouth of his 'patient'. Behind them a phalanx of painted dancers is approaching, into the light, their tensed legs spread wide with sprigs of gum leaves rustling at their ankles. All is revealed in the exotic glow of circling fires and illuminated by a full moon rising over the trees at a bend of the river (Krefft, 1866b:367).

As with the previous image, Krefft has placed Jacob on the left of the ceremonial ground, this time he is portrayed with more certainty, his appearance cemented in the artist's mind. Jacob's full beard is depicted as more dramatically white, his features more authoritative and his shield operating powerfully as a symbolic motif.

Later in his career, Krefft would become an iconoclast, taking on Sydney's established Anglican orthodoxy to become Australia's pioneering advocate of Darwin's theory of evolution (Finney 1993:109-13).

He possessed an undeniably rebellious spirit, formed as a young man in the crucible of revolutionary Europe. Seen in this light, has Krefft used the image of 'old Jacob', shield at hand, to represent indigenous resistance to Christian doctrines and the persistence of ceremony in defiance of the advance of European influence?<sup>10</sup> Krefft was obviously mesmerized by Jacob — he paints him as a senior man of wisdom, charm and undeniable authority — a patriarch that is perhaps missing from Krefft's own life, a self-improving immigrant making his way in a strange land.

*Corroboree on the Murray River* is Krefft's considered public summary of the lives of the indigenous people of the Murray, compressed into a theatrical tableau. It is a privileged view, unique in the detail it reveals. But for all that it is a limited view; the artist remained an outsider — a distanced observer of a moment in spiritual lives of the Australians. Krefft does not record the name of the ceremony, its function or the ancestral narrative that it celebrated. Could this for instance be an image of ceremony celebrating *Ketttrie*, the ancestral rain maker, an animal for which Jacob held particular knowledge?

There is no evidence to indicate if the ceremony was a part of traditional cycle, or if it was performed specifically to bridge the cultural gap, drawing two privileged and apparently inquisitive Europeans deeper into Indigenous life. We are poorer for the lack of an Indigenous account of the ceremony.

Krefft chose to remain on the other side of the cultural divide and reported that 'they [the Australians] went on enjoying themselves when I left, keeping the dance up until the small hours' (Krefft 1866b:367). By abandoning the ceremony, and crossing the river back to the mission, Krefft was not made privy to the meaning of the ceremony. Neither would Krefft feel obligated to the gift of knowledge that would have come with his fuller participation.

It seems that we will never know why so many people gathered on the banks of the river in 1857, or why Jacob invited a missionary and a young scientist to witness the event. The gap between cultures was incommensurate — deep and wide — and the dramatic change that was overtaking the lives of the Australians mediated against further inter-cultural comprehension. While Krefft's painting provides a unique record of Indigenous ceremony at the confluence of two of Australia's greatest rivers, it is in effect just a postcard showing the surface of a world that lay on the other side of an immense cultural chasm.

## POSTSCRIPT

On 22.09.2007 Chris Schreiber and Darren Perry, respectively Nyeri Nyeri and Ngindadj descendents covered their bodies from head to foot in grey clay from the flood-plain at Mondellimin. Like their ancestors they tied sprigs of gum leaves to their ankles and performed a smoking ceremony, this time, illuminated by the brilliant silvery light that was reflected from the mirrored water onto their long bodies (see Dugay-Grist, this volume: fig. 1). A plaque was then unveiled by Captain W.J.W. McAuley, the Vice President of the Royal Society of Victoria to mark the site where Blandowski established his base camp 150 years earlier.

The formal proceedings were followed by a hearty lunch, cooked in oversized camp-ovens by the Merbrien District Historical Society. Later that afternoon, at the nearby Mildura Arts Centre, Schreiber and Perry saw an exhibition curated to celebrate the occasion; it included field sketches, museum specimens, engravings and archival materials.<sup>11</sup> Krefft's *Corroboree on the Murray River* was hung on a wall of its own, a highlight of the exhibition. Schreiber and Perry were unfamiliar with images of ceremony from their country and they poured over every detail, taking in the postures of the dancers, the chorus and the figures distributed around the ceremonial ground. Krefft's image enriched their contemporary project of cultural revival. The painting revealed an Aboriginal landscape into which they were transported. Paradoxically Krefft's objectified record of the ceremony that had occurred 150 years earlier, had for the descendants of those portrayed become a postcard in time.

## CONCLUSION

While William Blandowski was the leader of the expedition to the Murray River in 1857, the young German naturalist Gerard Krefft was its driving force. The party was stationed at Mondellimin for seven months; it was here that Krefft, with the assistance of the Nyeri Nyeri assembled an unprecedented collection of vertebrate animals from arid Australia. Krefft kept several species of mid-sized mammals alive in his menagerie at Mondellimin. His close observation of the now extinct animals under his care provides us with unique information about their appearance, behavior and habits. The party interacted with the Nyeri Nyeri on a daily basis, as neighbors and collectors of the specimens that they desired. Under Blandowski's guidance, the indigenous names for many species were recorded, providing a



rich cultural legacy. Krefft's candid account of the Australians and their environment provides a window into a conflicted world in profound transition. The multi-disciplinary mode of investigation adopted by the expedition was richly rewarding. It provided a model that, if followed would have resulted in more nuanced understanding of the interaction between the Indigenous people and the Australian environment.

## NOTES

1. The term 'Discovered and Drawn' comprises part of the subtitle for Blandowski's engraving *Fishes of the River Murray and its Tributaries (Australia)* which, together with the written descriptions of the fish was suppressed from publication by the Philosophical Institute of Victoria (Blandowski 1857).
2. Throughout the decade spent in Australia, Blandowski made naïve sketches the birds he collected. *Blandowski's sketches from South Australia and Victoria*, (completed during the period 1850-55), were later annotated with the Nyeri Nyeri names for those species. Krefft also annotated many of his highly detailed illustrations of insects and mammals with their Indigenous names. Blandowski's existing natural history sketches, and many of Krefft's illustrations of insects and mammals from the expedition, remain in the Collection of the Museum für Naturkunde, der Humboldt – Universität, Berlin.
3. Krefft's catalogue of natural history specimens – List XIV, Museum Victoria Collection. (The list is signed off by William Blandowski at Mondellimin 06.08.1857)
4. The image *Mr Blandowski's Camp on the Lower Murray* shows a large all weather shelter made by the Nyeri Nyeri on the bank of the river illustrating the cooperative routine established between the Australians and the expedition party at Mondellimin. Published in *The Illustrated Melbourne News*, 6 February 1858. p.65. *Mr Blandowski's Camp on the Lower Murray*.
5. Allen, Harry. Personal communication 2006.
6. It was the distinctive topography of the 'White Cliffs' immediately below the Mildara Winery at Merbein that enabled Ken Orchard to identify the site of Blandowski's base camp from Krefft's images in 1997. Orchard's photograph of the cliffs was published in the *Sunraysia Daily*, Wednesday 22. 01.1997. pp.1-2.
7. Kurwingie Kerry Giles. Personal Communication, Adelaide 1989. Kurwingie was a descendent of the Ngarrindjeri people of Raukkan/Point McLeay Mission on the shores of Lake Alexandrina.
8. My interpretation of Jacob's response to Christian iconography at Yelta was informed by Kenny (2007:146-79).
9. Krefft in a letter to McCoy, 01.07.1858. MV Library Archive – Archive Box 00324 – Older System 02622 National Museum of Victoria – Inwards Correspondence – 1854-1899 – Kean to Krefft

Krefft's large watercolour *Corroboree on the Murray River* bears the stamp from the Royal Geographical Society and is dated 26/6/58. It was acquired at auction in 1974 for the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

10. Accounts in the Old Testament suggest that the Biblical Jacob lived for 147 years.
11. The exhibition *Blandowski's Expedition to the Murray River - European Naturalists and their Contribution to Science in Australia between 1850 and 1859*, was curated by Tim Stranks and John Kean and presented by Museum Victoria at the Mildura Arts Centre (21 September-21 November 2007).

## REFERENCES

- 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, pp.211-224.
- ALLEN, H. 2007a. *The Anthropology and Art of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria's Expedition to the Lower Darling and Murray River, 1856-57*. Final report: AIATSIS Grant G2005/7010. Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra.
- ALLEN, H., 2007b. An English Translation of Blandowski, W. 1861. Ueber die Ureinwohner Australiens. *Sitzungsberichte und Abhandlungen der naturwissenschaftlichen Gessellschaft Isis* 5:101-110. Dresden. Edited by H. Allen, translated from the German by L. Barton. Attachment A: Final report: AIATSIS Grant G2005/7010. Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra.
- ALLEN, H., 2007c. An English translation of Blandowski, W., 1862. *Australien in 142 Photographischen Abbildungen*. Gustav Neumann, Gleiwitz. Edited by H. Allen, translated from the German by L. Barton. Attachment B: Final report: AIATSIS Grant G2005/7010. Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra.
- ALLEN, J. JR., 1853. *Journal of and Experimental Trip by the 'Lady Augusta' on the River Murray*. Adelaide; C.G.E.Platts Hindley Street.
- ANONYMOUS, c.1881., *The Late Gerard Krefft*, (newspaper clipping) in the Krefft papers, Mitch-

- ell Library of the State Library of New South Wales, MLA265, CY Reel 930.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1855. Personal observations made in an excursion towards the central parts of Victoria, including Mount Macedon, McIvor, and the Black Ranges. *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Victoria*, including the Papers and Proceedings of the Society, for the past year, ending in July, 1855, 1:50-74.
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1857. Recent discoveries in natural history on the lower Murray. *Transactions of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria*, from September to December, 1857, inclusive, 2(2):124-137 [note: pp. 131-134, pls 1-4 omitted].
- BLANDOWSKI, W., 1862. *Australien in 142 photographischen Abbildungen nach zehnjährigen Erfahrungen zusammengestellt von Wilhelm v. Blandowski*. Gleiwitz, 1862. Gedruck: bei Gustav Neumann [album of 142 photographs] [see also Allen 2007c for translation].
- BROOME, R., 2005. *Aboriginal Victorians: A History Since 1800*. Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, xxv + 496 pp.
- FINNEY, C., 1993. *Paradise Revealed: Natural History in Nineteenth-Century Australia*. Museum of Victoria: Melbourne. xv + 186 pp.
- GOULD, J., 1845-63. *The Mammals of Australia*, London, 3 volumes, 13 parts, 182 plates.
- HUMBOLDT, A. VON. 1849. *Cosmos: A Sketch of the Physical Description of the Universe*. Henry G. Bohn, London. Four volumes, octavo, frontispiece, full cloth.
- HUMPHRIES, P., 2003. Blandowski misses out: ichthyological etiquette in 19th-century Australia. *Endeavour*, 27(4): 160-165.
- KEAN, J., 2006. *Sunraysia Daily*, Wednesday, January 18, 2006, p.7.
- KENNY, R., 2007. *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming, Nathaniel Pepper & the Ruptured World*. Scribe, Carlton North.
- KREFFT, G., n.d. Unpublished journal. Mitchell Library of the State Library of New South Wales: Sydney [49 pp] [note: 2 versions].
- KREFFT, G., 1857. *Dispatch list of natural history specimens – List XIV*, Museum Victoria (Ornithology Archives).
- KREFFT, G., 1858a. *Catalogue of all specimens on natural history collected by Mr Blandowski's party during an expedition to the Lower Murray in 1857*, unpublished register, (totalling 17,434 specimens). Museum Victoria Archives.
- KREFFT, G., 1858b. *Description of specimens on natural history collected by Mr Blandowski's party during an expedition to the Lower Murray in 1857*, Mammals, unpublished register, Museum Victoria Archives.
- KREFFT, G., 1866a. On the vertebrated animals of the Lower Murray and Darling, their habits, economy, and geographical distribution. *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of New South Wales*, 1862-1865: 1-33.
- KREFFT, G., 1866b. On the manners and customs of the Aborigines of the Lower Murray and Darling. *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of New South Wales*, 1862-1865: 357-374.
- LUNNEY, D., 2001. Causes of the extinction of native mammals of the Western Division of New South Wales: an ecological interpretation of the nineteenth century historical record. *Rangeland Journal*, 23(1): 44 -70.
- MORTON, S.R., 1995. In *The Mammals of Australia*, R. Strahan, ed., Australian Museum, Sydney, pp. 129-31.
- ORCHARD K., 1997. *Sunraysia Daily*, Wednesday 22 January 1997. pp.1-2.
- PASZKOWSKI, L.K., 1967. William Blandowski: the first Government Zoologist of Victoria. *Australian Zoologist*, 14(2): 147-172, pls 1-4.
- PESCOTT, R.T.M. 1954. *Collections of a Century: The History of the First Hundred Years of the National Museum of Victoria*. Brown, Prior, Anderson Pty Ltd: Melbourne. xiii + 186 pp.
- PULLIN, V.R., 2007. *Eugene von Guérard and the Science of Landscape Painting* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Melbourne).
- SHAW, E., c.1920. *Early days among the Aborigines, The story of Yelta and Coranderrk Missions*, p. 5-7.
- THE ILLUSTRATED MELBOURNE NEWS, 6 February 1858. *Mr Blandowski's Camp on the Lower Murray*. p.65.
- WHITLEY, G.P. & RUTLEDGE, M., *Krefft, Johann Ludwig Gerard (Louis) (1830 -1881)* <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050051b.htm> (accessed 20.05.08).

#### Correspondence:

MV Library Archive – Archive Box 00324 – Older System 02622  
 National Museum of Victoria – Inwards Correspondence – 1854-1899 – Kean to Krefft