

# GERARD KREFFT: A SINGULAR MAN

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The life of Gerard Krefft, artist and second in command of the expedition to the Murray River, provides rich opportunity for reflection. This paper highlights the more memorable events of Krefft's personal life as well as his scientific achievements and how he helped bring Australian science to the notice of the world. Krefft had remarkable zoological and ethnographic abilities and many scientific achievements are attributable to his efforts. He was critical of Blandowski and later won international recognition for his scientific work and for the Australian Museum. However, conflicts with the Museum Trustees came to a head in 1875 and Krefft was forcibly removed in tragic circumstances. His dismissal, the inquiry, the court case and personal life are examined through a combination of published sources and personal letters.

*Key words:* Johann Ludwig Gerard Krefft, Australian zoologist, museum administration, German scientists in Australia.

## KREFFT'S EARLY YEARS

JOHANN LUDWIG GERARD KREFFT (1830-1881) was born in Brunswick, Germany on 17 February 1830, the son of confectioner William Krefft and Johanna nee Buschoff (Kerr 1992:437). From the age of fifteen, he worked as a merchant's clerk in Halberstadt. At twenty he immigrated to New York to avoid the military draft. It has been stated before that Krefft studied at Berlin University (Whitley 1958-9:23), but this is unsubstantiated and Krefft never claimed to have had a university education – rather, he prided himself on being self-educated, through books and correspondence. In New York, he raised his fare to Australia by copying Audubon plates and selling them. Reaching Melbourne in November 1852, he worked as a miner at several goldfields for five years (Whitley 1958-9:23).<sup>1</sup> He then returned to Melbourne, and '... having made some money applied myself to studying at the Public Library where I copied many of Gould's sketches of Australian animals' (Krefft's evidence for an inquiry into the Australian Museum c.1874<sup>2</sup>). It was while he was at the Public Library that he was noticed by Blandowski (Curator at the new Museum of Natural History, now Melbourne Museum), who engaged Krefft to accompany him on an expedition to the junction of the Lower Murray and Darling Rivers, leaving Melbourne on 6 December 1856.

Krefft was unimpressed by Blandowski. Possibly the main source of friction between the two men was that both had inflated egos. Krefft was the author of an unpublished, but highly critical, 'narrative' which plotted the expedition's journey through a series of misad-

ventures, from Melbourne to Lake Boga (Iredale & Whitley 1932:90-2; Krefft n.d., see Allen, this volume). Krefft was the only member of the original party who stayed the whole distance (Iredale & Whitley 1932:90-2; Krefft n.d., see Allen, this volume). Nevertheless, after the expedition he received a testimonial from Blandowski. Hoping to gain Museum employment, he presented this to Professor McCoy, who engaged him to catalogue the specimens collected. He worked on this until he returned to Germany in 1858. Also in 1858, Krefft exhibited a number of drawings at the Victorian Industrial Society Exhibition and these received good reviews (Kerr 1992:437).

Following news of the death of his father, Krefft returned to Germany. Travelling via England, Krefft introduced himself to eminent scientists at the British Museum. These included Gould, Gray, Günther and Owen. At the Zoological Society Krefft presented a paper on the Chestnut-crowned Babbler of Victoria. In so doing, he brought himself to the notice of many leading zoologists of the day (Krefft 1858). While in Germany, he visited many other museums and universities, making himself known to various scientists. With several he made arrangements to exchange specimens with the Melbourne Museum, and wrote to McCoy advising him of this. He bought a large collection of minerals with 'splendid specimens from the mines of the Harz', which he expected to (exchange or sell) to McCoy. He had his photograph taken in Berlin, showing him to be quite prosperous and also perhaps having enjoyed the good life of Europe for the past year (Mitchell Library of the State Library of New South Wales Photo L PXA1032:19).

It was on this trip to Germany that relations with Blandowski became severely strained. In 1859 Krefft sold his manuscript and sketches of the expedition to the publisher Perthes in Gotha, who paid £30 for it. When Blandowski learnt about this, he went to Gotha and threatened the editor with legal action if he published Krefft's material, which remains unpublished to this day (Letter, Krefft to McCoy, 7 August 1860, Melbourne Museum). Disputes over the illustrations and notes emerged while Blandowski was in Melbourne. While the mammal and bird specimens from the expedition were delivered to the museum, there was a dispute between the Victorian Government and Blandowski over the ownership of papers and illustrations (Allen 2006; Paszkowski 1967:160-2). Krefft was the artist responsible for many of the sketches that Blandowski took to Germany. It was these sketches, redrafted by Gustav Mützel, which are the basis for most of the illustrations in Blandowski's *Australien* (Allen 2006:28, this volume). While the natural history illustrations have survived in the historical collections of the National History Museum, Berlin, Krefft's ethnological sketches survive only through Mützel's copies. There is, however, a small portfolio of Krefft's sketches, woodcuts and watercolours from the Murray River expedition in the collections of the State Library of New South Wales (Allen 2006:24).

Through introductions to Binder and Godeffroy, Krefft gained a posting as collector for the German Museums Commission and received a living allowance and a First Class passage back to Melbourne aboard a ship belonging to J.C. Godeffroy and Sons (Whitley 1958-9:23). This was in return for an agreement to supply these museums with Australian specimens. Krefft did this and the debt was written off in 1862 (Whitley 1958-9:23).

Returning to Adelaide in April 1860, Krefft met Ludwig Becker, who mentioned the Exploration Committee planning an expedition from the south to the north of the continent: the Burke and Wills Expedition (Becker, who joined it, was the oldest in the party and the first to die). Krefft applied to the Committee, offering himself in whatever capacity he might be used:

...as a draughtsman and collector or in any capacity your Committee of the gentleman in command may think fit to entrust me with. Accustomed to the hardship of bush life and used to the food of the natives with whom I have hunted for some time, able to drive bullocks or horses or to keep for months in the saddle, I am

of a cheerful disposition and willing to assist wherever my services may be required. My sketches you have seen before, but I shall send some specimens of my drawing if you should wish it. Having a thorough knowledge of our Australian fauna and being able to skin and preserve specimens of natural history in the most approved way, I beg to enclose copy and original letter from John Gould Esq. and also a recommendation from Professor Dove of the Berlin University. Please reply to me care of Dr Bennett in Sydney as I am anxious to know whether there is any chance of my services being accepted. (Letter to the Exploration Committee, April 1860, State Records of South Australia).

In Sydney, Krefft presented his overseas letters of accreditation to Governor Denison, who offered him the position of Assistant Curator at the Australian Museum. Accepting the post, Krefft withdrew his application to the Exploration Committee. Had he gone with Burke and Wills, his experience of Aboriginal bushcraft might have averted the expedition's tragic outcome (Bonyhady 2002).

William Sharp Macleay, eldest son of Alexander Macleay was then one of the Trustees of the Museum, and he objected strongly when he heard about Denison's appointment of Krefft, insisting that the position be advertised. It was, and Krefft was duly appointed. W.S. Macleay was already ill – he retired as a Trustee in 1862 and died in 1865.<sup>3</sup>

The Museum's Curator, Simon Pittard, was ill with tuberculosis and living in the Museum with his large family when Krefft arrived. Krefft's first months were spent painting religious texts and illustrations on the Museum's Boardroom walls to satisfy Mrs Pittard, a follower of the Rev. Pusey (Strahan 1967:26). Pittard was brought out from England upon the recommendations of George Macleay (brother to W.S. Macleay) and Dr George Bennett - who were both in London at the time - and Sir Richard Owen of the British Museum.

Other employees lived on the premises and Krefft also moved in. Krefft liked Pittard and they got on well, having many discussions of an evening in their private quarters. Pittard was excellent at presenting the evening lectures held regularly at the Museum. Unfortunately, his health did not improve as expected in the Sydney air, and he died about a year later, leaving Krefft to become Acting Curator, a position he held for three years, whilst the Trustees and the Government argued back and forth as to who had the responsibility for the appointment. During this

time, and finding the Museum quarters much quieter once all the Pittard children had left, Krefft collected hundreds of specimens in and around Sydney, particularly snakes, and began submitting regular weekly articles to the newspapers on matters of natural history and science on a wide range of topics. At the same time he read and became convinced of the work of Charles Darwin in his 'Origin of Species' – one of the first Australian scientists to publicly support Darwin. This public stand did not gain him favour with several of the Trustees. On the other hand, those supporting him included George Bennett, W.B. Clarke, Dr Fortescue, Alexander Oliver, Rev. George Turner (St. Anne's, Ryde), and R.J. Want (Turner and Want both died in 1869) - Krefft was to rue the passing of these last two good friends later when his difficulties with the Museum Trustees came to a head. During the sixties, Krefft would journey out to Ryde once a week for dinner with the Rev. Turner, where William Forster MLA was also a frequent guest.

Gerard Krefft was officially appointed Secretary and Curator of the Australian Museum in 1864; the same year he became a British citizen (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Gerard Krefft. Black & White Photographic Print, 1850s. Australian Museum, Sydney, Australia.

#### KREFFT'S CURATORSHIP AT THE AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM

Krefft worked tirelessly building up the Museum collection, adding to it by his own, and George Masters, his assistant's, collecting forays, but mainly by arranging exchanges with several Museums and Universities around the world. The first catalogue Krefft compiled at the Museum was the reptiles and fishes in 1862 (Paxton & McGrouther 1997), followed swiftly by the catalogue of mammals, sold to the public at the door for sixpence (1864). His published papers on the 'Vertebrata of the Lower Murray and Darling' (1866a) and the 'Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Lower Murray and Darling' (1866b) represent a significant record of the mammals and reptiles and of Aboriginal life on the Murray River at the time of the expedition (1856-7) (Fox 1992:309-10). As a number of the mammals recorded by Krefft have subsequently become extinct, his observations of their habits and habitats are especially valuable (Wakefield 1966; Menkhorst, this volume). This is particularly so in the case of the pig-footed bandicoot *Chaeropus ecaudatus* (Ogilby, 1838) which was last recorded in New South Wales in 1880 (Dixon 1987:164-69; Marlow 1958).

Before Pittard died, he had hinted to Krefft several times that he could do worse than take one of the two daughters of A.W. Scott as his wife. When the Scotts moved to Sydney from Ash Island, Krefft was a frequent visitor to their home, saving German stamps for their collection and obtaining work for the sisters Harriet and Helena. It was all very friendly until Krefft married Annie McPhail in 1869, when Scott became antagonistic towards him. The relationship with the Scott sisters must have improved as Krefft commissioned them to illustrate his 'Snakes of Australia' (1869) and 'Mammals of Australia' (1871). The Scott sister's work as zoological illustrators is highly regarded (Moyal 1986:111-2).

Krefft married Annie McPhail in February 1869; a witness to their marriage was a fellow German, Dr Rudolph Schuette, one of the first surgeons at St Vincent's Hospital, along with Physician Dr George Bennett. Schuette also had a major interest in natural history and was a brother-in-law of Keferstein, a frog specialist in Germany with whom specimens were regularly exchanged. Annie was the Australian-born daughter of Scottish bounty immigrants. They married in the Museum, Annie being five months pregnant at the time. Krefft did not tell the Trustees of his marriage until after the event. In a letter to John Gray in London, Krefft says that he had 'gone and done

it', thus catching the '...marriage epidemic, like the tidal waves, that had gone around the world hooking all the fellows bordering on the discreet age of forty.' Apparently Albert Günther who was the same age as Krefft had also recently married in London. In the same letter Krefft speaks of Annie '...not forgetting the wife who I value because she is not scientific but who would not touch a bone or a feather on my table, and never bothers me to see company or go out. But she is great in jams, tarts, cooking and housekeeping and never bothers me'. Later on Annie proved to be a wonderful support and strength to her husband during his troubles with the Trustees of the museum and Krefft continued to speak highly of her in his correspondence to the end. (Letter to Gray 26 March 1869; British Museum (NH)).

In 1869 Krefft led a field trip to the Wellington Caves to collect fossils. He says the expenses for this trip were £200, but the value of the material collected (by exchange with other museums) was over £1,000. Writing to Lydekker in 1876, he comments that the caves had since 'caved in', but a 'good charge of Dynamite would no doubt give wonderful results'! It was on this trip that Krefft thought he had found a partial human molar amongst the bones of the mega fauna – this was at first agreed to by Owen, but later found to be non-human. Krefft later used the apparent age of this tooth, through its association with extinct *Diprotodon* remains, to argue for similarities between the Australian Aborigines and Cro-Magnon Man and to see parallels between different groups of Aborigines and the stages of human development, the first colonial scientist to do so (Turnbull 2000).

Krefft's reputation as a scientist came from his dispute with Richard Owen over the evolutionary relationships of *Thylacoleo*, his publications on the snakes and the mammals of Australia and his recognition of the significance of the Queensland lungfish - *Neoceratodus forsteri* (Krefft, 1870) from the Burnett and nearby rivers in Queensland. He published his findings on *Neoceratodus* in the Sydney Morning Herald of 17 January 1870, the morning after receiving the fish from William Forster, MLA, whose property was on the Burnett River (see also Krefft 1870). Apparently Forster had spoken of this strange fish on several occasions at regular dinners with Krefft and George Turner at St Anne's rectory at Ryde.<sup>4</sup> Krefft admits he didn't believe the stories. Astounded when he finally examined Forster's specimens, he promised to name the species after him, which he did. This did not help Krefft later on when he called on Forster to support him in his altercations with the

Museum Trustees as Forster refused to intervene. He was Colonial Treasurer at the time. Krefft's growing reputation with scientists around the world as a result of his publications on *Ceratodus* was yet another addition to the resentment building up against him by some of the Trustees. Krefft sent specimens of *Ceratodus* to Günther at the British Museum and Agassiz in America. His use of the name *Ceratodus* showed that he recognised its likeness to the fossil fish of the Northern Hemisphere and Günther's description of the fish as an 'intermediate form' between fish and amphibians excited Krefft (Robin 2000). The Queensland lungfish was vital confirmation of Darwin's theory of evolution and Krefft was an important colonial advocate of Darwinism (Mozley 1967:429). It did not help that W.S. Macleay and W.J. Macleay and the Reverend W.B. Clarke, all trustees of the museum, were all opponents of Darwin's theories as doing harm to Genesis (Mozley 1967:422).

#### TRUSTEE TROUBLES

Several incidents caused disagreements between Krefft and the Trustees. He thought in all cases he was wronged – and in most cases he was. He clearly was a very intelligent man and was proud of the way he had educated himself in the natural sciences 'without the help of any person'. (Krefft's evidence for an inquiry into the Australian Museum c.1874<sup>2</sup>). One source of difficulty was the lack of clear differentiation between the roles of curator, trustees, the museum and the government which paid the bills. Some of the trustees were scientists in their own right, generally men of means and influence, who were in the process of building up their own scientific collections and also were prominent members of the fledgling learned societies which were establishing themselves in the colony (Anderson 1998:129). The trustees regarded privileged access to the museum and its resources as a return for their unpaid services on the Board (Strahan 1967:29).

When W.S. Macleay's cousin, William John Macleay, joined the Board of Trustees, he also started the Entomological Society with Krefft as Secretary. The Entomological Society met regularly for their intellectual suppers. One venue for these meetings was Dr James Cox's place in Phillip Street. Eventually Mr Macleay asked if they could meet at the Museum. Krefft strenuously objected to this idea and the Trustees also agreed that if one Society met there then any other group could as well! Krefft notes,

...great bug and beetle hunters attended night after night, rules and regulations were drawn up until it all became even too expensive for Mr Macleay and we adjourned to cooler quarters at the School of Arts. The suppers ended, and a select few adjourned after the meetings to the Victoria Club and partook of whisky hots. (Krefft's evidence for an inquiry into the Australian Museum c.1874<sup>2</sup>).

Eventually Krefft gave in and invited the society to meet in his private rooms in the museum, as there was accommodation for the curator and his family on the museum premises. While this arrangement came to an end when Krefft married, his comments also reveal how he considered the activities of the private collectors who were members of the society,

They would meet, smoke, imbibe port, brandy and ale and tell tall tales (often told before); things went smooth enough until I took unto myself a wife; we then had to meet down below in a most respectable basement room, and when I asked the members to have a 'weed' or a 'nip' they stiffly declined and went elsewhere. Mr Macleay never forgave me for having brought his hobby to grief ... which is on par with postage stamps collection – if one forgets to observe the metamorphoses of insects and neglects to study those which are useful or dangerous to man and his cultivated plants or domesticated animals... It stands to reason that a simple accumulation of all kinds of bugs, beetles, butterflies and cockroaches without explanation is less a vehicle to education than the dressed window of a grocery establishment! (Krefft's evidence for an inquiry into the Australian Museum c.1874<sup>2</sup>).

The small staff at the Museum included: O'Grady, the messenger; the Barnes brothers who did carpentry, taxidermy and photography; an attendant, a cleaner and George Masters, mentioned earlier. Later on, Krefft was annoyed at the way some of the Trustees 'used' staff members for their own purposes of collecting, carpentry etc. – both in their own and the Museum's time. W.J Macleay's superior manner irritated Krefft, probably more so when Macleay began using George Masters, Krefft's Assistant Curator, for his own purposes either going out collecting 'bugs and beetles' or assisting Macleay at his house with his collection. The extent of Macleay's reliance on Masters can be seen in his diaries, where Macleay records Masters collecting insects and birds for him. It was not until 6 February 1874, that Macleay noted, 'This was the first day of Mr Masters' engagement with me

as curator at £300 a year...' (Horning 1994:93).<sup>5</sup> Krefft complained that staff worked for some of the Trustees, or themselves, in Museum time as well as their own and that he was unable to discipline them, as they would report back to 'their' Trustee. Krefft also complained about the actions of Dr James C. Cox, the noted shell collector.

Museum staff also came in for criticism and Krefft accused O'Grady of running a catering business from one of the basement rooms – killing and preparing poultry for Trustees' private dinners and banquets, and then serving as a waiter at the functions! (Krefft's evidence for an inquiry into the Australian Museum c.1874<sup>2</sup>).

Krefft by this time was on the outer with both the trustees and the staff and events turned against him. They questioned the Minutes that he kept, the Petty Cash account and disputed every item spent on the Museum.

#### GOLD ROBBERY AND ITS AFTERMATH

On Christmas Eve 1873, Krefft discovered a gold robbery at the Museum. The Trustees wanted to blame him for the robbery but, with no evidence, began to find fault with everything Krefft did or said from then on. The Inquiry into the Museum by a Legislative Assembly Select Committee came about following the gold robbery and unsubstantiated complaints about Krefft by staff. It began in March 1874 and the Committee's report reached the Legislative Assembly table on 15 May. The Committee consisted of ten, headed by Mr Cooper. Mr Macleay and Capt. Onslow, both MLAs were also appointed to the Committee. It does seem incongruous to us now, that two of Krefft's most vocal adversaries were on a Committee inquiring into the Museum of which they were Trustees (Strahan 1967:34). The Inquiry held eighteen meetings of 3-4 hours each and also included inspections of the Museum premises.

While the Select Committee inquiry was in process, a further allegation was made against Krefft, that he had condoned the sale by Robert and Henry Barnes, the museum's photographers, of pornographic (in fact, ethnographic) photographs. Strahan (1967:35) suggests that the police raid on the museum workshops were prearranged as a further pretext to remove Krefft. Next, the trustees arranged a further inquiry of their own, where Krefft was called upon to resign. Following the release of the report, life became worse for Krefft and Annie. By June

1874, they were virtual prisoners in their own quarters. Annie could come and go, but Krefft faced being locked out permanently if he left the building. Correspondence in the Museum letter books for June to September 1874, leading up to the eviction, reveals the pressure Krefft and Annie were under. They were locked out of their private basement rooms and washroom. Krefft's inward mail was confiscated; parcels and cases coming through Customs were re-directed to the Trustees.

On 20 August, Trustees wrote to the Minister for Justice to say that after 'mature consideration' they deemed it their duty to dismiss Krefft from his office of Curator and Secretary to the Museum. At the end of August, Trustees Bennett, Clarke and Oliver resigned in disgust. The remaining Trustees requested the Police to evict the Kreffts. The Police refused, on the grounds that the Trustees had acted without authority from the Government. The Trustees, working through Mr E. Hill, a trustee and magistrate, evicted the Kreffts with illegal assistance (Strahan 1967:34).

The Minister of Justice replied to the Trustees on 24 September, 1874, berating them for unlawfully evicting Krefft, but appointing Edward Ramsay as curator in his place. Krefft now embarked on a series of litigations for compensation and to regain his place. He won a judgement of £250 against Hill and subsequently Parliament voted him £1,000 in satisfaction of his claims. However, his appeals to Sir Henry Parkes and the Government for reinstatement were unsuccessful (Strahan 1967:36; Whitley 1958-9:24). In a letter to his brother William, dated October 1875, about a year after the eviction and shortly after the court case against Hill, Krefft was buoyed by a misplaced optimism that he had routed his opponents.

...the legal battle was won and part of the money was paid. The court decided that I was still Curator of the Museum and that all my salary has to be paid to me. I had to pay £250 legal costs myself but this doesn't bother me, as I wanted to prove that I was right. My opponent (Hill) had to pay £1,200. I have to battle further – for flat rent, loss of furniture, altogether about £500; secondly for loss of books and manuscripts (£500) and thirdly compensation for the suffering of my wife – approximately £5,000. Of course I will accept a reasonable offer, if not I will take it to court. The salary part is secured by the Supreme Court although the Government is not willing to pay. The battle I had to fight here has made legendary history. The richest and most criminal scoundrels were against me – the whole gang of descendants of convicts, the 'Elite of Society in

NSW', especially the Catholic faction, and in spite of all this we were victorious. Without any notice the Museum was handed over to the police and all entry points and windows nailed down. Only the main entrance, which led to my room, was open and two constables were posted here day and night. This situation lasted for three months. Annie had a miscarriage and was close to death, but my enemies would not be bluffed and didn't give her a moment of peace. Doctors' certificates were thrown aside and a meeting was held every day, hoping that poor Annie would die, but she was stronger than those scoundrels and when they couldn't get anywhere with us, eight people were hired, amongst them a murderer and one professional boxer, who came in and threw us out. They broke in doors and the constables saw this and didn't move. Annie went to the Prime Minister (Parkes) who didn't want to believe this stuff and give her police protection. But when she got back to the Museum we were already put out. The Government who was sympathetic to me was thrown out in the meantime and I had no other choice but to sue. Then there were the long months of waiting but eventually a hard-earned victory. The High Court judge cut the Trustees to pieces like never before. Annie gives me a lot of moral support. It is wonderful how people are terrified of her. She was very close to boxing the current Premier Robertson's ear when he, an old acquaintance of mine, refused to acknowledge me as the Curator. All people who were against us got their punishment. The New Guinea expedition [the Chevert expedition] came back embarrassed, almost all suffering from fever. Macleay, my arch enemy, collapsed like a geriatric. Other members lost their wives and two of their children in the meantime – it is like a curse is hanging over those people.

Reflecting on Krefft's private life at this time, Annie was pregnant again and both Krefft and Annie felt anxious about this, as she had previously lost two infant sons since Rudi's birth in 1869. Rudi meanwhile, was growing into a fine, tall boy, very interested in his father's natural history specimens. Krefft says of him in a letter to Gray, 'I swear he will be one of us [a scientist] and will never join the military'. (Letter to Gray, 24 February 1873).

#### KREFFT'S SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS

Krefft was an able scientist. He wrote more than 200 scientific papers and discovered and named a number

of species (Whitley 1958-9, 1967-8). He built up the collections of the Australian Museum and attempted to run it as a scientific and educational institution. In an interview (with Robin Williams, Radio National, 9 April 2000), Des Griffin, himself a former Director of the Museum, noted that Krefft was, '...a leader, the first really outstanding head of the Australian Museum. Not until Dr John Evans took over 80 years later in 1954 did the museum again occupy a position of public influence'. A part of Krefft's genius was to bring the museum, the animal kingdom and scientific debates concerning nature to the attention of the public through more than 50 articles in Sydney newspapers, many of these running over some weeks (Whitley 1958-9, 1967-8). Gerard Krefft was created a Knight of the Order of the Crown of Italy by Victor Emmanuel in 1869.

Despite these achievements however, Krefft's fate in 1874 resonates with that of Blandowski 15 years earlier. Like Blandowski, in his efforts to regain his position, Krefft produced a pamphlet of letters from distinguished international scientists (1874), he took his detractors to court but did not really win satisfaction, and, he made appeals to powerful figures which ultimately fell on deaf ears (Darragh, this volume).

Krefft, fighting for his money for the rest of his short life, died in February 1881 aged 51. Annie and her sons (a healthy second son was born in 1879) were destitute, Krefft having been declared bankrupt before he died. Annie moved lodgings about every six months to avoid rent. She wrote many letters trying to sell Krefft's papers and manuscripts, with little success. She placed a begging letter in the Sydney Morning Herald seeking donations to help her keep going. Rudi went to work at the age of thirteen for the Government Printer. Conditions became a little easier as he grew older and could support his mother and brother. Hermann, the younger son, died unmarried, in 1911, of cerebral haemorrhage, aged 31. Annie died in 1926, aged about 80.

Gerard Krefft is still well respected by the Natural Science community. There is no doubt he did have a chip on his shoulder. He felt that other people thought he was inferior ... but in the end he was his own worst enemy.

Krefft, like Blandowski, made powerful enemies, and he believed that scientific credentials would outweigh those of power and position. As a German scientist he remained an outsider within the Sydney Anglo-Irish establishment,<sup>6</sup> though he was vocal in his criticisms of it. In a letter, Henry Parkes admonished Krefft that he '...must learn to keep a cool

temper and a respectful bearing even to gentlemen who may be opposed to you' (Whitley & Rutledge 1974:43). It was advice that Krefft was unable to take and ultimately paid the price for it.

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#### NOTES

1. 'Five years' was Krefft's estimation. His recollected estimates of time periods tended to be loose as from December, 1856 he was a member of Blandowski's expedition.
2. Krefft's evidence for the inquiry into the Australian Museum, held at the Basser Library is considered by the author to be his notes in preparation for the court case, as he refers to his expulsion from the Museum which was after the inquiry into the Museum (p.36 of the typed transcription).
3. Krefft had a lot to say later about W.S. Macleay (in his personal notes for the inquiry into the Museum): one story was that Samuel Stutchbury, the Government Mineral Surveyor in the 1850s, had threatened to shoot Macleay because he '...meddled with some of Stutchbury's collection and caused a lot of clay balls sent from the north to be thrown away which, in reality, contained gold and precious stones and were only covered with clay to prevent them being purloined.'
4. Strahan (1967:29) suggests that Krefft saw the *Neoceratodus forsteri* (Krefft, 1870) being prepared for the table. The fish's eating qualities were such that it was described as the 'Burnett Salmon' (Robins 2000:2).
5. Krefft was very critical and somewhat prudish in his attitude towards Master's private life. Unbeknown to Krefft, Masters was living in an adulterous relationship with a married woman, whose husband came to sort Masters out. Masters then asked for permission to go to Tasmania on a collecting trip, which Krefft agreed to, not knowing that Masters just wanted to get away from Sydney and the cuckolded husband. On his return it all came out in public – Masters was forced to pay the husband £300 damages and continued to live with the woman. Krefft was upset because Macleay had known about Master's indiscretion and seemed to condone it.
6. Struve (1999:107) notes that Neumeyer also felt there was prejudice against German scientists in Australia.

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